THE CONSTRUCTION OF HUMAN'S IDENTITY IN NATURE BY OPPOSING

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE IDAHO WOLF WARS

By

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Abstract

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Recent research concerning the social construction of "animals" has argued that a culture's understanding of animals is linked to their understanding of what it means to be human. However, this vein of work has remained relatively unconnected to sociological theories of identity construction. This project draws on the conflict surrounding wolf management in the state of Idaho in an effort to better understand how human identity is negotiated in relation to animals and nature. Social movements have formed in Idaho both opposing and supporting wolf conservation. This paper examines a range of qualitative data sources from both the pro-wolf and anti-wolf social movements and finds that the movements have very different conceptions of humans' identity in relation to nature. These identities are situated in ideologies regarding the mechanics of nature, embedded in social movement networks, and allocated to and acted out in place.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 1995 wolves were reintroduced into Idaho and the Northern Rocky Mountains (Fischer 1995; Morell 2008; USFWS 2007a). At the beginning of 2008 there was an estimated 732 wolves in the state, and although fewer in number than other large carnivores, such as the cougar (about 2,500), wolves are causing a much bigger stir (Kellert et al. 1996; Nie 2001; Collinge 2008; IDFG 2008). Movements have formed both seeking to protect the wolves of the state and to eliminate them. Anti-wolf groups have twice attempted to place an initiative on the Idaho ballot, which, if it were to pass, would mandate the removal of all wolves from the state (*Twin Falls Times News* 2006; *Twin Falls Times News* 2008a). For comparison, pro-wolf groups successfully sued to relist wolves as an endangered species (ruling delivered 7/22/09), suspending any wolf-hunting season for the foreseeable future (*Idaho Mountain Express and Guide* 2008; Defenders of Wildlife website 2008).

Recent scholarship demonstrates that the definition of an animal is not objective, but dependent on the culture constructing the animal. Animals understood as problematic pests in one culture may be understood as noble or spiritual creatures in another (Kellert et al. 1996; Jerolmack 2008; Robbins 1998). Additionally, scholars have contended that a particular culture's understanding of "animals" is illustrative of their understanding of what it means to be "human," because humanness can only be understood in reference to the perceived traits of "animals" (Bradshaw 2006; Capek 2006; Emel and Wolch 1998; Emel 1998). This is clearly highlighted by the term "animal" itself, which is commonly used to refer to a diversity of creatures not linked so much by what they share as by what they lack-humanness (Bradshaw 2006). Examining the pro and anti-wolf movements allows us to better grasp how different groups with contrasting movement cultures make sense of

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themselves and the animals around them. Namely, this research asks, how is each movement's construction of the wolf related to their understanding of what it means to be human? However, before diving into this question I will present the reader with some background information.

The Wolf in North America and Idaho

Numerous indigenous tribes have historically seen the wolf in a positive light and continue to do so (Mowat 1963; Kellert et al. 1996; Emel 1998; Lopez 1978). For instance, the Nez Perce Tribe of the Inland Northwest considers the wolf "…a brother – an equal driven from the same lands as the tribe" (BYU News Net 2005). This is much in contrast to the European settlers of the west, who historically despised the wolf (Kellert et al. 1996; Fischer 1995; Emel 1998; Lopez 1978). Predator elimination programs, which started in the eastern United States in the late 1600s and continued in the west through the 1950s, eventually led to the extirpation of the wolf throughout the majority of the lower 48 states, excluding only the far northeastern corner of Minnesota which retained a few hundred wolves (Fischer 1995; Emel 1998; Lopez 1978; Treves and Karanth 2003; Morell 2008; USFWS 2007a). An estimated 350,000 wolves had been eliminated from the lower 48 states (Morell 2008).

The US Biological Survey (The predecessor of the US Fish and Wildlife Service) and the National Park Service employed riflemen and paid bounties to eliminate wolves in Northern Rockies (Fischer 1995; Emel 1998; Lopez 1978; Treves and Karanth 2003; Morell 2008; USFWS 2007a). This effort was often expensive and pursued past its economic utility, operating a length of time after any viable wolf population was present in a given area to ensure that "every last wolf" was gotten (Emel 1998, 101; Kellert et al. 1996; Fischer 1995).

Many have contended that the European settlers of the west, influenced by their religious heritage, saw the land as their property, gifted to them by God (Emel 1998; Kleese 2002). Anything that did not serve human interest was, then, not only considered useless, but unholy. This, of course, included the wolf (Kleese 2002; Lopez 1978; Kellert et al. 1996; Emel 1998).

Regardless of the cause of negative attitudes toward wolves and other carnivores, the contrast between many Native American tribes' perceptions of the wolf and those of the European settlers demonstrates that wildlife is made sense of differently across different social contexts. From the middle to the end of the 20th century a growing number of Americans' attitudes toward wolves and other large carnivores began to improve on the heels of a few pioneers who found new value in the creatures (Kellert et al. 1996; Kleese 2002; Kaltenborn and Bjerke 2002). This demonstrates how social contexts shift over time and usher in new relationships between a particular culture and nature.

In the late 1940s, acclaimed conservationist Aldo Leopold, who was originally employed by the federal government to kill wolves and other predators, discovered first hand the utility of predators. He recognized the extirpation of wild carnivores led to the destruction of an ecosystem's vegetation and eventually death and disease among its ungulate populations (deer, elk, etc.) and other wildlife (Leopold 1949; Kellert et al. 1996; Kleese 2002). This discovery led Leopold (1949) to write his famous work, *A Sand County Almanac*, in which he argued all creatures –including humans– are part of an interdependent "ecological community," wherein the health of the whole depends on that of each of its members. Scholars throughout the next several decades extended Leopold's ideas, arguing that humans do not rule over or exist separately from nature, but are part of nature and

subject to its forces (e.g.- Catton and Dunlop 1978; Catton 1980; York, Rosa, and Dietz 2003). The environmental movement blossomed in the 1960s, and with ebbs and flows, has continued to grow (Humphrey et al. 2002). During this time attitudes toward the wolf, other large carnivores, and wildlife preservation have continued to become more positive (Kellert et al. 1996; Fischer 1995; Kleese 2002; Humphrey et al. 2002).

In 1973 the Endangered Species Act was passed, giving the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) the goal of preserving wildlife headed for extinction. Twenty-two years later this agency reintroduced wolves into Wyoming and Idaho (Fischer 1995; USFWS 2007a). Amazingly the USFWS is the same agency that eliminated wolves from the area approximately 50 years earlier (Fischer 1995; Morell 2008). However, despite cultural shifts in favor of wolf and wildlife conservation, many still oppose these efforts (Kellert et al. 1996; Nie 2001; Anahita and Mix 2006; Skogen et al. 2008; Kaltenborn and Bjerke 2002). Wolf reintroduction and conservation has been resisted both by politicians and grassroots movement organizations in the Northern Rockies since the day wolves were reintroduced in January of 1995 (Nie 2001; Fischer 1995).

Out of anger at the reintroduction, the Idaho state legislature banned state agencies from being involved in the management of the species (Nie 2001; Fischer 1995). The Nez Perce Tribe, then, stepped forward and offered its aid in managing wolves in the state. The Nez Perce became the first tribe in the United States to lead the recovery of an endangered species (Nie 2001; BYU News 2005). However, as the number of wolves in Idaho grew the state sought to reassert itself into wolf management to protect its own interests. In 2004, the Nez Perce Tribe began training IDFG employees to take over the management of Idaho's wolves and in 2005 the tribe and the state signed an agreement transferring the majority of

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management responsibilities to the state of Idaho (IDFG 2009a; BYU News Net 2005). Between 2005 and 2008 there were two changes to the 10(j) rule of the Endangered Species Act (ESA) making it easier for government officials and citizens to kill wolves in order to maintain high ungulate herd populations and protect private property (livestock, pets) (IDFG 2009a; IDFG 2009b). Also in this time period, wolves were delisted and eventually relisted to the Endangered Species List (ESL) (IDFG 2009a; *Idaho Mountain Express and Guide* 2008). All this occurred in the context of very active pro and anti-wolf social movements.

An anti-wolf group that has advocated for the removal of all wolves from Idaho, the Save Our Elk Coalition, has had over 80,000 people visit their website in the course of only 4 years (SOEC website 2008). The pro-wolf group Defenders of Wildlife (DW) continues to run a private reimbursement program, giving 100% market price for beef cattle to ranchers who have sustained a confirmed wolf depredation and 50% reimbursement to ranchers who have suffered probable livestock losses to wolves. The organization hopes this will increase public support for wolf conservation (Defenders of Wildlife website 2008; Fischer 1995). The views of these movements and their supporters were frequently voiced in public hearings concerning wolf management held by the USFWS and the IDFG (USFWS 2007b; USFWS 2007c; *Twin Falls Times News* 2008b). Moreover, 6 pro-wolf and anti-wolf interest groups from this study's sample participated in stakeholder meetings aimed at forming Idaho's wolf management policy at the request of the Idaho Department of Fish and Game (IDFG) in 2007 (IDFG Official 2008; IDFG 2008). The above examples attest to the influence each social movement's worldview has had concerning wolves and their management in Idaho.

The point is not that the movements are influential, per se, but to acknowledge that the meanings people give wolves and other wildlife have implications for the practices they ultimately pursue in relation to those animals. For example, the Sea Shepard Conservation Society has gone to impressive lengths to protect the Great Whales they see as having immense ecological, biological, and existential importance from Japanese whaling fleets which feel whale meat is of great cultural importance (Heller 2007). In the same way, wolf management and the conflict surrounding it cannot be understood outside of its social contexts. Yet, it is not the intention of this study to argue that the meanings actors give the wolf determine their actions toward it, but rather to simply gain insight into the interrelated meanings behind movement participants' actions in the pro and anti-wolf social movements in Idaho.

Theoretical Considerations

Nature and its parts, such as the wolf, have two characters. First, nature has a reality of its own existing in relative independence from human culture, inherent properties that can be gained, in part, through systematic and scientific investigation. This ecological character of nature exists all the same without any human knowledge of its inner workings (Capek 2006). For instance, given a certain forest density, the amount of forage for prey, the time of the year, and the characteristics of the surrounding ungulate (elk, deer) populations, an average wolf pack will make a certain quantity of kills (Weaver et al. 1996). The second character of nature, however, is the focus of this study. In this case nature and its pieces are simply social constructions, human creations situated in the particular meanings a specific group of people with unique cultural characteristics gives their world. The second character of nature is dependent upon the people attributing meaning to it and is more descriptive of

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social groups than it is of the biological and ecological properties of nature (Capek 2006; Mead 1934; Blumer 1969). However, these characters of nature frequently interact (Capek 2006). As W. I. Thomas argues, "If people define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (McIntyre 2006, 3).

The meaning people give the "animals" in their midst affects the manner in which people act toward them (Blumer 1969; Emel and Wolch 1998; Jerolmack 2008; Capek 2006). For instance, Philo (1998) demonstrates that the types of animals defined as appropriately "placed" in European and American cities has changed over time, and that humans maintain these boundaries based on the meaning they give particular animals (e.g.- laws prohibiting the ownership of chickens in city limits but allowing canines). The same is true of nature's landscapes. "The culturally reproduced images of places are arbitrary but real in their consequences for what people *do* to the land as they make (or destroy) places…. [For instance,] Navaho beliefs that Arizona's Black Mesa is a sacred place did not prevent Peabody Coal Company from strip mining it…" (Gieryn 2000, 473). Clearly, the second character of nature (culture) can influence the first (ecology). This is not to say that the meanings actors give the wolf are the ultimate cause of their action, but rather that the target of their action, aggression and protection, the wolf, is culturally situated.

