
Fault-Lines and Fishing: Bioregulation as Social Struggle on Island Newfoundland

Wayne Fife *Memorial University*

Abstract: The bioregulation of salmonid species on island Newfoundland shows how specific social fault-lines can enhance, cross-cut or combine in new ways to affect larger structural formations, such as class and rural/urban divides. Seemingly innocuous regulatory bureaucracies involving sport versus subsistence fishing can serve as technologies of power and disguise larger issues involving social and economic control over rural and lower-class populations. Fault-lines show that these forms of control do not have uniform effects and can result in a complicated practice that has to take into account pressures emitting from the regulators and the regulated.

Keywords: fault-lines, salmonid fishing, bioregulation, rural/urban, class, Newfoundland

Résumé : La bioréglementation des espèces de salmonidés sur l'île de Terre-Neuve montre comment des lignes de faille sociales peuvent s'exacerber, se recouper ou se combiner pour affecter des formations structurales plus importantes, telles que les divisions en termes de classe sociale et entre milieux urbains et ruraux. Des bureaucraties de réglementation en apparence inoffensives qui mettent en opposition les pêcheries de subsistance et la pêche sportive peuvent s'avérer des technologies de pouvoir camouflant des enjeux plus larges faisant intervenir un contrôle social et économique sur des populations rurales et de classe inférieure. Les lignes de faille montrent comment ces formes de contrôle n'ont pas un effet uniforme et peuvent générer une pratique compliquée devant tenir compte des pressions émanant à la fois des organismes de réglementation et des personnes soumises à leur régulation.

Mots-clés : Lignes de faille, pêche aux salmonidés, bioréglementation, ruralité/urbanité, classes sociales, Terre-Neuve

Introduction

As researchers, we are used to observing conflicts and struggles both within and between groups of people who occupy what we commonly identify as larger social positions, such as economic class or rural versus urban interests. In this article, some historically specific social and cultural conditions associated with the bioregulation of fishing on island Newfoundland are considered to illustrate how less obvious economic, symbolic and bureaucratic trends can combine to form micro-tensions that cut across these larger social formations.¹ I refer to these areas of pressure as “fault-lines,” which are lines of uneven tension that may eventually create the kind of sliding friction that results in substantial social conflicts. These tensions are typically smaller and of a subtler quality than those we associate with larger social structures. The pressures of fault-lines *are* implicated in other larger conflicts but may also oppose, conflate, diminish or enhance the social tensions associated with these more structural social formations.² Another way to think about this difference is to understand that both fault-lines and broader social tensions are historically contingent. In the broader categories of tension, historical trends tend to combine into relatively large conflicts (such as class struggle), which are both more predictable (on a long-term scale) and also related to larger structural/institutional systems of social organization (such as capitalism). In comparison, fault-lines are often less predictable and gain power from smaller moments of micro-history that may involve unique or semi-unique juxtapositions involving localized social and cultural formations. As such, they are prone to be historically affected in more substantial ways by individual decisions, small-group actions and shorter-term historical trends.

In this particular case, I make use of current conditions associated with the political ecology of fishing for salmonid species (specifically brook, brown and rainbow trout, as well as Atlantic salmon; or *Salvelinus fontinalis*).

lis, *Salmo trutta*, *Oncorhynchus mykiss*, and *Salmo salar*) on island Newfoundland to show how the idea of fault-lines can help us better understand the complexity of conflicts involving different social classes and urban versus rural populations. David Harvey (2001:121) has noted that the logic of contemporary capital accumulation leads to a restless search for new product lines, new lifestyles and new places to colonize to make a profit (on the necessity of constant expansion, see Marx 1990). I would add that it also leads to the neocolonization of old places, such as rural spaces in wealthy countries. I would further suggest that this neocolonization of old places makes use of specific forms of rationalization. Michel Foucault (1990:140–141) argued some time ago that modern human populations have historically had their behaviour partially regulated through biopower. Statistical norms, medicalized bureaucratic regulations and the institutionalization of specific forms of knowledge that constitute our ideas about human nature (e.g., regarding sexuality, mental health and criminal activity) have all been part of the biopolitics of exercising power in relation to human populations (Foucault 1997). Specific forms of biopolitics become important components of the technologies of power (see Fife 2001; Foucault 1984). In this sense, it is an important part of the production of social domination. Similarly, Sharon Roseman (2004:12) has extended the concept of biopower, suggesting that we can use the idea of *bioregulation* to consider how this form of institutionalization has been cultivated in European states, such as Spain, in an effort to influence human populations in rural areas *through* the regulatory control of the production and circulation of domesticated animal and vegetable species (for an unrelated but parallel analysis, see Tuan 1984; for more on the struggle over rural spaces, see Fife 2010; Roseman 2003). Roseman (2004:10) suggests in her study that the scientific and bureaucratic disciplining of food consumption through regulatory devices is an important component in the production of what comes to be counted as social and economic “truth.” In this way, one particular form of discourse becomes institutionalized and other forms of truth become marginalized in relation to it. I wish to extend Roseman’s idea here to explore how the bureaucratic use of bioregulations to control non-domesticated fish species can also help to control and even dominate the behaviour of human populations who live in rural areas. As Eric Wolf (1999:7) suggested, “Just as all social arrangements, including those of communication, involve relations of power, so also is that true of ideas.” In the case of Newfoundland, the contemporary communication I am referring to as a bioregulatory fault-line can help us understand how both class and

urban/rural relations in that particular location become complicated through competing lines of tension. While we explore this issue, we might also keep in mind the injunction of Bruno Latour (2004:28) that “there has never been any other politics than the politics of nature and there has never been any other nature than the nature of politics.”

The research for this article comes from ethnography, documentation and auto-ethnography (see Fife 2005 on standard ethnographic research methods). I have been carrying out ethnographic research on tourism issues, including sport fishing, since 2000. Both secondary historical sources and contemporary documentary sources have been widely consulted for this specific article (for the importance of documents in social science research, see Riles 2006). Finally, I have learned a great deal from direct participation in sport fishing on island Newfoundland, both as part of my tourism research and as a personal leisure activity. Heewon Chang (2009) notes the important role that auto-ethnography can play in qualitative research. The summer of 2006 provided particularly salient information for this article and will be drawn upon for auto-ethnographic data, as that is when I started seriously researching sport fishing on the island and when I first began to personally experience the frustrations for sport and subsistence fishers because of the new bioregulatory scheme in Newfoundland. It should be noted that this article is written largely from the perspectives of those who are confronted with the fault-line that creates little earthquakes here and there through the bioregulatory regime, rather than from the points of view of the government regulators who put such a regime in place (adding the latter perspective more fully here would require its own history and much more space than is available in a single article).

Subsistence versus Sport Fishing in Newfoundland

European populations have been coming to Newfoundland over the last five hundred years to exploit the great stocks of Atlantic cod that have existed on various banks inshore and offshore of the island. In the last two decades, these stocks have declined to such an extent that a moratorium prohibiting most commercial cod fishing has been in effect since 1992 (see García-Orellán 2006; Palmer and Sinclair 1997). As Miriam Wright (2001:1) stated, this has been “not only a major ecological disaster but has also been devastating for the province’s economy and society.” The commercial cod fishery, in many ways, can be considered a victim of bioregulation gone awry, but tracing this lies beyond the scope of the present article. What is important here are two things: (1) fishing

has always been a key component of the cultural identity of European-derived populations on the island, and (2) increasing problems associated with raw resource extraction industries (e.g., ocean fisheries, forestry, mining) over the last several decades have helped to create a tremendous desire in Newfoundland³ for a “diversified economy.” In particular, there is a clamour for a more service-oriented economy to go along with the newer industry of largely off-shore oil extraction, both of which are thought to be more in keeping with early 21st-century capitalism. In the service side of this economy, activities associated with a burgeoning tourism industry are often viewed as a key to the financial formation of a contemporary Newfoundland (Fife 2004; Overton 1996). In this economy, the trout and salmon of inland waters become “too valuable” for subsistence usage and are increasingly reserved for the consumption of tourists who travel to rural areas from the urban centers of the province, mainland Canada, the United States and Europe. That is, salmonid species are now largely viewed by government regulators as too valuable as tourism commodities to continue to allow the large-scale use of them as part of the foodways of local islanders.

