Skiing Racialized Geographies

by

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Abstract

"Skiing Racialized Geographies" examines how Black and Indigenous peoples are excluded in snow sports and how this lack of diversity can be addressed. Snow sports is a CAD $56.4 billion dollar industry, and the snow sports industry acknowledges that the lack of diversity contributes to industry stagnation. This is in spite of decades long efforts from both Black and Indigenous organizations working to foster participation. The snow sports industry has subsequently employed both the leisure theory marginality and ethnicity theses to explain the lack of racialized participation. The marginality thesis argues that racialized participation in leisure activities is statistically lower because of the inaccessible cost of participation and the unavailability of suitable facilities. The ethnicity thesis argues that racialized peoples have fundamentally different interests in terms of sport, leisure, and tourism, to explain lack of diversified participation in specific activities. Guided by Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Critical Indigenous Theory (CIT), this thesis first explores how colour-evasive and power-evasive logics, which ignore the underlying history and social construction of space, result in the lack of diversity in snow sports. This thesis explores the initial construction of outdoor recreational spaces, where snow sports take place, as spaces reserved for whiteness by starting with the history of the preservationist movement prior to 1930 and legislation enacted to create the first North American national parks. I then interrogate the history and social construction of outdoor recreational spaces through the lens of CIT to examine how the power-evasive colonial logics maintain imbalanced societal power relationships to justify settler occupation of space. Finally, I employ CRT to expose the colour-evasive neutral standard of whiteness and ontological individualism that falsely asserts that outdoor space is

available to everyone equally while absolving dominant society of the responsibility of racialized inequity. Second, guided by the ethic of Indigenous storywork, this thesis examines how outdoor recreational spaces might be reconstructed in ways meaningful to racialized individuals to precipitate their participation in snow sports. This examination was undertaken as a qualitative research creation project using an original podcast to gather and share insights from 12 experts in the snow sports community, racialized as non-white, from Canada and the US. I analyzed the podcast transcripts using a thematic analysis which revealed six emergent themes: community engagement, education, leadership, and secret handshakes, barrier reductions, representation, Indigenous relationship with land, and common grounds. My findings show that the marginality and ethnicity theses insufficiently explain the lack of diversity in snow sports. Instead, the podcast data indicates that the exclusionary culture of the snow sports industry is responsible for the lack of diversity in participation. My research can be used by communities and industry because it points to appropriate solutions to consider when working to increase participation in snow sports in racialized communities. Finally, this study contributes to scholarly debates on resisting damage-centred research, critical geography, meaningful community engagement and representation, and research creation and podcasting as methodology.

Preface

Interviews that supported this research have been published on Podbean as the *BIPoC Outside Podcast*, are available on the *BIPoC Outside* website accompanied by the show notes and auto-generated transcripts and are syndicated on Apple podcasts, Apple Music, Google Podcasts, Spotify, Amazon Music, Audible, TuneIn, Alexa, iHeartRadio, Samsung Podcasts, and Stitcher.

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Examinations of Indigenous Storywork undertaken in Chapter 3 have been published in: Lugosi, Nicole V.T., Nicole Patrie, and Kris Cromwell. 2022. "Theorizing and Implementing Meaningful Indigenization: Wikipedia as an Opportunity for Course-Based Digital Advocacy." *Critical Studies in Education,* Online First: 1-17. doi:10.1080/17508487.2022.2074489.

This work is original, and all requisite research and writing was conducted during this master’s program. My contribution to this work included an examination of Indigenous Storywork, an explanation of search engine optimization and backlinking, and a personal reflection on the topic.

This thesis is an original work by Kirsty Lynn Cromwell. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name “BIPoC Outside,” No. Pro00107875, May 13, 2021.

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The Faculty of Native Studies is both a brilliant collegial environment and a safe space from which to reach beyond the limits of one's comfort. It has been a privilege to be a part of this community and I am thankful for all the Faculty members I have studied under and thought with and the administrative team for their dedicated support. I have endless gratitude for my dear friends and colleagues notably Amei-lee Laboucan, Keith King, Molly Swain, and Wyatt Schiefelbein. Together we build a strong and supportive community despite our inability to be collocated due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

Outside of the University, I am thankful for all of my friends and play cousins in the outdoor space who offered advice, acted as sounding boards, made introductions, amplified the message, and forced me outside to play when life became unbalanced. Notably, I am thankful to Adam Jaber at the Out of Bounds Collective for his crucial advice about the outdoor media space and his boundless energy.

Finally, this thesis would not have been possible without the unending support of my partner at home and on the trail, Tyler Martyniuk. I am forever thankful to you.

To the many who pizza'd before me, so I could french fries, mad high-fives!

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction and Significance of the Problem

1.1 Project Introduction

This work examines how Black and Indigenous peoples[1] are excluded in snow sports and how that lack of diversity can be addressed. Currently, BIPoC (Black, Indigenous, and peoples of colour) communities are statistically underrepresented in snow sports to the detriment of their communities and the snow sports industry. The industry has formally recognized this lack of diversity on the snow is a significant limitation to further growth. Given that the snow sports industry is a major economic driver, including in remote regions with limited industry, this is a broader concern in regions where snow sports occur.

This work examines the underlying reason for this under-representation, the industry assumptions surrounding it, and the community perspective of it by exploring the construction and maintenance of racialized geographies of exclusion in the snow sports industry.

All outdoor recreational space has been racialized as white despite the fact that it is Indigenous land and multiple disputes have arisen in the modern era over land, land use, and erasing of racist colonial histories (Benally 2004, Bethel 2001, Croteau 2020, Hawfeli 2020, Wildsight 2015). Additionally, Indigenous peoples have made significant efforts to develop culturally appropriate approaches to snow sports (Natives Outdoors

[1] In Critical Indigenous Studies the term ‘peoples’ is used to identify a socio-political collective of Indigenous individuals. I use the term ‘peoples’ broadly in order to not foreclose on any way that individuals may identify as a collective. This decision is informed by the fluidity of the construction of race explored in section 2.3.2 resulting in, among many other possibilities, certain Black individuals being citizens of Indigenous nations and certain Indigenous individuals being racialized as Black.

2020A, Ryan 2020), including two Indigenous-owned ski resorts in America (Ski Apache 2020, Sunrise Park 2020).

Furthermore, both Black and Indigenous organizations are working to foster recreational participation in snow sports while developing elite-level national competitors (National Brotherhood Of Skiers 2020, Native American Olympic Team Foundation 2015, Natives Outdoors 2020B, Wilkenson-Ray and Arisman 2018). However, despite efforts from both Black and Indigenous organizations to increase participation in snow sports and the identification from within the snow sports industry that lack of diversity is a significant problem, it remains mostly unsolved.

Lastly, this work utilizes perspectives from individuals entrenched in the snow sports industry, who are also members of BIPoC communities, to propose effective solutions to increase diversity on the snow.

1.2 Industry Statistics vs. Population Statistics

Depending on the data source, the snow sports industry reports that recreational participation is between 89% and 68% white, indicating that BIPoC individuals are significantly underrepresented. These statistics are important because they allow us to quantify problem of lack of diversity in the snow sports industry. For this section, I have chosen to exclusively use the statistical data from the Snow Sports Industries of America 2020-2021 Participation Study for American statistics. This is because it breaks down the statistics into the most racial categories, indicating that other data sources combine them. Additionally, I am using the 2019-2020 season data because the 2020-2021 data is skewed due to the COVID-19 pandemic resulting in closures, travel restrictions, vaccine

mandates without comprehensive vaccine distribution, and changed leisure patterns. The COVID-19 pandemic did not impact the 2019-2020 ski season until the end of March 2020 and many operators were already closed for the season as per their regular plan. This is the most recent data available as the report for the 2021-2022 season, which concluded during this research project, will be published in October 2022, after the publication of this thesis.

Table 1.1: US Population and Snow Sport Industry Participation by Percentage*

	White	Black	Asian and Pacific Islander	Hispanic	Other**
Population	**59%**	**14%**	**6%**	**19%**	**2%**
Industry Participation	**68%**	**9%**	**8%**	**14%**	**2%**

* (Snowsports Industries America 2021, United States Census Bureau 2021)

** Indigenous peoples are included in the category of 'other' in snow sports industry reports. Population statistics have been combined to align with industry reports. The US population is 1% Indigenous and 1% 'Other'.

*** The combination of multiple demographics into the 'Other' category render it impossible to quantify if Indigenous participation is proportional to population in the United States

**** Here I am referring to Indigenous Peoples as Indigenous to North America

For Canadian statistics, I have used the Canadian Ski Council 2017/18 Model for Growth: Season Overview Report because it is the most recent and only source of data for the Canadian market.

Table 1.2: Canadian Population and Snow Sport Industry Participation by Percentage*

	White	Black	Asian and Pacific Islander	Hispanic	Other**
Population	**73%**	**4%**	**15%**	**1%**	**8%**
Industry Participation	**89%**	**1%**	**7%**	**1%**	**5%**

* (Canadian Ski Council 2019, Statistics Canada 2017A)

** Indigenous peoples are included in the category of 'other' in snow sports industry reports. Population statistics have been combined to align with industry reports. The Canadian population is 5% Indigenous and 3% 'Other'.

*** The combination of multiple demographics into the 'Other' category render it impossible to quantify if Indigenous participation is proportional to population in the United States

**** Here I am referring to Indigenous Peoples as Indigenous to North America

1.3 Societal and Industry Implications

This research is important because in Canada and the U.S., snow sports are a CAD 56.4 billion dollar industry per winter season and as previously described is stagnating (Canadian Ski Council 2018, Canadian Ski Council 2019, National Ski Areas Association 2020). While the capital benefit to the industry is not the primary goal of this project, industry decline negatively impacts opportunities to participate safely and economically for everyone. I am also mindful of the big mountain community members and adjacent communities whose livelihoods are directly tied to the industry. This includes the Indigenous individuals and communities participating directly or operating in proximity to the snow sports industry (All Steamboat Springs Colorado 2022, Indigenous Tourism Alberta 2022, Indigenous Tourism BC 2022, Limkin 2020, Sunrise Park 2020, Ski Apache 2020).

Increasing diversity in snow sports will not only address industry stagnation and protect the livelihood of those who benefit from the industry but increase equity, access, and participation. Participation in outdoor activities drives positive mental and physical health outcomes (Lackey, et al. 2021, Twohi-Bennet and Jones 2018). This is a particular

area of concern for BIPoC communities that experience statistically higher rates of economic marginality, societal marginality, and marginality in healthcare systems, resulting in negative mental and physical health outcomes.

Further, participation in outdoor winter activities is shown to lead to increased understanding of climate change impacts, which is a critical global issue (Cunningham, McCullough and Hohensee 2020, Stoddart 2011). Lastly, increasing equity access and participation speaks directly to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action 88, 89, and 90, which aim to promote healthy physical activity and sports while eliminating racism in sports environments (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012).

1.4 Industry Resolutions

The snow sports industry recognizes it has a diversity problem, which industry leaders attribute to economic and proximity barriers to participation and subculture (lack of desire), recommending increased representation as a potential solution. Multiple scholars have confronted these assessments individually (Coleman 1996, Goodman 2020, A. K. Harrison 2013, Higgins 2020, Inwood and Bonds 2017, Kahl 2019, Kelly 2018, Krymkowski, Manning and Valliere 2014, Webber and Sultana 2013). Leisure scholars refer to these as the marginality and ethnicity theses.

The marginality thesis was first articulated by Philip Hauser, a demographer and researcher of urban studies at the population research center at the University of Chicago. He argued that racialized participation in leisure activities is statistically lower because of the inaccessible cost of participation and the unavailability of suitable facilities (Hauser

1962). Economic marginality and proximity barriers are contributory factors and Black and Indigenous national snow sports organizations including the National Brotherhood of Skiers (est. 1973), the Native Olympic Team Foundation (est. 1996), and the Indigenous Life Sport Academy est. 2004 actively work to mitigate them. Their actions include providing training and learning opportunities, offering opportunities to participate with no or low cost options, organizing transportation initiatives, providing equipment, and offering scholarships for professional competition and advanced skills training. This is in addition to hundreds of regional, grassroots, and non-profit organizations across both Canada and the United States. Despite these decades-long efforts, snow sports remain nearly 70% white.

The ethnicity thesis was developed by Randel F. Washburne, a social scientist for the United States Forest Service, in the mid-1970s to interrogate the marginality thesis (Washburne 1978, Washburne and Wall 1980). This thesis states that racialized peoples have fundamentally different interests in terms of sport, leisure, and tourism. This thesis has been subsequently critiqued as culturally essentialist, pseudoscientific, and indifferent to the reality of the racialized experience (Carter 2008, A. K. Harrison 2013, Harrison, Lee and Belcher 1999, C. Y. Johnson, J. Bowker and D. English, et al. 1997). This thesis also fails to address the construction of outdoor space as white space and plays into the colour-evasive myth of equal opportunity by inferring racialized peoples could participate if they desired, which in turn reinforces white supremacy (Gordon 2019).

1.5 Research Questions

This thesis, "Skiing Racialized Geographies," seeks to interrogate the use of the ethnicity and marginality theses by the snow sports industry through the lens of critical Indigenous and critical race theories. This interrogation will first examine how the historical structural social construction of snow sports environments excludes Black and Indigenous peoples and how that construction is maintained contemporarily to expose the snow sports industry's lack of perception to its operating environment. To magnify and reinforce this examination and propose an alternative perspective, I turn to the BIPoC community. Lastly, I aim to examine the snow sports industry's resolution to the lack of diversity on the snow, representation, and propose additional solutions to reconstruct these environments. In researching these constructions, I pose the following research questions: First, how do colour-evasive and power-evasive logics, which ignore the underlying history and social construction of space (Annamma, Jackson and Morrison 2017, Goldin and Khasnabi 2022, Gordon 2019, Tomlinson 2019, Tomlinson 2020) result in a lack of diversity in snow sports? Second, how might outdoor recreational spaces be reconstructed in ways meaningful to racialized individuals in order to precipitate their increased participation in snow sports?

1.6 Thesis Road Map

This thesis begins with a literature review and the theoretical engagements and considerations that were undertaken before and throughout this work. Starting with the preservationist movement of the late 19th century, the second chapter explores the structural and social constructions of the outdoor space. I then examine the modern era

consequences of this history that perpetuate the construction of the outdoor space as a space reserved exclusively for whiteness. The following two sections of this chapter outline the theoretical engagements of this work. Starting with critical Indigenous theory, I explore theoretical positions on colonial legacies and resurgence against them, as well as ontology of land and storytelling. I also address the limitations of critical Indigenous theory explaining why critical race theory was included in this work. I then examine critical race theoretical positions on the underpinnings on the bootstrap myth, race as a social construction and counter storytelling. I then critique critical race theory's lack of recognition to Indigenous sovereignty. In the final theoretical section, I introduce Tetonic theory, a methodological approach inspired by coalitionary works and logics that strategically brings Indigeneity and Blackness together.

Chapter three articulates the methodological approach to this work. Beginning with my personal location I convey how I am implicated in this work and provide context to my personal motivations. I then analyze Indigenous storywork, explain the conditions under which it is appropriate to use for the broader racialized community, and describe this project's implementation of Indigenous storywork. I then examine the appropriateness of research creation, and specifically podcasting, as methodological approaches aligned with the theoretical considerations and ethics of this project. Subsequently, I outline the preparation, logistics, timeline, and technological implementation of the podcast that supports this project.

Chapter four explores the themes and subthemes uncovered throughout the research process. These themes include community engagement, education, leadership, secret handshakes, barrier reductions, representation, and the Indigenous relationship

with land. I then explore the common grounds and opportunities for collaborations between Indigenous and Black communities that were revealed. Finally, I share the insights derived from a holistic review of all the individual contributions combined.

In the concluding chapter of the thesis, I confront the snow sports industry assumptions and resolutions to the lack of diversity in snow sports. I then return to my initial research questions and articulate the learnings from this project. Finally, I address areas for further research that were uncovered by the research process but beyond the scope of this inquiry.

1.7 Notes on Terminology

I use the 'Black, Indigenous, and peoples of colour' definition of BIPoC. This acronym was strategically chosen when naming this project to both fully encompass the myriad of ways Black, Indigenous, and people of mixed race self-identify and to allow future flexibility to expand to include peoples of colour not included in the scope of this project. The term 'snow sports' denotes skiing, snowboarding, snow biking, and adaptive skiing, which is a general term that encompasses all adaptations to these sports that allow individuals of all abilities to participate. The term 'skiing' is used interchangeably with the term 'snow sports' by participants and enthusiasts; however, I have chosen to use the term snow sports for this project as it more accurately reflects the variety of ways individuals can participate. The 'snow sports industry' are owners, operators, and subsidiary businesses that commercially benefit from participation in snow sports. Ski areas denote any space where there is organized snow sports or snow sports infrastructure, whereas a destination ski resort is a mega resort characterized by

exclusionary pricing, celebrity vacationers, exclusive film festivals and cultural events, and a culture of excess driven by wealth. These are resorts such as Whistler BC, Aspen or Vail Colorado, Jackson Hole Wyoming, Park City Utah, or the Lake Tahoe area in California. I use the term 'big mountain community' as an inclusive term representing the regionally, culturally, and ethnically diverse group who are linked through their enthusiasm and participation in snow sports. The 'outside space' is comprehensive and includes the snow sports industry, the big mountain community, and the physical space where snow sports occur. Lastly, I use the term 'racialized' to describe individuals who are othered from dominant society resulting in, among other negative impacts, marginalization and exclusion. For this definition, I draw on Moreton-Robinson who argues whiteness is the "invisible norm against which other races are judged in the construction of identity, representation, subjectivity, nationalism, and the law" (Moreton-Robinson 2004).

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Considerations

How can we use each other's differences in our common battles for a livable future – Audre Lorde

2.1 Structural and Social Construction of the Outdoor Environment

2.1.1 Parks and Public Lands Policy

Outdoor recreational space in colonial North America was socially constructed as white space through the social exclusion of racialized peoples (Finney 2014). Subsequently, it was structurally constructed in that manner through governance with the formal creation of national parks and administrated public lands in the late 19th century

(O'Brien 2016). This construction was founded on white supremacist logics that render racialized peoples as lesser and built for labour, while the dominant class, the white race, is deserving of rest and respite. Additionally, white women were constructed as requiring protection from the savagery, violence, and salaciousness of racialized men (Stanley and Loo 2020). This construction allowed the restriction of racialized men in public spaces where white women might recreate. Further, it created the opportunity for white men to perform dominance over space by protecting their possessions, white women, through both structural and social supremacy. Morton-Robinson articulates that these performances of dominance and dispossession serve to underpin the legitimacy of colonial occupation. Settler colonialism does not just seek to own specific resources; it seeks to create an environment where the entire colony is a white possession (Moreton-Robinson 2015). This underpins the legitimacy of the settler-occupation: if space belongs to them, they in return belong within that space. Belonging and legitimacy foreclose any moral argument against the exploitation of resources or capital accumulation. The combination of the legitimacy of occupation and the constructed racial hierarchy similarly forecloses any moral argument against the treatment of a space's rightful occupants. This is the initial colonial construction of the exclusionary racialized geography of outdoor recreational space.