Surely, there are several economic and social-structural factors that have rallied the pro-wolf and anti-wolf activists, but speculating as to what those underlying causes are is beyond the scope of this study, which uses qualitative data and is concerned with the meaning actors give their situations. The target of movement action is often not the ultimate source of a group's grievances but rather an available and culturally appropriate "scapegoat" (Garrard 1967; Soule and Van Dyke 1999; McBride 1995; Jerolmack 2008; Jasper 1997).

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Many have argued that the wolf has frequently served as a scapegoat for ranchers and hunters in the rural west and elsewhere (Kellert et al. 1996; Nie 2001; Skogen 2008; Lopez 1978; Kleese 2002; Anahita and Mix 2006). "As one rancher…[noted,] while international markets and corporatization can be quite complex, wolves are relatively simple and can fit right in the scope of a rifle" (Nie 2001, 8). Certainly, pro-wolf activism is also affected by factors unrelated to the wolf itself. Though larger forces may draw people to movements and bolster movement activism, the target of any particular movement is culturally derived, drawing on the symbolic resources of its members (Gusfield 1986).

For the purposes of this study it does not matter if actors' conceptions of the wolf led them to their respective social movements or if their ideas concerning the wolf are an outcome of their participation in those movements (Blee 2002; Jasper 1995; Snow et al. 1980). Nor does it matter if movement actors insert culturally appropriate motivations into their stories retrospectively (Mills 1940). In many ways meanings learned from participation are preferable because they elucidate the ideologies embedded in the networks of the pro and anti-wolf social movements in Idaho (Blee 2002; Jasper 1997).

Communication builds shared meaning through social interaction (Blumer 1969; Habermas 1981). In this manner participants in social movements gain a shared sense of how the world works and their position therein (Melucci 1996; Taylor and Whittier 1992; Stryker 1980). This project draws on narratives both at the individual and organizational levels to unearth the meanings rooted in both the pro and anti-wolf movements in Idaho. Narratives are discursive elements, which can be communicated verbally or in written form. Narratives are stories with "beginnings, middles, and ends," which "structure causality" (Polletta 2006, 6). Narratives "canonical" among a group provide a text from which to view

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a group's ideology (Polletta 2006, 7; Osborn 2001; Skogen 2008). Consequently, the stories

movement actors tell about wolves, the way nature works, and humans' role therein should

bring to light movement ideologies connecting what wolves mean to what it means to be

human in nature.

CHAPTER 2: METHODS

Sample

This study has a sample of 18 organizations involved in advocating for or against particular wolf management policies in the state of Idaho. All the organizations are either based in Idaho or have a regional office in Idaho. Also, all organizations were active during the time of study, between 2007 and 2008, and to the best of my knowledge all remain in operation. The list of 18 movement organizations contains 8 "pro- wolf" organizations, 7 "anti- wolf" organizations, and 3 "middle-of-the-road" organizations, which have a stake in the recovery, elimination, and/or management of wolves in the state of Idaho. Distinctions between what constitutes a pro-wolf, anti-wolf, or middle-of-the-road organization were made primarily in two ways. First, movement organizations' members provided lists and categorizations of groups involved in the public dispute via interview. Particular attention was put on self-categorization. Secondly, categories were created by comparing each organization's policy recommendations to the IDFG's 2008-2012 wolf management plan, of which a "final" version was issued in the spring of 2008 (IDFG 2008).

Interviewees' categorizations were completely consistent concerning the pro-wolf and anti-wolf movement groupings, not once was an organization considered pro-wolf by one interviewee and then anti-wolf by another. Moreover, interviewees from all the groups labeled as part of either the pro-wolf or anti-wolf social movements considered their own group part of a sustained and coordinated effort to either limit or protect wolves. Yet, there was some ambiguity surrounding the middle-of-the-road organizations. Of the three organizations, one was considered to lean anti-wolf by at least 4 of the 8 pro-wolf organizations, and at least one was considered to lean pro-wolf by 5 of the 7 anti-wolf

groups. However, all three organizations, when interviewed, saw their own group as not participating in either movement, and they all agreed the IDFG's 2008-2012 wolf management plan was acceptable. Because of the ambiguity surrounding the middle-of-the-road category, organizations therein are neither analyzed as a coherent control group nor used as a point of comparison for the pro and anti-wolf social movements. Instead, information from middle-of-the-road organizations is exclusively used to better understand the wolf management situation in Idaho.

Reassuringly, categorizations concerning the pro and anti-wolf movements made by examining organizations' policy recommendations aligned completely with the interviewees' categorizations of their own and other groups. For example, all organizations considered anti-wolf by movement actors share the policy goal of reducing the number of wolves in the state to a much greater extent than the IDFG's 2008-2012 wolf management plan recommends. Also, all of the anti-wolf organizations seek to increase the number of methods by which, and circumstances under which, Idaho citizens can kill wolves in the state. Although organizations labeled anti-wolf share a common perspective concerning wolf management, many of them have a main focus that is only indirectly related to wolf management.

Out of the seven anti-wolf groups only one claims its main focus to be "wolf issues," four are primarily sportsmen's groups concerned with hunting, and the remaining two are livestock organizations. Similarly, the organizations that make up the pro-wolf movement have a diversity of primary foci; only two of the eight share a primary focus on wolf issues, one is primarily focused on protecting all wildlife, and the remaining 5 are all primarily focused on wilderness preservation. However, just as the anti-wolf organizations, they share

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a common philosophy on wolf management, for which they have all advocated in the public sphere.

Pro-wolf organizations want a higher mandated minimum number of wolves in the state than the IDFG plan advocates. They are also seeking to decrease the number of methods by which, and circumstances under which, wolves can be killed in the state of Idaho. Middle-of-the-road organizations include governmental agencies, tribal government, and non-governmental organizations that have a stake in wolf issues in Idaho and can be seen as generally supportive of the IDFG's 2008 plan. For a list of organizations in the sample and their positions see Table 1 on page 13.

A preliminary list of organizations involved in pro-wolf and anti-wolf activism was gathered first by assembling a list of groups that attended the Idaho Department of Fish and Game's 2007 stakeholder meetings concerning their proposed 2008-2012 wolf management plan (6) (See Table 1 for a list of attending organizations) (IDFG Official 2008; IDFG 2008). Stakeholders were determined by IDFG invitation. I made contact with one of the two pro-wolf organizations and two of the four anti-wolf groups present at the meeting. A snowball sampling method was applied to these initial and all subsequent contacts. Interviewees were asked to list all the organizations they could think of advocating for or against particular wolf management policy proposals in Idaho, which also have an office in or are based in the state. Each organization's existence was confirmed by conducting extensive Internet searches utilizing major search engines (e.g.- Google). Information was found concerning every organization, including organizational websites (17), news articles (14)[1], and blogs (3) regarding the organizations (See Appendix 1; Bibliography). This process yielded the sample of 18 organizations used for this study.

Table 1. Pro-Wolf and Anti-Wolf Social Movement Organizations and Their Goals

Organizations	IDFG Stakeholder Participant	Position on Wolf Issues	Mission Statement
Pro- Wolf		*Sued to stop delisting* **(S)**	
Boulder White-Clouds Council	No	Conservation/Reintroduction	Protect wilderness
Defenders of Wildlife	Yes	Conservation/ Reintroduction **(S)**	Wildlife conservation
Friends of the Clearwater	No	Conservation **(S)**	Protect central Id. wilderness
Idaho Conservation League	Yes	Conservation- okay with responsible hunting plan	Preserve Id. wilderness
Western Watersheds	No	Wolf recovery **(S)**	Protect/restore watersheds
Wilderness Society- Idaho Branch	No	Conservation- okay with responsible hunting season	Preserve wilderness
Wolf Education and Research Center	No	Conservation/Reintroduction	Advocate for wolves
Wolf Recovery Foundation	No	Wolf recovery in the Rockies and SW US	Wolf conservation
Middle-of-the-Road		_____	
Idaho Trout Unlimited	No	No official position	Aid fisheries/ watersheds
Nez Perce Tribe	No	Desire that a wolf harvest in Idaho be sustainable	Health of Tribe/ environment
Idaho Department of Fish and Game	Yes	Implement 2008-2012 management plan	Manage wildlife
Anti-Wolf		*Support ballot initiative to remove all wolves from Idaho* **(B)**	
Anti-Wolf Coalition	No	0 wolves in Idaho **(B)**	0 wolves in Idaho
Concerned Sportsman for Idaho	No	0 wolves in Idaho **(B)**	Preserve big game
Idaho Cattle Association	Yes	Wolf controls/Fair reimbursement for losses/Right to protect property	Ranching interests
Idaho Wool Growers Association	Yes	Wolf controls/Fair reimbursement for losses/Right to protect property	Assist sheep industry in Idaho
Idaho Outfitters and Guides Association	Yes	Wolves controlled and harvested to aid outfitting business	Outfitters' interests
Save Our Elk Coalition	No	Minimum wolves in Idaho **(B)**	Preserve game/ Reduce wolves
Sportsman for Fish and Wildlife- Idaho	Yes	Minimum wolves in Idaho	Preserve big game

Data

Interviews

A total of 22 interviews were conducted with 19 participants, this includes 7 pro-wolf activists, 4 anti-wolf activists, 4 middle-of-the-road stakeholders (including 2 IDFG employees), and 4 others not considered to be Idaho based stakeholders or movement activists. The 4 interviewees, who are not directly involved in the conflict over wolf management in Idaho, were added to the sample because of their expertise on wolf issues or position in a federal or state agency outside of Idaho that is currently dealing with wolves in a unique way. This included 1 academic and 3 government employees. Interviews were conducted between September of 2007 and June of 2008. Interviews typically lasted from 45 minutes to 1 hour and 15 minutes. However, a few interviews were significantly shorter and only involved a few specific questions; this includes 1 interview with a representative from a pro-wolf organization, 1 with a middle-of-the-road stakeholder, and all 4 interviews with experts and agency employees outside of Idaho. All of the anti-wolf activists participated in full interviews that lasted over 45 minutes. Three interviewees were consulted two times, including 1 pro-wolf, 1 middle-of-the-road, and 1 anti-wolf actor.

Groups were first contacted and informed of the research study via e-mail and/or phone. The principal investigator provided his contact information and waited a couple of days for a response. If no response came in 2-4 days the principal investigator (PI) tried to contact the group again, via both the same and a different medium of communication (e.g.-phone, internet, mail). Some (2 pro-wolf, 3 anti-wolf) groups never responded to any form of communication and efforts to make contact were terminated after the 4th attempt with a particular group. More formalized organizations tended to be easier to get in contact with.

Several anti-wolf groups were very loosely organized and were connected via informal networks. This is demonstrated by the finding that the anti-wolf movement has fewer paid employees per organization (4 of 7 have paid staff; range 2-3) than pro-wolf organizations (7 of 8 have paid staff; range 2-14). This increased the rate at which the PI failed to interview anti-wolf groups. This is a recognized weakness of the study, but should, in part, be mitigated by the additional data sources described in the following sections of this paper.