Although considerable social and economic differences existed historically in various parts of the island, it is fair to say that the vast majority of people involved in the cod fishery who inhabited the main outports⁴ of Newfoundland profited relatively little from their part in the industry. Financial ruin was always close, and the ability to provide basic foodstuffs and other necessities for themselves and their families was often in question (e.g., for Newfoundland see Cadigan 1995; Sider 2003; for Labrador, see Kennedy 1995). In this type of economic environment, home production through gardening (root crops such as potatoes, turnips, and carrots) and limited animal husbandry (sheep and cattle) was vital to economic survival. Given that the surface environment of Newfoundland is made up largely of boreal forest, barrens and boglands (Macpherson and Macpherson 1981), the available soils and other environmental conditions put substantial limitations on what could be achieved through home production. Therefore, the pursuit of seasonal subsistence foods through hunting, fishing and gathering was equally important for economic survival (Dyke 1968; Hanrahan and Ewtushik 2001; Omohundro 1994; Ryan 1986). Hunting larger game, such as caribou and moose (post-1904, the year that moose were successfully introduced on the island) or smaller game, such as hares or ducks, fishing for trout or salmon, picking berries and other inland-based subsistence activities have been critical historically for pro-

viding both a quantity of foodstuffs for many rural families and for creating a more healthily varied diet (e.g., Omohundro 1994, 1995). The importance of subsistence fishing and hunting to both the historic maintenance of Newfoundland rural populations and as a contemporary symbol of country life in Newfoundland itself can hardly be overestimated. Unlike many parts of North America, a substantial percentage of the Newfoundland population remains in rural areas. The rural population has actually been relatively steady in absolute numbers over the past 60 years—moving from 206,621 to 208,970 people between 1951 and 2011 (all statistics are from Statistics Canada 2011). In the past 40 years, the percentage of the rural population has also remained remarkably stable, changing from 43 per cent of the total provincial population in 1971 to 41 per cent in 2011. This does not, of course, necessarily mean that the exact make-up of the population has not changed (e.g., the out-migration of younger Newfoundlanders in search of work elsewhere in Canada). It does mean that the symbols of country living, including the idea that wilderness is still “out there” available to experience, remains extremely important to the collective psyche of the people of Newfoundland and Labrador (for similar urbanized myths about the rural countryside in England, see Williams 1973).

The Importance of Inland Fishing

Fishing salmon in coastal and inland waters such as rivers historically has been both a commercial and subsistence activity. Having come primarily to fish cod, Europeans quickly noticed the abundant Atlantic salmon in the rivers and estuaries of the island. These salmon had made up an important part of the subsistence base of various indigenous populations inhabiting the island before European arrival and also of the co-present indigenous population of the Beothuck (Pastore 1992). Early salmon fishing among European populations on Newfoundland in the 1600s was also primarily for subsistence use (Pope 2004:339), as prices were so low that few were enticed to bother with commercial fishing for salmon in any of the eastern parts of North America until the 1700s (Montgomery 2003:95). As a commercial enterprise, Atlantic salmon began to be worthwhile as a commodity in the mid-1700s, peaking in the mid-1800s and beginning to decline thereafter. In Newfoundland, commercial salmon exports dropped by almost half from 1842 to 1846 (103). A decreasing supply of Atlantic salmon, however, meant that prices rose, ensuring at least some Newfoundlanders remained interested in the commercial market. Netting was the main method of

catching quantities of salmon in Newfoundland (with some spearing in salmon pools as well), and its expansion by Europeans on the island was one of the main reasons conflicts escalated between them and the soon-to-be-extinct indigenous population of the Beothuk (O'Flaherty 1999:73; also see Marshall 1996; Pastore 1992). This fishery was prosecuted as an industry under the direction of the larger settlement-based merchant families and could be seen as one of the earlier instances of the clash of rural interests in subsistence resource usage versus town-based commercial interests. In the earlier period, however, bioregulation remained virtually absent as a factor in the conflict. Smaller scale salmon fishing for either market or subsistence use was also carried out on an ad hoc basis by rural families in various locations on the island. As late as the 1970s, some families on the Northern Peninsula, for example, caught and canned salmon on a relatively small scale for the market (Burzynski 1999:197–198; Parks Canada 2006:1–2).

In what might be thought of as the modern fishery, salmon was also often a limited but important part of the commercial fishery in many small communities. John Omohundro (1994) notes that, since the early 1930s, fishers had anchored nets on the western side of the Great Northern Peninsula during migration periods in what were known to be productive salmon waters. Even though Atlantic salmon stocks took a considerable downturn in the 1960s, the salmon fishery remained an “important component of the fisherman’s income” well into the 1980s in this area (174). In 1992, the same year as the cod collapse, a moratorium was also declared for the salmon fishery. Since that period, Atlantic salmon increasingly came to be seen by government regulators as the key to sport-fishing tourism on Newfoundland and periodic calls by rural fishers for the revitalization of the commercial inshore salmon fishery have failed.

This is not to say that salmon has totally disappeared as an important commercial component of the rural economy of Newfoundland. Rather, it has been transformed to become part of the competing interests of sport-fishing enterprises versus aquaculture interests. Salmon has joined steelhead trout (non-native, ocean-going rainbow trout) as key species in an expanded aquaculture industry on the island.

From 2003 to 2010, aquaculture production in the province for finfish (steelhead trout, Atlantic salmon, Atlantic cod) went from 2,600 to 12,899 metric tonnes, changing in worth from \$15.9 million to \$116 million (Newfoundland Aquaculture Industry Association 2013:n.p.). There is considerable controversy in the province (as in other parts of Canada and the United States) over the impact that this has had on “wild stocks” (especially in-

volving the Atlantic salmon) and the concomitant sports fishery (e.g. Anderson 2007; Doubleday 2001; Monastersky 2005; Van Zyll de Jong et al. 2004). In an article entitled “What’s Killing the great Atlantic Salmon?” Michael Parfit (2007:1) writes that, “one of the suspects is aquaculture, as farmed fish can escape and mix with wild salmon, spreading disease.”

My ethnographic research has taught me that there is a major divide in Newfoundland over the aquaculture issue. Most rural and working-class people strongly support the industry and its apologists (see Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency 2007; Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2005; St. Alban’s 1997), seeing it as one of the few hopes for sustainable communities in rural areas in the face of the cod and salmon moratoriums and also as in keeping with the much longer local history of commercially exploiting Atlantic Salmon and other species to make a living from the sea. Middle-class and urban-based fly-fishers, whether from home or away, are generally opposed to the expansion of this industry, seeing it as a threat to sport fishing for salmon and ocean-going Brook Trout. They typically side with conservation arguments (e.g., Atlantic Salmon Federation 1999, 2000, 2004; Miramichi Salmon Fishing Association 2005; Parks Canada 2004a, 2004b) about the potential for the “genetic pollution” of and disease transfers to wild stocks (Van Zyll de Jong et al. 2004:187; also Doubleday 2001; Monastersky 2005; Parfit 2007). These two pressure groups, who might seek to exert influence over government-based bioregulations, are, predictably, not always in mutual alignment.

An excellent example of the difference between these two sets of ideologies can be seen in an incident that occurred in the Bay d’Espoir area, which is heavily involved in aquaculture and had, in 2000, a major escape of farm fish into the Bay. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation announced nationwide that “big, fat farm-bred fish, all escaped from fish farms near St. Alban’s when Hurricane Michael hit the province last weekend. The fishing is great. People have come from all over Newfoundland to take part, given special permission, to catch the escaped steelheads” (CBC News 2000:1). What the news did not relate was that most of these fishers were likely working-class people who came from both rural and urban areas. At the time, I asked several urban-based, middle- to upper-class fly-fishers if they were going to fish for the steelheads, and every one of them said they would not be going. I did not understand why these keen fly-fishers would not take advantage of the situation. Pressing one professor, whom I knew fly-fished for only ocean-going brown (and the occasional brook) trout and I thought would “naturally” be inter-

ested in ocean-going rainbow trout, finally yielded the answer: “Wayne, they are not even real fish. There is no sport to it. There are guys down there taking them out in nets or with bait rods. That’s not fishing.” In contrast, a construction worker that I spoke with, who had taken a substantial part in the fishing, called it “great fun” and said he was very happy to fill his freezer with free aquaculture-raised salmon. He added that he did not see the difference between this fishing and any other fishing, relating it to the right Newfoundlanders have to live off of the land: “If it escapes, it’s ours.”