For the purposes of this research, I predominately focus on the Rocky Mountain regions, where Banff and Yellowstone, each country's first national park, are located. This region accounts for 40 percent of snow sports revenue in North America and has the most diverse participant demographic. Snow sports, which are primarily undertaken in

national parks and administered public lands in the Rocky Mountains, gained popularity in North America in the early 20th century at the tail end of the preservationist movement.

The preservationist movement of the late 19th century inspired the creation of seventeen national parks, totaling 84,000 square kilometers, in the Rocky Mountain regions of the United States and Canada by 1930. The restrictive legislation and management of the parks effectively decimated the existing human geography by erasing Indigenous belonging, presence, and history, resulting in a false narrative of untouched landscapes (Spence 2000). Further, prevailing racist attitudes of the era restricted Black people from the parks, creating a space solely for whiteness. The Canadian and American governments shared similar motivations for the creation of these parks; in fact, both the American *Yellowstone Park Act* and the Canadian *Rocky Mountains Park Act* share a common language. Both Acts designate the parks as pleasuring grounds and are explicit that the use and benefit of the land, minerals, timber, game, water resources, and "natural curiosities" found within are at the sole discretion of the designated governmental agency (Government of Canada 1887, Government of the United States 1872). The creation of national parks ensured that settler colonial governments became the only entities able to profit from these landscapes (Binnema and Niemi 2006). National parks in the Rocky Mountain region today generate CAD 5.8 billion annually for both federal governments (National Park Service 2021, Parks Canada 2019).

Importantly, restrictive covenants put in place by Canada and the U.S. forcibly removed Indigenous peoples and explicitly prevented them from exercising their traditional and negotiated Treaty Rights within these spaces. Indigenous peoples were forcibly removed from all Rocky Mountain national parks created before 1930 except for

Revelstoke where Indigenous peoples were forcibly relocated to the Colville reservation in Washington state decades prior (Revelstoke History Museum n.d.). Destination ski resorts in Jasper, Banff, Glacier, Yellowstone, Mesa Verde, Grand Teton, and Taos are all within or adjacent to sites of forced Indigenous removal (Binnema and Niemi 2006, Indians. Pueblo de Taos Tribe, New Mexico, Kantor 2007, Land in Trust 1970, Ouellet 2016, Spence 2000).

The only exemption to Indigenous exclusion was performing as spectacles for white tourists (Clapperton 2013, Spence 2000). Colonial governments imagined the Rocky Mountain West as the spatial embodiment of Manifest Destiny, where the grandeur of the landscape demonstrated the power of the governments that possessed them (Moreton-Robinson 2015, Spence 2000). These newly designated uninhabited paradises evoked nationalist pride on the part of exclusively white tourists who came to perform acts of possession and dominion through risk-mitigated adventures such as supported mountaineering endeavours or guided land and water treks (Jackson 2019, Spence 2000, Thobani 2007). Indigenous presence in the national parks in any capacity other than for tourist shows would have threatened the narrative that these lands were available to be dominated and possessed by whiteness (Bregent-Heald 2007). Bregent-Heald explains the logic for curating Indigenous themed tourist shows was to generate imperialist nostalgia and profit. It encouraged tourists to come and witness Indigenous Peoples before they were gone. While Black peoples were permitted to participate in wage labour in the emerging tourism industry, they were fully excluded from participating in recreational activities.

In the period that the federal parks legislation was being crafted, nearly 75% of counties in the Rocky Mountain states of Idaho, Montana, and Utah were ‘sundown’ or exclusively white counties, and all other Rocky Mountain states and provinces had counties or jurisdictions that were racialized as exclusively white space (W. H. Green 1940, W. H. Green 1954, Loewen 2018). Spaces that were exclusively reserved for white people and maintained that way through threats of violence were colloquially referred to as sundown towns or counties (Loewen 2018). This was both reflective of contemporary society and reproduced in the existing tourism practice and subsequently structurally codified. Dominant society exercised its power to build formal access restrictions into legislation and administrative practice for national parks and administered public lands in both Canada and the US. These territorial restrictions came in the way of Jim Crow style laws and practices in both Canada and the United States (Jackson 2019, Loewen 2018).

Jim Crow was a legalized racialized caste system that began in the United States after the reconstruction era following the American Civil War and was legally eliminated by legislation enacted during the civil rights movement (Ferris State University 2000). Jim Crow was an assemblage of municipal and state laws, policies, and societal norms, founded on the belief that white people were a superior race, and they governed every aspect of daily life by enforcing racial segregation, anti-miscegenation, and societal behaviours. Despite the common belief that this primarily affected Black peoples in the southern states, Jim Crow laws and norms were implemented throughout North America and affected all racialized peoples (Loewen 2018, Kennedy 1990). While Canada had few formal policies of Black restriction, they maintained practices of restriction in national

parks to appeal to racist domestic sensibilities and American clientele (MacEachern 2020, Stanley and Loo 2020).

2.1.2 Modern Day Consequences

Outdoor recreational space within these jurisdictions was correspondingly constructed as white space, despite all outdoor recreational space being Indigenous lands. Multiple disputes between Indigenous peoples and whitestream society have arisen in the modern era over recreational land, land use, and addressing racist and violent histories evoked by colonial place names to support the reconstruction of these environments (Benally 2004, Bethel 2001, Croteau 2020, Hawfeli 2020, Wildsight 2015).

In the modern era, the outdoor space continues to be constructed as white space where white men can perform acts of dominance and control, but the control is now exerted over the construction of their environment as opposed to dominance over the outdoor space. Harrison articulates how the racial spatiality –or the determination of what bodies belong in a space – of snow sports environments has been maintained through racism, white essentialism, white privilege, and exclusionary housing and club tactics that keep these spaces white (A. K. Harrison 2013). Further, Harrison (2013) argues that the underpinning reason has evolved. The outdoor space was once seen as an untamed space where men could perform their masculinity through conquest. This conquest served the dual purpose of underpinning the legitimacy of their occupation of space, but that legitimacy is now perceived as a foregone conclusion in settler society. In the modern era, now that the legitimacy of presence is firmly entrenched in the settler psyche, wilderness spaces have become a respite from the socioeconomic, sociopolitical, and

ethnic diversity of urban spaces (Coleman 2004, Fry 2006, A. K. Harrison 2013). Subsequently, the dominance white men perform over these spaces has evolved from leveraging physical power to wielding political power. White men now dominate outdoor spaces by maintaining their exclusivity. Harrison critiques this practice both in snow sports and in larger society, stating "creating exclusive spaces to not have to confront a diverse society…contributes to people being invisible" (Hansman 2021, 114)

2.2 Critical Indigenous Theories of Power, Land, and Storytelling

2.2.1 Colonial Legacies and Resurgence

The colonial legacy of North America is built on the foundation of twin genocides (Hudson 2017, Simpson and Smith 2014). Indigenous peoples use the term genocide to describe the colonial experience, referring to the genocidally motivated violence against people, suppression of culture, and the removal of children (Behrendt 2016). Behrendt further describes that this runs counter to the intent of the word genocide when employed in dominant narratives, where it refers to the disappearance of Indigenous peoples in absence of providing an underlying explanation of why. This nuanced difference in meaning absolves dominant society of its complicity in the colonial violence against Indigenous peoples. Another founding principle of settler society is the power of colour and power-evasive racism that allows it to obscure its genocidal foundations, absolving dominant society (Nichols 2014). Behrendt asserts this foreclosure of blame supports the legal fiction of Terra Nullius, the papal bull which rendered Indigenous lands unoccupied and available for settlement. Further, this dominant narrative relegates Indigenous peoples as relics of the past.

The historical reality is that the colonial project actively participated in genocide through physical, sexual, and political violence (Arvin 2019, Coulthard 2014B, Moreton-Robinson 2015), destroying culture and language (Arvin 2019, Behrendt, Simpson 2011), and dismantling kinship relationships and enforcing heteropatriarchy (Arvin 2019, Behrendt 2016, Rifkin 2014, Simpson 2011). This destruction of Indigenous familiar structures and gender norms further resulted in the legal marginalization, societal subjugation, and increased violence against Indigenous women and Two Spirit People (Berger 1997, Deer 2005, 2015)

Critical Indigenous theory (CIT) seeks to critically evaluate colonialism and the imbalanced power relationships that result from it "through the employment of Indigenous theories and methods, the production of Indigenous ontologies, and the insistence of grounding ourselves in decolonial utopianism" (Hokowhitu 2016, 90). Further, CIT seeks to understand the power imbalance within settler colonial society and the structures built to maintain that imbalance in favour of dominant society to determine a path to resurgence. Following many critical Indigenous theorists, my work is also aligned with the contention of settler colonial theorist Patrick Wolfe, that settler colonialism is a structure, not an event, and the main objective of colonialism is capitally motivated access to territory (Wolfe 2006).

Coulthard, Simpson, Gaudry, and Nelson argue for a resurgence-based approach to anti-colonialism which is helpful in considering ways outdoor recreational spaces may be reconstructed in ways meaningful to Indigenous peoples. Specifically, Coulthard (2014A and B) asserts the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state cannot be reconciled with the politics of recognition because they

attempt to reconcile Indigenous assertions of nationhood with settler state sovereignty. His work confronts the politics of recognition and concludes that it a neoliberal reproduction of colonialism. He draws from Karl Marx's conflation of colonialism and capitalism and identifies the violence and subjugation that capital accumulation requires. Coulthard complements this exposition with three qualifiers, steeped in Indigenous political thought, for a contemporary application to de-colonialism. He contends Marx's portrayal of colonialism must be stripped of its temporal character and normativism and it must accept that colonialism is not exclusively violent. Colonialism is ongoing, it is not required to achieve enlightenment or a civilized society, and it has transformed from coercion and repression to a form of governmentality. He asserts the need for direct action, arguing Indigenous women and grassroots organizing have been the only true catalyst for change, and employs Fanon's argument that direct action is both legitimate and authentic. These actions include disrupting the extractive colonial capitalist ventures and asserting sovereignty over Indigenous urban spaces, upholding Indigenous legal requirements of respect and reciprocity between the human and natural worlds, and combatting gentrification, the contemporary implementation of Terra Nullius. Additionally, these actions will create space where Indigenous peoples can engage in 'radical sustainability', reducing reliance on colonial economies.

Coulthard draws from Franz Fanon to expose how the politics of recognition reproduce colonialism through the master/slave dialectic, where the recognition of subjugated peoples, by the dominant group, reaffirms their subjugated position. Coulthard explains that in a modern context this is a neocolonial approach that assures exchanges of recognition are structurally determined by the dominant party. He argues

against appeasing, but meaningless, reconciliation or recognition politics, but instead for "resurgent politics of recognition" (Coulthard 2014B, 24). Additionally, Coulthard states Indigenous anger is self-affirmative and transformative in ways recognition and reconciliation have failed. Employing Fanon, he evidences how harnessing this anger can be the catalyst that creates active anti-colonialists from passive colonial subjects

Throughout their works, Simpson (2011) and Coulthard (2014B) are in continuous conversation with each other, using the other's strengths to lend force to their individual arguments. In recognizing the limitations of Fanon's work in a Canadian settler colonial context, Coulthard employs Simpson to identify how the politics of recognition reaffirm settler class structures that deny the resurgence of Indigenous peoples. Further, Simpson's arguments in support of the revitalization of community, culture, and traditional practices support Coulthard's position that Indigenous people are not required to 'transcend' their past but should embrace the fluidity of tradition while opposing the rigidity of colonial structures. Simpson additionally articulates how revitalization of traditional practices are inherently anti-capitalist actions through the resurgence of small-scale, collectivist, sustainable local economies, supporting Coulthard's endorsement for reducing reliance on colonial economies. Finally, Coulthard draws on Simpson to provide a gendered analysis of decolonization that rejects heteronormative exclusions and places women and non-binary citizens as equal. While Simpson's focus is on culture and community, she employs Coulthard's analysis that Indigenous political theory provides a mechanism for critically evaluating, reconstructing, and redeploying culture and traditions in a way that prefigures decolonial

alternatives, to affirm that an Indigenous resurgence is holistically capable as an alternative to settler societal structures.

In contrast to a generative conversation, Gaudry's articulation of Insurgent Research (2011) is Coulthard's theory operationalized. Coulthard affirms that direct action is legitimate and authentic, while Gaudry is specifically advocating for direct action, by researchers, to shift research practice from the academic norm of researcher objectivity to researcher personal investment. Additionally, Gaudry emphasizes the need for researchers to promote decolonial actions within the communities they are engaging in, which produces a tangible disruption to the colonial structures of the academy and the broader political environment. This reframing of research to privilege community provided the first ethical guidance for this research. Further, this reframing is aligned with both Coulthard's assertion of Indigenous legal requirements of respect and reciprocity, and Simpson's argument for the revitalization of community. Lastly, by individual researchers personally investing in the communities they work within, they are forced to focus on their personal and the community's locality. Individual locality is a key concept within CIT and Indigenous scholars avoid broad theoretical frameworks, instead focusing on the specific locality of the thinker (Aikau, Goodyear-Ko'opua and Silva 2016, Heath Justice 2016, Simpson 2011). This can be attributed to the Indigenous ontological relation with land.

Where Gaudry provides a blueprint for action, Nelson (2019) employs metaphors to develop a deeper understanding for those who do not share Simpson's locality. By using universal concepts of biological and natural science metaphors, Nelson provides an alternate illustration of how Indigenous women's resurgence is rooted in embodied

knowledge, reciprocal relationality, and ethics of care. These are universal concepts that also deeply resonate with the outdoor and big mountain community. Additionally, her advocation for climate event level mental processes to address, mental, physical, and social imbalances, echoes Simpson's encouragement for young people to "understand the earth as themselves" (Simpson 2011, 36). Just as the earth has climate-level event responses to human ecological exploitation to create balance, the young generation can respond productively and generatively by destructing imbalances they face. This also aligns with Coulthard's assessment of negative emotions of resentment. While he accepts that negative emotions can manifest in destructive or counterproductive ways, he argues individuals can harness the transformational quality of negative emotions for empowerment and healing.

2.2.2 Ontology of Land

Relationship to land is ontological for Indigenous peoples, and while Nations are not homogenous in how that shapes their relationship to land, the existence of this principle is shared (Moreton-Robinson 2015). People belong to the land, the land is not a possession of people, and the land is owed the same duty of care that an individual would extend to themselves. This is what Elder Elmer Ghostkeeper describes as living on versus living with the land (Ghostkeeper 2007). Indigenous scholars describe relationship with land as a reciprocal system including the elements, soils, flora, and fauna both holistically and individually (Coulthard 2014B). These individual relationships are described as relationships with other or "more-than-human beings and involve other-than-seen realities" (Barker 2019, 02). Further, Indigeneity can be described as fundamentally a

place-based existence (Goeman 2014, Rifkin 2014, Simpson 2011, Corntassel and Alfred as quoted in Starblanket 2017).

The outdoor space is Indigenous land although settler colonial logics and aggression work to obscure this fact. Moreton-Robinson (2015) discusses the assertion of dominance over land through colonial naming and mapping practices that ignore Indigenous geographies. Further, she examines physical acts of possession that white men perform in space, creating the visual narrative that space belongs to them. The logic follows that if space belongs to whiteness, then whiteness belongs in space, validating the presence of whiteness and legitimizing conquest. Moreton-Robinson asserts this is a Eurocentric value system steeped in white supremacy that allows for the dispossession of Indigenous lands and allows for the colony to become a white possession.

These performative acts of possession through physical conquest are endemic in the outdoor space and big mountain community where recreation becomes a competition and there is an endless drive to go farther, higher, and faster in order to claim space. Here, I am reminded of the century-old debate in the big mountain community over which of two climbing teams was the first to reach the summit of the Grand Teton despite the fact that both climbing teams include a description of 'the enclosure' to validate their claim (Summit Post 2013). The enclosure in question is a stone structure constructed by Indigenous peoples just below the summit on a rock spur and is now understood to be over 11,000 years old, proving the summit was achieved millennia before.

Nelson (2019) believes the Indigenous relationship with land can inform an approach to destroying entrenched colonial mindsets through the invocation of naturally occurring elements and mental replication of their powerful elements. Nelson instructs us

to come to fully know the destructive and regenerative power of fire for example, then replicate that power in our minds in destroy and replace our own colonial mindset. I assert while this is not culturally relevant to the big mountain community, it would have resonance with them as a community that has chosen to live with a deeper relationship to the outdoor world.

2.2.3 Storytelling

Storytelling is a culturally informed and carefully applied work that contributes to the protection of Indigenous history, values, and practices (Seed-Pihama 2019, Davidson 2019). Unlike other cultural approaches to storytelling, Indigenous stories go beyond history and parables and contain within them Indigenous law, politics, and tenets of faith (C. Jones 2019).

Indigenous storytelling, listening, and sharing have specific cultural protocols to ensure respect for the storyteller, the story, and the listener, resulting in a rigorous critical ethnography. Like Moreton-Robinson (2016A) I invoke the word “critical” to indicate CIT is both apart from, and a critique of, other theoretical engagements that seek to produce knowledge about Indigenous peoples without their engagement or consent (Moreton-Robinson 2016A). For Indigenous peoples, oral story that is steeped in cultural protocol is as reliable as the written word and they have successfully lobbied to have that fact recognized in Canadian jurisprudence (Peterson 2019). Indigenous peoples can submit oral stories as evidence in Canadian courts where other cultural storytelling practices would be dismissed as hearsay. This recognition by Canadian dominant society is not submitted here to underpin the validity of Indigenous storytelling as a critical

ethnography, only that the strength of the Indigenous argument that cultural storytelling is critical ethnography was so powerful that dominant society could not deny it.

Indigenous storytelling is undertaken governed by the ethics of respect, responsibility, and reciprocity (Archibald N.D., Archibald 2008, Archibald, Lee Morgan and De Santolo 2019, Archibald and Parent 2019, Wilson 2008). Cultural protocols determine stories are to be told and told again as there are layers of meaning in each story and it is the responsibility of the listener to derive it (L. B. Simpson 2011, Wilson 2008)

Storytelling is a community-building anticolonial practice. To sit together in community to share stories requires Indigenous peoples to come together in territory building and strengthening the web of kinship relationships that sustain Indigenous communities (L. B. Simpson 2011). Further, Indigenous stories are an accurate historical and contemporary critical ethnography that can confront taken-for-granted assumptions and myths about the outdoor space.

2.3.4 Critical Indigenous Theory and Race

Critical Indigenous theory is uniquely situated to critically analyze the colonial landscape as it applies to Indigenous peoples and anticolonial remedies that would apply to sovereign citizens displaced within their territories. CIT implores scholars to focus on the density of Indigenous communities as having a diversity of social, political, and spiritual perspectives as opposed to their difference from dominant society. Further, it employs Indigenous communities as a critique of dominant society and colonialism (Andersen 2009). Many CIT scholars have heeded this call and subsequently chosen not to engage with race rendering assessments of whiteness lacking. This project seeks to

confront the racialized geography of the snow sports industry as a space reserved for whiteness so additional theoretical engagements are required. Only a few CIT scholars have critically engaged with or analyzed the impact of race or whiteness in their work resulting in an ethnographical entrapment (Moreton-Robinson 2016B, Smith 2014, Smith 2010). By failing to fully address the construct of race or critique whiteness knowledge production governed by the tenets of CIT is trapped othering racialized peoples. In absence of a fulsome explanation or critique on the construct of race whiteness is permitted to remain the default by which everything else is compared to and CIT struggles to break free from continual examinations of individual and collective difference. Critical interrogations of race, whiteness, and the power dynamics they produce removes this limit from knowledge production. This creates space for intellectual projects that Andersen (2009) argues contribute to cultural density, expanding the breadth and scope of CIT, as opposed to projects that illuminate the difference between Indigenous and settler knowledge production, ways of knowing, and cultures.