Interviews were conducted both in person and over the telephone, and follow-ups were commonly conducted via e-mail. Upon the participant's approval, interviews were recorded; this helped to accurately recall participant's statements. Interviews were semi-structured and the majority of the questions were open ended. The interview guide contains just a few multiple-choice questions (See Appendix C. Interview Guide). Prompts were given to interviewees to further elaborate on all materials of interest. The interview guide simply served as a loose outline, not every question was asked of every participant. The interview was conducted in the spirit of grounded theory and the interview was allowed to go where the participant took it (e.g. Glaser and Strauss 1999). However, I occasionally redirected the conversation to points of interest in the hopes of covering a diversity of topics surrounding wolf issues in a limited time. The goal of the interview was to gain an understanding of the meaning actors give to the wolf management situation in Idaho, and to their actions to reform it. Interviews covered diverse topics such as the ecological role of the wolf, the role of humans in managing wildlife, the effect of the wolf's reintroduction on the economy, and movement participants' attitudes toward their opponents.

Web Pages

Organizations' web pages served as another source of data for this study. Out of the 18 organizations selected for the final analysis 17 have websites and 16 of those are official websites approved by their respective groups (See Appendix A. Movement Websites, Blogs, and Publications). Only "Concerned Sportsmen of Idaho" does not have a website of any kind, though there were enough online articles written about them and by their organization to have an understanding of their position on wolves in Idaho (e.g.- Black Bear Blog 2007; *Outdoor Idaho* 2008). Also, the lack of information on this organization was supplemented by interviews with their peers.

Analyzing organizations' web pages counters several weaknesses of interviews with movement organizations' leaders as a data source. The opinions of even influential organizational members may differ from the message the group is intending to send. Websites represent the message an organization, involved in a movement, intends to send to outsiders and insiders alike. Also, it provides an organizational data source as opposed to data gathered on the level of the individual actor. My ultimate goal is to gain knowledge of the meaning a particular movement gives the wolf situation in Idaho. Hence, the web page data parsimoniously corresponds to the level of analysis of this project's research objective. Movements' websites can help us learn more about the organizations that constitute each movement. Only web page information pertaining to this study was analyzed, information not relating to wolves, wildlife, or human's role in managing them was excluded. Only web pages within each organization's website domain were examined. No information from links was analyzed.

Blog Spots and Other Sources

I collected a sample of 41 "blog-entrees" from 2 Internet "blog-spots" that cover

wolf issues in Idaho from different angles to further supplement the interviews and web

pages as data sources. The "King's Outdoor World Blog" (2007) is generally anti-wolf and

the "Ralph Maughan's Wildlife News Blog" (2007) is commonly pro-wolf. Each blog-spot

acts as a venting ground for one side to share information on wolf issues; bloggers spend the

majority of their time simply agreeing with each other or ganging up on less numerous

dissenters. There are some methodological concerns, however, that come with using blog

entrees to suppliment a movement analysis.

First, movement actors are commonly in the public eye and therefore attempt to

present themselves in a strategically favorable light (Einwohner 2002), whereas bloggers are

anonymous. Blogs provide both strengths and weaknesses as sources of information. The

anonymity of blog entrees allows the researcher to see the actors' statements unregulated by

the negative sanctions of the outside world. Also, narratives may differ across levels of

movement commitment and rank. Therefore, the "blog-analysis" should help to surmount

some of the weaknesses that result from interviewing movement leaders who generally tend

to be more informed and invested in the issue than movement supporters (Jasper 1997). One

weakness of blog entrees is that one cannot tell who left each blog entry. However, by the

tone of the narrative posted in the blog it is very easy to see if the blogger is sympathetic to

one side of the movement or the other (very few were neutral). In addition to the 22

interviews with 19 participants, the 17 movement organizations' websites, and the 41 blog-

entrees, I examined participants' comments from a public hearing on wolf issues held in

Lewiston, Idaho (12/11/07), and presenters and audience statements at 2 pro-wolf public

presentations (4/25/07 & 10/17/07) (IDFG 2007; WERC 2007a; WERC 2007b).

Data Analysis: Coding

All interviews were transcribed, and all data sources were placed into word

processing documents. The documents were then examined using a grounded theory

approach (e.g.- Glaser and Strauss 1999). They were read thoroughly innumerable times

until emergent themes started to become apparent. Some themes were more obvious,

especially those to which questions on the interview guide directed participants. However,

some subtler themes emerged more slowly and are just loosely related to any specific

question asked by the interviewer. The goal of the project is to find the meaning actors, and

the movements they participate in, give themselves and the wolf situation in Idaho.

Eventually, new categories stopped emerging. All materials were then reread with the rough

set of categories in mind. The data were coded, and eventually broken into sub-codes. The

finally result was a coding sheet containing 38 codes and sub-codes.

However, for the purposes of this study I focus on significantly fewer codes,

including: "balance", "humans' role in nature", "management", "members of nature",

"nature", "construction of other", "place", "ruler of nature", "construction of self", and of

course "wolf". This study employs a few other codes, but the findings of this study are most

prominently based on the above list of codes. These categories, without explanation, do not

give the reader a significantly greater understanding of the study, however, these were

presented to provide a better idea of the coding process. The full list of codes and the coding

sheet are presented in Appendix B. I will devote the rest of this paper to elaborating on these

codes, their implications, and their interconnections.

CHAPTER 3: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Management

Wildlife management, especially in the case of carnivores, has historically meant the "termination" of a number of species in particular areas of human use for purposes of human interest (Treves and Karanth 2003; Emel 1998). The term "management", then, conceals the anthropocentric character of the killing of animals for human interests. The word "management" is also misleading because it suggests that management plans depend on the intrinsic qualities of the animal being managed as opposed to the meanings actors (cultures) have attributed to those animals. For this reason the social aspects of wildlife management have gone under-examined. In this study, pro-wolf groups want less wolf management in the "traditional sense" and anti-wolf groups want more than the IDFG's 2008-2012 plan recommends. This is not to say that the IDFG's policies rest in the middle of a continuum between a managed and unmanaged nature. As noted earlier, the USFWS and the IDFG, which are now arguably in the business of preserving wildlife, were originally slated the task of removing wolves from the landscape entirely and carry with them this legacy of "management." The human centered tradition of wildlife "management" is evident in the Idaho Department of Fish and Game's (IDFG) current 2008-2012 wolf management plan.

In 2007 the IDFG pitched the prospective 2008-2012 wolf management plan to the citizens of Idaho. The plan recommends maintaining "the wolf population at 2005 to 2007 levels (518-732)" with the goal of managing wolves to serve "…a diversity of [human] values and uses" (IDFG 2008, 1-3). The wolf population is to be limited primarily by means of a restricted hunting season. Additionally, government employees and permitted private citizens may terminate wolves endangering livestock, companion animals, and/or wild

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ungulate herds (e.g.- deer) not meeting IDFG population objectives (IDFG 2008). The plan

simply "allow[s] wolves to persist where they do not cause excessive conflicts with humans

or human activities" in an effort to balance the interests of environmentalists and those in the

ranching and hunting communities (IDFG 2008, 3).

The pro-wolf and anti-wolf movements, however, have their own recommendations

for wolf management in the state of Idaho. Pro-wolf groups want less lethal wolf

management than the IDFG plan recommends. They also think the IDFG's wolf

management plan should include more incentives for government officials and citizens to

use non-lethal wolf management techniques, such as using guard dogs to protect livestock.

Pro-wolf groups' positions range from no lethal wolf management whatsoever, to light

hunting to alleviate conflicts with humans and improve the wolf's image. Anti-wolf groups

want more aggressive lethal wolf management than the IDFG plan recommends. They are

seeking to legalize aerial gunning, trapping, and poisoning. Three of the seven anti-wolf

groups in this study's sample have at one time even sought the complete eradication of

Idaho's wolf population.

The pro-wolf and anti-wolf movements both have their respective *positions* on

wildlife management, but their rationalizations for those positions, their *ideologies*, become

clearer when they are asked about how wolves and wildlife *should be* managed (Jasper

1997, 157). Notably, each movement's ideals are structured in opposition to their

understandings of their opponent's ideals. Each movement sees the "current problems" in

wolf and wildlife management in Idaho as a result of the opposing movement's undue

influence on policy. It is in the critiques of their opponent's ideologies, as they see them,

that each movement's understanding of how nature works, and humans' proper position

therein is revealed. A series of themes derived from qualitative coding elucidates each movement's ideology.

Roles- Based Identities in Nature

Coding movement data for emergent themes revealed three potential human role-sets in nature: one as "manager of," one as "harmer of," and one as "member of." All of these role-sets are further divided into two categories: the first represents the movements' ideal role for humans in nature and the second represents the movements' understandings of human's current role in nature. All the pro-wolf groups characterized human's current role as a "harmer of" the environment and prescribed an ideal human role as a "member" of their surrounding ecological communities. One respondent very clearly summarizes the pro-wolf movement's view.

> There are two points of view [concerning human's role in nature]. The
> dominant one for most of the history of humans on this planet is one of
> dominion over wildlife, in other words we control wildlife. The second point
> of view also has a long history, but has not been the dominant point of view.
> That is, an understanding of human's place in the natural world as a
> cooperator in life on earth. We would certainly subscribe to the latter point of
> view. The former point of view has resulted in where we are today, which is
> the destruction of native ecosystems across the world that is leading us to a
> path of self-destruction (Pro-wolf activist 2008).

In contrast, anti-wolf groups see human's current role as a "manager" of nature slipping away, and they would ideally like to reinstate this role. Below an anti-wolf activist responds to a pro-wolf advocate's claim that wolves make ungulate herds stronger.

The…[idea]…that wolves make elk herds stronger is rubbish. That is only if the balance is correct, and it is NOT! The management of ALL wildlife is necessary to maintain a healthy balance (Anti-wolf blogger 2008).

The Problem

Movement actors argue that by adopting their conception of human's ideal role in nature, Idahoans could solve the "problems" surrounding wolf management. Not surprisingly, both movements have different definitions of the "problem." Pro-wolf groups argue the IDFG wolf management plan threatens the wolf's survival and the ecosystem's health in the region. Anti-wolf groups argue that the IDFG wolf management plan does not do enough to reduce the wolf population, which threatens the hunting and livestock industries. Each movement blames the current problems surrounding wolf management on their opponent's misunderstandings of the wolf's "true nature" and their influence on the IDFG's overarching policy. Below an anti-wolf actor elaborates on what he sees as the misguided ideas of pro-wolf activists and their ill effects on wolf management and ultimately wild ungulate (elk, deer, moose etc.) populations in Idaho.

[The pro-wolf activists argue that]…you can't kill the wolves, you have to let them go, and the environment will take over, nature will take over. Well it will not! What they have proposed is to have wolves prosper at the detriment and expense of other wildlife. You can't sensibly manage wolves, since they are a top tier predator. Wolves tend to wipe out the ungulates in an area. It is really hard for wolves to coexist with wildlife unless they are managed and [the population is] kept from exploding to very inappropriate

levels. The pro-wolf people don't seem to be rational or reasonable [about wolf management] (Anti-wolf activist 2008).

In the above quote, the anti-wolf activist argues that it is "hard for wolves to coexist with wildlife." This constructs wolves as something different from and less desirable than "wildlife." In this case the term "wildlife" clearly refers to the wild ungulate "game animals" of Idaho. In this study, the anti-wolf movement consistently classifies only those animals it views as a resource to humans as valuable. Consequently, for the anti-wolf movement, too many wolves and the people that advocate for them are the *problem*. They see the wolves as stealing from the human community of Idaho.

In contrast, the pro-wolf movement activists consider wolves beneficial to the surrounding ecological community, and therefore see the problem as threats to the wolf population's health. In this case, the absence of an ecologically significant and genetically diverse wolf population and the humans who seek to eliminate wolves are the *problem*. Below a pro-wolf activist elaborates on this point of view.