Those who write in celebration of fly-fishing (e.g., Checchio 2001; Gierach 1988, 2003; Leeson 1994; Reid 2005; Richards 2001; Tapply 2004; Wickstrom 2004) extol the virtues of fishing for “wild” salmon, trout and other species, assuming that only wild stocks can be canny fighters, cautious adversaries and able to engage “fairly” with the fly-fisher. In opposition to this attitude, the overwhelming number of rural and working-class fishers with whom I have worked over the last decade would say that a “fish is a fish.” For example, a working-class woman in her fifties who has fished since childhood and regularly goes fishing with her boyfriend, told me about one excursion: “We were out on the weekend and caught maybe half a dozen trout. Some were mud trout [a local term for brook trout] but I don’t know what the others were.” She apparently knew that some were the native mud trout by the taste, not by their coloration. When I asked, she could not tell me the coloration of any trout nor had ever heard of brook, rainbow or brown trout. This indifference to one kind of trout over another (or “wild” from “domestic” fish) is not uncommon among rural and urban working-class Newfoundlanders. It is primarily middle- or upper-class and largely urban-based fly-fishers from Newfoundland and elsewhere who worry about the purity of sport fishing and who, therefore, see an opposition between sport fishing and aquaculture industries or a threat in the possible return of commercial salmon fishing. It is these people who are apt to argue most forcefully for restrictive rules in relation to salmonid fishing.

The Bioregulations of Inland Fishing Practices

It is only in the contemporary period that trout has become commercialized in substantial ways (e.g., in the form of value-added products associated with sports fishing and as part of the aquaculture industry) in Newfoundland.⁵ “Trouting” for subsistence use, despite regional variations in availability and fishing methods, has a long history among European populations in Newfoundland. In many ways, trouting remains *the* symbol

for islanders of the continuous attachment they have to what is thought of as the wilds of Newfoundland. The province remains one of the few places in Canada where residents do not require a license for trout fishing. This is largely because of the political costs such a regulation would place on any government foolish enough to insist on requiring residents to obtain licenses before they could exercise what most consider to be their God-given right to fish for trout. As I show below, this does not mean that the catching of trout is not subjected to significant bioregulations.

Customarily, most rural Newfoundlanders fished, and still fish, for salmonids, especially brook trout (and to a lesser extent the introduced brown trout and rainbow trout in a few areas of the island), to eat it. “Subsistence fishing has always been an important source of protein” (Omohundro 1995:113) for outport people living on the Northern Peninsula. Omohundro goes on to note that, despite the gendered division of labour for most work activities, women and children participate with as much enthusiasm as the men during the period of spring trout fishing in freshwater ponds. The historic importance of residential fishing for salmonid species for recreational (though seldom for subsistence) reasons has often been acknowledged in official government reports, along with calls to discourage local fishing in favour of non-resident sport fishing (e.g., Buchanan et al. 1994; Department of Tourism 1994; Economic Planning Group of Canada 1996; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1993). In the 1990s, these and similar documents signalled an overt policy shift for inland fishing that favoured a move from a subsistence and limited commercial fishery to a sport fishery. As one of the primary consulting groups hired by the provincial government put it, “One of the major requirements is that more emphasis needs to be placed on policies that support the sports fishery [i.e., for non-residents] rather than the recreational fishery (resident casual fishing) with recognition given to the outfitting sector as a commercial industry with the potential to generate significant revenues for the province” (Economic Planning Group of Canada 1996:23). This shift was partially based on a desire to market sport fishing in the province as a pristine wilderness experience (e.g., Department of Tourism 1994; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1993). The human history of the province, including some thousands of years of indigenous occupation and roughly five hundred years of European populations’ hunting, fishing, gathering, mining, logging, creating hydroelectric developments and otherwise using and significantly altering both the flora and fauna of the province, was largely ignored in the rush to capitalize

on the idea that Newfoundland and Labrador was somehow a “pristine wilderness” and could be marketed as such to non-residents.⁶

Many urbanites, including those who moved into urban centers from rural areas, also have a strong emotional attachment to trout fishing “in the wilderness.” As Harold Horwood has written,

Of all the varieties of sport fishing available at St. John's, trouting remains by far the most popular. On May 24, the fisherman's holiday, the city is practically empty of men. “Going trouting” on that day is not just a sport, it is a ritual, a religion. Anyone who doesn't do it is regarded as a little bit odd. [Horwood 1969: 223–224]

Angling trout for food, as a conflation of subsistence and recreational practice, is embraced most profoundly by populations of the working/lower classes. Members of the middle and upper classes, whether they live in urban or rural parts of Newfoundland, are much more likely to embrace a “sporting” interpretation of trout fishing, with its attendant call for “conservation” through strict licensing, season and catch regulations and the pressure to embrace catch-and-release fishing practices.⁷ I was reminded of these differences one day when a woman from a fishing family in a rural area laughed at me after I mentioned that I usually practiced catch-and-release fishing: “I just don't get you people; why would you catch a nice juicy salmon and throw it back? It just makes no sense to me a'tall. Bring it to me and I'll cook it—I can tell ya' that!”

For most rural and urban working-class Newfoundlanders (as well as for many middle- or upper-class urbanites indulging in a little Newfoundland nostalgia), a classic fishing day begins with angling and ends with a boil-up.⁸ The boil-up is thought of as a rural (and working-class) tradition and involves boiling a pot of water over a campfire to make strong tea, as well as frying up whatever one has at hand for a snack (see O'Brien 1999). If fresh fish such as trout or salmon were caught, then at least some of them end up on the pan. Without a boil up, many people feel they really have not been fishing. Or, as one older man living in rural Newfoundland said to me about the current regulation regarding the minimum size of trout for retention, “Eight inches be damned. If I catch it, I'm eat'ng it.” A man in his twenties had this to say during a discussion with me in the summer of 2006 about whether or not he attempted to obey complex rules such as the following: “On scheduled rainbow trout waters, Shoal Harbour River and on Clarendville Brook, rainbow trout may be retained as part of a bag limit of 12 trout [which might

also include Brook or Brown trout], or five pounds + one trout. However, from September 8 to October 7, only rainbow trout may be retained” (Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2006: 39). “Yeah, whatever. I don't really pay much attention to details. To me twelve trout is twelve trout. Most people I know think that. You'd go crazy trying to obey all those rules. How'm I 'sposed to weigh 'em while I'm fishing?”

What most complicates rural/urban and class interests involving trout or salmon fishing in Newfoundland are the specific forms of bioregulation that have been created to try to control inland fishing. There is no time to properly consider the full history of these regulations, but it is valuable to consider a few moments in the history of policy formation and then go on to evaluate how contemporary rules have helped to create specific fault lines.