This work seeks to build coalitions between Indigenous and Black peoples to work together on the distinct remedies for their separate but analogous struggles with the twin genocide of the settler colonial project and the contemporary settler state. Indigenous peoples are displaced persons and Nations within their own occupied territories. They are citizens of sovereign Nations and seek the end of infringement on this socio-political fact. Black peoples are seeking liberation and a full measure of citizenship; they do not organize as Nations but seek to participate equally and freely within the Nations they inhabit. Additionally, Black and Indigenous peoples have

significantly different relationships with land and place. This is of significance for me as this research is focused on the construction and deconstruction of racialized geographies.

To avoid the ethnographical entrapment of critical Indigenous theory and create the space for an intellectual project that privileges racialized knowledge to design anti and decolonial solutions appropriate for non-Indigenous peoples, this work strategically employs critical race theory.

2.3 Critical Race Theories of Power, Race, and Counter Storytelling

2.3.1 Epistemic Whiteness, Colour-Evasive Logics, and The Bootstrap Myth

Critical race theory (CRT) seeks to transform the relationship between race, racism, and power (Crenshaw, et al. 1995, Delgado and Stefancic 2017). It recognizes that these existing relationships force poverty and race to intersect in complex and often obscure ways and that racism and racial discrimination is a normalized experience for all racialized peoples that is rendered invisible by dominant society (Delgado and Stefancic 2017, Ladson-Billiings 1998).

North American members of dominant society continue to contend that we live in a post-racial society. CRT scholars critique this contention as epistemic whiteness employing colour-evasive logics (Williams Crenshaw 2019A, Williams Crenshaw, Harris, et al. 2019). Epistemic whiteness is the hegemony of dominance over subjugated peoples and the privilege the position bestows upon dominant society (Teo 2022). To maintain that position of power, epistemic whiteness systematically refuses to acknowledge or accept structural inequality as it would render dominant society beneficiaries of ill-gotten gains and reform the relationship of power (Williams Crenshaw, Harris, et al. 2019). Instead, they wield colour-evasiveness as a tool to deny

systemic racism in North American society. The power of colour-evasive logics is they absolve dominant society of accountability by rendering racial injustice invisible and legitimizing the myths of meritocracy (Freeman 1995, McKay 2019, Tomlinson 2019)

Colour-evasive racism is structuralized because of the North American dominant societal belief in neutral standards for all members of society. Subsequently, it is institutionalized in the determination that the neutral standard is nonracist. Within mainstream institutions, that prescriptive standard becomes a descriptive standard, resulting in institutions "pathologizing the perception of racism" to assign responsibility to the victim/s and dismiss it (Adams and Salter 2019, 277, Delgado and Stefancic 2017). Dominant society views racial discrimination through the lens of ontological individualism (Haslanger 2020, Williams Crenshaw 2019B)[2]. Consequently, in the conditions where racism or discrimination is undeniable, the neutral standard assigns responsibility to the flawed individual not to the faults of society (Freeman 1995, Williams Crenshaw 2019B).

The colour-evasive neutral standard is reproduced in the outdoor space where members of dominant society will insist that the space is available to everyone and confront any narrative from an alternate perspective (Eck 2020). This is aligned with my experience in managing the social media channels for *BIPoC Outside* where I have been accused of reverse racism, race-baiting, or race hustling, held up as an example of why society has become divisive, and have been told to 'shut up and ski[3].'

[2] Crenshaw refers to this concept as the autonomous rights bearing subject
[3] The *BIPoC Outside* platform ethic of refusal includes the refusal to platform rude or racist language or behaviour so the types of comments described here are systematically hidden from public view. They are available upon request to the author.

Colour-evasive logics ultimately serve to reinforce white supremacy, which CRT asserts is material or benefit driven, by extending white privilege. White privilege is the combination of advantages, benefits, and courtesy bestowed upon members of dominant society as a function of membership regardless of merit (Delgado and Stefancic 2017)

The powerful combination of epistemic whiteness, colour-evasive logics, ontological individualism, and white supremacy which absolves dominant society of responsibility for racial inequality reinforces the myth that opportunity is based on egalitarianism (Gordon 2019). This is the bootstrap mythology prevalent in westernized society, especially in the outdoor space where the colour-evasive neutral standard refuses to acknowledge unequitable distribution of resources. In dominant society, resource allocation is typically impacted by political power. Those with more political power, attained by the assemblage of race, gender, and class that has been codified as the neutral standard, can lobby for additional resources, leaving communities with less political power to struggle (Hallmon, et al. 2020). In the outdoor space, these resources are facilities, opportunities, and most critically, safety. Safety is a resource that has been denied to racialized peoples in the outdoor space which has a history of shocking violence against racialized peoples and that threat continues today (Bell 1989, C. Y. Johnson, J. Bowker and D. B. English, et al. 1998, Erickson, Johnson and Kivel 2009, Finney 2014,). These threats transcend beyond the physical outdoor space and into the technological world on outdoor-related social media accounts (Eck 2020).

2.3.2 Race as a Social Construction

Whiteness is not only valuable it is unfixed, and it has changed over time based on the contemporary requirements of dominant society (Arvin 2019, J. M. Johnson 2020, McMullen 2002, Miles 2002, Moreton-Robinson 2015, Sturm 2002). CRT asserts that all race and races are unobjective social constructs that do not correspond to any genetic reality. This is evident in the way that dominant society racializes different minority groups at different times in response to the shifting needs of the dominant group (Delgado and Stefancic 2017). Whiteness as a construction is valuable because of the benefits and privileges that are bestowed upon individuals who are racialized as white. Critical race theory calls this the whiteness as property thesis (Delgado and Stefancic 2017). This structural hierarchy where whiteness is privileged over assigned race also reinforces often violent white supremacy (Milazzo 2019). Walcott (2021) reminds us that the concept of property demands that dominant society both sanction and come together to enact violence to protect it.

Conversely, the assignment of a race, as opposed to an assignment of whiteness, is an antecedent to oppression, marginalization, and violence at the hands of dominant society. Indigenous theorists, including Indigenous technoscience expert Dr. Kim TallBear, assert that while race is constructed and not biological, racialized bodies are biologically impacted by the construction of race (TallBear 2019). While racialized people all experience the physical consequences of race being inscribed on the body, it is not a homogenized experience. Tomlinson argues “race-based anti-subordination struggles do not flow organically from shared physical features” (Tomlinson 2020, 4), referring to both physical features of the body and physically shared experience.

Racialized peoples have a shared experience of exclusion from outdoor recreational space, but the interlocking power structures, histories, and individual communities' experiences that those exclusions originate from are vastly different.

2.3.3 Counter Storytelling

CRT recognizes that the experiential knowledge of people of colour is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination. In response, it emphasizes counter storytelling as a tool of liberation (Delgado 1989, 2436). Counter storytelling is the act of providing a community perspective that aims to cast doubt on the accepted premises or myths held within the dominant narrative. (Delgado and Stefancic 2017). This can be constructive or destructive.

Constructive counter storytelling happens within community. This is an engaging practice that can build a collective understanding among racialized groups whose perspectives are often missing from dominant society (Parker and Lynn 2002). This is a validating practice that allows BIPoC communities and individuals to come together, learn from each other, and find meaning (Delgado Bernal 2002).

The audience of destructive counter storytelling is dominant society. By interrogating accepted premises and exposing untruthful myths through direct challenges and satire, counter storytelling serves as a powerful tool to deconstruct dominant society's narrative about racialized peoples (Delgado 1994¸ Delgado and Stefancic). These narratives can also be used as a direct challenge to the myth of bootstraps by confronting white supremacy, neutrality, meritocracy, and colour-evasiveness (Brown

1995, Solorzano and Yosso 2002). Delgado and Stefancic (2017) argue that because race is a construction it can deconstructed, and that counter storytelling is a valid tool to start remaking our beliefs and understandings of the societal structures that precipitate the existence of race.

Finally, Delgado and Stefancic (2017) recognize that counter storytelling as defined by CRT scholars is inherently different from Indigenous storytelling. Indigenous storytelling by their definition is a rigorous and learned practice that includes political and spiritual elements that counter storytelling does not. This is aligned with my application of Indigenous storytelling as defined by Archibald. Indigenous storytelling also includes joy. Many have criticized CRT and counter storytelling for its narrow-minded focus on negativity (Delgado and Stefancic 2017).

2.3.4 Limitations of CRT

The lack of cultural relevance in storytelling is not the only fault line between CRT and Indigenous peoples. CRT places the Black experience at the center of the analysis of race (McKay 2019). Similar to how dominant society uses whiteness as the neutral standard, CRT has a tendency to use Blackness as its neutral standard, relegating all other racialized groups to secondary roles in the construction of race, racism, and white supremacy. LatinX CRT scholars have argued that racism, not race should be the common unit of analysis for understanding the social construction of society (Darder and Torres 2004, Solorzano and Delgado Bernal 2001).

Most critically, CRT fails to properly recognize the unique experience Indigenous peoples have with colonialism, the drastic impact on Indigenous political and land sovereignty, and their subsequent distinct grievance with the settler state. Where CIT is

anti-colonial in nature, fully resisting imperialism and seeking to overthrow it, CRT is decolonial in nature, seeking emancipation and justice from oppression. This is a delicate but important nuance that aligns with the reality that Indigenous peoples are citizens of sovereign Nations and seek the end of infringement on this socio-political fact while Black peoples are seeking liberation and a full measure of citizenship.

2.4 Tetonic Theory

2.4.1 Coalitionary Alliances between CIT and CRT

This work is coalitionary and I assert that CIT and CRT can come together in coalition to fill the gaps in the individual theoretical models. Where CIT does not adequately critically interrogate race and whiteness, this is a unique specialty of CRT. Conversely, where CRT fails to recognize Indigenous people's unique experience with colonialism and land ontology, this is a foundation of CIT. Inspired by the coalitionary logics of King (2019) and the coalitionary work of Maynard and Simpson (2020), I have used a complementary assemblage of both theoretical models to address the separate but analogous struggles of Black and Indigenous peoples.

2.4.2 King's Pioneering Work

When considering proposed reconstructions of outdoor space, and the distinct requirements of the people and communities who this work serves, I employed a deep examination of King's operationalization of shoals to craft a strategic contextual approach. I am a Black biracial woman; however, I have been purposeful in my selection both of Black and Indigenous theorists and theories. I support the assertion that the fundamental foundation of North America is a twin genocidal project, and that colonial

structures and logics can only be dismantled from this orientation (Hudson 2017, Simpson and Smith 2014). King argues in favour of this approach with her suggestion of shoals as a place where Indigeneity and Blackness might create coalitions in absence of white mediation. Her approach is both hemispheric and works below the surface to create a generative friction (Lethabo King 2019). I appreciate her stated ethic, borrowed from the diaries of Lorde, which asks how our differences can be employed to fight our common battles (Lorde 1985). This affirms that Blackness and Indigeneity cannot be conflated even when they share common oppressions or goals. While critical race theory offers to speak on behalf of all racialized peoples, it centers Blackness as the neutral standard and predominant unit of analysis. Solutions or action-based applications of this theoretical framework can subsequently be flawed as they lack the intersectionality that recognizes the different lived experiences or ontological differences of diverse racialized groups. Because I intend to create action-oriented research, as Gaudry advises, for a diverse group, I am required to operationalize elements from multiple theoretical frameworks to avoid this flaw (Gaudry 2011). I am additionally captivated by King's reevaluation of the intersections of Blackness and Indigeneity, surfacing new coalitionary epistemologies and methodologies to combat both structural and systemic racism.

The problematic social construction of the outdoor space was founded on white supremacist logics that render racialized peoples as lesser and built for labour while the dominant white race both deserves and requires rest and respite. King identifies this as the result of conquistador humanism which created the moral space and legitimacy for conquest by crafting a hierarchy of humanity placing enlightened white men at the top, and Black and Indigenous peoples at the bottom (Lethabo King 2019, 16). The continual

reinforcement of this hierarchy continues to reproduce this false legitimacy, allowing the colonial hierarchy of white male supremacy and classism to persist. King goes on to examine how the theorizing of racial violence differs between Canada and the United States, asserting Canadian Blacks employ a Black/white/Indigenous frame whereas American Blacks employ a Black/white frame. King offers instead a Black/Indigenous frame where generative conversations can be held without mediation by whiteness.

2.4.3 Tetonic Theory

Locating yourself within your research is a tenet of critical Indigenous studies so I start from the position that the ethereal quality of King's approach is not aligned with my embodied knowledge or experience. I am neither gentle nor patient. Like the creation of the Grand Tetons, I seek a dramatic, seismic shift. The Grand Tetons are unique in that they were not formed by the collision of two tectonic plate systems; they are the result of an exploitation of weakness. A vulnerability existed in the Cordilleran belt under now Wyoming. Under geologic and gravitational stress, the crust thinned and twisted, creating and exposing fissures which filled with molten rock, further weakening it from within. Nine million years ago the surface gave way, dropping the valley floor 6,000 meters and displacing the rock below (National Park Service 2020). The resulting cavity in the earth is now known as Jackson's Hole. The uplift of rock to the west of the valley created the youngest and fastest formed mountain range in North America, which continues to grow. This is what I hope to do: exploit the faults and flaws of colonial and white supremacist logics until they fall away only to be quickly replaced by an expansive, generative, and stronger force.

Like King, I am theoretically and methodologically promiscuous, but where she seeks to feel out where formations may come together from theories, I seek to strategically employ elements of CIT and CRT independently where they would have the most effect, to create, expose, and exploit voids left by flaws in the foundation. King's theoretical framework determines Blackness is related to water because water is its origin site in North America. She uses Blackness and not Black peoples so as to not allow space for a distinction between Black persons whose ancestors were enslaved, and Black persons who are more recently arrived. This is because the racism systemic within colonial structures also does not make that distinction. An individual's experience within colonial society is based on phenotype, not ancestry. Conversely, King determines Indigeneity is related to land because of Indigenous peoples deep rootedness within their homelands. As Moreton-Robinson states, Indigenous peoples have an ontological relationship with their individual homelands: colonial structures can physically or legally displace Indigenous peoples, but they cannot disrupt this fundamental relationship (Moreton-Robinson 2015). Where King probingly feels out where these elements may come together, I would like to draw upon their individual powers separately.

Nelson asserts that "nonhuman nature offers more intelligent and resilient models for positive change" (Nelson 2019, 70). In her work "Wrestling with Fire", Nelson grounds her work in Simpson's articulation of radical resurgence and draws both from Indigenous feminists, including Simpson, and natural sciences in her discussion of resistance and resurgence. First, she explores resistance as a biological response for survival, and advocates for a deep understanding of the biological need for response grounded from a place entrenched in Indigenous value systems to ensure action is not

counterproductive. Secondly, she explores the balance between creation and destruction and identifies climate-level event responses to human ecological exploitation as both. Finally, she advocates for the creation of climate-level event mental processes to address mental, physical, and sociopolitical imbalances. As a member of the big mountain community, this resonates with me both as ethic and praxis.

By applying selected elements from CIT and CRT theorists and using them to aggravate the flaws of colonial and white supremacist logics, I hope the structure will give way. I contend that what is built up in place of what has been destroyed is of more importance that the act of destruction.

Replacing the narrative of outdoor recreational spaces as white space with the narrative that racialized peoples have been excluded and change is needed does not serve the communities that I am hoping to create inclusions for. Black and Indigenous Peoples understand that snow sports occur within, or adjacent to spaces racialized, socialized, and legislated as white. This history has been etched into the collective memories of Black and Indigenous Peoples and passed down to the current generations (Jackson 2019). Despite legislative change and social progress, this history combined with the continued representation of outdoor recreation space as white space has created a racialized perception of what bodies belong in these spaces (A. K. Harrison 2013). Narratives of exclusion would be tantamount to what Tuck labels ‘Damaged-Centered Interpretations’ and forecloses on opportunities for Black and Indigenous Peoples to participate in positive change (Tuck 2009). This is a victim narrative and assigns authority to the snow sports industries to craft solutions for a way forward. The snow sports industry does not have the cultural awareness or the institutional knowledge of the diverse and at times

oppositional perspective, or the legitimacy within racialized communities to make meaningful or lasting change. Additionally, Black and Indigenous peoples have significantly different historical and lived experiences within outdoor and recreational spaces associated with domination, violence, exclusions, and removal (Martin 2004). Industry does not have the lived experience to fully understand or address these.

Further, fully committing to change may mean solutions the snow sports industry is closed to hearing. Outdoor spaces are Indigenous lands and many recreational spaces have deeply culturally meaningful or sacred sites. Increased participation of Indigenous peoples in snow sports may have to be precipitated by the restriction of certain activities or spaces in respect of Indigenous land sovereignty. This further underpins my decision to orient my research toward community, with benefit to industry being a tertiary concern. Tuck and Yang advocate that intervention intended to convince a group of something they are closed to hearing is a wasted effort (Tuck and Yang 2014). Restriction of activity in support of land sovereignty is what underpinned the opposition to the proposed Jumbo Glacier ski resort on the Purcell range of the Cariboo Mountains. Jumbo Glacier is on the sovereign and unceded territory of the Ktunaxa Nation who opposed development on the glacier because it is a site of profound cultural, spiritual, and environmental significance (Wildsight 2015). It took 20 years of sustained action by the Nation and their allies to defeat the proposed resort because the industry was closed to hearing the Nation's concerns. Ultimately, a complex legal loophole regarding avalanche safety and water licensing, employed by the Nation's legal counsel, is what defeated the proposal. Because this space has been racialized as white space, it had to be evidenced that development would contravene colonial law in order to protect it.

From the orientation that this work will privilege community to benefit community because community is where the legitimacy to make meaningful change lies, I look to Tuck and Yang for a methodological solution which aligns with my theoretical framework. Tuck and Yang advocate for a refusal to expend effort where it will not net change and refusal to engage in damage narratives. In place, they advocate for centering voices from within the community. To operationalize this methodology, I employed research creation, a process in which a creative endeavour is undertaken to study the results, utilizing digital technology (Chapman and Sawchuk 2012).

Chapter 3: Methodology

Until the lions have their storytellers, the story of the hunt will always glorify the hunter – African Proverb

3.1 Methodological Selection and Ethics

Guided by the assemblage of critical race and critical Indigenous theories that comes together to form my tetonic approach, and the theoretical assertion that settler colonialism is a structure, not an event, and the main objective of colonialism is capitally motivated access to territory (Wolfe 2006), I have made strategic methodological and ethical choices. First, I have predominately privileged Black and Indigenous scholars and thinkers to purposefully contribute to the amplification of voices of colour within the academy. Where that has not been possible, I have looked to scholars and thinkers from the broader BIPoC community. Throughout each stage of my work, I have undergone a self-reflection to identify how my personal location implicates myself in the work including examining any areas of blindness or internalized bias. For the research

component of my work, I choose research creation, specifically the development of the *BIPoC Outside Podcast*, governed by the ethic of Indigenous storywork, and have employed a thematic analysis to derive results.