We need top predators; they are a critical element in ecological health. Wolves were eliminated based on a deeply flawed relationship with the natural world, and unfortunately that point of view continues to exist today where selfish human outcomes are regarded as more important than whether we have a healthy natural world. So we need wolves and we need less interference in their behavior and activities (Pro-wolf activist 2008).

The pro-wolf activist contends that to solve the "problems" surrounding wolf management and conservation human interests must not be put ahead of the ecosystem's health. The solution, then, corresponds to the pro-wolf movement's ideal conception of

humans' role in nature as "members" of the larger ecological community, in which humans' interests are considered of relatively equal importance compared with those of their community members such as the wolf.

Similarly, while defining the "problem" in regard to wolf management in Idaho, the anti-wolf actor quoted earlier proposed a solution that matches the anti-wolf movement's ideal role for humans in nature as "managers." He suggested that human "management" is the only thing that can prevent wolves from killing off all the ungulates in a particular area. In both instances the movement's own model role for humans in nature is seen as the solution to the wolf management "problems" in the state. Each movement's ideal conception of human's role in nature not only suggests how it *should be*, but how it *must be* if things are going to function "properly." In pointing out the problems with wolf management and recommending a solution, actors of both movements connect a particular idea of what it means to be human with the way in which they feel nature works. This connection can be better understood by examining sociological theories of identity and ideology and their relationship to each other.

Connecting Identity to Ideology

Stryker (1980; 2000) theorizes that an identity is almost like a status in a social structure. He argues that identities are social positions, which prescribe culturally appropriate roles. However, in Stryker and Burke's (2000) terms, identities differ from statuses in that they are internalized into an individual actor, provide meaning for the self across multiple social contexts, and can be summoned to the surface at any time. Each "self" contains multiple identities organized in a salience hierarchy in which more salient identities are more frequently called upon (Stryker and Burke 2000, 286). Stryker (1980; 2000) is

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largely continuing the work of Mead (1934) by arguing that the "self" is constructed by drawing from the larger social structures around it. Drawing on this framework, an actor's ideal conception of "human's role" in relation to wildlife represents an internalized set of role expectations for what it means to be human in relation to the natural world, namely, a human identity. Different conceptions of human's identity in nature are embedded in the pro-wolf and anti-wolf social movement networks and they shape movement actors' self-concepts (Kiecolt 2000). However, human identity is not simply the internalized role expectations attached to a social position constructed in relation to other social positions, but it is a biological and ecological construct, recommending certain roles, erected in relation to other social constructions such as "animals" and "nature." This extends the framework of identity theory outside the social realm into the ecological, and highlights its connection to the ideological.

The world is complex, and social groups must simplify it to make it understandable. These simplifications are the building blocks for ideologies; reified worldviews that treat social constructs as inherent properties of the world and its objects (Warren 1990, 606). Ideologies provide justifications for the way things are and suggest the way they *must be* if the status quo is going to improve. Ideologies are also where identities are born; written into every understanding of the world is an understanding of one's own position in it, as a social movement activist, and as a human. Each unique ideology is associated with a unique set of identities with particular relationships between them. Identities are woven into an ideological tapestry in which the two concepts are mutually dependent. As Gecas (2000) notes, "Identities give meaning and purpose to individuals, thereby motivating individuals to maintain and protect their ideologies" (98). Each actor reflects upon herself as an object,

inferring what it means to "be" through her multiple identities. Identities, in this manner, form a "bridge" between ideology and the self (Warren 1990). In the case of wolf management in Idaho, particular ideologies and identities are "woven together" in the pro-wolf and anti-wolf social movements, and humans and animals are given different meanings as objects in each.

Balance

Each social movement's understanding of human's proper identity in nature is directly related to their ideology concerning how "balance" is maintained in natural systems. During an analysis of movements' messages, "balance" emerged as a key thematic category and point of contention between the pro-wolf and anti-wolf social movements. "Balance" narratives fit into two streams: those considering a balance between human interests and the environment, termed "balance with nature," and those concerning the maintenance of healthy ecosystems, termed "balance in nature." This is an important distinction because these two categories relate to two distinct debates between pro-wolf and anti-wolf groups. The first dispute concerns the way nature works, and the second concerns the relationship between human interests and ecosystem interests. Of course these two understandings are related, however, this distinction can help us to better recognize the interrelations between each social movement's collectively held identity and ideology concerning nature. To start, we will compare the movements' understandings of how "balance in nature" is achieved.

The pro-wolf movement sees the laws of nature as providing balance among the earth's ecosystems and individual species, including humans. They see embracing a human identity as a "member" of the larger ecological community as conducive to ecosystemic balance, because it has been the misguided attempts at "managing" for our own interests that

have put things in such a bad state ecologically. In the case of wolf management in Idaho, this entails supporting policies that allow wolves more freedom to fill their ecological niche, increasing biodiversity. Pro-wolf organizations unanimously cite research arguing that wolves provide particular benefits to ecosystems termed "trophic cascades", in which top-predators stimulate increases in local biodiversity. Pro-wolf actors credit wolf reintroduction in Yellowstone National Park for increases in riparian vegetation, beaver, fox, pronghorn antelope, and trout populations (For examples of the studies they cited see- Creel et al. 2005; *Billings Gazette* 2007a). Relatedly, pro-wolf actors felt that humans' abuse of the environment would soon come back to haunt them and "nature" would restore "balance." Pro-wolf actors see themselves as humans in the same position as their community members the wolves: just a creature living subject to the laws of nature.

> We are a part of the biotic community. Plants and animals are able to exist just fine without humans but humans are not able to exist without plants and animals. (Pro-wolf activist 2008).

In contrast, the anti-wolf movement sees human management as maintaining balance in ecological systems. Simply, the anti-wolf movement's conception of human identity in nature, one as a manager, is a key component of their ideology as it relates to "balance" in nature. Anti-wolf activists think of natural systems as having no inherent balance other than that provided by humans. To them, human management is the only manner by which any static character can persist in the natural world. Their advocacy for strict wolf population controls, then, must be understood in these ideological and identity related contexts. For the anti-wolf movement there is no benefit to "nature running wild" (Anhita and Mix 2006, 343). For instance, they argue that the wolf is going to decimate elk herds if not "managed"

properly and they doubt highly whether wolf reintroduction has had any positive effect on increasing regional biodiversity.

> The role the wolves play is that they are a predator, they prey on species and
>
> they eat red meat. Do we see it as a necessary role? No. There are other
>
> species that can take that place, such as humans. We do not need wolves to
>
> have a healthy ecosystem. Wolves and elk can coexist but it is going to take
>
> active management. We need to aggressively limit the number of wolves in
>
> the state (Anti-wolf activist 2008).

One movement's constituents see themselves as the balancers of nature and the other's constituents see themselves as balanced by nature, which underscores each movement's respective identity in nature; one as a member and the other as a manager.

Pro-wolf and anti-wolf groups disagree about how nature works and they also disagree about what the "balance" should be between human and ecological interests. For the pro-wolf movement, ecosystems' interests are of similar importance to, if not greater importance than, humans' interests. This is because the pro-wolf movement, embedded within the animal rights and environmental movements, sees what is good for ecosystems as ultimately good for humans. In their view, there is no zero-sum resource competition between humans' and ecosystem's interests.

In contrast, anti-wolf groups see human and economic interests as more important than ecosystemic needs, seeing them frequently at odds in a zero-sum competition in which increased environmental regulation equates to less economic opportunity. Anti-wolf activists argue one of two related courses, either that nature has no sustaining balance or that even if there is a sustaining balance humans are not dependant on it. Using this reasoning, to be

human is to transcend nature. Giving ecosystems no value of their own, they are but mere resources for humans to "manage." Conversely, the pro-wolf movement intertwines the fate of humans with nature, suggesting that humans are part of nature. In this way, the fate of ecosystems is the fate of humans, thereby giving nature a great deal of value.

Clearly, conceptions of human identity fit into ideological understandings of nature. Through their conceptions of human identity in nature pro-wolf actors view themselves as part of nature and gain self-understanding through what they observe to be their similarities with wolves and other wildlife. They see themselves as dependent on nature for survival, and do not view nature as at all dependent upon them. Conversely, anti-wolf actors see themselves as operating independently from nature's grip, yet see balance in ecosystems as dependent upon human action. Anti-wolf groups see themselves as separate from nature and gain self-understanding through what they perceive to be their differences with wolves and other wildlife. My analysis of role-based identities, then, helps us understand the implications of the positions in which the respective pro-wolf and anti-wolf movements' ideologies place humans in the natural system. However, role-based identities ignore the process by which movements' collective identities, in this case as "humans", are relationally derived and demarcate boundaries between "us" and "them," "self" and "other," and "animals" and "humans." To better understand the relational aspects of collective identity we must consult theories of group-based identity. After that, we will begin to integrate the two schools of thought concerning identity. Finally, this study will extend those theories into the nature-culture borderlands (See Wolch and Emel 1998).

Group-Based Identities in Nature

"The group definition of who you are…implies a definition of who you are not" (Myers 2002, 347). Identities represent broadening circles of identification with particular groups, and distinguish boundaries between in-groups and out-groups (Turner 1987; Tajfel and Turner 1986; Tajfel 1981). Literature concerning group-based identity emerged from early experiments by Tajfel et al. (1971) that examined the minimal conditions under which an in-group bias would form. They found that the simple act of creating arbitrary groups through random assignment was sufficient grounds for creating an in-group bias and out-group discrimination (Tajfel et al. 1971). These findings fit well into the symbolic interactionist framework, in which people "act toward things on the basis of the meaning which things have for them" (Blumer 1969, 2). The "self" and "others" as well as the social and ecological groups an actor is or is not a part of constitute "things" to be acted toward.

Social identity theory posits that group members have shared, although idiosyncratically internalized, self-understandings drawn from group membership (Turner 1987; Tajfel and Turner 1986; Tajfel 1981). Group membership is a salient identity for a movement actor if and when she takes herself as an object to be understood through her membership in that group. A group member adopts an understanding of what group membership entails (drawn from surrounding culture) and internalizes that into her self-concept. Tajfel and Turner (1986) use the concept of "self-esteem" to connect individual behavior to group identification. They argue that individuals boost their self-esteem by attributing positive qualities to the groups they are part of, on which their identities are based, while simultaneously attributing negative qualities to the "other" groups in their social space, especially competitors (Tajfel and Turner 1986). Actors do this by comparing

their group to another group on a particular dimension. For example, both social movements derided the others' ideas about humans' proper role in managing wolves on the value dimension of knowledge (See Gecas 2000 for summary of value identities). Pro-wolf groups asserted that their opponents lacked scientific knowledge of biology and ecology. For instance, one pro-wolf activist said that the anti-wolf activists do not "understand eighth grade biology," and for that reason could not understand the worth of the wolf. Anti-wolf groups accused their opponents of having no "practical knowledge" or "on the ground experience with wolves," suggesting that their opponents were "book learned outsiders," whose ideas have lead to the mismanagement of Idaho's wolves (Quotes from anti-wolf interviewees). It is relatively easy to find common ground between theories of role-base and group-based identity.