Prior to the middle of the 1800s, inland fishing (like hunting) was largely unregulated in official terms (with the exception of ad hoc punishments by administrative authorities who interpreted laws from Britain as they saw fit). As Montevecchi and Tuck (1987:209) stated about that period, “North American wildlife was treated as a resource rather than as an object of sport ... and wild animals, like all natural resources, were public domain, free for the taking.” Early English settlers in places such as Newfoundland broke with British concepts of limiting hunting and fishing to property-owning sportsmen and women. Hunting and fishing were for everyone, not just a landed elite. It wasn't until 1845 that Newfoundland obtained its own game laws, which were largely aimed at seasonally regulating wildfowl hunting (e.g., McGrath 1994; Montevecchi and Tuck 1987). Even into the late 1800s, enforcement of game laws was left largely in the hands of local authorities, who were as likely to be breaking the rules as anybody else. Captain W. R. Kennedy (1885), for example, who, as a captain of the Royal Navy, was responsible as a sort of surrogate magistrate in Newfoundland, was more interested in fishing and hunting in the new land (going so far as to publish a book about “sport and adventure”) than in regulating it (also see Moyles 1975:70). Well into the mid-1950s, magistrates were reluctant to impose penalties on rural people who harvested wildlife to feed their families (Montevecchi and Tuck 1987:213). Something similar can be said about the enforcement of inland fishing regulations, especially as it was not until 1898 that the government established a Department of Marine and Fisheries. Prior to this period, a sportsmen's organization was responsible for the appointment of the few game wardens in the province (McGrath 1994:211). Trout were pretty much taken

as desired and even salmon were indifferently regulated in terms of casual fishing. D. W. Prowse noted that “salmon fishing [i.e., individual angling rather than commercial fishing] has been especially good during the season of 1894; one commander killed thirty fair-sized salmon and grilse for his own rod in one day” (Prowse 2002:716–717). He went on to say that sea trout were even more abundant and were taken in similar large numbers. Prowse included a section in his book on the “Game Laws of Newfoundland” in an appendix, which stated quite simply that salmon and trout could not be taken in any lake, river or stream between the dates of 15 September and 31 December. No bag limits were given, nor were there any special regulations about equipment (717). He summarized the laws for fishing and hunting in 10 largely one-sentence paragraphs.

The province and even the island of Newfoundland itself constitute large areas of land, much of it inhabited by small pockets of people and there have never been more than a handful of game wardens to try and enforce hunting and fishing regulations. Widespread poaching has been and continues to be common in Newfoundland, remaining strong even as fish and game laws became more comprehensive and complex over the years (e.g., CBC News 2010, 2013; McGrath 1994, 2001; Okihiro 1997; Overton 1996). In short, people in Newfoundland have not always meekly accepted the imposition of bioregulations. Although there is no room here to properly consider poaching in relation to fishing in inland waters in Newfoundland, this does suggest a long attachment among rural populations (and perhaps others) on the island to the idea that wildlife is, or should be, free for the taking.

Early regulations were largely an expression of a desire to impose some limited seasonality on inland fishing. In the early 1900s, increasing numbers of sportsmen’s organizations became active in Newfoundland, coinciding with what Darrin McGrath (1994:211) refers to as a period when “wildlife resources had been transformed from a resource that was free-for-the-taking into a recreational/sporting resource governed by laws.” Washabaugh and Washabaugh (2000:5) have noted that, wherever and whenever these sorts of fishing clubs appear, there is a tendency for them to help create an opposition between what is viewed as genteel and sportsmanlike fly-fishing and the vulgarity of bait and spinning-rod fishing engaged in by local people who are not club members. Clubs and associations, then and now, create a location for lobbying efforts on behalf of “sports fishing” rather than subsistence or commercial fishing.

In 1934, a Newfoundland Ranger Force was created with a mandate to help regulate game and forestry laws (e.g., Horwood 1986; McGrath 1994). This they did with

only limited success (e.g., Parsons 2003). It was after confederation with Canada in 1949 that pressures would begin to be exerted for the new province’s wildlife regulations to coincide with what was happening in the rest of the country. This included pressures to set aside tracts of land for national and provincial parks, as well as protected wilderness areas (e.g., MacEachern 2001). Beginning as early as the late 1800s, specific groups and individuals agitated for increasing regulations aimed at “protecting” wildlife so that it could be used by sportsmen and women. Clubs and associations, along with individuals associated with steamship and railroad interests, helped along after 1949 by federal pressures, all pushed in the 1900s for a greater bioregulation of inland fisheries (e.g., McGrath 1994, 2001). After what is generally referred to as the “collapse” of cod and to a lesser extent salmon stocks marked by the 1992 moratoriums, these agitations became a chorus of voices leading to the current arena of inland water bioregulation.

Where Can I Fish Now?

In looking at contemporary forms of bioregulation, here I focus on only three specific aspects. Taken as a whole, they act as exemplars of a much more complex process of bioregulation that helps to form a specific social fault-line in present day Newfoundland. The three aspects relevant here involve the complexity of inland fishery regulations, disguising control over trout fishing through the use of salmon regulations⁹ and attempting to exert considerable influence over the use of angling technology.¹⁰

In the summer of 2006, when I first committed a serious amount of time to field research involving sport fishing on the island of Newfoundland, the official angler’s guide contained 48 pages of small print, along with a large fold-out map that showed special regulations for 14 zones and 174 rivers for the island portion of the province alone.¹¹ Possessing both a Ph.D. and nearly three decades experience as a scholar working with documents, my first impression after reading through the guide as a neophyte fisher was “Whoa, I don’t get this. Where and when can I actually fish?” The guide was so dense that its writers felt obliged to offer a condensed section called “Points to Remember” on page four. This contained 25 points and such “simplified” instructions as point number three:

In the case of a non-resident, a person can only retain a salmon with a salmon license and must have a non-resident trout license to retain trout while angling for salmon. A non-resident can angle on scheduled waters with a non-resident trout license without being the holder of a salmon license if only angling for trout. [Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2006:4]

One problem is that, along with the general regulations for salmon and trout fishing, there were many exceptions. For example, there were no less than 13 specific water systems that had special “watershed management plans.” In addition, these regulations were written as if they presupposed that the reader had an intimate local knowledge of each place involved. For example, a two-page section that described 49 fishing areas that were “closed for the season” included as one of its simplest and shortest entries the following: “A section of Robinson’s River, including Chatter Pool, upstream to Big Falls at Mile 18” (21). The common response to this kind of rule by anyone who does not live in this specific area of the river system and is not an experienced salmon angler is, “I don’t understand, what ‘section’ are they talking about? What is a pool and where, exactly, is Chatter Pool?” The specialized sub-areas that are typically named in many regulations almost never appear on provincial maps and 10 years of fishing in different parts of the island have taught me that it is the rare exception rather than the rule to find wayfaring signs posted on rivers, streams or ponds (e.g., explaining that this is Mile 18, or this is Chatter Pool). The lack of signage and seeming reluctance to share specific information about an area has a long history in the province. In 1977, for example, Kenneth Cox noted in his “Survey of Anglers” that “Many non-residents thought that information regarding recreation activities, events, places of interest and sportfishing were scarce and incomplete” (1977:28). Perhaps this helped to explain why 92 per cent of resident anglers in that same period indicated that they much preferred to fish in a local area, near their own homes (Cox 1977). I have had many conversations with wandering fishermen and women who “come from away” or even from other parts of the island, rather than from an area near the current river system we were on at the time.¹² Many of these short conversations were variations of “Excuse me, can you tell me where I am on the river and whether or not this is open to trout (or salmon) fishing? Am I anywhere near bridge A or pool B?”

These are not small matters, as those who transgress regulations are potentially subject to prosecution for poaching, which can cost you a fine, your fishing equipment and whatever you used for transportation that day (e.g., a truck, car, snowmobile or all-terrain vehicle). During the summer of 2006, I had the experience of trying to figure out where, exactly, I could fish for salmon on the Exploits River system through the use of the then-current fishing guide. Under the “Closed for the Season” heading, two separate notations indi-

cated that the following sections were closed: “Exploits River from Stoney Brook up to the Grand Falls dam” and “Exploits River below the Bishop Falls dam: on the south side, from the dam down 200 metres to the foot of the rapids and on the north side, from the dam downstream to the tailrace of the hydro-electric generating station” (Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2006:20). To confound me even further, I found out in a different section of the guide that the Exploits River and its tributary streams are divided up into five different sub-sections, each of which was rated as Class II, III or IV. This meant that if I caught a salmon and wanted to keep it, I would have to immediately place a different coloured tag on the fish, depending on the specific section of the river system I was fishing. After wandering alongside the river for some time and not finding any clear signs about where I could cast a line into the water, I finally gave up and went in search of local residents. I found several older men sitting under a canopy in a small nearby park who looked like they might be people who fished. They were in fact able to tell me that, yes, I could fish in the particular part of the river I had been looking at but, if I went say, 25 feet further up the river bank toward the dam, then I could get into trouble. “And, anyway, don’t let your line go out too far. You know, don’t let it go out to the middle of the river. The local warden don’t like it and he might get you for it.” I had no idea how or why the local warden could “get me” for letting my fly-fishing line go out too far into the river (were they just pulling my leg?), but I was happy enough to go back to the river and try my luck. I was even able to buy some local flies tied by one of the men. He kept the flies in the back of his near-by truck for just such occasions; apparently confused fishers looking for local advice were a common occurrence, and he sold several dozen flies each summer in just that way. Even armed with this information, I remained nervous that I was relying on only the word of several men who I came across by accident, though I did begin to feel somewhat more confident when two other fly-fishers showed up and began to fish in an area fairly close to myself, until I had the thought—“But what if they think I know what I’m doing and we are all in the wrong place?”