My overall governing ethic is derived from Tuck's concept of refusing research, which is what led me to my research topic, questions, and approach (Tuck and Yang 2014). I refuse to ask Black and Indigenous peoples to participate in pain narratives. By choosing to complete a literature review and historical analysis focusing on the construction of outdoor spaces, I have supported this research with information in the public realm as opposed to leveraging personal stories and exploiting peoples' pain. Subsequently, the *BIPoC Outside Podcast* centered participants as athletes and sports innovators, and not as individuals who have experienced racism and/or exclusion. This is by no means a dismissal of an individual's or a community's lived experience, but an opportunity to highlight their contributions to the outdoor space and learn from their expertise. Pain and pathology discourses of Black and Indigenous peoples are already prevalent in society, and I believe there is no value to contributing to them. Racialized peoples are more than our pain, we are also our joys, our pleasures, our expertise, and our triumphs. I believe there is value in contributing to the dissemination of these positive narratives. With the creation of *BIPoC Outside* I have created opportunities to explore and celebrate these positive narratives while creating space for expert voices from within our communities to be heard.

My secondary ethic is externally focused praxis as articulated by Lumby legal scholar Robert Williams Jr. (2009). Williams Jr. advocates for an externally focused practice as opposed to praxis that privileges the academy because the academy will give

you little in return while demanding that you conform to westernized ways of knowing and knowledge transmission. Williams Jr. further asserts that in return for your conformity the academy will give you only recognition, whereas praxis focused externally and toward community can benefit your entire person. Glen Coulthard's definition of recognition is grounded in political rights but is applicable to the relationship between the academy and junior scholars. Coulthard asserts recognition is a form of appeasement that serves to satisfy the dominant position by providing enough to satisfy the subordinate without ceding real power (Coulthard 2014B). Further, drawing from Hegel, he asserts this is an underpinning element of the master/dialectic which indicates that the consciousnesses of masters and slaves are co-constituted; one cannot exist without the other. The reason the academy does not embrace externally focused praxis is it requires internally focused energy to continue to exist in its current form. Williams Jr. asks: if there are parts of the system that do not serve you, why would you continue to feed it? He asserts if we withhold enough of our energy the academy will be forced to change to continue to exist. Finally, through the telling of stories, Williams Jr. articulates the benefit of refocusing your academic practice to externally focused praxis. By aligning work with personal values and community the rewards are personal and societal (Williams Jr. 2009).

These ethics are strategic in that they counter exclusionary narratives and stereotypes about BIPoC individuals within the outdoor space held by members of dominant society while adhering to Gaudry's tenets of insurgent research (Gaudry 2011). Lifting community voices of expertise has the two-fold benefit of providing recognition and reverence to those expert voices while expanding the reach of those voices within

broader BIPoC communities with whom they would resonate. I am a woman-identified Canadian Black settler and hearing expertise from Black women from outside of my community still resonates with me significantly. While we may not share locality and community specificity there are cultural contexts and lived experiences that are similar and therefore more applicable to me. Because these individuals were also deeply entrenched big mountain community members their voices also resonated within that community. Gaudry teaches us to orient knowledge creation toward Indigenous communities and understand that our responsibility as researchers is to those communities who should be the primary beneficiaries of our work. I employ these tenets toward the multiple communities of colour that my work engages to both benefit them as individual communities and tease out coalitionary spaces.

My commitment to privilege the work and perspectives of members of the broader BIPoC community extends beyond the scholars and thinkers that have informed my theoretical and methodological choices, and the experts I chose to engage for my research. It began with the selection of the Faculty I chose to pursue this work from, continued when I engaged Adam Jaber of the Out of Collective as my mentor in the outdoor media space, and has driven every decision in the creation of *BIPoC Outside*. Each contributor to the creation of the show, including art, original music, graphic design, and photography is a member of the BIPoC community. Further, I have required that any group the show has partnered with at minimum has meaningful BIPoC representation at the decision-making table, has identified actionable solutions to improving equity within their area of the outdoor space, are measuring their work toward those solutions, and has a barrier reduction program.

Lastly, in my approach to the delivery of results and conclusions, I invoke mountain climber and Métis scholar Molly Swain. Swain articulates that "academic conventions necessitate that I draw and assert conclusions" (Swain 2018, 12), recognizing that this is a colonial process and registering her disdain for it. Similarly, drawing from Swain (2018) and Tuck (2009), I refuse. The conclusions I present resulting from BIPoC Outside are the collaborative insights and perspectives from BIPoC members of the big mountain community. As a member of this community, I can interpret these insights for an academic audience, as I have done here, but they are generated from within the community, and not products of my own work.

3.2 Personal Location

My first methodological concern is always my personal location within and outside of this research. As stated, I am a Black bi-racial woman, I am also a settler and a skier. My family immigrated, as free people and British Loyalists, to Canada, from the Louisiana territory, in the mid-18th century and settled in Nova Scotia on Mi'kmaw lands. My parents migrated West seeking employment opportunities and I was subsequently born and raised on Treaty 6 territory. There is a strong history of allyship between the Mi'kmaw Nation and the Black Loyalist communities on Mi'kma'ki. I was raised to understand the citizens of the Nation as our neighbours, which in our community context is more than co-location; it denotes a reciprocal relationship and mutual respect. Although strategic coalitions between Black and Indigenous Peoples are more recent in Western Canada and the communities are significantly different, I carry the spirit of the notion of neighbours with me. I was first taught to ski by my Father in the river valley in

Edmonton and on the snow has since been the place where I find peace. As an adult my chosen family is within the big mountain community where I have worked as a guide, overcome my biggest challenges, and experienced my biggest failures. It is also the community where I met my partner and our year, to the extent possible, revolves around the ski calendar. I am uniquely positioned to participate in a conversation about diversity on the snow. I am also deeply motivated to create work that builds or strengthens coalitions between Black communities and Indigenous Nations because I believe solidarity creates the strength to dismantle our separate but analogous oppressions, it aligns with my personal commitment to reconciliation, and by continuing in their traditions it honours those who raised me.

3.3 Indigenous Storywork

3.3.1 Overview

Both of my chosen theoretical frameworks employ storytelling and/or counter storytelling as a methodological application, but storytelling has different implications for Black and Indigenous peoples (Archibald, Lee Morgan and De Santolo 2019, Delgado and Stefancic 2017, Miller, Liu and Ball 2020, Solorzano and Yosso 2002, Tuhiwai Smith 2012) Storytelling for Black peoples is an act of validation, while storytelling for Indigenous peoples is a culturally informed and learned process with associated protocols. Counter storytelling, on the other hand, aims to cast doubt upon accepted premises held by the majority. As a non-Indigenous person, I do not have the embodied knowledge to undertake Indigenous storywork, but I am able to adhere to its ethics ensuring sound ethical engagement with all participants.

Indigenous storywork is an ethical and structured engagement with Indigenous knowledges and voices, and both traditional and lived experience stories (Archibald N.D.). As I have explored in earlier work (Lugosi, Patrie and Cromwell 2022), Indigenous storywork sustains and reinvigorates Indigenous culture, teachings, and principles through the governing ethics of respect, responsibility, and reciprocity, and the application of holism, inter-relatedness, and synergy (Archibald 2008, Archibald and Parent 2019). It offers opportunities to create or engage with narratives that privilege and benefit the community (Tuck and Yang 2014).

Indigenous storywork is also a community-established human research ethical guideline. Tuck (2009) asserts that human research practices that are established within community are an ethical solution to abstaining from or refuting damage-centered narratives. Further, it is aligned with Gerald Vizenor's concept of survivance which creates "spaces of synthesis and renewal" (1994, p.53). Survivance is a process that includes survival, resistance, and resurgence (Narine 2021).

3.3.2 Appropriateness for Larger Community Use

I assert that the ethic of Indigenous storywork is an appropriate intervention for use in the broader racialized community because, like Davidson (2019), I have yet to observe a western methodology that provides sufficient ethical guidance for working within racialized communities (Davidson 2019). As a racialized person who has born witness to the violence perpetrated by media on Black and Indigenous communities during the protest cycles of 2020 and 2021, I refuse to replicate their methods of engagement. Instead, I looked to Wilson (2017) and Archibald (2019) for guidance on relational accountability which holds me responsible for the well-being of the participants

who gift their time to my research. Archibald (2008) articulates this requirement as having respect for more than the story but the individual who holds it and how they choose to share it. Wilson further advises that because stories can go in circles, revealing a deeper level of meaning after each revolution, a listener must sit in patience. As stated earlier I am not a patient person, so this is an important teaching and an active and mindful process for me.

At a macro level when evaluating the appropriateness of an Indigenous methodology utilized for research in non-Indigenous communities, I refer to Tuhiwai Smith and Andersen. Tuhiwai Smith (2012) asserts that storytelling and storywork is a decolonizing methodology. While storywork can only be undertaken by individuals with an embodied cultural knowledge and understanding, I argue that adherence to the ethic of storywork is a decolonial remedy to the separate but analogous forms of colonial oppression experienced by Indigenous and Black peoples. Further, Andersen (2009) reminds us that Indigenous peoples and Indigenous Nations are more than a biological component that differentiates them from dominant society. They are whole and complex, at times multi-racial societies, which are distinct. Is that not what western society, and by extension western academia, purports itself to be? If western academic traditions and methodologies can be applied to non-western peoples, then why can we not also apply Indigenous methodologies to non-Indigenous peoples provided those methodologies are implemented in an ethical way that does not seek to appropriate Indigenous knowledge but implement Indigenous teachings in ways that are appropriate for a non-Indigenous audience? Indigenous traditions, teachings, and methodologies are equal and appropriate in an academic setting. In the specific case of my work, I argue they are the most

appropriate as western ways of knowing do not offer sufficient guidelines of care for participants to whom I feel a deep responsibility.

3.3.3 Implementation

First and foremost, in my implementation of Indigenous storywork for this project I am reminded by Tuhiwai Smith (2012) of the paradox of insider/outsider researchers. Each person comes to this project as a fully complete and complex person and a member of multiple communities. While I share a membership in the big mountain community with my participants, we are not fully analogous community members, meaning I am both an insider and an outsider researcher. Following the advice of Tuhiwai Smith, I am required above all to be humble and that is the orientation from which I began this work. I was humbled by both the gift of time and the gift of knowledge that every person was willing to share with me. Further, guidance from Archibald (2008) and Wilson (2008) underpins my understanding that every mistake is my own solely. Participants in this research are not implicated in my misunderstandings. Similar to how Wilson articulates that stories go in circles, Butler (1988, 1990) asserts the stories must be told and retold to achieve all of their meaning. It has been my responsibility to listen reverently to uncover the deeper meaning.

Like Davidson (2019), my work does not include a spiritual or ceremonial component but as Wilson instructs that did not foreclose on my responsibility to approach both the storytellers and their stories with reverence. I follow in the path of Davidson's proposed new research tradition by publicly honouring the contributions of my participants (Davidson 2019, 31) and publicly acknowledging that I do not own this research. Because of the public nature of my work product, this further aligns with the

Indigenous storywork principle of reciprocity. This work is published publicly in barrier-free media, and the website and social media channels that support the work amplify the voices of my participants and their work. This also provides a constant feedback loop to the broader BIPoC community to determine which information presentation style resonates so I can adapt future messaging. These channels also provide a platform from which to advocate when seeking specific changes from areas within the outdoor space.

3.4 Research Creation

3.4.1 Research Creation

Ultimately, BIPoC Outside is a research creation undertaking. Research creation is a methodology that does not stem from critical race or critical Indigenous theoretical frameworks, but it is in alignment with both. Chapman and Sawchuk 'refuse' the "text-based bureaucratic cultures" of the academy, a colonial institution (Chapman and Sawchuk 2012, 8). They maintain that research in conjunction with production is legitimate despite the infancy of its acceptance in traditional academia.

Research creation is an interdisciplinary invested practice that generates knowledge or informs understanding through artistic practice. Loveless describes problem oriented approaches to generating transmissible knowledge (Loveless 2019, Loveless 2020). While it is grounded in artistic practice the goal is to create knowledge that is accessible and engaging to the intended audience. Loveless identifies Leanne Betasamosake Simpson and Audre Lorde as pinnacle research creationists because their texts are personal and deeply engaging while inviting us to think critically about the world, the stories we tell, and why some endeavours are privileged over others (Loveless 2019, 29). She further identifies the interdisciplinary work of Kim TallBear and Tracy

Bear as a critical example of how research creation can uplift voices marginalized by, or subject matter overlooked by academic institutions through the braiding together of academic and traditionally nonacademic practices. TallBear and Bear's innovative approach to sharing sex-positive Indigenous storytelling engages and educates while challenging the structural indifference of the institution (Loveless 2019, 45)

Loveless advocates for telling stories that can make or remake how we understand a specific problem in absence of the hierarchical structure of academic institutions which renders some knowledge as less than. Specifically, she advocates for stories for the people, by the people, that uncover solutions potentially unattainable oriented from within the confines of a rigid academic structure.

This was the underpinning logic in the selection of research creation as a methodology, to exploit the structural faults of academia which does not privilege Black and Indigenous voices to expose the flawed colonial logics of the snow sports industry.

3.4.2 Podcasting as Methodology

The podcast is an innovative digital research creation method that was used to engage, center, and provide space for the diverse voices from within the big mountain community to confront the snow sports industry's framing of the lack of diversity on the snow. I then interpreted these strong and generative community-driven insights to derive solutions to properly address diversity in snow sports.

Like TallBear and Bear, this podcast uplifted voices and subject matter marginalized by the academy, and specific to this project, the snow sports industry. Participants in this project were members of the big mountain community and members of racialized communities so they had the expertise and cultural competence to speak in

both. Like Simpson and Lorde, the podcast offers personal and engaging stories that are culturally relevant to both racialized peoples and big mountain community members. We brought this audience together, through targeted marketing, to entertain them while offering them insights that would challenge them to critically examine the snow sports industry.

This method is aligned with my ethics of refusal and community benefit. Like Swain, I refuse to submit to the publish or perish paradigm but instead choose to participate in free and accessible knowledge transmission which benefits the broader community (Gaudry 2011, Swain 2018). Additionally, communities whom this knowledge would benefit in their fight for equity in outdoor spaces do not subscribe to the *International Journal of Kinesiology and Sports Science* or the *Journal of Outdoor Recreation and Tourism*; these are cost prohibitive and utilize academic language that does not resonate. Copeland and McGregor (2021) advocate for the use of podcasts, as a near barrier-free digital media, to achieve free and accessible knowledge transmission. The individuals in the outdoor space who are looking to create equity of opportunity in snow sports are the demographic I am specifically targeting with this information. These are individuals who subscribe to *Ski Magazine*, watch the *Out Of Collective* on YouTube, and hopefully, subscribe to the *BIPoC Outside Podcast*.

I selected a podcast for two reasons: alignment with my ethics and the rigour associated with western ways of knowledge transmission are incompatible with members of the current generation who are outside of the academy (McGregor 2017). Podcasting however is a way to engage people both inside and outside of the academy. Podcasts provide the opportunity for knowledge transmission through entertainment, active and

passive learning (Llinares, Fox and Berry 2018). From an Indigenous studies perspective, this aligns with Andersen and O'Brien's call for methodological promiscuity, regardless of if the methods are aligned with western ways of knowledge transmission (Andersen and O'Brien 2017). Drawing on Cook-Lynn, they underscore the importance that scholars in Indigenous studies engage broad, including public, audiences. The artistic practice here is the entertainment. It is the thoughtful and engaging way my participants and I came together to tell stories that challenge the snow sports industry's taken-for-granted assumptions in educational and entertaining ways. The art is in the delivery. Utilizing the categories identified by Chapman and Sawchuk (2012) the "research for creation" was the months of planning, designing, curation, and chase producing before the show commenced. The "research from creation" was the thematic analysis of the interviews that took place once the show had concluded.

3.4.3 Implementation

To satisfy the technical learning requirements I completed a hands-on podcast and blog design course at Waterloo University during the winter semester of 2021. This gave me the technical skills in sound design, sound editing, website design and maintenance, promotion, and publishing that was the technical foundation for *BIPoC Outside*, its complimentary website, and social media channels. Upon completion of my technical coursework, I completed business, technical, marketing, and engagement plans. This would typically be too large a scope for a master's thesis, but I intended to continue with and expand the show beyond the scope of this project. The engagement plan was the base document submitted to the Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta to secure approval and also acts as the show's chase production manual. A chase production

manual dictates who will be engaged, how they will be engaged, and includes templates for engagement on all mediums (email, different social media channels, telephone, etc.) to ensure brand consistency regardless of the medium. For *BIPoC Outside* this includes templates for initial introductions, correspondence, meeting invites, and issuing episode proofs for final approval for interviewees, templates for media and potential collaborators, and a style guide for all social media and website publications.

Following the submission for ethics, I completed the artistic design plan and engaged BIPoC artists as paid contributors for original music, graphic design, and banner illustrations. Once the art design was complete, the website and social media channels went live to begin generating buzz for the upcoming show. To engage followers in the social media space, the social channels share content from BIPoC individuals, communities, and organizations in the outdoor space, resources, helpful tips, information on BIPoC businesses in the outdoor space, relevant news, and scholarship information. The website houses the show information including guides for each episode with the show notes, relevant links for the content discussed, and an auto-generated transcript for accessibility.

Upon ethics approval, I began chase production or engaging potential participants. A list of 71 potential participants produced 21 generative interactions and 12 episodes for the podcast, which completed recording and postproduction between August 2021 and January 2022. Episodes began publication on Podbean in November 2021 and concluded in February 2022. These were initially syndicated on Apple podcasts, Apple Music, Google Podcasts, Spotify, Amazon Music, iHeartRadio, and Stitcher.

During the first season of the show, *BIPoC Outside* (on Snow), which was the research basis for this thesis, the podcast performed in the top 50% of podcasts globally. Now in its second season, *BIPoC Outside* (on Wheels), a season with no academic affiliation, the show is performing in the top 35% of podcasts globally. The show continues production thanks to a corporate title sponsor from within the outdoor industry and this revenue has allowed me to create *BIPoC Outside* scholarships in the outdoor space in order further put the show ethic into practice. These have included online access for the Vancouver International Mountain Film Festival to conclude season 1, mountain bike scholarships for the Edmonton Mountain Bike Festival for season 2, and ski scholarships for the Colour the Slopes Summit upcoming in season 3.

3.5 Thematic Analysis

3.5.1 Overview

Thematic analysis is the practice of developing patterns of meaning or themes within a qualitative data set (Braun and Clarke 2021, University of Auckland n.d., Willig and Stainton Rogers 2017). This is accomplished through the creation of a coding breakdown structure and data coding. A coding breakdown structure is a hierarchical structure of the main themes identified in the data set that each breakdown into subthemes until you have reached the baseline pattern. Once this is complete a rigorous process of data review and data coding is undertaken. Each time a pattern that has been established in the coding breakdown structure emerges that data is associated with that specific code. At the conclusion of the data analysis, the qualitative data will be broken down and reorganized in alignment with the coding breakdown structure. This allows for

both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The qualitative analysis is the themes and sub-themes that emerge from the data set. Further, quantitative analysis can be undertaken for example if, as in this project, demographic information was collected from the participants of the research.