Tajfel and Turner's (1979; 1981; 1986) conception of group-based identity has many similarities to Stryker's (1980; 2000) conception of role-based identity. In both veins of work, identities prescribe certain roles and characteristics to actors who internalize them. Although, Tajfel and Turner (1979; 1981; 1986) concentrate on identities situated in social groups, social categorizations can be located anywhere from neighborhoods to the national, or even the international level. Hence, social groups constitute social positions in the larger social structure. Consistently, role based identities are situated on several levels. Although Stryker (1980; 2000) concentrates on social positions in the larger society which do not necessarily engage in a great deal of reciprocal interaction, such as cab drivers at the national level, his theory can definitely be applied to social groups with a great deal of reciprocal interaction such as localized religious congregations.

Both theories of identity argue that actors draw from the larger social structure and cultural materials available to them, including narrative and discursive elements, to form the self. Consequently, both conceptions of identity constitute the connection between the larger social milieu and the self. Both theories excel at different aspects of identity formation. Yet, for the purposes of this study it is not necessary to delve too deeply into either theory, or for that matter choose one as more representative of our case. Rather, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986) and Identity Theory (Stryker 1980; 2000) compliment each other, especially in contributing to our understanding of human identity in nature.

Nature and the Self: The Boundaries of Group Identity

Human identity in nature, constructed by either social movement, or any particular group for that matter, constitutes both a socially constructed position with role expectations and group identification. As Emel (1998) explains, "What it means to be human can never be determined without the animal other" (92). A human actor, reflecting upon herself as an object, can only give meaning to being human in relation to the "other" beings in her midst. Identity is relationally derived and any one actor must obtain an understanding of humanness by assessing the degree to which it is similar to or different from "animalness." Understandings of these human-animal and nature-culture boundaries are situated in social groups, and in each case actors must do "boundary work" to maintain their human identities and ideologies (Jerolmack 2008; Capek 2006; Latour 1993). An example of boundary work comes from primates having been historically placed on display in zoos and circus shows, trained to do human activities such as ride bicycles (Anderson 1998). Anderson (1998) argues that putting primates in this situation provides humans the opportunity to resolve "tensions surrounding ambiguous boundaries" between "the cultural distinction of 'human'

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and 'animal'" (43). In other words, forcing primates to attempt these tasks provides audiences not only entertainment, but also the opportunity to see "animals" fail to perform the jobs as well as "humans," reaffirming their view of human identity as separate from and dominant over nature.

Further elucidating this point, Capek (2006) examines the maintenance of human-animal boundaries in her study of animal rights activists' confrontation with pro-development groups over the aviodable killing of about 5,000 cattle egrets (birds) during a large construction project. Capek (2006) found that the "self," is constructed, not only in relation to one's opponents, but also in relation to nature through the cattle egret. Activists seeking to protect the egrets and provide the injured egrets with care saw humans as having many similarities to egrets, including the propensity to suffer, thus fostering empathy towards the birds. Conversely, pro-development groups that opposed haulting construction projects to save cattle egrets talked about both the animal rights activists and the birds with "ridicule", thereby distancing themselves symbolically from the cattle egrets and the animal rights activists (Capek 2006). They argued that the egrets were fundamentally dissimilar to humans and unimportant.

Capek (2006) suggests that scientifically and symbolically experiencing nature can lead actors to internalize nature into the "self." Using Mead's (1934) concept of the "generalized other," she suggests that the self is not only reflected upon as a social object but also an object of nature. Capek (2006) contends that the "self" has both social and ecological expectations internally and externally attached to it. The boundaries of the self, then, can be expanded to include nature as part of the self, and the self as part of nature. Consequently, an individual does not only see herself as having responsibilities and

expectations in her social community, but also in her ecological community (Capek 2006; Leopold 1949).

Although Capek (2006) touches on the topic of identity, she does not connect it theoretically to the self-formation process. Capek (2006), commits an error common to several studies of the self and identity, she does not conceptually distinguish the two concepts (Jaspers 1997). However, drawing on the earlier definitions presented in this project we know that identities constitute bridges between ideology and self (Warren 1990). Moreover, all identities are situated in larger social structures, whether social groups or social positions (See Stryker 1980; 2000; Tajfel and Turner 1986).

Just as in Capek's (2006) study, I found animals rights activists, the pro-wolf actors, see themselves as part of nature and dependent upon it for survival. The self, then, for pro-wolf activists is part of the wider ecosystem. They understand what it means to be human through what they see as their similarities to the wolf and connection to nature. The pro-wolf movement's collective human identity extends the boundaries of their in-group to contain the "other" living organisms on the planet. This study also finds those opposed to "animal" rights protections, the anti-wolf actors, see themselves as separate from nature and not dependent upon it for survival. They understand what it means to be human through what they see as their differences from wolves and other "animals," as well as their rights and abilities to manipulate nature for their own purposes. As "managers" of their environments, anti-wolf actors sit atop a hierarchy of nature, if connected to nature whatsoever. Humans (not even all humans) constitute their in-group.

Symbolic boundaries have occasionally been studied in the contexts of social movements and identity. As Taylor and Whittier (1995) note: "Boundaries mark the social

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territories of group relations by highlighting differences between activists and the web of others in the contested social world" (111). However, in the case of the pro-wolf and anti-wolf movements in Idaho, boundaries fluctuate more dynamically, across several dimensions, including the ecological dimension. The anti-wolf movement constructs itself in opposition to both the wolves and the pro-wolf actors. They construct boundaries on two fronts, a boundary denoting what kinds of people belong in their group and another boundary maintaining separateness between humans and other species. These, nevertheless, are associated constructs since one major clash between the movements is their divergent understandings of human identity in nature. The pro-wolf actors, respectively, constructed themselves in opposition to the anti-wolf movement, but in relation to the wolves. Therefore, the pro-wolf movement constructs social boundaries excluding certain types of people, but they extend their boundaries to include the most vilified part of their ecological community, wolves. The pro-wolf and anti-wolf social movements, then, not only construct human identity in relation to one, but two "other" reference groups, the wolf (and more broadly nature) and their opponents.

As Bradshaw notes: "Much of human identity—who, how and what we are—has been based on what other species appear to lack" (2006, 45). This has been and remains the dominant lens through which most of western society views the rest of the animal kingdom-as instinctive creatures lumped together not by their similarities, but by what they appear to lack, humanness. This logic is representative of the anti-wolf movement's ideology. Nevertheless, considering their statements, it was clear that it took considerable "boundary work" to maintain humans' disconnectedness from wolves and nature (See Jerolmack 2008 Capek 2006; Latour 1993; Wolch & Emel 1998). Anti-wolf actors and movement websites

all implicitly or explicitly draw a line between humans and the rest of the animal kingdom. Yet, where exactly the line is, that separates humans from animals fluctuates. However, in all cases in the anti-wolf movement, narratives appropriate as human property psychological characteristics viewed to be uniquely theirs. Some anti-wolf actors suggest wolves are intelligent, but vehemently deny that the creatures have emotions.

> I think they [wolves] feel pain, they have feelings as in a sense, but I don't think they have emotions. I think my dog loves me when I walk in the door, but heck if you fed him he'd love you too. I don't think they have emotions like people do at all. For me they have instincts- I want to kill something to eat it, I want to be dry, I want to be warm, I want to be comfortable. That is the extent of their emotions, I don't think they feel love and hate and all that (Anti-wolf activist, 2008).

Other anti-wolf activists were not as keen to impart intelligence upon wolves, they suggest wolves do not "learn" to avoid particular spaces during particular times of the year when they can be hunted, but are "trained" accidentally by humans to avoid certain areas.

> In the beginning of hunting season, if wolves have not been, we'll call it trained, to avoid hunters there will be an incidental harvest. But, after the first couple hunting seasons we will have a stable wolf population that nobody sees much, and certainly not during the hunting season (Anti-wolf activist 2008).

> Clearly much of the debate surrounding what constitutes humanness has to do with the psyche and how that affects social behavior. First philosophers, then biologists, psychologists, and eventually sociologists asserted themselves into the debate concerning the unique, or lack thereof, psychological traits of human beings. Even Mead, whose work is

the basis for much of this study, considered the differences between humans and animals at length and carefully constructed a model in which humans' unique mental properties lead to unique forms of sociality different from those of "lower animals" (1934; 1959). Interestingly, new science has emerged from a range of fields confirming "…a new, trans-species model of the psyche. [In which] humans are being reinstated back into the species continuum that Darwin articulated, a continuum that includes laughing rats, octopuses with personalities, sheep who read emotions from the faces of their family members, and tool-wielding crows" (Bradshaw 2006). The growing base of scientific studies examining non-human consciousness has had a notable impact on the animal rights movement, and in this case, the pro-wolf movement's ideology. Pro-wolf actors see a whole range of psychological and social characteristics most commonly attributed to humans in wolves. Pro-wolf actors frequently attempted to legitimate their views by asserting that scientific evidence supports their claims.

> "I have spent a lot of time watching wolves via scope in Yellowstone. I have seen them loving, playing, interacting, and communicating in a complex social system. All these behaviors have been well documented by scientists" (Pro-wolf activist 2008).

However, throughout this study it became clear that the pro-wolf and anti-wolf movements did not simply see different levels of similarity between wolves and humans and attribute different characteristics to the wolves. The process was much more complex. Movement websites and members' statements concerning wolves demonstrated that both movements were projecting human characteristics onto the wolves. Pro-wolf groups

projected human's best qualities onto the wolf and anti-wolf groups projected human's worst qualities onto the wolf.

Pro-wolf groups align themselves with the wolf when they project humans' best qualities onto the wolf. Because they gain self-understanding through what they see as humans' similarities to wolves, they view humans' best qualities in wolves and wolves' best qualities in humans. Wolves do not only permeate the boundaries of the pro-wolf movement's in-group, but also the bounds of its activists' selves. This directly relates to Tajfel and Turner's (1979; 1981; 1986) conception of identity, where movement actors attach positive characteristics to their in-group and nurture a positive self-concept by doing so. Pro-wolf organizations agree that humans do not stand apart from all other species, but are unique just as every "other" species is. However, through the frame of science, they do believe as large social mammals, humans and wolves have several similarities. Their self-understandings have become inexorably intertwined with wolves and nature. What it means to be human is understood by what it means to be similar to those other species in their ecological community. As Taylor and Whittier (1995) argue: "Boundary markers…promote a heightened awareness of a group's commonalities" (111). The pro-wolf actors have a heightened awareness of what they see as the similarities between themselves and other species in nature, especially wolves.

> Wolves seem to embody and magnify some of the virtues that people pride in
> themselves, regarding family affections, team work, social values, and skills
> (Pro-wolf activist 2008).

The pro-wolf movement explicitly stated that they saw humans and wolves as having many similarities. Conversely, the anti-wolf groups explicitly argue that wolves and humans

are very different. However, in the process of demonizing the wolf and maintaining the boundaries of their human identity the anti-wolf movement projected motives and behaviors most credibly ascribed to humans onto wolves. For example, anti-wolf activists and websites argue that wolves commonly "kill more than they can eat for fun" and are "wasteful." They also argued that wolves kill off "all their prey" and eventually "all their competition" in any particular area (Quotes from interviews with anti-wolf activists and bloggers).

> "Wolves know how to take care of the competition, kill it! First the wolves eat the ungulates, then they eat the other carnivores, and then they cannibalize. We may be dealing with the most vicious predator in human history" (Anti-wolf activist, 2008).