This experience made me understand exactly what an older Newfoundland man meant the next evening when, as we sat discussing fishing regulations and trying to figure out the angler’s guide, he said, “Oh that—the Anger’s Guide we call it.” This was a man who had been a fishing guide in the summers for over 15 years but who gave it up several years earlier because he became

too frustrated by the regulation that forbade a guide to fish while guiding clients: "Can't even bring a fish home for the family to eat anymore. That was it for me." My own experiences fishing in the province, as only very partially recounted above, also helps make sense of conversations that I have been having over the last half-dozen years with urban and rural anglers. Most middle- or upper-class urban and rural fly-fishers who live in Newfoundland whom I have spoken with indicated that they had been all over the island and even in parts of Labrador fishing for trout and salmon. In contrast, most working-class rural and urban people indicated to me that almost all of their fishing occurred within a relatively small area, closer to home (echoing, though I did not know it until recently, the 1977 survey). When I expressed surprise,¹³ those in the latter group often appeared uncomfortable and mentioned not knowing the ponds, rivers or streams of other areas and therefore not knowing where to fish in them. When they did go on fishing expeditions to other areas of the province, they invariably went there in the company of a local resident, usually a relative, who could be relied upon to know the fishing scene. In this sense, the complex and often abstract writing that can be found in the provincial fishing guide or other official publications seems to successfully screen many island areas from heavy usage by a large percentage of rural and working-class Newfoundlanders and save these areas for both local residents and urban-based middle- and upper-class anglers from Newfoundland and away. This helps create a complex fault-line that exists because of historically constituted bioregulations that are at once both highly abstract and highly local—a fault-line that both complements and cuts through some of the social class and urban versus rural population interests that are also associated with inland fishing.

As the short example above shows, the practice of fishing for trout or salmon can be even more complex than the regulations themselves. For example, as a provincial resident I do not have to buy a trout license. However, this is actually quite misleading. In 2013, if provincial residents actually want to fish in any of the river systems that are known as good trouting rivers, they end up having to purchase a salmon license. There are 174 scheduled salmon rivers on the island of Newfoundland, divided into 14 different zones. Each zone is classified as a class I, II, III or IV river system, and each classification has somewhat different rules (rivers not listed are V or Unclassified and are also subject to specific rules in relation to salmon). The primary difference involves the likelihood that a specific river system

might be closed down for fishing at a moment's notice, depending on the current water temperature; thus, a class IV river system is much more likely to be closed than a class I system. Bag limits and regulations about which coloured tags to use on a retained salmon also differ by river classification number. To know whether or not a specific river is open at any given moment, the potential fisher is supposed to call a special phone number that contains recorded information about river closures. In practice, phoning this number does not always result in anyone answering the line. When the phone is answered, by a recorded announcement, one has to listen very carefully for any information that might be relevant to fishing at a particular place on a specific river, as it goes through a complex list involving specific river systems (or even sub-areas on that system). Several people told me that they had checked the phone system in the morning, only to find the river closed before they got to it in the afternoon. I have even had professional guides indicate to me that they were sometimes unsure about the legality of fishing on stretches of their own river systems and that they spent an inordinate amount of time trying to ensure that they did not steer their clients wrong in this regard. A fisher might be forgiven for thinking, as many do, that these regulations are aimed at encouraging people to hire professional guides so that worries about getting the regulations right can be left to them. Many "serious" fly-fishers already assume that a local guide is necessary if one is to "get the best out of a river." This taken-for-granted attitude can be easily seen while reading through important industry fly-fishing magazines such as *The Canadian Fly Fisher*; *Fly Fusion*; *Flyfishing and Tying Journal*; and the *Atlantic Salmon Journal* and echoed in the words of anthropologist and life-long fly-fisher William Douglass in his book about his global fly-fishing experiences: "Whether fishing in a boat or on the bank, there is always a second presence—your guide" (Douglass 2002:125). Given the complexity of inland fishing regulations in Newfoundland and elsewhere, it becomes easy to see how an assumption about the necessity for the expensive services of a professional guide has come about. It is also easy to see how the bioregulations that underlie this "necessity" create complicated tensions both between and among fishers from different social classes and urban versus rural origins in Newfoundland. Having the right to fish in your own provincial waters, without the help of an expensive guide, does not necessarily translate into the ability to do so either comfortably or even, perhaps, legally.

Salmon fishing can only be done legally with the use of specific fly-fishing gear. Single, barbless hooks with fly dressing are required for both salmon and trout fishing, if carried out on a scheduled salmon river. In the long history of trouting on the island, very simple and inexpensive gear (e.g., bait or spinning reels and rods) has always been favoured among those living in rural areas and by working-class fishers from urban areas. For example, even when using flies for trout fishing on ponds (or lakes) today, most rural and many working-class urban people prefer the local custom of using a bait or spinning rod and attaching two flies on separate leaders that are in turn attached to a piece of wood (such as a sawn-off portion of a broom handle) so that they dangle downward from each end. The wood piece acts as both a weight for casting (considerable distances) and as a bobber on the water. This gear is illegal on all scheduled salmon waters because it is not classified as proper fly-fishing gear.

I have already mentioned a few rules about retaining trout for eating. Rules for salmon are much more complex and involve six tags, which are divided into three colours (red, green and blue). A tag must be affixed to any retained salmon. Tags must be affixed to fish in a certain order of usage, and only some colours may be used on specifically classified river systems. For example, on a class IV system, no salmon may be retained and no tags used; on a class II system, four fish may be retained overall but no more than two in one day, and tags 1–4 (two red, then two green) must be used; and on a class I system, six fish may be retained overall but no more than two per day and tags 1–6 may be used (red, green then blue). In addition, retained salmon must not be larger or smaller than a certain size, which changes according to the zone that contains a specific classified river system. In 2006, the guide offered this regulatory summary for the retention of salmon:

Small salmon, measuring 63 centimetres or less from the tip of the nose to the fork of the tail, may be retained in zones 3 to 14 A and B. One large salmon, measuring 63 centimetres or greater, may be retained in Zone 1 and in unclassified scheduled and non-scheduled rivers in Zone 2. A large salmon must be tagged with green tag number 4. In Zones 1 and 2, only red and green tags are used to retain salmon. If a fourth small salmon is retained, it must be tagged with green tag number 4. [Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2006:11]

In the 2013 guide, 11 special watershed plans are listed (each with its own complex regulations) that overlay the 14 separate fishing zones (Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2013). The result is so complex that there is no longer any attempt in the current guide to offer an overview of the tagging rules. This helps make sense of even professional guides telling me they would not try to take people outside of their own home areas. One guide said, "I've learned more or less what is okay on my home river. You know, what you can fish with, what tags to use and stuff like that, pretty much through years of guiding and listening to the other guides and the older people who live here. It is hard enough to keep up with changes each year on just my river." Or, as another guide bluntly stated, "They want catch-and-release. So that we don't use up the fish [salmon] and keep the work going. I get that."