This project utilized reflexive thematic analysis where the coding structure was not fixed but was inductively created through the content of the data. This ensured that every relevant theme was identified and explored. This also permitted additional flexibility because participants in this research were asked open-ended questions so a deductive thematic analysis would not have reflected all of the responses from the participants.

3.5.2 Implementation

For this project, the qualitative data analysis software NVivo was utilized. To satisfy the technical learning requirements for the software I undertook formal training at QSR International and became an NVivo Certified User in August of 2021. This project was set up in NVivo as a content analysis project with the data type of ‘Interviews’ and the units of ‘People’. Each person was coded as their episode number and their attributes of ethnic identity, gender identity, LGBTQ+ identity if applicable, adaptive status if applicable, region, and pronouns were included. Because each participant only completed one interview, one on one cases were used for this project. Once each episode completed postproduction and received approval from the participant the transcript was uploaded as the case for the participant and the file classifications of date, time, and length were included.

The code book for this project was initially created outside of the NVivo software in Excel during the first data review which was done in the postproduction software. This allowed for initial flexibility as the first themes were emerging prior to setting up the project in NVivo. Once 75% of the interviews were complete and their first data review had been complete, the code book was uploaded into NVivo, and secondary data analysis and coding took place. Because of the reflexive nature of this project the coding breakdown structure was fluid until all data analysis was complete. The findings in Chapter 4 are presented in alignment and reflect this project's final coding breakdown structure.

Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion

In the following sections I address and discuss the major themes and their subthemes that emerged from the thematic analysis of the *BIPoC Outside Podcast* interviews. The interview questions were open-ended and invited the participants to discuss economic and proximity barriers (marginality thesis) to participation in snow sports, snow sports cultural barriers (ethnicity thesis), and how the snow sports industry can improve ethnic and cultural diversity on the snow. The themes that emerged from these interviews include both individual and community perspectives and sites of potential coalition between different racialized communities. Each of the core themes also begins with a relevant quote taken from the podcast. I conclude this section with insights derived from a holistic review of the data set.

4.1 Community Engagement

4.1.1 Engagement that is Meaningful

The revolution is going to be relational – Vasu Sojitra

To address the lack of diversity on the snow, communities must be meaningfully engaged. Meaningful engagement puts community members at the decision-making table and gives them the authority to participate in decision-making. This is not a symbolic role but an active one. Participants advocated that individual communities must be invited to participate in ways that are meaningful to them. There is no one size fits all solution to meaningful engagement: it requires building relationships, and it takes time. One participant advised that community could function as a teacher to build cultural competency in snow sports or outdoor industry partners to facilitate this process, but it must be understood that only community members have the authority to make decisions on matters that pertain to them. Further, decisions that are made may only be accepted if they are made by individuals with cultural authority.

Indigenous participants further required that communities be meaningfully engaged in all decisions regarding land and visitor use planning. One participant further assessed that these types of plans should include traditional scientific and ecological knowledge to ensure a holistic assessment. Lastly, Indigenous participants foresaw that the times when businesses can use the land with impunity was coming to an end.

One participant further called out the scarcity mentality that prevents individuals and organizations from meaningful engagement and change. They asserted that collaboration produces mutually beneficial solutions to common problems. These

benefits are often relational but can be economic to the benefit of both parties. This point is examined in section 4.1.3.

These insights all align with CIT and CRT in that meaning representation creates space for countering taken-for-granted assumptions and myths about Indigenous and Black peoples and supplants them with accurate in community perspective.

4.1.2 Engagement that is Long Term

[Industry will] show concern for three months. And then it's forgotten – Henri Rivers

For engagement to be meaningful, participants further asserted a long-term engagement plan from the snow sports industry was required. Singular efforts were seen as inauthentic or not aligned with long-term term community goals. Black participants noted how the snow sports industry's attempts to engage the Black community were typically aligned with Black history month. Their failure to engage the Black community beyond this was viewed as capitalist extraction. These actions were perceived as the industry seeking to be perceived as allies to the Black community in order to grow their market share with little benefit extended to the Black community.

A more recent problematic behaviour was the broad industry response after the protest cycles of 2020 (Black Lives Matter) and 2021 (Every Child Matters). In an effort to be viewed as socially responsible and maintain their social license to operate, industry quickly pivoted to be seen as allies to Black and Indigenous communities. This was done by pledging support on social media campaigns, issuing broad statements of allyship, and featuring Black and Indigenous peoples in marketing campaigns. At times, these actions were poorly thought through and were typically seen as hypocritical and performative, or

'hashtag activism' (Cram 2021, DeSantis 2020, Goodyear 2021, Hitt 2020, Murphy 2021, Ritson 2020). Many of the campaigns were never followed through on, and within a brief period industry broadly returned to business as usual.

This was particularly disappointing for individuals from racialized communities who found optimism in the newfound support for causes meaningful to the community. The lack of follow-through from industry and resulting disappointment may cause communities to be more hesitant to partner with any industry in the future, particularly if communities are not presented with a long-term strategic engagement plan.

Indigenous participants further asserted that a long-term engagement strategy was critical to ensure the plan was aligned with community goals and was oriented from a position that respected Indigenous sovereignty. All participants expressed an understanding of and respect for the fact that all outdoor recreation takes place on Indigenous lands and that Indigenous peoples need to be engaged in the outdoor space regardless of cultural identity. Non-Indigenous participants described this on a spectrum from recognition to rights and Indigenous participants described this in terms of sovereignty. This topic is expanded upon in section 4.5. In terms of community engagement, Indigenous participants expected to be collaborated with as partners in ways that support long-term community goals. With the understanding that no one participant could speak on behalf of all Indigenous communities, long-term goals were broadly described in terms of creating financial sovereignty and security opportunities and engaging youth in ways that were meaningful and culturally appropriate to the specific community. Investing in youth was seen as a long-term community goal because it protects the community's future. Financial sovereignty is deemed an individual element

of full sovereignty. While sovereignty is meaningful in different ways to individuals and individual Nations, it is broadly a goal of Indigenous peoples.

The need for engagement to be long-term can also be described as generating systemic change, a goal of both CIT and CRT. Further, CIT theorists argue an anti-colonial remedy is community resurgence, which is aided by investing in youth and reducing reliance on colonial economies, which requires financial sovereignty.

4.1.3 Engagement and Growth

We're not going anywhere. The more you strengthen that relationship, the better it's going to be for both parties. – Aaron Marchant

Participants in this project recognized that meaningful and long-term engagement creates mutually beneficial growth which should incentivize the snow sports industry to come to the table. The growth opportunities of meaningful long-term engagement with communities were identified as personal, social, and economic. Because meaningful engagement requires community participation it often requires the snow sports industry to invest in skill development within communities. This could be training as sports participants, coaches or instructors on the snow, or training on the business end in order to either participate in or make informed decisions. This investment translates into personal growth for individuals from within the community. As more community members are engaged it results in a growing diversity of skillsets within the community and allows the community to participate more holistically. Assuming these endeavours are successful, they will attract additional community members, creating organic social growth through interest or the recognition of opportunity.

Appropriate community engagement can create economic opportunities for community to participate in the snow sports industry. Depending on the individual nature of the community and location, this could be in terms of jobs, business partnerships, or empowering the community to develop its own economic enterprises. Examples of this would be guiding services, hospitality, retail, or offering cultural tourism services to capture and benefit from visitors coming into the area.

Many participants focused on the benefit of meaningful engagement in the snow sports industry. There was a commonly held understanding that the industry was leaving quite a lot on the table by not appealing to such a significant portion of the population. One participant cited the American Census Bureau which indicates that by 2045 racialized peoples will be the primary inhabitants of the United States (Frey 2018). Engaging racialized communities meaningfully was seen as a way to expand in new markets, expanding customer bases and market shares. Participants also saw this as a way to grow in both racialized and non-racialized communities by strengthening social licenses to operate. This is particularly true when that engagement is between a business and a local Indigenous Nation on whose land the business operates. This can evidence to Indigenous peoples from other Nations that this business could be a trusted partner, a business worth patronizing, or a safe place to recreate because local Indigenous peoples have participated in business decisions. Further, if an organization can show that it is meaningfully engaging racialized communities, that can be additionally meaningful to non-racialized allies, potentially inciting them to patronage that business.

Something that was discussed off camera was how innovative community and industry partnerships were particularly attractive to international tourists and both efforts

at Whistler British Columbia and Winter Park Colorado were mentioned. This sentiment is echoed by a recent Indigenous Tourism survey that indicates authentic and non-exploitative Indigenous-led tourism opportunities are attractive to both domestic and international visitors, as well as the positive response to existing Indigenous-led initiatives (Allan 2022, Atkinson 2017, McKinley 2022, Steinberger 2018). These initiatives celebrate the fluidity of traditional Indigenous economies as espoused by Coulthard while reducing reliance on colonial economies.

Lastly, there was a recognition that while racialized communities do experience poverty at statistically higher rates in both Canada and the United States, not all racialized people experience poverty. Black American participants particularly identified the Black propensity to 'show out' or spend money. This is additional evidence to combat the marginality thesis the snow sports industry has used to diagnose its diversity problem. Harrison further provides evidence that there is no statistically significant spending difference between Black and white people while on vacation (A. K. Harrison 2013)

The average poverty rate for the US sits at approximately 10.5%. 18.8% of the Black community and 25% of Indigenous Peoples currently experience poverty, and these rates have been in steady decline (Creamer 2020). Using benchmarks set out by the PEW Research Center, 46% of the Black community falls into the middle- or high-income earner categories. Unfortunately, little data is available on wealth for Indigenous Peoples in America (Statistica 2022, Wenger and Zaber 2021). SIA reports the Black community participates in snow sports at a rate of 9% (National Ski Areas Association 2020, Snowsports Industries America 2021). Given the total population of Black and Indigenous Peoples in the United States is nearly 57M (Jones, et al. 2021) that potentially

represents 45M people who can afford to participate in snow sports in the United States and choose not to. Following the same logic, given Canada's Black and Indigenous populations of 1.2M and 1.6M respectively (Statistics Canada 2019A, Department of Indigenous Services 2020), and their respective poverty rates of 24% and 25% (Canadian Poverty Institute 2020, Statistics Canada 2019B), the snow sports industry is leaving 2.1M Canadians behind.

This is by no means an assessment that meaningful community engagement will send millions of new skiers to Aspen, Jackson, or Whistler where a family of four can expect to spend $1,200 per day for lift tickets, accommodations, and meals, but as participants were eager to point out, skiing happens everywhere there is snow. Every region with reliable snow has small community-run, often non-profit, ski areas. A short bus ride on the #8 from the University of Alberta deposits skiers at a non-profit ski area where lift tickets are the same cost as attending a movie theatre (Edmonton Ski Club 2020).

4.2 Education, Leadership, and Secret Handshakes

4.2.1 Level Playing Fields

You start to meet people that are at the same level as you, and it keeps you in your comfort zone. – Sandy Ward

Education was perceived as a way to level the playing field both on the snow and off. On the snow, individuals who are provided education, or instruction, were more likely to persevere because they both found their comfort zone in snow sports, and they found community. Learning a new skill can be frustrating; competent instruction that focuses

equally on fun and learning engages individuals to continue to participate. Further, group learning activities allow participants to find people at the same level as themselves, giving them a common ground. This common ground can be a platform from which to build friendships or community which can incentivize people to come back. The combination of education and community building on the snow can help close the achievement gap between racialized and non-racialized individuals on the snow.

Participants who were leaders of organizations further asserted that individuals who received formal training in snow sports and were successful translated that success into other places in their lives. The combination of the healthy benefits of sport and the outdoors, along with the empowerment that comes from successfully gaining a new skill creates confidence within individuals. Those participants that run youth programs on the snow identified positive outcomes in other areas of those young lives. Two participants that have run multi-generational programs indicated that those benefits became long-term and assessed improved self-esteem, social, educational, and in community outcomes contributing to community resurgence. Snow sports education was viewed as a way to both instill confidence and empower youth in racialized communities, further levelling the playing field when those youth go out into the world. This translates into an individual, community, and snow sports industry benefit. Participants in this research have affirmed that youth who find joy and success in snow sports have high retention rates and typically pass participation down intergenerationally. Further, individuals with better education outcomes realize higher earnings, reducing economic barriers to snow sports participation (Statistics Canada 2017B, US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2018)

4.2.2 Relatable Leadership

> *When they show up, they see leaders that look like them. There's a like-minded connection right off the bat. – Court Larabee*

Relatable leadership breeds confidence. Participants asserted that having coaching or leadership from your own community reinforces the belief that you belong and is a method of meaningful engagement. This can breed both the confidence to try and the confidence to fail. The comfort that comes from being in community and encouraged provides the space for people to take risks because they know whether they are successful or not, they are in a supportive environment. This is a power-aware assessment and the fact the snow sports industry has not come to this conclusion can be attributed to its power-evasiveness.

Individuals are better able to communicate their thoughts and feelings about the experience with someone who shares an embodied cultural experience. Some things can be unsaid between individuals who share a community context; a person is not required to communicate their thoughts on shared experiences to be fully understood. These may be thoughts or feelings about being a visible minority in the space, personal safety, or cultural or spiritual requirements to participate. Lastly, a relatable leader can anticipate the needs of those they will be leading and provide a more comfortable and culturally relevant experience. This could be understanding formal or informal language, making offerings or prayers before activities, making space for prayer times or fasting participants, or making appropriate land acknowledgements. This is the opposite approach from the snow sports industry which has traditionally suppressed all cultures other than the westernized European culture it mimics (Coleman 1996, 2004).

Participants were looking for more than relatable leadership on the snow but in all aspects of the snow sports industry. BIPoC leadership in decision-making roles implied some level of meaningful community engagement because perspectives from community were included in business decisions. Leadership from racialized communities on the service side of the snow sports industry visibly indicates that these businesses or spaces are safe and welcoming to other racialized peoples. The inclusion of marginalized perspectives in the marketing and media side of the snow sports industry contributes to ensuring materials available to the public at best speak meaningfully to marginalized peoples and at minimum do not recreate exclusionary narratives. Lastly, visual leadership from BIPoC communities in all areas of the snow sports industry is meaningful representation of what is available to other members of that same community. This is one of the growth opportunities discussed in section 4.1.3 and will be further examined in section 4.4.1.

Relatable leaders also have the cultural competency to be trusted to become critical mentors. These are people who have both the expertise to speak on a subject and the intracultural knowledge to communicate that subject meaningfully. Participants identified these critical mentors in the outdoor space as those who could dispel myths and impart critical snow sports cultural knowledge. One of the most significant myths participants were looking to dispel is the myth that skiing only happens in far-off exotic locals and that it is only available to the rich. The majority of participants for this project experienced economic marginalization in their youth and young adulthood and only three participants were raised in close proximity to a destination ski resort. These individuals began their snow sports journey simply being on the snow, close to home, with whatever

equipment they could borrow, fashion, or thrift. This was an opportunity to get outside and have fun in nature which multiple participants emphasized is available everywhere. While skiing is only available when or where there is snow, and occasionally sand unless there is expensive carbon-intensive infrastructure (Ski Resort Info 2022), the underlying sentiment here was that the outdoors is available to everyone regardless of where they live.

The ability to impart critical snow sports cultural knowledge is the ability to unpack the symbolism and culture of skiing's social institutions and the spaces skiing takes place in, the obligatory social codes, and the patterned behaviours (A. K. Harrison 2013). Drawing on Bourdieu and Thornton, Harrison (2013) refers to this as subcultural capital or hidden entry requirements (Bourdieu 1978, Thornton 1996) or the "Secret Handshake" (Hansman 2021, 113)

4.2.3 The Secret Handshake

You need to be able to bridge the gap of unfamiliarity and then belonging, which is letting a person feel they belong in the room or in that place. That's a different and a much more personal experience. – Shone Malliet

Thornton (1996) and Harrison (2013) assert that exclusive social cues and obscure patterned behaviours are intended to maintain a hierarchy of appropriate bodies within a space. These cues or behaviours are substantial in the ski world and fiercely protected by the skiing establishment. Individuals who are not ostensibly a member of the skiing establishment are pejoratively referred to as 'Gapers' or 'Jerrys.' The word gaper originally referred to someone who did not know how to properly fit their goggles to their helmet resulting in a gap. This word is now colloquially used to describe all new people

to the space and is the most often used slang word in Colorado (PlayNJ 2018). A Jerry is described as “An individual who exhibits a true lack of understanding for their sport, or for life in general. In skiing terms, it’s similar to a Joey or a gaper” (Ski Magazine 2015). The origins of the word are an Instagram account entitled ‘Jerry of the Day’ and started by a member of the ski industry establishment in 2011. The account publicly shames people for making common beginner mistakes with pictures submitted by their online followers. By 2015 this took the entire snow sports industry by storm and became part of the common vernacular. *Powder Magazine*, the ski industry’s tastemaker from 1973 to 2020 when it fell victim to the same issues that plague print media and failed to pivot fully to an online platform, began publishing their own weekly #JerryOfTheDay post on their social media accounts. Jerry of the Day currently has over 2.2M followers across all their social media platforms.

Learning how to ski is a physical endeavour; learning how to be a part of the snow sports industry or the big mountain community is a cultural one and a newcomer needs someone to teach them the secret handshake. These can be useful tips like how to fit your googles or why to skip the scarf or patterned behaviours including where to stand in the shoots or how to carry your skis to signal specific things about you. Secret handshakes can help unpack the symbolism of the multiple different ski cliques that can be found at most ski areas such as ‘the breakfast club’ that arrive 2 hours early, have breakfast, and leave by noon, or the telemark skiers who use a technique that combines alpine and nordic skiing and relies on an antique binding style. One participant likened learning secret handshakes to arriving at a party where you know no one and the host taking the time to introduce you to people you would have something in common with to

make you feel welcome. The imparting of this snow sports cultural knowledge, particularly from a relatable leader or critical mentor who you trust, can quickly close the belonging gap for a newcomer. Secret handshakes also reduce the costs associated with participating in terms of affirming gear and equipment you don't need, access to gear swaps, shared transportation, group discounts, and insider deals.

Despite Jerry of the Day still having a significant online presence, the snow sports industry has recognized that publicly shaming newcomers is a poor business strategy and has mostly distanced itself. Powder Magazine stopped publishing its weekly #JerryOfTheDay post, and other snow sports industry leaders have called it out as exclusionary and counter to the industry's long-term goals (Clary Davies 2016, Katz 2022, Schalg 2020)[4]

4.3 Barrier Reduction

4.3.1 Economic and Proximity Barriers

By the fifth person we had put on Team BC, I realized we had hit that wall again. If you make the provincial team, you should have about 30,000 to compete that year, if you want to even try to get onto the national team. So again, I hit another level of the what you don't have. And it became a little deflating. – Aaron Marchant

Every participant recognized that economic and proximity barriers exist, but their perspective differed from the snow sports industry. First, while there was a collective understanding that BIPoC individuals experience poverty at statistically higher rates, that

[4] In the interview with the Storm Skiing Journal and Podcast, Executive Chairperson for Vail Resorts Rob Katz identifies Jerry of the Day as problematic but goes on to espouse the view that economic barriers are the prime reason for BIPoC representation in the snow sports Industry. This view is not shared by the participants to this research or the author of this thesis.

does not mean all racialized peoples experience poverty as discussed in section 4.1.3. Secondly, they identified destination resort skiing as being inaccessible to most people beyond rare trips unless that individual is local and has access to regional discounts or is wealthy. They offered instead smaller regional ski areas to reduce economic and proximity barriers, particularly for learners. Lastly, participants identified initiatives from within their own communities or the larger BIPoC community that are working to erode these barriers. These included organizations like the National Brotherhood of Skiers, Indigenous Women Outdoors, the Indigenous Life Sport Academy and Winter for Kids or scholarship initiatives such as the Natives Outdoors and IKON Pass partnership.