> These behavioral patterns are only known of humans. Wolves may occasionally kill more than they can eat so they can bury it and save it for a time when prey is less prevalent (Mech and Peterson 2003). However, there is no legitimate method to discover the wolf's motives and there is no reason to assume that they are doing it for "fun." Interestingly, the prescriptive story the anti-wolf movement touts concerning the future of the surrounding ecosystem if wolves are left "to run wild," mirrors the story of the European colonizers' western expansion. Humans did, in fact, kill off most of their prey and competition.

Bison, which once roamed from north-central Canada south through Louisiana and into northeastern Mexico and from eastern Oregon to eastern Georgia, were all but eliminated in North America. "Between 1850 and 1880, some 75 million buffalo were killed –usually only for the hams, the tongue, and the skin" (Emel 1998, 97). In just a few decades the once great buffalo herds of an entire continent had been reduced to a few hundred individuals (Records 1995). Even deer, which are abundant today, were all but eliminated east of the Mississippi and were notably scarce in the western US by the early 1900s. As the

settlers and cattle runners moved west, wolves and other predators acclimated to the only food source they had left –livestock. This produced conflict with the new settlers and spurred the creation of government wolf and predator "management" programs, which accelerated the pace at which large carnivores were extirpated from the contiguous US. Government programs added bounties atop the already present incentive to kill wolves provided by the fur trade (Emel 1998). Gray wolves, like the buffalo they depended on for food, also roamed a great fraction of North America, covering a range from Alaska down to Mexico City, excluding only the southeast United States, which was populated by the red wolf (*Canis Rufus*) (Fischer 1995). However, by the 1950's the only significant wolf population known to persist in the contiguous U.S. existed in the remote northeastern part of Minnesota (Fisher 1995). The colonists' western expansion did not only eliminate "animal" competitors, but also "human" competitors. These two undertakings were frequently related.

 The U.S. government purposely sought to exterminate the buffalo to deprive the Plains Indians of their primary food source (Bergman 2004). This is not surprising, because western expansionists viewed the Native Americans as "savages," differentiating them from civilized "man." This effectively lumped the Native Americans in with nature as something un-Christian that needed to be "tamed" (Emel 1998). The roots of the anti-wolf movement's human identity in nature as a "manager," then, can be seen to have a dark past.

Human behaviors have been implicated as the primary cause for the 6th major extinction in Earth's history (Wilson 2002; Leakey and Lewin 1995). We appropriate ecological niches from other species at an alarming rate (Catton 1982) and it cannot credibly be argued that wolves have wiped out all the other large mammals in a sizeable area. Anti-wolf movement actors, attempting to resist the idea that they as humans are similar to

wolves, have taken humans' worst qualities and projected them onto the wolf. This act not only separates them from the wolf, but also separates them from the most viral and colonizing aspects of their western heritage. By cleansing themselves of this history anti-wolf activists can see themselves as "good, honest people," "killing elk to survive;" they are not like those "greedy wolves" that "kill for fun" (Quotes from 2 anti-wolf activists).

Anti-wolf actors descriptions of the wolf can be seen as a classic case of what Sigmund Freud called "projection" (Neuwirth 2006). Projection denotes the process by which people distance themselves from their own negative traits and the feelings they have associated with those traits by projecting them onto others. Freud's theory adds to our understanding of the process by which individuals maintain self-esteem, but his theory lacks sociological insight. Instead, I argue that we can better understand the anti-wolf movement's denigration of the wolf by connecting the process of projection to identity construction.

Often, even those identities actors hold most closely to them, which provide actors with a sense of self-worth, also have negative social expectations attached to them by the larger culture or certain "out-groups." For instance, an identity as a lawyer carries several positive expectations such as "cunning," yet may carry with it negative expectations as well such as "disingenuousness." The negative expectations that an actor feels are attached to one of her central identities by those in the "out-group" can motivate her to disavow those expectations, and thus the image of herself she feels emanating from the "other," by arguing that the "others" are guilty of the same crime, possibly to an even greater extent. This relates to Tajfel and Turner's (1979; 1986) conception of self-esteem embedded within in-group identities. To raise the level of one's group, an actor must demonstrate how it is better than a reference group. Actors may frequently compare their identities to reference groups not on

41

the most prized expectations associated with their group's identity, but on those parts of their particular identity they feel are most threatened and misunderstood by outsiders. Scholars have related this process to the social emotion "shame."

Shame is a result of viewing oneself negatively through the eyes of another (Stein 2001, 101). Actors, having a sense of their environments, perceive, and thus feel, that "others" are viewing them negatively. Importantly, the "self" and "others" are constructions dependent upon identities drawn from the larger culture. Actors, then, develop a sense of what "others" with different identities infer about them from their identities. To maintain a positive self-image an actor is subsequently motivated to counter what she predicts to be the other's critiques of certain aspects of her identity. The actor's perceptions of the other's views of her do not coincide with her self-image. This poses a threat to her self-understanding and the identity it is drawn from. A movement activist can maintain a positive self-concept and consistent self-understanding by projecting the negative assessment she feels the other has cast upon her onto others in her midst (Stein 2001). The perceived negative assessment can be cast back at the perceived aggressor, at some other out-group, or both.

Anti-wolf movement actors cast away characteristics correlated with their movement identity that they are ashamed of by projecting them onto the wolf, separating themselves from those expectations and providing fuel to their movement's mission. Furthermore, seeking the elimination of the wolf allows anti-wolf activists the opportunity to simultaneously eliminate those traits they have projected onto the wolf in themselves. By doing away with the real "killers" they reaffirm their self-image as good stewards of the land, relinquishing the parts of their collective history that call into question their identity as

benevolent "managers." They can thus righteously reaffirm the boundaries between "man" and "nature."

Anti-wolf activists correctly envision the pro-wolf movement's understandings of their identity in nature. The pro-wolf movement, as noted earlier in this paper, sees humans' current role in nature as a "destroyer." They view this role as emanating from their opponents, and people like them, who in their view have misguided conceptions of human identity in nature. Conversely, the anti-wolf actors have suggested that human management is a necessity and the "destroyers" of nature are in fact the pro-wolf actors who want to avoid management. In the anti-wolf movement's observation this course of action would not only harm the environment, but the economic and social well being of the human community. Both the pro-wolf activists and the wolves they fight for are cast in the same light, as a "cancer" upon the local community and environment (Quote from anti-wolf actor). The anti-wolf movement has therefore projected humans' worst qualities, as a destroyer of nature, upon their human opponents and the wolves, labeling both as a disease for which their anti-wolf movement is the cure.

> Bringing this non-native Canadian Gray Wolf species into our Idaho
> wilderness with NO means of checks and balances makes about as much
> sense as reintroducing a foreign Piranha fish species into our Idaho trout
> streams because a Piranha environmentalist group believes that this foreign
> species was once there. To pacify the environmentalists' demands, our well-
> intentioned government bureaucrats force the reintroduction of the Piranha
> fish into our trout streams and provide them protection under the
> Endangered Species Act. The Piranha, having no natural predators, thrives

in its new environment as it feasts on the abundant smorgasbord of native

fish. This cycle continues until the "re-introduced" Piranha methodically

wipes out all the other native fish species present in the stream. This is the

very story that is unfolding before us as we watch this "reintroduced" non-

native Canadian Gray wolf methodically exterminate our Idaho native elk

and mountain ungulates (Anti-wolf organization website 2008).

In the above quote, the conception of the wolf as a metaphorical piranha is

positioned parallel to that of the of the environmentalist Piranha who, logically must also

wreak havoc upon "native Idahoans." Just as the wolf, the environmentalists are framed as

"non-native." The word "native," in this case, distinguishes what the anti-wolf actors feel

belongs from what does not belong in rural Idaho. In addition, the word "native" has

temporal implications, suggesting "native" things have their origin, or at least a long history

in a certain place, whereas "non-native" things are fundamentally new and disruptive.

Herein rests the anti-wolf actors' understanding of what Idaho is as a place.

As noted earlier, each movement imagines different appropriate roles for humans

and wolves in what they construct as "nature." Additionally, the pro-wolf and anti-wolf

social movements sculpt these roles into what they see as appropriate "places" for them in

"nature," which itself is relegated to different "places" by the opposing groups. Movement

narratives initially centered on the appropriate places for wolves in the state, but eventually

expanded into related issues situated in place, such as population growth, development,

grazing, hunting, wilderness preservation, and logging. Each movement has a different

understanding of where wolves and other wildlife, as well as humans and some of their

practices, should persist in Idaho. It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the large
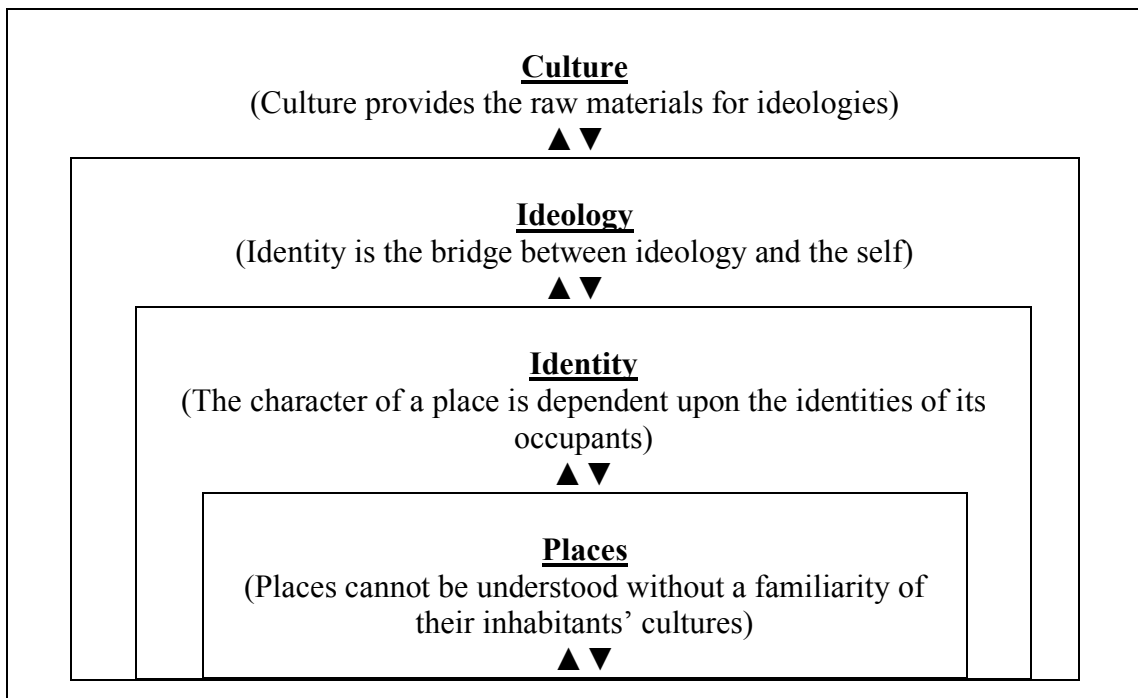
number of disputes between the pro-wolf and anti-wolf movements. Nevertheless, this project will scrutinize a few contested matters that provide insight into the manner in which each movement's human identity is related to their respective constructions of Idaho as a "place." However, before examining each movement's construction of Idaho it is helpful to consult some sociological literature concerning the construction of place and its relationship to other cultural constructs such as identity and ideology.