The two national parks on the island of Newfoundland each require separate licenses to fish. Each has its own fishing regulations in conjunction with but not fully parallel to the provincial inland fishing regulations. For example, the fishing season may roughly coincide with the provincial season but the park waters can be individually closed for specific periods according to the independent decisions of park personnel. Sheets of regulations for fishing in a park are supposed to be given to the fisher when he or she purchases a park license but, in practice, I have found they may or may not be made available on an almost ad hoc basis. In addition, having fished extensively in both of the island national parks and having closely questioned park personnel on several occasions about specific regulations or even which pond or river is open or closed for fishing, I have been disconcerted to find that the same questions often yield different and contradictory answers from various personnel. To make things more complex, scheduled salmon rivers located within or adjacent to park boundaries are also subject to provincial fishing regulations and a provincial license is required to fish in them.

To show how difficult obeying regulations can be in practice, I want to present a short narrative by a man, whom I will refer to as Martin, who had inadvertently broken fishing regulations. Martin comes from an urban area of Newfoundland, but lives about 300 kilometres away from the national park involved in the story. Possessing both the proper provincial and national park licenses, Martin had taken his wholly legal fly-fishing gear and walked out along a beach path one morning to fish in a wooded area that contained a small river

system. Along the way, he stopped and chatted for 10 minutes with a park interpreter who was working on the trail. They spoke about fishing in the park, though it became obvious to him that she did not know much about it. The interpreter wished him good luck and he proceeded to go fishing for about three hours, catching and releasing two medium-sized brook trout. It was a nice day and he enjoyed himself, despite the small catch. Returning along the same path, a man who was sitting on the beach with his family rushed up to Martin and said, "Watch out, the warden is sniffing around." Martin told him that this was not a problem, as he had a park license. Much to his surprise, the reply was, "Doesn't matter, they closed the fishing season yesterday and he can grab everything [i.e., Martin's fishing gear and even his truck] if he catches you." Martin was furious; he had phoned ahead to the park the day before he came (which was only two days before the incident) to check on fishing and was told that everything was open as usual. In addition, none of the hiking or fishing trails had any notices on them about the sudden closure (which occurred weeks before the seasonal norm). Perhaps most annoying of all, the park interpreter he had met had said nothing to him about a closure—even though they spoke about fishing, he was carrying fishing gear openly and he had told her he was on his way to fish in the river. As Martin put it, "What else could I do—I did everything possible and far more than most." When he went to the main interpretive centre in the park to inquire further, the centre itself did not have any notices posted about the closure, which remained true for several more days, when a single typed line on an ordinary lined piece of paper went up on the bulletin board. It was only upon talking to park interpreters sitting behind the main desk that the closure was finally officially confirmed. When he complained to the warden in the centre about the lack of signage or notification about the closure, he was told that it was the fisher's responsibility to know about closures. *How* he was to know about this information apparently was not the warden's problem.

On a different occasion, while interviewing a middle-aged working-class couple about fishing, I heard a different kind of story. Fred and Margaret had been camping in one of the national parks and were telling me about how great the mud [brook] trouting had been and how they enjoyed a boil-up each night around the campfire with fresh trout fillets. I asked them where exactly they had been fishing. They named a specific river in the park. As I knew that they only used bait-fishing methods, I mentioned that they should be careful as they were actually fishing illegally by not using fly-fishing gear

according to both the fishing guide and park rules. Margaret looked at me in a surprised manner and said, "Oops, good thing we didn't get caught. Well, we never look at those things, they're just way too complicated and we can't make head nor tail out of 'em."

Conclusion

As Norman Okihiro has written: "The end result of the intensive and heavy-handed enforcement effort aimed ... at the recreational fishery has been a feeling of harassment and victimization among many outport residents. This has been exacerbated by the imposition of severe penalties for fishing for purposes of family consumption, something that has always been done in the outports and that usually involves small quantities of fish" (Okihiro 1997:158). These tensions are part of the larger rural/urban divide that we can view through the lens of fishing practices on the inland waters of Newfoundland. In particular, subsistence versus sport fishing and the related issue of the commercial fishing of salmon tend to polarize residents who live in rural versus urban areas. Many rural dwellers experience a push toward sport fishing at the expense of subsistence, commercial or even leisure fishing of inland waters by Newfoundlanders as a kind of urbanization of rural spaces. Fault-lines produced by the bioregulation of freshwater fishing through such trends as the restriction of trout fishing in the name of salmon conservation exacerbate these divisions. The push for specialized fly-fishing on prime river systems and the complexity of the overall regulations enhances rural/urban divides and increases already existing forms of class conflict. This process can be thought of as a specialized form of the overall trend in capitalism to alienate labour from direct involvement in non-capitalist forms of economic reproduction (see Marx 1990; Wood 2004).

Simultaneously, the bioregulatory fault-lines in Newfoundland are historically specific and help create social tensions that cut across class and urban/rural divides. Virtually everyone in Newfoundland, for example, agrees that fishing for trout and salmon is a birthright, much as they may disagree about how this fishing should occur. Urban and rural dwellers and members of the lower and upper classes can also often agree on the importance of sport fishing to the rural tourism industry and that there is a "real wilderness" out there to protect (a space that is often thought of as somehow existing outside of and largely unaffected by human practices such as capitalism). However, fishers from all social groups or classes on the island are likely to be annoyed by national park practices and the bias of their rules toward non-consumptive activities.

A fault-line can therefore act as both an enhancer *and* a dampener of existing class and rural/urban antagonisms. An excellent example is the way the complex history of salmonid fishing regulations has resulted in rules that are both highly abstract and highly localized (in terms of geographical knowledge), seemingly serving both the local desire to fish *and* the desire to build a thriving non-resident sport fishery. The new outsiders to these regulations become rural Newfoundlanders from non-local areas. In a parallel fashion, regulating trout fishing through salmon rules both helps to diffuse rural/urban tensions by acknowledging the “right” of all residents to fish for trout, while simultaneously fueling class antagonisms between those who can and those who cannot afford to hire guides.

Taken as a whole, what this article shows is that broader analytical categories (e.g., social class; urban versus rural interests) are necessary but not sufficient in themselves to understand the complexity of social tensions in every geo-political situation. The concept of fault-lines adds to our ability to understand how larger structural formations become enhanced, cut across or combined in new ways within specific geo-political situations because of localized patterns of historical action.

Wayne Fife, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, A1C 5S7, Canada.

E-mail: wfife@mun.ca.

Notes

- 1 An earlier and quite different version of this paper was presented under the title, “The Changing Face of Urban Domination on Island Newfoundland” at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting in San Jose, California, on 16 November 2006. The research on which the majority of this essay is based was generously funded by a research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I would like to thank Sharon Roseman for reading the work in draft form and offering her helpful suggestions regarding both the content and form of the article. I also want to express my gratitude to the editor of *Anthropologica*, Naomi McPherson, for her thoughtful encouragement and to the three anonymous reviews who critiqued the initial manuscript and offered useful suggestion for improvement.
- 2 I am not suggesting here that authors who have written primarily about larger social divisions such as class struggle or urban/rural divides have necessarily omitted a consideration of the finer-grained social tensions that I discuss under the notion of fault-lines. What I am suggesting is that making these smaller tensions more visible, by overtly naming the way that some of them come together within actual social arenas, can only enhance our understanding about some of the social, economic and cultural pressures

that line up with, or cut across the grain of, these larger analytical categories.