The one participant who spoke the most on economic barriers was an individual who has long been in the outdoor space but is new to snow sports. This participant also lives on the front range in Colorado, home to the largest cluster of destination ski resorts and two of the three most expensive ski areas in North America (Conforti 2021, Ski Central 2022). This participant also spoke at length about the secret handshakes they had received from industry insiders and members of the big mountain community, indicating their surprise at how freely those handshakes were offered from allies in the big mountain community. Additionally, while every participant offered secret handshakes to the audience, a goal of this project, this participant offered more than average.

These solutions did not solve economic barrier issues for individuals who have progressed to a stage where they are looking to ski in advanced settings or professionally. It was not racialized newcomers to snow sport who were seen as experiencing significant economic barriers with no support but racialized backcountry skiers, freeskiers and ski racers. Here, participants were looking for additional supports for avalanche and safety

training, club and race fees, training, and travel expenses. This runs counter to the industry perception that economic and proximity barriers are the primary driver of low entry and retention rates for BIPoC individuals, a perception that drives their recruitment initiatives. This research indicates that economic and proximity barriers at the entry level are best managed by community-based organizations or meaningfully engaged community partnerships. It is BIPoC individuals at the upper echelon of snow sports, those who are actively engaged and committed, who are being left behind. Because these individuals are already reaching the top of the sport there is a compelling argument for the snow sports industry to work to break down their barriers because individuals in these positions constitute relatable leadership, discussed in section 4.2.2, and provide meaningful representation, discussed in section 4.4.1.

4.3.2 Cultural Barriers

I had a proximity to whiteness that allowed me to be in these spaces that lent me the social capital, the cultural capital to have access. And I know that that's not the case for, you know, a lot of people of colour, a lot of Black people living in inner cities, you know, it's like, there's a lot more structural obstacles than there are that are obvious. - Emilé Zynobia

On the opposite side of the coin from secret handshakes, you have people being left to navigate the culture of snow sports alone, a culture that is rarely welcoming to outsiders. Participants agreed overwhelmingly that the culture of snow sports and the outdoor space are exclusionary and that was the primary driver behind the lack of BIPoC representation and the inability of BIPoC organizations breaking down barriers to address that to fully realize their goals. It was commonly understood that snow sports and the outdoor space are microcosms of larger society in which there are structural barriers for members of the

BIPoC community. Societal problems that leach into snow sports were identified as structural, systemic, and interpersonal racism, white supremacy, white exceptionalism, wealth exceptionalism, and bootstrap mentality. Participants put this back onto the snow sports industry to address by making space and working to dismantle the effect of larger societal problems that seep into the snow sports industry and result in the exclusion of racialized people. Recommendations included meaningful engagement and representation which are included in sections 4.1.1 and 4.4.1 respectively, diversity, equity and inclusion training, culturally relevant programming or operations, using their platform to advocate for larger societal change and meaningful representations of space which is addressed in section 4.4.3.

Some participants recognized that individuals from within BIPoC communities had internalized the culture of exclusion of the outdoor space, with one participant recalling being called white by their own community members for their newfound interest in snow sports. Some argued that the recommendations given back to the snow sports industry could address this community internalization and speculated that meaningful representation was the approach most likely to be successful. Still, there is a significant way to go: one participant likened talking to racialized urban children about skiing to talking to them about going to the moon. This aligns with my personal experience of being told multiple times by elders in my family that skiing was ‘white people stuff.’

Code-switching was identified as a strategy to cope with the existing geography of exclusion in snow sports. Code-switching here referred to both language and behavioural patterns. Those who admitted to code-switching recognized the privilege of

having the social knowledge and capital to be able to perform those acts. One participant who refused to code switch by keeping their personal feelings about the geography of exclusion to themselves discussed the consequences of those choices. This was a personal ethos for this participant looking to carve out a space for themselves and other BIPoC athletes within their realm of the snow sports industry and approach their sport as a whole person in order to be able to compete better. The consequences of not operating within the expected behavioural norms was this individual being pathologized for their perception of racism and they experienced further ostracization from teammates, violence, and a lack of support from leadership.

The ability to act with the expected behavioural norms for the outdoor space was attributed, by some, to proximity to whiteness. This was particularly identified by those participants who are mixed race or present as racially ambiguous and had received the secret handshakes for the snow sports world. It was well understood that these are not available to everyone and for those that had that experience there was a general disappointment that they had gained access that others from within their community could not because of accidents of birth. These reflections further underpinned for these participants that the ski space is a white space and that until white people stand up to change that it will remain that way.

Finally, participants addressed exceptionalism. There seems to be a general belief in the snow sports industry that if you are coded as a body that does not belong but you are present in the space you must be in some way exceptional. This can be incredibly difficult for BIPoC newcomers to snow sports as they feel they are not given the same space to learn and make mistakes as other newcomers. The exceptionalism problem

underpins the requirement for relatable leadership as addressed in section 4.2.2. These expectations of exceptionalism are also levied on snow sports participants with more developed skill sets. Individuals are expected to go higher, farther, and faster, instead of recreating for fun. The exceptionalism problem was further identified as being internalized by some participants. Professionals in snow sports were hesitant to refer to themselves as professionals, with one participant indicating they had internalized what it meant to be elite as having a particular privilege and a level of whiteness. Because that did not characterize their experience, they hesitated to self-identify as a professional athlete.

These insights run counter to the industry notion that the cultural barrier to participation lies within the culture of BIPoC communities. The ethnicity thesis used by the snow industry assuming BIPoC peoples have self-segregated away from skiing is a colour-evasive assessment which absolves the snow sports industry of responsibility while leaning into the bootstrap and meritocracy myths. What is being described here is exactly the opposite of self-segregation: BIPoC individuals who are participating are having to navigate exclusionary cultures, code switch, conform to specific behavioural norms, treat recreation like competition and risk their emotional and physical safety just to be accepted. This further begs the question of why BIPoC peoples would self-segregate away from activities or spaces perceived as white. Harrison responds to this question asking: “Would you want to go into the backcountry if it was historically associated with lynching?” (Hansman 2021, 112).

4.4 Representation

4.4.1 Meaningful Representation

> *With like my earlier career in the halfpipe there were two of us Indigenous folks that were part of this. It didn't feel like you belonged, right? You were doing something different; you were doing something wrong. So having that representation in those leadership roles is going to be a huge change for the next generation that wants to get into the half pipe or get into the backcountry. – Sandy Ward*

Meaningful representation is more than marketing, it is role models and mentors. Participants asserted that having role models from within their communities was the most meaningful representation. This was more than role models who participated in snow sports but in all areas of the snow sports industry from relatable leaders and executives to business owners and athletes. People wanted to see what was possible by seeing it in other people from their own communities. This was identified as positive for youth and newcomers but also for professionals that have long been in the industry. Newcomers need to see what is possible, feel safe to take risks, and overcome the exceptionalism problem identified in section 4.3.2, but industry veterans can also benefit from meaningful representation. One participant who is a professional skier and former Olympic athlete gleefully described the first time someone from within their own community took their picture for a professional on the snow photo shoot. This was in 2021. The shoot was used for a ski magazine cover, its first all Black cover since it began publication in 1936 (Shafer 2021). Another participant described in great detail a collaboration between a community and a ski gear company and how they were incentivized to support them.

Participants who were advocates in the outdoor space described the importance of representation on boards, in leadership, and in government. One participant described

being uncomfortable and self-censoring in advocacy meetings where they were the only racialized person. Another participant questioned the true motives of an organization purportedly looking to support increased diversity in the outdoor space if they had no racialized people at the decision-making table. A third participant described the comfort and enthusiasm they felt when providing testimony to Congress on climate change because Secretary of the Interior, Deb Haaland, was the Chairperson of the House Natural Resources Committee.

Female participants further identified that having meaningful representation in leadership contributed to increased feelings of safety. If BIPoC peoples are underrepresented and women are underrepresented, then BIPoC women are virtually invisible in the outdoor space. The ability to come together in community with women outdoors and having positive female leadership from within community was identified by female-identified participants as both meaningful and desirable. Those who had had such an opportunity described it as incredibly special.

While a few participants addressed marketing images, they cautioned that in order to be meaningful they had to both be coded in an authentic way to speak to the community and include some of the exclusive social cues discussed in section 4.2.3 to identify the person as someone who belongs in the space. This requires having community members who have the secret handshake in leadership roles on marketing teams, behind cameras, and writing ad copy. This can create narrative images that speak to everyone in the ski community saying these people belong while speaking back to BIPoC community members to say you belong here too. It was also recommended that these types of advertisements and marketing campaigns reach deeper into broader society

and not just within existing target demographics. Meaningful representation in advertising is a complex undertaking and the simple addition of ethnic-looking models will never be sufficient.

4.4.2 Tokenism

Winter 4 Kids has a CEO who happens to be Black, who happens to be from the Bronx – Shone Malliet

Adding ethnic-looking models is tantamount to tokenism and participants advocated against it both in marketing and in the broader snow sports industry. Participants did not want to be recognized as Black or Indigenous athletes, organizers, or innovators; they wanted to be recognized as athletes, organizers, or innovators who were capable and had expertise. Being tokenized erodes an individual's sense of accomplishment and ability. Snow sports industry organizations whose efforts end at tokenism are fully transparent to community. A business whose efforts end at tokenism is perceived as not willing to do the real work. Further, one participant asserted that if an individual is being tokenized it is understood they are there as a symbol and not to affect any real or lasting change. Harrison describes tokenization as having a larger societal impact in that it allows people to ignore deeper societal issues because the surface representation reflects the desired outcome (Hansman 2021, 115). Harrison further calls this out by stating that the big mountain community is mainly made-up of people with some level of intellectual privilege so there is no excuse for ignorance (Hansman 2021, 116).

4.4.3 Representing Space

Indigenous people will have a very integrated understanding of environmentalism that is much older than the term environmentalism. And I think that's an important thing when we're looking at a lot of these narratives on how to protect the planet presented to us through mainstream culture right now are really new ideas. And for me, I think like there's a lot of fallacy in thinking like we should go to new untested ideas of how to protect the land when there's cultures who have these legacies of protecting the land. – Connor Ryan

Indigenous participants all believed it was important to represent outdoor spaces as Indigenous lands. Indigenous placenames, multi-lingual signage, removing placenames that are racist or celebrate colonial violence, celebrations of Indigenous legacies, and providing educational material about the Indigenous history of a place were offered as solutions. This theme was identified for multiple reasons including resurgence, restoration of some measure of Indigenous sovereignty, creating a new source of pride for Indigenous peoples, educating non-Indigenous peoples, improving an enterprise's social license to operate, and garnering trust with Indigenous communities which is essential for meaningful engagement. As was identified in section 4.1.3, efforts at destination resorts Whistler and Winter Park were discussed in terms of existing Indigenous partnerships as well as the 2020 name change of a California destination resort from a racial slur to Palisade Tahoe (Washoe Tribe of California and Nevada 2022). These types of initiatives prove that an organization is prepared to invest real money and time to create positive change and they were seen as important by multiple participants. These specific initiatives were additionally meaningful to Indigenous participants.

4.4.4 Representing Joy

You should not become experts at funerals. You should not become experts at a lot of stuff kids become experts at by the age of 12. – Aaron Marchant

The representation of joy was I theme I did not anticipate and is incredibly significant. Participants emphasized the importance of representing people from BIPoC communities experiencing joy. Indigenous participants espoused the need for Indigenous children to be exposed to representations of joy. These representations were recommended to simply show children and families out on the land, in the snow, having fun. Similar to how representation in snow sports leadership could show individuals what is possible by seeing it in others from their community, participants advocated for showing the possibility and potential for joy in the outdoor space. This was also identified as important for Black adults although many Black adults in North America do not feel they have a relationship with land and place here. This may be due to colonial violence being their origin story here, the history and fear of racist violence in natural settings, or a combination of both. This lack of relationship does not foreclose on the need to represent Black peoples experiencing joy in the outdoors. This was championed by one participant who explained representations of Black people experiencing joy and contentment in nature to show that natural spaces are a place for Black people too. Representations of joy were identified as also being found in the inclusion of cultural programming at events. A significant example of this given by one participant was the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics. The inclusion of Indigenous cultural programming, dancers, and symbolism was both a representation of and a source of joy for them.

4.5 Indigenous Relationship with Land

Reconnection to land is so important to our Indigenous culture. And for me personally, what drives me to the sports that I do. – Court Larabee

This Indigenous ontological relationship with land was described in a variety of ways by the Indigenous participants in this project. First that the relationship between humans and land or space is an ever-present and reciprocal relationship of equality. People are the stewards of the land and in return, the land provides them with the resources to be sustained and thrive. The resources discussed here were more than material, but all resources required to be a complete person. These sentiments were equally aligned with the critical Indigenous theory and thinkers that were engaged in this project and counter to western ways of understanding land. The western relationship with land is not one of equality but one of dominance, exploitation, and extraction. Without a more fulsome understanding of Indigenous worldviews about land, the snow sports industry will not be able to interpret some Indigenous Nations' hesitation to collaborate with the snow sports industry, Indigenous individuals' hesitation to participate in snow sports, and Indigenous objections to or direct action against some snow sport industry operations.

Indigenous participants all described their relationship with land in the same manner regardless of their current location or the location where they grew up. Some participants did not have access to their home territories in their youth, and many have since moved from their home territories to pursue athletic or professional endeavours. This did not impact their personal relationship with home and territory. Further, Indigenous participants who live or travel outside their homelands are fully cognizant of whose homeland they are in, and they respect that land as they would the people whose

homeland it is. This is because they recognize while each Indigenous Nation is unique there is a similar relationship with land and territory. This is a lesson all non-Indigenous peoples can learn, how to be a good and respectful guest on Indigenous lands.

Further, all Indigenous participants critiqued western ways of knowing in terms of land management or environmental protection as insufficient because it is not a holistic understanding of land. Indigenous peoples have been stewards of their land and territories since time immemorial and have what western nomenclature would refer to as an institutional knowledge that western science cannot replicate. One participant articulated that western ways of knowing in these areas have competing interests that are privileged by western society so western science does not have the full authority to make land protection or climate change initiative decisions. They specifically pointed out the energy industry intervening in land protection and the tourism industry intervening against traditional fire practices.

As stated earlier, Indigenous participants in the research indicated that respect for the Indigenous relationship with land was a primary requirement from both the snow sports industry and for non-Indigenous peoples who hope to be in coalition. There was no fixed idea of what specific actions constituted respect for the Indigenous relationship with land, instead each participant paid respect to locality by recommending that the Nation whose territory is in question must be meaningfully engaged to answer that question. It was cautioned by one participant however that when engaging an Indigenous Nation, the snow sports industry may hear the word ‘no’ and they will have to respect that. Asking a question is not the same thing as receiving permission.

Indigenous participants articulated that one of the ways that they put their respect for land into practice, which is also achievable for non-Indigenous peoples in the outdoor space, is the way they choose to move through space. Specifically, they advocated choosing to recreate and travel in ways that leave the smallest possible impact. Approaches such as human-powered adventure, packing out what you pack in, and choosing to recreate closer to home are choices that are available to everyone. One participant joked that Indigenous peoples were leaving no trace long before the environmental lobby put language to it. In terms of the snow sports industry, this could be achieved by reducing the environmental impact of their operations. One participant used the example of their home ski area undergoing a full transition to wind-powered operations.

Non-Indigenous participants in this project spoke about Indigenous lands in terms of a respectful understanding that snow sports take place on Indigenous lands that have been wrongfully taken. There was a sentiment of disapproval for how Indigenous peoples have been excluded from discussions of land use, planning, and environmental protection. Lastly, there was a collective understanding that a recognition of the failures of the past, in terms of colonial interventions between Indigenous peoples and land, needed to be rectified.

4.6 Common Ground and Collaboration

4.6.1 Common Ground in the Outdoors:

When we are out on the skin tracks we can share our cultures and our diversity – Sandy Ward

Once you've conquered a mountain together, you guys will be friends together forever – Errol Kerr

All participants in this research took an inclusive stance on the under-representation of BIPoC people in snow sports. There was a collective understanding that increasing inclusion for one community required including all communities even though what precipitated community participation was nuanced and different among diverse groups. There was also a collective understanding that there is an opportunity to come together in a coalitionary manner to find common ground and achieve common goals.

The main common ground was simply a love for the outdoors or snow sports. Participants believed that groups of snow sports enthusiasts in the outdoors can create an affinity space from which to learn from each other and build deep relationships. The time spent together is an opportunity to learn from one another while the mutual accomplishment creates a bond. Once you are in a relationship with someone you become empathetic to their struggles, and they become empathetic to yours. Because there is a common struggle here, increasing BIPoC access and inclusion in snow sports, individuals are further incentivized to work towards positive change, even if that work looks different in different communities.

4.6.2 Good Guests Make Good Collaborators:

Whenever I see posts about my own territory and the non-Indigenous community, using our traditional names, it just like, it brings so much pride in me. And I just have so much more respect for that individual. – Sandy Ward

All Indigenous participants in this research cautioned that an understanding and respect for the fact that snow sports occur on Indigenous land was a prerequisite to any collaboration. That respect included recreating as good guests and ensuring that individuals only advocate for policy solutions that local Indigenous Nations support. These participants were also generous in offering guidance and resources for how people can achieve these requirements as they themselves often recreate in territories and homelands that are not their own and need to practice being a good guest. Lastly, all Indigenous participants in this project held space for those who were learning to be in allyship or collaboration with Indigenous peoples provided they were open, doing the work, and learning in good faith.

Subsequently, all non-Indigenous participants in this research had at least an understanding that snow sports took place on Indigenous lands and that Indigenous peoples are not properly engaged in how these lands are used. Further, they refused to offer solutions to this problem and instead deferred to Indigenous peoples. Because these are all individuals entrenched in the snow sports or outdoor industries, this further illustrated the point that common ground can be found in, and coalitions can emerge from the outdoors.

4.6.3 Social Media and Community Building

I think, you know, creating more content, sharing, different narratives, I think that's going to chip away at the [exclusionary] culture, you know, I also think people are just hungry for something different. - Emilé Zynobia

Social media was identified by most participants as an avenue to both break down problematic cultures and build community. Individuals have complete control of the narrative when they post to social media. Similar to the roles of BIPoC leadership in marketing and media addressed in section 4.2.2, BIPoC people can create and share content that is meaningful to other people in their community or at minimum does not reproduce exclusionary narratives. Further, personal stories can serve as secret handshakes or content that meaningfully and appropriately represents individuals, space, and joy. Lastly, social media is freely available and accessible to many.