Putting It All In Its Place

As Gieryn (2000) notes, "Places are made as people ascribe qualities to the material and social stuff gathered [in physical space]" (472). Places, especially those recognized as "home," are identity containers where a sense of "we" persists, where people like "us" belong, and where things are done in a particular manner –"our way" (Osborne 2001). As Jasper (1997) explains, "Our construction of home is probably like concentric circles, most intense at the center but extending outward to tint neighborhoods and larger regions" (93). Place-based identities, termed territorial identities by some scholars (i.e.- Castells 2004), are situated in these expanding and contracting boundaries constitutive of home ranges (Larsen 2008). For example, people understand themselves through what they feel it means to be an American, a Westerner, or in this case an Idahoan. Moreover, place-based identity is a particular type of group-based identity because the meanings that construct places are situated in different groups, with unique identities and ideologies (Osborne 2001; Gieryn 2000). Often times, even groups that occupy the same "space" have radically different senses of "place" embedded in their respective communities (Gieryn 2000). This is the case with the social movements advocating for and against wolf conservation in Idaho. Pro-wolf and anti-wolf groups overlap in range, both having bases in some of the same urban and

rural locations (Spaces) of Idaho, yet, their understandings of what Idaho is and should be (Place) differ greatly. Table 2 on page 46 outlines this project's conceptualization of "place" as it relates to other cultural concepts such as "ideology" and "identity."

Table 2. Theoretical Relationships Between Cultural Concepts_____

Culture
(Culture provides the raw materials for ideologies)
▲▼

Ideology
(Identity is the bridge between ideology and the self)
▲▼

Identity
(The character of a place is dependent upon the identities of its occupants)
▲▼

Places
(Places cannot be understood without a familiarity of their inhabitants' cultures)
▲▼

The above boxes denote a hierarchy of dependence between the cultural concepts and the arrows denote a constitutive flow of influence between the concepts. Specifically, *ideologies* are just single pieces of a particular people's non-material *culture*, a specific *identity* is only one social object, which systematically related to other social objects, constitutes an *ideology*, and *places* are constituted by the meanings that people with particular *identities* give spaces. In this way *places* are dependent upon *identities*, *identities* are dependent upon *ideologies*, and *ideologies* are dependent upon *cultures*. However, by the

same token, *places* help construct *identities*, *identities* help sustain *ideologies*, and *ideologies* are a key component of non-material *culture*. Simply put, a culture is constituted by all these concepts, which are mutually reinforcing. Therefore, the construction of human identity in nature can be better understood by also appreciating the social construction of place. Each social movement's construction of Idaho as a "place" provides a text with which to read into each movement's culture and subsequently the identities and ideologies of its members.

The pro-wolf movement is seeking to expand the number of places where humans allow wolves to persist. Therefore, the pro-wolf movement is seeking to limit human practices situated in "place" that they see as directly (e.g.- trapping) and indirectly (e.g.- development) damaging to wolf conservation and therefore to the larger ecosystem. Pro-wolf narratives attest to the great value of wolves by acknowledging their far-reaching ecological contributions to the place of Idaho so constructed.

> Wolves are extremely important to the Rocky Mountain ecosystem [of which Idaho is a part]. The wolf is a keystone species and therefore helps regulate elk and deer herds and initiate ecological processes. They remove certain individual animals and keep the process of natural selection going. Also, there are several good examples of the ripple, or cascading effects of having top predators reintroduced. Studies have shown that several years after reintroducing wolves, elk were no longer clustering riverbeds and streambeds and were being dispersed. As a result, willows, cottonwoods, and other vegetation started growing back in these riparian areas. As a consequence water temperatures cooled down, sediment transport decreased, and beavers began moving back into these areas to feed on the vegetation. Beavers built a

series of damns, which in turn increased the water depth and provided increased

structural habitat for fish. As a result you actually had cutthroat trout re-colonizing

these areas. So basically you reintroduce wolves and you get trout back (Pro-wolf

activist 2008).

For pro-wolf actors, the wolf contributes to the larger ecological community situated

in the wilderness of Idaho. This underscores that the pro-wolf movement ultimately

understands Idaho as a place of great ecological value. In describing the state, they mention

the large tracts of wilderness, the relatively intact watersheds, and the large number of top-

tier predators persisting in the state, amongst other things. The pro-wolf movement is not

solely focused on the wolf. As mentioned earlier, the movement is comprised of animal

rights and wilderness preservation organizations, and these organizations support both the

protection of wildlife in addition to the wolf and wilderness preservation to some degree; if

not financially at least ideologically. The organizations involved in the pro-wolf movement

are trying to maintain the wilderness in Idaho as well as restore and expand it. They are

seeking to "keep up" a home for their identity in nature, and consequently fashion a place

with a thriving ecological community.

> [Our objective is] to maintain the wildlands and biodiversity of central Idaho
>
> and to end the industrialization on public lands. That is our goal, to keep
>
> those places wild and make them wilder, a 'preserve the best and restore the
>
> rest' attitude on public lands (Pro wolf activist 2008).
>
> In Idaho we have mountain lions, wild areas, and wilderness. It is not as if we
>
> need to focus our efforts on bringing it back, we already have so much here
>
> to save. People here don't realize how quickly and easily lost these special

places are, as happened over most of the United States (Pro-wolf activist

2008).

It is clear that the pro-wolf movement focuses on the unique ecological aspects of

Idaho, while ignoring the unique and important cultural and economic features of the state.

The pro-wolf movement envisions a rural Idaho relatively devout of extractive and land

dependant human practices. Pro-wolf groups see Idaho as a place for wilderness, in many

ways apart from people, aside from something to be enjoyed, appreciated, and studied by

them, thereby ignoring the extractive practices we as "humans" depend on. The pro-wolf

movement argues that Idaho is and should remain a place of great wilderness where wildlife

should be allowed to persist with minimal negative human influence. This elucidates an

interesting contradiction; the movement arguing that humans are part of nature extracts

humans from their ideal vision of it.

The anti-wolf movement, in contrast, wants to limit the number of places in which

the wolf is present by means of human management. The anti-wolf movement is seeking to

increase the number of methods by which the wolf population and its range can be directly

reduced. They are seeking to legalize year around wolf hunting, trapping, poisoning, and the

aerial gunning of wolves. The anti-wolf movement is opposed to the curtailment of

resource-based industry for conservation purposes, especially for wolf conservation. They

are specifically suspicious of any conservation practices that pose a threat to their hunting

and livestock industries. Anti-wolf narratives construct the wolf and its supporters as a force

that is currently and will likely continue to denigrate the culture and economy of Idaho,

which is built upon an extractive relationship with nature. This highlights the anti-wolf

movement's understanding of Idaho as a place of great cultural heritage and economic value, which the wolf and the regulations that come with it detract from (Nie 2001).

> We are getting calls and e-mails all the time from sheep ranchers, cattle ranchers, and hunting guides in the backcountry that are so upset with this wolf problem they don't know where to turn. They are about ready to give up. A lot of these ranchers and livestock growers are coming to the conclusion, why fight it anymore? If we can sell our land and get our money out of it we will do it. Who cares if the land gets subdivided? We are tired of putting up with these wolves because they are driving us out of business and they are driving us out of rural Idaho. This whole wolf problem is not just an issue of ungulate and wilderness management, it is very much an issue with rural Idaho and it is changing our heritage" (Anti-wolf activist 2008).

For anti-wolf actors, the wolf detracts from the larger *human* community situated in the rural places of Idaho. In describing the state the anti-wolf movement talks of the great resources of the state, but more of the great men that tame the wilderness and harness those resources. The movement glorifies the hunter, the trapper, the rancher, the logger, and the miner; not just those in the present time, but to an even greater degree the historic pioneers of the west. The findings of this project mirror the results of another project studying opposition to wolf conservation in Norway. The author Skogen (2008) notes, "Many of these men seem to have a clear image of themselves as the successors of earlier generations of hunters and woodsmen" (117). Moreover, anti-wolf movement actors frequently label themselves as "native" Idahoans and site their family's multigenerational history on a particular farm, in a particular town, or in a particular region of Idaho when introducing or

describing themselves. Thus, tying who they are to the history of the place from which they came. They are, then, seeking to maintain the place on which their identity is based.

I love Idaho, I am a 4th generation Idaho native and my feet are 25 feet in

the ground (Anti-wolf activist 2007).

Anti-wolf actors see themselves as the harbingers of a historic way of life situated in Idaho and the rural rocky mountain west. This way of life recommends a particular human relationship to the land and its animals. Anti-wolf actors view Idaho as a place that holds (and always has held) a particular assortment of identities that all depend directly on the land for their sustenance. These identities are embedded in traditional ways of serving societal needs, namely, "social institutions" (See McIntyre 2006, 107). These institutions are justified by ideologies and provide occupations through which anti-wolf actors find identities. Frequently, actors hold multiple identities that overlap and are situated in particular social institutions. For example, what it means to be a logger is also related to what it means to be human in nature. The institution of logging, for example, is built upon an assumption that as human beings, the woods are ours to seize. The anti-wolf movement is predominantly comprised of hunting and livestock interests groups, which regard the cultural institutions they represent as exemplifying what Idaho *is*.

"We have a remote state here that has been settled, has a lot of ranching

and grazing, and has a rich history of hunting and that is what Idaho is"

(Anti –wolf activist 2008).

A shared ideological understanding is embedded in these economic ways of life in which the land and the animals on it are "our" property. The anti-wolf movement is seeking to maintain the way of life their settler ancestors built. This directly relates to Kaltenborn and

Bjerke's (2002) study of "attitudes toward large carnivores." They find that those having less favorable attitudes toward carnivores put a higher value on "respect and loyalty for elders and traditions" (Kaltenborn and Bjerke 2002, 60). Undoubtedly, the male centered anti-wolf movement narratives suggest not only an idealization of historical relationships to the environment, but also of the mythical male archetypes of the past. However, examining this further is beyond the scope of this study (For a gender analysis of wolf issues see Anhita and Mix 2006; Emel 1998).

It is clear that the anti-wolf movement focuses on the unique cultural and economic aspects of Idaho, while overlooking the unique ecological characteristics of the state. The anti-wolf movement envisions an ideal rural Idaho as a place bustling with humans living off Idaho's natural resources and sustaining a unique way of life. Cattle and "wild" elk would abound in the state for the purposes of human interest. Furthermore, in this mosaic, coyotes, cougars, bears, and especially wolves would be kept to an absolute minimum in the wilderness and eliminated in places of human use. Humans, then, would face no competition from the wily wolf in the anti-wolf actors' ideal construction of place. In the anti-wolf actors' minds, their ancestors had rightly eliminated the animal. For the anti-wolf movement Idaho is and should remain a land of plenty, where the influence of large predators, environmentalists, and government regulations should not be allowed to impact "the way of life." For them, Idaho is a rural place with industrial livelihoods connected to the land, where humans have unquestioned dominion. There is obviously a great disparity between what the opposing pro and anti-wolf social movements think Idaho is and should be; most prominently concerning the different places it holds for humans and wildlife in each movement's respective vision of the state.

Clearly, the pro-wolf and anti-wolf movements disagree on several additional environmental issues that are peripherally related to wolf conservation, which reflect their ideologies and identities in relation to nature and are situated in place. These conflicting visions are most apparent in each movement's policy positions regarding Idaho's public lands.

Public Land

Public land is of particular interest to the study of identity because stakeholders are theoretically part owners of the land, which is intended to serve the community and the public good. A better understanding of each movement's perception of the rightful beneficiaries of action on public land, Idaho's community (to which each movement sees itself belonging), can be gained by examining the respective movement's policy positions regarding Idaho's public lands. Public land policy recommendations represent each movement's construction of Idaho as a place and symbolize the human identity in nature of the community inhabiting that place. Places, again, are the meanings communities give spaces; these spaces are inhabited and made by the cultural practices that take place in them (Wolch & Emel 1998; Gieryn 2000; Osborne 2001). It is therefore necessary to understand the community to understand the place and visa versa.