- 3 In 2001, the name of the Canadian province in which this research is based was officially changed to “Newfoundland and Labrador,” a move initiated in 1992 in order to ensure that the continental portion of the province was equally recognized. Before this period, the whole province was customarily referred to by the name “Newfoundland,” while the island portion of the province was also normally referred to as Newfoundland and the continental portion of the province as Labrador. To avoid confusion, I will follow current usage and make use of the term Newfoundland and Labrador when referring to the province as a whole. When writing about the island portion of the province solely, which is the primary focus of this paper, the name Newfoundland is used. When referring specifically to the continental portion of the province, the name Labrador is used.
- 4 “Outport” is the name commonly given to small rural communities located along the coastal areas of island Newfoundland that were originally settled because of their proximity to good ocean fishing grounds. The people who lived in them pursued, until very recently, a seasonally based form of life. In the right time periods, which differed according to micro-climates around the island’s coastlines, they pursued cod fishing (and to some extent, depending on local environments, other more limited fisheries for species such as salmon, herring or caplin) for both commercial and subsistence needs. In other seasons, they looked inward to the land to pursue other avenues of subsistence work. In some communities, but not all, this also involved the physical movement of the whole population between summer and winter quarters (e.g., Pocius 1991) and a localized form of transhumance.
- 5 Some small amount of trout were caught and sold as part of the inshore fishery (e.g., sea-going trout as by-catch) or in limited quantities in the rivers for market sales, but this was never in large numbers or amounts (as attested to for catches for the years 1955–1993, with all commercial trout catches ending in 1989; see Newfoundland Statistics Agency 1994:119).
- 6 For a parallel attempt at “disappearing” people from formerly common-use lands in order to create an image of wilderness park, see Fife (2006).
- 7 For an excellent summary of class differences associated with trout fishing, see Washabaugh and Washabaugh (2000).
- 8 According to the second edition of the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 1990:56), the term *boil-up* refers to “a brew of tea, and sometimes a snack, taken during a rest from work in the country or on a vessel.”
- 9 For instructive examples of attempts to disguise the true transformation of local fisheries in Mexico and Cuba, see Doyon (2002, 2007).
- 10 For an excellent comparison to the identity politics involved in regulating bear hunting in Ontario, see Dunk (2002).
- 11 The 2013 angler’s guide, which will be drawn upon later in the article, remains very similar to the 2006 version of

the guide. There are, for example, still 14 separate fishing zones and 174 rivers listed for the island portion of the province alone.

- 12 To be a “come from away (CFA)” denotes someone who is a stranger; that is, someone who was not born and raised on the island of Newfoundland. Having come to Newfoundland to live as an adult 13 years ago, for example, I will be considered to be a “come from away,” no matter how long I remain on the island. As this article indicates, most Newfoundlanders have a very strong sense of who does, and who does not, constitute a “true Newfoundlander” and what this should mean in terms of usage rights on the land and in the water.
- 13 For example, I was surprised on one occasion to find out that a life-long and enthusiastic salmon fisher I knew had never fished for salmon in the world-famous Humber River, which was located just several hundred kilometres via automobile away from where he lived. This kind of a decision was generally a matter of choice rather than financial restraint, as many of the working-class men and women whom I knew owned relatively expensive trucks or all-terrain vehicles and spent substantial amounts of money on other leisure pursuits such as playing hockey and snowmobiling in the winter.

References

- Anderson, D.
2007 Newfoundland Faces Another Invasive Species: Rainbows on the Northern Peninsula. <http://canflyfish.com/2007/Nov07-Conservation.asp>, accessed February 12, 2013.
- Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency
2007 Council of Conne River Band Expands Steelhead Trout Aquaculture Operation. <http://www.acoa.ca/e/media/press/press.shtml?436>, accessed February 12, 2013.
- Atlantic Salmon Federation
1999 Newfoundland and Labrador: Rainbows Infest Salmon Rivers. <http://www.asf.ca/Journal/1999/Wint99/w99cnbk/cnbk499nf.html>, accessed February 6, 2013.
2000 Rainbows in Newfoundland. <http://www.asf.ca/Research/2000/rainbows2000.html>, accessed February 5, 2013.
2004 Atlantic Salmon Aquaculture—a Primer. www.asf.ca, accessed February 6, 2013.
- Buchanan, R.A., T.A. Pinfold, L.S. Carter, J. Baird and J. Christian
1994 Strategy for the Development of Recreational Fisheries in Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's, NL: Canada-Newfoundland Cooperation Agreement for Salmonid Enhancement/Conservation.
- Burzynski, Michael
1999 Gros Morne National Park. St. John's, NL: Parks Canada.
- Cadigan, Sean T.
1995 Hope and Deception in Conception Bay: Merchant-Settler Relations in Newfoundland, 1785–1855. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- CBC News
2000 Fish Escape Creates Fishing Bonanza. http://origin.www.cbc.ca/news/story/2000/11/02/nf_derby001102.html, accessed November 14, 2012.
- 2010 Found Salmon, Says Mayor Accused of Poaching, CBC News, September 13, 2010. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrado/story/2010/09/13/salmon-poaching-mayor-913.html>, accessed January 10, 2013.
- 2013 Poaching More Likely in Wake of Cuts, say Wildlife Advocates, CBC News, April 3, 2013. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/story/2013/04/13/nl-wildlife-cuts-poaching-worries-403.html>, accessed April 5, 2013.
- Chang, Heewon
2009 Autoethnography as Method. San Francisco, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Checchio, Michael
2001 Being, Nothingness and Fly Fishing: How One Man Gave Up Everything to Fish the Fabled Waters of the West. Guilford, CT: The Lyons Press.
- Cox, Kenneth W.
1977 Sportfishing in Newfoundland: A Survey of Anglers. Ottawa: Fisheries and Environment Canada.
- Department of Tourism
1994 An Adventure Tourism Strategy for Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's, NL: Department of Tourism, Culture, and Recreation.
- Doubleday, W.G.
2001 Is Atlantic Salmon Aquaculture a Threat to Wild Stocks in Atlantic Canada? *Canadian Journal of Policy Research* 2(1):114–120.
- Douglass, William
2002 Casting About in the Reel World: Fishing on the Fly. Oakland, CA: RDR Books.
- Doyon, Sabrina
2002 The Structural Marginalization of Artisanal Fishing Communities: The Case of La Boquita. *Anthropologica* 44(1):83–98. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/25606062>
2007 Fishing for the Revolution: Transformations and Adaptations in Cuban Fisheries. *MAST* 6(1):83–108.
- Dunk, Thomas
2002 Hunting and the Politics of Identity in Ontario. *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 13(1):36–66. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/104557502101245369>
- Dyke, A.P.
1968 Subsistence Production in the Household Economy of Rural Newfoundland. *In* Viewpoints on Communities in Crisis. M.L. Skolnik, ed. Pp. 26–60. St. John's, NL: ISER Books.
- Economic Planning Group of Canada
1996 Newfoundland and Labrador Product Market Match Study: A Strategy for Fishing. St. John's, NL: Economic Planning Group of Canada.
- Fife, Wayne
2001 Creating the Moral Body: Missionaries and the Technology of Power in Early Papua New Guinea. *Ethnology* 40(3):251–269. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3773968>
2004 Penetrating Types: Conflating Modernist and Postmodernist Tourism on the Great Northern Peninsula. *Journal of American Folklore* 117(464):147–167. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/jaf.2004.0036>