The big mountain community is not collocated. Social media has supported the building and maintaining of relationships, sharing information, and organizing. Groups that started on social media as like-minded individuals sharing content have become full-fledged national nonprofits and profit-based businesses offering guided trips, cultural experiences, environmental advocacy, and educational resources in the outdoor space. Many of these organizations have been incorporated in the last 5 years and focus on the BIPoC community broadly or within specific communities including Mount Noire, Indigenous Women Outdoors, All Mountain Brothers, Colour the Trails, Outdoor Asian, Outdoor Afro, Latino Outdoors, Unlikely Hikers, Protect Our Winters Canada, Green Matters, and the Intersectional Environmentalist[5]. These groups have gone from a few

[5] This is not an exhaustive list but covers groups with significant growth that also operate in the snow sports space.

friends interacting on social media to guiding international trips, growing chapters nationally, and advocating for change on Parliament Hill.

4.6.4 Environmental Protection

> *I didn't even know how to say it, but if you're, if you've interacted with the outdoor environment, you won't kill this planet, you know, you won't destroy it – Henri Rivers*

Environmental protection was identified as the primary reason individuals and communities under the BIPoC umbrella need to come together in coalition, not increasing diversity in the outdoor space or snow sports. There was however a commonly held belief that increasing diversity and representation in the outdoor space and snow sports was a positive step toward climate change solutions. This position was oriented from three separate positions: protecting the outdoors for the future, increasing Indigenous land sovereignty, and stopping environmental racism.

All participants identified protecting the environment for future generations and being able to continue participating in the outdoor pursuits they enjoyed was important. Indigenous participants further saw this as an issue of land sovereignty and upholding their responsibilities in their relationship with land. Many of the Black participants recognized that marginalized communities often are the first communities to see the impacts of climate change and are often excluded from conversations or policy actions to mitigate climate change impacts. This sentiment was shared by one Indigenous participant whose home territory was north of the 60^{th} parallel and who asserted that the Arctic communities are profoundly impacted by climate change. Multiple participants identified some problematic and carbon-intensive operational approaches and activities within the snow sports industry and offered it as a place for individuals to start their

personal advocacy. Further, it was identified that ski areas almost exclusively, with a small number of exceptions on the east coast, are operated on public land; therefore, the public has a right to have a say in how those lands are used.

4.7 Discussion and Insights

Throughout the course of this research process, several meaningful insights were derived. The first was insights derived from how different demographics responded to specific themes. Meaningful engagement, for example, was primarily addressed by Indigenous participants. This may be attributed to individual Nations having a specific set of policy objectives, most critically, political and land sovereignty, so there is a more cohesive understanding of what meaningful engagement is to them. Black peoples are not citizens of sovereign Nations outside of the settler state so while they have common struggles against the structural racism of the settler state, they are typically advocating for policy changes from within the settler state.

Secondly, growth and economics were primarily discussed by participants who are leaders or organizers in the outdoor space. This was not addressed by athletes. This is potentially due to the fact that leaders and organizers are more concerned with the business side of the sport because that is in their current wheelhouse of expertise. All participants were concerned about barriers, however. While few participants addressed economic or proximity barriers, nearly every participant spoke about the cultural barriers to participation. These are all individuals who have found ways around economic and proximity barriers and know the secret handshakes but are concerned about improving the snow sports environments for their larger communities and future generations.

Further, even though some have reached the pinnacle of their sport, many still don't feel that they fully belong because of the cultural barriers or the racialized geography of exclusion of the space.

Recognizing and respecting Indigenous people's relationship with land was an a priori step towards what is typically referred to in Canada as reconciliation was identified by nearly every participant regardless of ethnic identity. I believe this supports the assertion that the outdoors can act as an affinity space where coalitions can be built between individual communities that lie within the broader BIPoC community.

Lastly and most significantly, even though the themes that participants identified as ways to meaningfully increase BIPoC participation in snow sports were addressed individually, they are mostly interwoven and interconnected. Meaningful engagement cannot be achieved without appropriate representation because meaningful engagement requires that community members be at the decision-making table. Further, representation cannot be achieved without meaningful engagement because it is community that determines what constitutes appropriate representation for them. The same is true of relatable leadership. While participants predominantly identified that community was best able to address economic and proximity barriers for newcomers to snow sports, community organizations require the secret handshakes of the outdoor world to be best positioned to address those barriers. This is true of nearly all the themes and subthemes identified– they require a holistic community-led approach– save for one, cultural barriers.

Participants wholeheartedly struck down the ethnicity thesis used by the snow sports industry to partially diagnose their diversity problem and instead confronted the

culture of exclusion within the snow sports industry. BIPoC people and communities have not self-segregated themselves from snow sports; the snow sports environment has been and remains a segregated space excluding BIPoC peoples. To address this issue an industry-led approach is required, and they will need to come to the table willing to do the work to achieve it. Harrison articulates, “The onus is on the majority white people to acknowledge embedded racism and make changes” (Hansman 2021, 116).

Participants also conclusively struck down the marginality thesis, the second half of the diagnosis used by the snow sports industry to explain the lack of diversity on the snow. While participants fully recognized economic and proximity barriers are experienced at statistically higher rates in BIPoC communities, they asserted that community is best positioned to address this issue including, but not limited to, with strategic partnerships. Participants also identified the flaw and the logic of the snow sports industry when assessing economic and proximity barriers because they are primarily considering only destination ski resorts. Participants discussed other ski areas and ski opportunities, and many identified the fact that skiing can happen anywhere there is snow.

Lastly, participants critiqued the snow sports industry’s solution to address their diversity problem: marketing images to increase representation. The participants of this research believe that meaningful representation goes far beyond ethnic models in marketing campaigns, and instead are looking for representation in leadership. This could be any role where BIPoC individuals could act as role models from leaders on the snow, to scientists and avalanche forecasters, small business owners, and all the way into the corporate boardroom. Participants also identified that representations of joy and space

that are meaningful to community. While marketing images were addressed by a small number of participants, their assessment was it was much more complex than having ethnic models; it requires having community leadership in marketing departments to devise advertising that is meaningful to communities.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Confrontation of Industry Resolutions and Conclusions

The snow sports industry has used the marginality and ethnicity theses to diagnose the lack of diversity on the snow and attempted to remedy this through unengaged marketing campaigns that feature ethnic-looking models. The industry has repeatedly and exclusively leaned on these diagnoses and remedies yet BIPoC experts from within the industry don't agree with these assessments or the simple solution to address them.

At the onset of this project I posed the following research questions: First, how do colour-evasive and power-evasive logics, which ignore the underlying history and social construction of space (Gordon 2019, Tomlinson 2019, Tomlinson 2020), result in lack of diversity in snow sports? Second, how might outdoor recreational spaces be reconstructed in meaningful ways to racialized individuals to order to precipitate their increased participation in snow sports?

In response to my first research question, this research indicates the colour-evasive and power-evasive logics obfuscate the history and social construction of the outdoor space by permitting whiteness to be the neutral standard by which everything else is evaluated. From this position of supremacy, whiteness is permitted to render its

genocidal foundations which informed the initial construction of the outdoor space invisible. Additionally, whiteness has the power to stay ignorant to racialized inequality, ultimately supporting the fiction of meritocracy while pathologizing the perception of racialized inequality or racism. This subsequently places the blame for the lack of diversity in snow sports on racialized peoples while invalidating their experiences and failing to recognize the true barriers to their participation. Lastly, the power-evasiveness of whiteness allows it to disavow the ongoing and structural nature of colonialism. This relegates Indigenous peoples to the past while absolving current dominant society of the blame for contemporary racialized inequity. If dominant society's mindset places Indigenous peoples in the past, it would be inexplicable to recognize and respect their living relationship with land. This research indicates that recognizing and respecting this relationship is a key requirement that precipitates increased participation and engagement by Indigenous peoples. Finally, if dominant society is ignorant to and absolved from contemporary racialized inequity, they are unable to hear that there is an unequitable distribution of resources in the outdoor space, critically the resource of safety, the one resource that racialized peoples require the collaboration of dominant society to acquire.

In response to how outdoor recreational space might be reconstructed in meaningful ways to racialized individuals, this research concludes that increased participation in snow sports begins with meaningful representation. Racialized peoples need to be invited to the decision-making tables and included in leadership roles. This is not a short-term undertaking but one that takes time for relationships and trust to develop and for leaders from BIPoC communities to build the skills necessary to succeed. Secondly, BIPoC communities demand more than ethnic-looking models in marketing

materials as representation. They are seeking representation in leadership on and off the snow, including representation in marketing departments to ensure materials marketed to them are meaningful and relevant. Further, the representations of joy and space need to be thoughtful and strategic. BIPoC youth need to be permitted to visualize themselves experiencing joy in the outdoor space in culturally relevant ways while the snow sports industry needs to recognize they operate on Indigenous lands and represent themselves as such. The snow sports industry's recognition and respect of the fact they operate on Indigenous land are paramount to Indigenous peoples. This recognition goes beyond land acknowledgements, which Coulthard would dismiss as recognition structurally determined by whiteness in order to retain power, and is specific to individual Nations. Meaningful engagement with the local Nation in which the operations of a snow sports industry business occur will be required to determine the specific requirements. This will not only improve relationships with Indigenous peoples, as other BIPoC communities are watching and deem this to be a respectful practice.

5.2 Further Research Areas

Two themes that emerged from this research but were beyond the scope of this inquiry were issues specific to the LGTBQ+ community and the disabled community. Cisgendered racialized peoples in the snow sports industry, who are also members of the LGTBQ+ community, feel they have the LGBTQ+ part of their identity overlooked by the industry. Athletes and leaders who are both BIPoC and LGBTQ+ are held up exclusively as BIPoC. This could be attributed to the hetero-patriarchal culture of the snow sports industry where heterosexual whiteness is held up as the neutral standard or

the snow sports industry's tendency toward tokenism in representation. This may also be a strategic economic decision as the snow sports industry does not need to put additional effort toward attracting members of the LGBTQ+ community; they already participate at higher rates per capita than heterosexuals (Snowsports Industries America 2021). The fact that the LGBTQ+ community participates at higher rates per capita does not foreclose on the snow sports industry's responsibility to respect individuals as whole people. No members of the transgender or nonbinary communities participated in this research so no insights into their specific experiences could emerge.

The opposite was true of racialized disabled individuals in the snow sports industry. They found that disabled athletes were homogenized under the banner of adaptive athletes, erasing other aspects of their identity. This could again be attributed to tokenism or infantilization as people have a tendency to exceptionalize every accomplishment by a disabled person, ultimately infantilizing them. One participant discussed the emergence of intersectional affinity spaces where individuals were encouraged to come as their whole person and collaborators worked together to ensure the space was equally accessible to all. As discussed in section 4.6.4, many of these spaces originated on social media and have grown substantially, indicating a desire for them.

I believe the lack of intersectionality in the snow sports industry and the outdoor space, and the grassroots efforts to change this, is an area for further study.

5.3 In Closing

It's not about skiing, skiing is just something that we all love to do, but it's about the American and the global picture of racial inequality. What we're doing here can trickle down into the world. – Henri Rivers

Henri Rivers spoke on behalf of all the participants in the project, myself included, when he said skiing is just something that we all love to do. We recognize that the physical act of sliding on snow is not going to change the world. When Henri said that what we are doing can trickle down into the world he's referring to the diversity we are fostering, the barriers we are eroding, the ways that we are learning from each other, and the coalitionary community we are building to make the outdoor space an inclusionary space of equality. The outdoor world is a microcosm of broader society; one will never be a space of true inclusion without all the others. But why can't it start in the outdoor space? Instead of expecting broader society to change and have it trickle down into all these niche spaces, why can't the groundswell of change start in the niche spaces? What if the change started in niche spaces like the fashion world, the art world, and the outdoor world? Then what if individuals took those ideals and those demands with them as they move through other spaces until a critical mass is reached and broader society either needs to change or be left behind? Participants in this research understand that societal demographics are changing, the time of industry using land with impunity is ending, climate change is a present reality, and racialized peoples are building affinity spaces to come together in coalition. Change is coming. This is the future I hope for, for myself and my nieces and nephews, which underpins the motivations for this work. This is the beginning.

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Appendix 1: BIPoC Podcast Participants

BIPoC Outside
Season 1 Participants

Name	Ethnic Identity	Pronouns	Gender Identity	LGBTQ+	Adaptive Athlete	Organization
Aaron Marchant	Sḵwx̱wú7mesh Úxwumixw	He / Him	M	N	N	First Nations Snowboard Team, Founder and President
Andrea Haughton	Black	She / Her	F	N	N	Affiliation: Professional Free Boarder Ambassador: Ski Big Three Team Athlete: Auclair, Buff, and Sungod
Callan Chythlook-Sifsof	Native Alaskan	She / Her	F	Y	N	Affiliation: Team USA Snowboarding *Podiums: 2010 Winter Olympics, X Games, World Cup* Ambassador: Protect our Winters
Connor Ryan	Hunkpapa Lakota	He / Him	M	N	N	Affiliation: Professional Free Skier Ambassador: Protect our Winters Athlete: Natives Outdoors
Court Larabee	Anishinaabe and the Lac des Mille Lacs Nations	He / Him	M	N	N	President, Indigenous Life Sport Academy
Emilé Zynobia	Bi-racial African American	She / Her	F	N	N	Curls in the Wild, Founder Affiliation: Professional Free Boarder Ambassador: Jackson Hole Mountain Resort Team Athlete: Jackson Hole Mountain Resort

BIPoC Outside
Season 1 Participants

Name	Ethnic Identity	Pronouns	Gender Identity	LGBTQ+	Adaptive Athlete	Organization
Errol Kerr	Jamaican American	He / Him	M	N	N	Affiliation: Team USA Skiing *Podiums: X Games, World Cup, Arcticman* Ambassador: Palisades Tahoe Ski Resort Team Athlete: Palisades Tahoe Ski Resort
Henri Rivers	African American	He / Him	M	N	N	National Brotherhood of Skiers, President
Latasha Dunston	African American	She / Her	F	N	N	Team Athlete: Coalition Snow
Sandy Ward	Liłwat7úl	She / Her	F	N	N	Indigenous Women Outdoors, Backcountry Team Lead Indigenous Life Sport Academy, Director, Biking and Climbing Programs
Schone Malliet	African American	He / Him	M	N	N	Winter 4 Kids, CEO
Vasu Sojitra	South Asian	He / Him	M	N	Y	Earthtone Outside, Founder the Outdoor FUTURE Initiative, Co-founder Inclusive Outdoors Project, Co-founder Ambassador: Protect our Winters Team Athlete: the Northface

Appendix 2: BIPoC Outside Interview Guide

BIPoC Outside Interview Format

By

Kirsty (Kris) Cromwell

Research Ethics Board

University of Alberta

March 21, 2021

BIPoC Outside: Interview Format

BIPoC Outside will be an open format interview with guiding questions for the conversation. The guiding questions will be tailored to the individual and their experience to answer the following:

Biographical

1) What was your introduction to snow sports?
2) Where is your home hill?
3) Where are you located now?
4) Tell us about your snow sports career?

Personal

5) What do you personally get out of snow sports?
6) What do you love the most about snow sports?
7) Tell us about the best day you had on the snow?
8) What is your snow sports dream / goal / bucket list objective?
9) Who do you look up too?

Topical

10) Why do you think peoples should try snow sports?
11) What advice do you have for people new to snow sports?
12) What resources helped you get to where you are?
13) What initiatives are happening in your home communities to foster participation in Snow Sports?
14) What advice would you give the snow sports industry on how to support these initiatives, or, what could the industry do independently to increase participation.

Promotional

15) What was the inspiration for this career path / project?
16) How do our listeners find your products or project / support you / support your cause / follow you on this journey (opportunity to plug website, social media, or campaign resources, this information will be in the show notes on the website)?

Appendix 3: Ethics Application

Date: January 27, 2021 10:48:56 PM Print Close

1.1 Study Identification

*All questions marked by a red asterisk * are required fields. However, because the mandatory fields have been kept to a minimum, answering only the required fields may not be sufficient for the REB to review your application.*

Please answer all relevant questions that will reasonably help to describe your study or proposed research.

1.0 * **Short Study Title** *(restricted to 250 characters)*:
BIPoC Outside

2.0 * **Complete Study Title** *(can be exactly the same as short title)*:

BIPoC Outside

3.0 * **Select the appropriate Research Ethics Board (***Detailed descriptions are available at here***):**
Research Ethics Board 1

4.0 * **Is the proposed research:**
Unfunded

5.01 * **Name of local Principal Investigator:**
Kirsty Cromwell

6.0 * **Type of research/study:**
Graduate Student

7.0 **Investigator's Supervisor***(required for applications from undergraduate students, graduate students, post-doctoral fellows and medical residents to REBs 1 & 2. HREB does not accept applications from student PIs)*:
Nicole Lugosi-Schimpf

8.01 **Study Coordinators or Research Assistants:** People listed here can edit this application and will receive all email notifications for the study:

Name	Employer

There are no items to display

9.01 **Co-Investigators:** People listed here can edit this application and will receive email notifications *(Co-investigators who do not wish to receive email, should be added to the study team below instead of here).*
If your searched name does not come up when you type it in the box, the user does not have the Principal Investigator role in the online system. Click the following link for instructions on how to Request an Additional Role.

Name	Employer

There are no items to display

10.01 **Study Team:** *(co-investigators, supervising team, and other study team members) - People listed here cannot view or edit this application and do not receive email notifications.*

Last Name	First Name	Organization	Role/Area of Responsibility	Phone	Email

There are no items to display

1.5 Conflict of Interest

1.0 * **Are any of the investigators or their immediate family receiving any personal remuneration (including investigator payments and recruitment incentives but excluding trainee remuneration or graduate student stipends) from the funding of this study that is not accounted for in the study budget?**

○ Yes ● **No**

2.0 * **Do any of investigators or their immediate family have any proprietary interests in the product under study or the outcome of the research including patents, trademarks, copyrights, and licensing agreements?**

○ Yes ● **No**

3.0 * **Is there any compensation for this study that is affected by the study outcome?**

○ Yes ● **No**

4.0 * **Do any of the investigators or their immediate family have equity interest in the sponsoring company? (This does not include Mutual Funds)**

○ Yes ● **No**

5.0 * **Do any of the investigators or their immediate family receive payments of other sorts, from this sponsor (i.e. grants, compensation in the form of equipment or supplies, retainers for ongoing consultation and honoraria)?**

○ Yes ● **No**

6.0 * **Are any of the investigators or their immediate family, members of the sponsor's Board of Directors, Scientific Advisory Panel or comparable body?**

○ Yes ● **No**

7.0 * **Do you have any other relationship, financial or non-financial, that, if not disclosed, could be construed as a conflict of interest?**

○ Yes ● **No**

Please explain if the answer to any of the above questions is Yes:

Important

If you answered YES to any of the questions above, you may be asked for more information.

1.6 Research Locations and Other Approvals

1.0 * **List the locations of the proposed research, including recruitment activities. Provide name of institution, facility or organization, town, or province as applicable**

This research will be under taken remotely via telephone or online teleconferencing. The proposed recruitment activities will be undertaken via electronic communications including email and social media.

2.0 * **Indicate if the study will use or access facilities, programmes, resources, staff, students, specimens, patients or their records, at any of the sites affiliated with the following** *(select all that apply):*

Not applicable

List all health care research sites/locations:

3.0 **Multi-Institution Review**

* **3.1 Has this study already received approval from another REB?**

○ **Yes** ● **No**

4.0 **If this application is closely linked to research previously approved by one of the University of Alberta REBs or has already received ethics approval from an external ethics review board***(s)*, **provide the study number, REB name or other identifying information. Attach any external REB application and approval letter in the Documentation Section – Other Documents.**

2.1 Study Objectives and Design

1.0 * **Provide a lay summary of your proposed research which would be understandable to general public**

My proposed research is a podcast, featuring Black, Indigenous and people of Colour who are snow sports athletes, innovators, and organizers.

2.0 * **Provide a full description of your research proposal outlining the following:**

- **Purpose**
- **Hypothesis**
- **Justification**
- **Objectives**
- **Research Method/Procedures**
- **Plan for Data Analysis**

My M.A. thesis, “Skiing in Racialized Geographies” will examine how Black and Indigenous peoples are excluded in snow sports and how the lack of diversity can be addressed.

This thesis poses the following research questions: First, how do colour-blind logics, which ignore the underlying history and construction of space, result in diversity problems within the snow sports industry? Second, how might wilderness recreational spaces be reconstructed in ways that appeal to racialized individuals?

In response to my second research question, I propose to develop and deliver a podcast, entitled BIPoC Outside, that features Black, Indigenous, and people of Colour who are snow sports athletes, innovators, and organizers. BIPoC Outside will position participants as individuals with diverse perspectives who have the critical knowledge of how to make improvements within their sports communities. This is a research creation process which is an innovative way to engage and center the diverse voices from within the big mountain community. I can then use these community driven insights to propose solutions to address diversity in snow sports.

3.0 **Describe procedures, treatment, or activities that are above or in addition to standard practices in this study area** *(eg. extra medical or health-related procedures, curriculum enhancements, extra follow-up, etc)***:**
N/A

4.0 **If the proposed research is above minimal risk and is not funded via a competitive peer review grant or industry-sponsored clinical trial, the REB will require evidence of scientific review. Provide information about the review process and its results if appropriate.**
N/A

5.0 **For clinical trials, describe any sub-studies associated with this Protocol.**
N/A

2.2 Research Methods and Procedures

Some research methods prompt specific ethical issues. The methods listed below have additional questions associated with them in this application. If your research does not involve any of the methods listed below, ensure that your proposed research is adequately described in Section 2.1: Study Objectives and Design or attach documents in the Documentation Section if necessary.

1.0 * **This study will involve the following***(select all that apply)*
Internet-based Interaction with Participants (excluding internet surveys or data collection over internet without human interaction)
Interviews and/or Focus Groups
Research focusing on First Nations, Inuit and Metis Peoples

NOTE 1: Select this ONLY if your application SOLELY involves a review of paper charts/electronic health records/administrative health data to answer the research question. If you are enrolling people into a study and need to collect data from their health records in addition to other interventions, then you SHOULD NOT select this box.

NOTE 2: Select this option if this research ONLY involves analysis of blood/tissue/specimens originally collected for another purpose but now being used to answer your research question. If you are enrolling people

into the study to prospectively collect specimens to analyze you SHOULD NOT select this box.

2.4 Internet-based Interaction with Human Participants

1.0 Internet-based Research

1.1 Will your interaction with participants occur in private internet spaces (eg. members only chat rooms, social networking sites, email discussions, etc)?

● **Yes** ○ No

1.2 Will these interactions occur in public space(s) where you will post questions initiating and/or maintaining interaction with participants?

○ Yes ● **No**

2.0 Describe how permission to use the site(s) will be obtained, if applicable:

Participant recruitment will be completed via private email and direct, or private, messaging on social media. Podcast interviews will primarily be undertaken via online teleconferencing which is secured by individual access codes. Where internet access prohibits video online teleconferencing, telephone teleconferencing interviews may be used.

3.0 * If you are using a third party research tool, website survey software, transaction log tools, screen capturing software, or masked survey sites, how will you ensure the security of data gathered at that site?

N/A

4.0 If you do not plan to identify yourself and your position as a researcher to the participants, from the onset of the research study, explain why you are not doing so, at what point you will disclose that you are a researcher, provide details of debriefing procedures, if any, and if participants will be given a way to opt out, if applicable:

N/A

5.0 * How will you protect the privacy and confidentiality of participants who may be identified by email addresses, IP addresses, and other identifying information that may be captured by the system during your interactions with these participants?

This podcast will be published. Participant identity will be public and, as is commonplace in sports podcasting, they will be invited to share their athlete or brand social media channels with listeners if they choose. To participate in interviews, participants will use a provided link and access code to log into my online teleconferencing system. This will anonymize any non public personal data such as IP address or telephone number as meeting participants are identified by access code.

2.5 Interview and/or Focus Groups

1.0 **Will you conduct interviews, focus groups, or both? Provide detail.**
I will conduct interviews.

2.0 **How will participation take place (e.g. in-person, via phone, email, Skype)?**
Interviews will occur over a private Zoom account

3.0 **How will the data be collected (e.g. audio recording, video recording, field notes)?**
Data will be collected via audio recording.

2.8 First Nations, Inuit and Metis People

1.0 * **If you will be obtaining consent from Elders, leaders, or other community representatives, provide details:**
N/A

2.0 **If leaders of the group will be involved in the identification of potential participants, provide details:**
N/A

3.0 **Provide details if:**
• property or private information belonging to the group as a whole is studied or used;
• the research is designed to analyze or describe characteristics of the group, or
• individuals are selected to speak on behalf of, or otherwise represent the group

N/A

4.0 * **Provide information regarding consent, agreements regarding access, ownership and sharing of research data with communities:**
Participants in this research will be restricted to individuals who exist within the public sports realm and are familiar with sports podcasting. During recruitment activities, identified potential participants will be contacted, provided a mission and objective statement for the podcast, and a list of sample questions. The decision to participate will be considered consent.

5.0 **Provide information about how final results of the study will be shared with the participating community** *(eg. via band office, special presentation, deposit in community school, etc)***?**
This podcast will be published and will be available on Apple podcasts as well as the podcast supporting website BIPoCOutside.com

6.0 **Is there a research agreement with the community?**
○ Yes ● **No**

3.1 Risk Assessment

1.0 * **Provide your assessment of the risks that may be associated with**

this research:
Minimal Risk - research in which the probability and magnitude of possible harms implied by participation is no greater than those encountered by participants in those aspects of their everyday life that relate to the research (TCPS2)

2.0 * **Select all that might apply:**

Description of Possible Physical Risks and Discomforts

No	Participants might feel physical fatigue, e.g. sleep deprivation
No	Participants might feel physical stress, e.g. cardiovascular stress tests
No	Participants might sustain injury, infection, and intervention side-effects or complications
No	The physical risks will be greater than those encountered by the participants in everyday life

Possible Psychological, Emotional, Social and Other Risks and Discomforts

No	Participants might feel psychologically or emotionally stressed, demeaned, embarrassed, worried, anxious, scared or distressed, e.g. description of painful or traumatic events
No	Participants might feel psychological or mental fatigue, e.g intense concentration required
No	Participants might experience cultural or social risk, e.g. loss of privacy or status or damage to reputation
No	Participants might be exposed to economic or legal risk, for instance non-anonymized workplace surveys
No	The risks will be greater than those encountered by the participants in everyday life

3.0 * **Provide details of all the risks and discomforts associated with the research for which you indicated YES or POSSIBLY above.**
N/A

4.0 * **Describe how you will manage and minimize risks and discomforts, as well as mitigate harm:**
This research is guided equally by critical race theory (CRT) and critical Indigenous studies (CIS). Critical race theory recognizes that the experiential knowledge of people of colour is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination. It further emphasizes counter storytelling as a tool of liberation (Delgado 1989, 2436). Counter storytelling being the act of providing a community perspective outside of the dominant narrative. This assertion from one of my key theoretical groundings guided the selection of the research creation methodology because my proposed employment of this methodology is aligned. My podcast will center Black and Indigenous voices as participants, experts, and knowledge holders in the snow sports field. Subsequently, the analysis of their insights and perspectives will be the foundation of proposed strategies and methods for increasing diversity in snow sports.
Research creation is additionally aligned with the critical Indigenous theory axiom which indicates [in community] research may not always be an appropriate intervention (Tuck and Yang, R-Words: Refusing Research 2014). Instead, it offers opportunities to create or engage in research that abstains from damage narratives while privileging and benefiting the community. Because of my stated intent to abstain from pain narratives and focus on knowledge, experience, and contributions my proposed approach to research creation satisfies this axiom.

5.0 **Is there a possibility that your research procedures will lead to unexpected findings, adverse reactions, or similar results that may require follow-up** *(i.e. individuals disclose that they are upset or distressed during an interview/questionnaire, unanticipated findings on MRI, etc.)***?**

○ Yes ● **No**

6.0 **If you are using any tests in this study diagnostically, indicate the member(s) of the study team who will administer the measures/instruments:**

Test Name	Test Administrator	Organization	Administrator's Qualification

There are no items to display

7.0 **If any research related procedures/tests could be interpreted diagnostically, will these be reported back to the participants and if so, how and by whom?**

3.2 Benefits Analysis

1.0 * **Describe any potential benefits of the proposed research to the participants. If there are no benefits, state this explicitly:**
Participants will benefit from increased public exposure for themselves as athletes or innovators, or for their brands or organizations.

2.0 * **Describe the scientific and/or scholarly benefits of the proposed research:**
This research speaks directly to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action 88, 89, and 90, that aim to promote healthy physical activity and sports while eliminating racism in sports environments.

3.0 **If this research involves risk to participants explain how the benefits outweigh the risks.**

4.1 Participant Information

1.0 * **Will you be recruiting human participants** *(i.e. enrolling people into the study, sending people online surveys to complete)***?**

● **Yes** ○ No

1.1 Will participants be recruited or their data be collected from Alberta Health Services or Covenant Health or data custodian as defined in the Alberta Health Information Act?

○ Yes ● **No**

4.2 Additional Participant Information

1.0 Describe the participants that will be included in this study. Outline ALL participants *(i.e. if you are enrolling healthy controls as well):*

Identified potential participants in this research include BIPoC snow sports athletes or representatives from organizations that foster, support, or organize BIPoC snow sports recreational participation or elite athleticism.

2.0 * Describe and justify the inclusion criteria for participants *(e.g. age range, health status, gender, etc.):*

Inclusion criteria is being both BIPoC and entrenched in the snow sports community

3.0 Describe and justify the exclusion criteria for participants:

Individuals who do not meet the inclusion criteria would not have the requisite lived experience to respond to the research question.

4.0 Participants

4.1 How many participants do you hope to recruit *(including controls, if applicable?)*
16
4.2 Of these, how many are controls, if applicable?
0
4.3 If this is a multi-site study, how many participants do you anticipate will be enrolled in the entire study?

5.0 Justification for sample size:
This sample size is larger than I require for my research purposes. However, to ensure the delivery of a quality public product I intend to follow the typical sports podcast format of a four month season with an episode issued weekly.

4.4 Recruitment of Participants (non-Health)

1.0 Recruitment

1.1 How will you identify potential participants? Outline all of the means you will use to identify who may be eligible to be in the study *(i.e. response to advertising such as flyers, posters, ads in newspapers, websites, email, list serves, community organization referrals, etc.)*
Potential participants, individuals and organizations, have been identified through their participation in snow sports.

1.2 Once you have identified a list of potentially eligible participants, indicate how the potential participants' names will be passed on to the researchers AND how will the potential participants be approached about the research.
Potential participants have been identified and upon receipt of ethics approval will be approached via email with limited exceptions where they will be approach via social media direct messaging.

2.0 Pre-Existing Relationships

2.1 Will potential participants be recruited through pre-existing relationships with researchers *(e.g. Will an instructor recruit students from his classes, or a physician recruit patients from her practice? Other examples may be employees, acquaintances, own children or family members, etc.)*?

● **Yes** ○ No

2.2 If YES, identify the relationship between the researchers and participants that could compromise the freedom to decline *(e.g. clinician/patient, professor/student)*
I am a member of the snow sports community, I am a skier and a former ski guide. This in no way could compromise the freedom to decline participation.

2.3 How will you ensure that there is no undue pressure on the potential participants to agree to the study?
Potential participants hold positions of authority or power within the snow sports community. Podcasting is an activity they are familiar with and often participate in to market their own brands or initiatives. There is no realized or perceived power imbalance between myself and the potential participants.

3.0 Will your study involve any of the following? *(select all that apply)*
None of the above

4.5 Informed Consent Determination

1.0 Describe who will provide informed consent for this study*(i.e. the participant, parent of child participant, substitute decision maker, no one will give consent – requesting a waiver)*
The participant will provide consent with one potential exception. One identified potential participant, a Black snowboard athlete on the US Olympic development team, is seventeen. For this individual to participate, their parents will be required to give consent.

1.1 Waiver of Consent Requested
If you are asking for a waiver of participant consent, please justify the waiver or alteration and explain how the study meets all of the criteria for the waiver. Refer to Article 3.7 of TCPS2 **and provide justification for requesting a Waiver of Consent for ALL criteria (a-e)**
N/A

1.2 Waiver of Consent in Individual Medical Emergency
If you are asking for a waiver or alteration of participant consent in individual medical emergencies, please justify the waiver or alteration and explain how the study meets ALL of the criteria outlined in Article 3.8 of TCPS2 (a-f)**.**
N/A

2.0 How will consent be obtained/documented? Select all that apply
Implied by overt action (i.e. completion of questionnaire)

If you are not using a signed consent form, explain how the study information will be provided to the participant and how consent will be obtained/documented. Provide details for EACH of the options

selected above:
Consent will be implied by participation. The podcast will be available publicly.

3.0 **Will every participant have the capacity to give fully informed consent on his/her own behalf?**

● **Yes** ○ No

4.0 **What assistance will be provided to participants or those consenting on their behalf, who may require additional assistance?** *(e.g. non-English speakers, visually impaired, etc.)*
N/A

5.0 * **If at any time a PARTICIPANT wishes to withdraw from the study or from certain parts of the study, describe when and how this can be done.**
Participants may withdraw at anytime by verbalizing their wish to withdraw or by ceasing participation.

6.0 **Describe the circumstances and limitations of DATA withdrawal from the study, including the last point at which participant DATA can be withdrawn** *(i.e. 2 weeks after transcription of interview notes)*
Data can be withdrawn at anytime up until approximately November 10, 2021 which is the proposed publishing date of the podcast.

7.0 **Will this study involve any group(s) where non-participants are present? For example, classroom research might involve groups which include participants and non-participants.**

○ Yes ● **No**

5.1 Data Collection

1.0 * **Will the researcher or study team be able to identify any of the participants at <u>any stage</u> of the study?**

● **Yes** ○ No

2.0 **Primary/raw data collected will be** *(check all that apply)***:**
Directly identifying information - the information identifies a specific individual through direct identifiers (e.g. name, social insurance number, personal health number, etc.)
Made Public and cited (including cases where participants have elected to be identified and/or allowed use of images, photos, etc.)

3.0 **If this study involves secondary use of data, list all original sources:**

4.0 **In research where total anonymity and confidentiality is sought but cannot be guaranteed** *(eg. where participants talk in a group)* **how will confidentiality be achieved?**

5.2 Data Identifiers

1.0 * **Personal Identifiers:** will you be collecting - at any time during the study, including recruitment - any of the following *(check all that apply)*:
Surname and First Name
Email Address
Full Face Photograph or Other Recording

2.0 **Will you be collecting - at any time of the study, including recruitment of participants - any of the following** *(check all that apply)*:
There are no items to display

3.0 * **If you are collecting any of the above, provide a comprehensive rationale to explain why it is necessary to collect this information:**
Email addresses are required to communicate with participants. Their name and an audio recording will be published with the podcast.

4.0 **If identifying information will be removed at some point, when and how will this be done?**

5.0 * **Specify what identifiable information will be RETAINED once data collection is complete, and explain why retention is necessary. Include the retention of master lists that link participant identifiers with de-identified data:**
Surname, first name, and audio recordings of interviews will be retained on the publicly available podcast.

6.0 **If applicable, describe your plans to link the data in this study with data associated with other studies (e.g within a data repository) or with data belonging to another organization:**

5.3 Data Confidentiality and Privacy

1.0 * **How will confidentiality of the data be maintained? Describe how the identity of participants will be protected both during and after research.**
Participants will have no expectation of anonymity however personal data such as telephone numbers or IP addresses will at no time be collected. Participants will be contacted through their publicly available email or social media channels.

2.0 **How will the principal investigator ensure that all study personnel are aware of their responsibilities concerning participants' privacy and the confidentiality of their information?**

3.0 **External Data Access**

* **3.1 Will identifiable data be transferred or made available to persons or agencies outside the research team?**

○ **Yes** ● **No**

5.4 Data Storage, Retention, and Disposal

1.0 * **Describe how research data will be stored, e.g. digital files, hard copies, audio recordings, other. Specify the physical location and how it will be secured to protect confidentiality and privacy.** *(For example, study documents must be kept in a locked filing cabinet and computer files are encrypted, etc. Write N/A if not applicable to your research)*
The podcast will be published to Apple podcasts, and will be available on the support website BIPoCOutside.com

2.0 * **University policy requires that you keep your data for a minimum of 5 years following completion of the study but there is no limit on data retention. Specify any plans for future use of the data. If the data will become part of a data repository or if this study involves the creation of a research database or registry for future research use, please provide details.** *(Write N/A if not applicable to your research)*
N/A

3.0
If you plan to destroy your data, describe when and how this will be done? Indicate your plans for the destruction of the identifiers at the earliest opportunity consistent with the conduct of the research and/or clinical needs:
There is no plan to destroy this data, it will remain part of the public record.

Documentation

Add documents in this section according to the headers. Use Item 11.0 "Other Documents" for any material not specifically mentioned below.

Sample templates are available by clicking HERE.

1.0 **Recruitment Materials:**

Document Name	Version	Date	Description
There are no items to display			

2.0 **Letter of Initial Contact:**

Document Name	Version	Date	Description
There are no items to display			

3.0
Informed Consent / Information Document(s):

3.1 What is the reading level of the Informed Consent Form(s):

3.2 Informed Consent Form(s)/Information Document(s):

Document Name	Version	Date	Description
There are no items to display			

4.0 Assent Forms:

Document Name	Version	Date	Description
There are no items to display			

5.0 Questionnaires, Cover Letters, Surveys, Tests, Interview Scripts, etc.:

Document Name	Version	Date	Description
There are no items to display			

6.0 Protocol/Research Proposal:

Document Name	Version	Date	Description
There are no items to display			

7.0 Investigator Brochures/Product Monographs:

Document Name	Version	Date	Description
There are no items to display			

8.0 Health Canada No Objection Letter *(NOL)*:

Document Name	Version	Date	Description
There are no items to display			

9.0 Confidentiality Agreement:

Document Name	Version	Date	Description
There are no items to display			

10.0 Conflict of Interest:

Document Name	Version	Date	Description
There are no items to display			

11.0 Other Documents:
For example, Study Budget, Course Outline, or other documents not mentioned above

Document Name	Version	Date	Description
There are no items to display			

Final Page

You have completed your ethics application! Click "Continue" to go to your study workspace.

This action will NOT SUBMIT the application for review.

Only the Study Investigator can submit an application to the REB by selecting the "SUBMIT STUDY" button in My Activities for this Study ID:Pro00107875.