- 2005 *Doing Fieldwork: Ethnographic Methods for Research in Developing Countries and Beyond*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9781403980564>
- 2006 *National Parks and Disappearing People: Romantic Landscapes and the Urbanization of Rural Spaces in Newfoundland*. In *Galicia and Terranova and Labrador: Comparative Studies on Economic, Political and Socio-cultural Processes*. Xaquín Rodrigues Campos and Xose Santos Solla, eds. Pp. 31–54. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela Press.
- 2010 *Internal Borders as Naturalized Political Instruments*. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 17(2–3):255–279. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10702891003733484>
- Fisheries and Oceans Canada**
- 2005 *Report of the Task Force on Fostering a Sustainable Salmon Farming Industry for Atlantic Canada*. <http://www.mar.dfo-mpo.ca/communications/Maritimes/taskforce-e.html>, accessed January 10, 2013.
- 2006 *Newfoundland and Labrador Angler's Guide*. St. John's, NL: Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Communications Branch, Newfoundland and Labrador Region.
- 2013 *Newfoundland and Labrador Angler's Guide*. St. John's, NL: Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Communications Branch, Newfoundland and Labrador Region.
- Foucault, Michel**
- 1984 *The Foucault Reader*. Paul Rabinow, ed. New York: Vintage.
- 1990 *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1. New York: Vintage.
- 1997 *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège De France 1975–1976*. New York: Picador.
- García-Orellán, R.**
- 2006 *Codfish on the Grand Banks: From Abundance to Scarcity*. In *Galicia and Terranova and Labrador: Comparative Studies on Economic, Political and Socio-cultural Processes*. Xaquín Rodrigues Campos and Xose Santos Solla, eds. Pp. 153–167. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela Press.
- Gierach, John**
- 1988 *Trout Bum: Fly-Fishing as a Way of Life*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- 2003 *At the Grave of the Unknown Fisherman*. New York: Simon and Schuster. Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- Government of Newfoundland and Labrador**
- 1993 *Toward an Adventure Tourism Strategy for Newfoundland and Labrador: A Discussion Paper*. St. John's, NL: Department of Tourism, Culture, and Recreation.
- 2007 *Bay d'Espoir Leads the Way in Aquaculture Production*. <http://www.fishaq.gov.nl.ca/publications/REVIEWAQ/BAYDESPOIR.htm>, accessed February 19, 2013.
- Hanrahan, M. and Marg Ewtushik**
- 2001 *A Veritable Scoff: Sources on Foodways and Nutrition in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's, NL: Flanker Press.
- Harvey, David**
- 2001 *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*. New York: Routledge.
- Horwood, Harold**
- 1969 *Newfoundland*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- 1986 *A History of the Newfoundland Ranger Force*. St. John's, NL: Breakwater.
- Kennedy, John**
- 1995 *Peoples of the Bays and Headlands: Anthropological History and the Fate of Communities in the Unknown Labrador*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Kennedy, William Robert**
- 1885 *Sport, Travel and Adventure in Newfoundland and the West Indies*. Edinburgh: Nobel Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.38790>
- Latour, Bruno**
- 2004 *Politics of Nature*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Leeson, Tedd**
- 1994 *The Habits of Rivers: Reflections on Trout Streams and Fly Fishing*. New York: Penguin.
- MacEachern, Alan**
- 2001 *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935–1970*. Montréal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Macpherson, A.G. and J.B. Macpherson**
- 1981 *The Natural Environment of Newfoundland, Past and Present*. St. John's, NL: ISER Books.
- Marshall, Ingeborg**
- 1996 *A History and Ethnography of the Beothuk*. Montréal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Marx, Karl**
- 1990 [1867] *Capital*, vol. 1. London: Penguin Books.
- McGrath, Darrin**
- 1994 *Salted Caribou and Sportsmen-Tourists: Conflicts over Wildlife Resources in Newfoundland at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*. *Newfoundland Studies* 10(2):208–225.
- 2001 *Got to Get Me Moose B'y: Some Thoughts on Big Game Poaching in Newfoundland and Labrador*. In *From Red Ochre to Black Gold*. D. McGrath, ed. Pp. 64–75. St. John's, NL: Flanker Press.
- Miramichi Salmon Association**
- 1999 *Keeping our Rivers Alive*. <http://www.inmgroun.net/msa/salmonnews/september1999.html>, accessed December 14, 2012.
- Monastersky, R.**
- 2005 *The Hidden Cost of Fish Farming*. *Chronicle of Higher Education* 51(33):A18.
- Montevocchi, William and Leslie Tuck**
- 1987 *Newfoundland Birds: Exploitation, Study, Conservation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Nuttall Ornithological Society.

- Montgomery, David
2003 *King of Fish: The Thousand Year Run of Salmon*. Cambridge: Basic Books.
- Moyles, R.G.
1975 *Complaints is Many and Various, but the Odd Devil Likes It. Nineteenth Century Views of Newfoundland*. Toronto: Peter Martin.
- Newfoundland Aquaculture Industry Association
2013 NL Production Stats. <http://naia.ca/nl-aquaculture/nl-production-stats/>, accessed on July 12, 2013.
- Newfoundland Statistics Agency
1994 *Historical Statistics of Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's, NL: Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency.
- O'Brien, A.
1999 "There's Nothing Like a Cup of Tea in the Woods": Continuity Community and Cultural Validation in Rural Newfoundland Boil-Ups. *Ethnologies* 21(1):65–83.
- O'Flaherty, Patrick
1999 *Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843*. St. John's, NL: Long Beach Press.
- Okhiro, Norman
1997 *Mounties, Moose and Moonshine: The Patterns and Context of Outport Crime*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Omohundro, John
1994 *Rough Food: The Seasons of Subsistence in Northern Newfoundland*. St. John's, NL: ISER Books.
1995 *Living off the Land. In Living on the Edge: the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland*. L.F. Felt and P.R. Sinclair, eds. Pp. 103–127. St. John's, NL: ISER Books.
- Overton, James
1996 *Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture, and Development in Newfoundland*. St. John's, NL: ISER Books.
- Palmer, Craig and Peter Sinclair
1997 *When the Fish Are Gone: Ecological Disaster and Fishers in Northwest Newfoundland*. Halifax, NS: Fernwook Books.
- Parfit, M.
2007 *What's Killing the Great Atlantic Salmon?* <http://smithsonianmagazine.com/issues/2002/april/lostsea.htm>, accessed November 22, 2012.
- Parks Canada
2004a *Freshwater Facts*. <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/nl/grosmorne/natcul/natcul6.aspx>, accessed February 12, 2013.
2004b *Impacts of Exotic Rainbow Trout in the Trout River Watershed, Gros Morne National Park of Canada, Newfoundland*. http://www.pc.gc.ca/pnnp/nl/grosmorne/plan/plan4k_E.asp, accessed February 12, 2013.
2006 *Broom Point (Cultural Heritage)*. http://www.pc.gc.ca/pn-np/nl/grosmorne/natcul11_E.asp, accessed February 18, 2013.
- Parsons, John
2003 *Probably Without Equal: Frank Mercer and the Newfoundland Rangers*. Shearstown: Grassy Pond Publishing.
- Pastore, Ralph
1992 *Shanawdithit's People: The Archaeology of the Beothuks*. St. John's, NL: Breakwater Books.
- Pocius, Gerald
1991 *A Place to Belong: Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Pope, Peter
2004 *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Prowse, Daniel W.
2002[1895] *A History of Newfoundland*. Portugal Cove–St. Philip's: Boulder Publications.
- Reid, Dennis
2005 *Fishing for Dreams: Notes from the Water's Edge*. Surrey: Touchwood Editions.
- Richards, David
2001 *Lines on the Water: A Fisherman's Life on the Miramichi*. Toronto: Anchor Canada.
- Riles, Annelise, ed.
2006 *Documents: Artifacts of Modern Knowledge*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Roseman, Sharon R.
2003 *Spaces of Production, Memories of Contention: An Account of Local Struggles in Late-20th Century Rural Galicia (Spain)*. *Dialectical Anthropology* 27(1):19–45. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1025470303650>
2004 *Bioregulation and Comida Caseira in Rural Galicia, Spain*. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 11(1):9–37. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/725289017>
- Ryan, Shannon
1986 *Fish Out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814–1914*. St. John's, NL: Breakwater Books.
- St. Alban's
1997 *The Town of St. Alban's: The Aquaculture Industry*. <http://www.stalbans.ca/aqua.htm>, accessed November 12, 2012.
- Sider, Gerald S.
2003 *Between History and Tomorrow: Making and Breaking Everyday Life in Rural Newfoundland*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Statistics Canada
2011 *Population Urban and Rural, by Province (Newfoundland and Labrador Table)*. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo62b-eng.htm>, accessed January 22, 2013.
- Story, G.M., W.J. Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson, eds.
1990 *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*. 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Tapply, William G.
2004 *Gone Fishin': Ruminations on Fly Fishing*. Guilford: The Lyons Press.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu
1984 *Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Van Zyll de Jong, M.C., R.J. Gibson and I.G. Cowx
2004 *Impacts of Stocking and Introductions on Freshwater Fisheries of Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada*. *Fisheries Management and Ecology* 11(3–4):183–193. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2400.2004.00390.x>

Washabaugh, William and Catherine Washabaugh
2000 *Deep Trout: Angling in Popular Culture*. Oxford:
Berg Publishers.
Wickstrom, Gordon
2004 *Late in an Angler's Life: Essays on the Sport*.
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Williams, Raymond
1973 *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford
University Press.

Wolf, Eric
1999 *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and
Crisis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Wood, Allen W.
2004 *Karl Marx*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
Wright, Miriam
2001 *A Fishery for Modern Times*. New York: Oxford
University Press.