Below, I will very briefly portray three specific policy disputes that exemplify the pro and anti-wolf movements' conflicting constructions of place via public land policy recommendations. The policy disputes concern the following issues: grazing allotments on public land, elk management, and legal protections for certain animals (animal rights). Both during and after the presentation of the policy disputes, a brief analysis will be conducted

connecting each movement's constructions of Idaho as a place for their identities and ideologies.

Pro-wolf activists contend that cattle grazing on public land reduces the health of the human and ecological community, and so runs counter to the public good. They argue it reduces habitat for native wild ungulates and brings predators in contact with livestock, ultimately leading to predator eradication. This is of special concern regarding the wolf, whose population numbers are lower than other predators in the state (IDFG 2008; Collinge 2008; Defenders of Wildlife 2008). Pro-wolf activists also argue that cattle increase erosion and negatively impact Idaho's watersheds. This negatively impacts the community living off Idaho's water, and highlights how these problems can be changed. They assert that Idaho's public lands would improve the health of the community by getting rid of cattle and creating protected space for wolves and other wildlife. Several pro-wolf activists add to this point by arguing that the benefits of a functioning environment far outweigh the benefits of "cheap beef" (Quote from pro-wolf blogger 2007).

> Hunters and livestock ranchers are a very small part of Idaho's population. Hunting licenses represent about 15 percent of the adult population and ranchers are like 1/10th of one percent of the adult population. And their economic value to the state, especially from public land use, is almost 0. In fact, I would argue it is negative for the state because of its negative impact on wildlife habitat, fisheries, and water quality and quantity (Pro-wolf activist 2008).

In contrast, anti-wolf activists argue that public land is an integral part of Idaho's livestock industry, which is essential to Idaho's larger economy and human community. Anti-wolf actors do not see grazing on pubic land as hurting the ecosystem; they argue that

cows fill the same ecological niche as wild ungulates. Furthermore, anti-wolf activists see

the wolf as a device for conservationists to get rid of public grazing, and possibly even clear

out rural Idaho. The wolf, in this case, is bad for Idaho's community whereas cattle are

beneficial.

> The wolf has become a tool to be used by folks who are anti-grazing. We saw this
>
> right away, at the very beginning in the Sawtooth Recreation Area where those who
>
> are anti-grazing challenged the values that the National Recreation Area was set up
>
> with, and took to court the Forest Service, saying they had to weigh the value of an
>
> endangered species against the value of grazing. There is just no doubt that the wolf
>
> has become a tool for folks to use to accomplish their 'other' objectives and get
>
> grazing off public land in Idaho (Anti-wolf activist 2008).

A second important public land policy dispute between the opposing movements

concerns elk management. Anti-wolf actors contend that wolves are significantly reducing

elk populations and therefore detracting from the human community. For this reason, they

argue wolves should be eliminated from Idaho's public land, or at least significantly reduced

in number (from 700-800 individual animals to 0-150). Anti-wolf actors assert that elk

should be managed by the IDFG for maximum yield, arguing that anything else is a

violation of the department's mandate. In this philosophy, "wildlife" that poses a risk to wild

"game" populations should be actively reduced in number. This was the dominant

philosophy of wildlife managers throughout the US from the turn of the 20th century until

the end of most predator eradication programs in the 1950's (some programs still exist

including government funded wolf bounties in Alaska) (Anahita and Mix 2006; Kleese

2002; Fischer 1995; Treves and Karanth 2003). Anti-wolf activists contend that elk hunting

is a large part of Idaho's economy and will be severely injured by the wolf's presence. Idaho's public land, in this view, is best used to support elk as opposed to supporting valueless predators. Of course, these predators are only valueless because they are not part of, nor do they benefit the anti-wolf actors' conception of their community. Wolves, then, are actively excluded from the places (i.e. – public land) that the anti-wolf movement sees as home to their community in wolf management policy recommendations.

Pro-wolf actors counter these claims by arguing that the wolf is only one of Idaho's several large predators, many of which affect elk populations (cougars and bears for example). They argue that wolves have not notably decreased elk numbers, but have redistributed elk populations, setting in motion ecological processes restorative of environmental health. Pro-wolf actors argue that without management wolf and elk populations would fall into a natural fluctuating balance that contributes to the overall health of their ecosystem. They argue that wolves fill a particular ecological niche that humans cannot totally fill or replicate with their management practices. Pro-wolf groups argue traditional elk management practices, which focus only on maximum game animal yield, effectively turn Idaho's wilderness into an "ecologically unstable elk farm" (Pro-wolf activist 2008). Idaho's public land, in the eyes of the pro-wolf actors, should be used to preserve individual species, which helps preserve the larger ecosystem, and finally helps sustain the human species that is also dependent on a working ecosystem.

The final dispute I will quickly highlight concerns narratives surrounding "rights" on or "to" public land. These narratives are numerous in both movements; however, the words were used in quite different contexts. Pro-wolf organizations and actors are supportive of laws or policies, such as the Endangered Species Act or particular wolf management plans,

which provide legal protections to animals whose populations are at risk of disappearing from a particular area. In this way, a formal right to exist is extended to non-human species in a particular place. The pro-wolf movement would like to see more protection for wolves and other wildlife on both public *and* private land. However, the movement is unwavering in their position that public land is ultimately best used to protect disappearing "nature." Therefore, wolves and other wildlife should have strict protections there. Pro-wolf actors, then, see public land as a place where nature should have a right to persist.

The anti-wolf actors see laws protecting wolves or other species as limiting their rights. They see it as their right to decide which animals are allowed to persist on their property, public or private. This feeling extends to the belief that their private property rights are violated by a wolf management plan that does not allow them to kill a wolf on their land or at their own discretion. Anti-wolf actors also argue that private property rights are being violated on public land; this inconsistency is a result of private grazing allotments on public land. Livestock is private property and laws that prevent ranchers from killing predators on public land to protect their stock, in the opinion of the anti-wolf movement, put their property at risk and violate their rights. Moreover, anti-wolf movement actors note that as citizens of the state of Idaho, the state's resources are partially theirs. They argue that the fate of Idaho's wildlife should be determined by popular opinion. Thus, anti-wolf groups see public land as something they have a right to use in their own interests.

Public land is a place given different meaning by each side of the conflict, in each case given different expectations, with different actors having "rights" to it. Rhetoric concerning rights "on" or "to" public land provides insight into each movement's understanding of their political community, how it is situated in nature and place, and how it

is reflective of their identity. Rights are social constructions, which traditionally signify formal entitlements bestowed upon members of a particular community situated in a political place (Hunt 2007). The anti-wolf actors' depictions of rights clearly demonstrates that wolves, and in general nature, rest outside of their community boundaries. However, the pro-wolf movement's allocation of rights to non-human species, and nature in general, suggests that the wolf and nature lie within the boundaries of their imagined community, and subsequently the pro-wolf actor's selves, part of their collective identity as humans. Each movement's allocation of rights is very illustrative of their constructions of Idaho as a place.

Public land is situated within the political boundaries of a particular state and subject to the policies of that political body. These boundaries help construct an "imagined community" of Idahoans (Osborne 2001). Interestingly, each movement saw their own group's community as representative of the larger imagined political community. For each movement, Idaho is a home for *their* imagined community and their human identity in relation to nature rooted within it. The wolf management policy proposals of each movement are congruent with and expressive of their particular human identities in nature and are situated in place. As Osborne (2001) notes, "[Places] provide the stage where group-identity is acted out…." (44). Community is thus actualized in physical space, creating places for that particular community. However, all places are contested, including Idaho (Gieryn 2000; Osborne 2001; Jasper 1997; Larsen 2008).

The pro-wolf and anti-wolf social movements of Idaho share a physical and political space but not a sense of "place," at least as it concerns the utility of natural resources. Yet, both movements are seeking to create a "place" in line with their perceived interests, ideology, and identity concerning nature. The movements, therefore, are competing to assert

their view onto to the IDFG's wolf management plan. All versions of the plan, the IDFG's (2008) and the opposing movements' alternative plans, allocate practice to place, designating certain spaces for wildlife viewing, hunting, and grazing. Even the most laissez faire of the pro-wolf groups' proposals does not consider a range of places –urban, suburban, or large tracts of private grazing land– as proper wolf habitat.

In and Out of Place

Constructions of place entail a group's expectations of *where* "things" should be and where actions should occur. In this way, things can be "in" or "out" of their anticipated "place" (Jerolmack 2008; Philo 1998; Gieryn 2000). All matter in our "world of objects" has a particular expected place, including social groups, animals, industrial practices, and tools. For pro-wolf actors, extractive industry (mining, clear cut logging) and wolf trapping are out of place on Idaho's public lands. For anti-wolf actors, wolves and the environmentalists who brought them are out of place and detrimental to rural Idaho. Clearly, in each movement's vision of Idaho, the "others," the members of the opposing movement and their economic and cultural ways of life (conservationist, rancher), are out of place. The pro-wolf movement is out of place in the anti-wolf movement's construction of Idaho and visa versa. Moreover, each movement, the policies they seek in Idaho, and their identity in nature poses a symbolic threat to their opponents (Gusfield 1986).

New protections for wolves, wilderness areas, and limits on land use provide a symbolic threat to the anti-wolf actors' identity in nature. This identity is based on particular livelihoods and cultural practices (e.g.- ranching, hunting) providing a sense of self, place, community, and relationship to nature. This human identity is drawn from a mythical history of westward expansion in which "man" came to conquer nature and is instructive of the

"right" way humans should relate to nature (Kleese 2002; Osborne 2001). In turn, pro-wolf movement actors' collective identity in nature is threatened by the anti-wolf movement's policy recommendations, which include eliminating the wolf through aerial gunning and poisoning, increasing the hunting limits on other animals, and opposing land conservation efforts. Pro-wolf actors also believe that their way of relating to nature is ultimately the "right" way, the moral way, given their understanding of their community. Each movement, then, not only is seeking different policies in Idaho in line with their perceived interests, but also protecting the symbolic and material culture, of which identity is a part, embedded in their economic, civic, and recreational interests.

Every concept mentioned throughout this project is a cultural concept –ideology, identity, and place. This study has elucidated how these cultural concepts interact with each other and can be used to understand the meanings groups give themselves, the objects and creatures surrounding them, and the places they inhabit. Moreover, this project demonstrates how a group's culture is structured in relation to surrounding out-groups' culture. This project has also shed light upon the contentions surrounding wolf management in Idaho, highlighting the ideological dimensions of the conflict that make it so difficult to resolve.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSIONS

Recently, scholars have begun to examine the connection between a particular social group's construction of what it means to be human and their construction of animals (Capek 2006; Wolch and Emel 1998; Bradshaw 2006). These scholars argue that the construction of what it means to be human can only be accomplished by constructing another category – animals– from which to make comparisons. However, the process by which this is accomplished by human groups has remained relatively unexamined. Also, literature on the social construction of animals has remained unconnected to sociological literature on identity construction. This project has sought to build upon prior research and answer one central question: how do groups advocating for or against the protection of a particular animal, in this case the wolf, construct that creature and how is it related to their understanding of what it means to be human, their human identity? To examine this question I drew a sample of movement organizations seeking wolf protections or wolf elimination in Idaho. I conducted a content analysis of the pro and anti-wolf movements' narratives, using a methodology inspired by grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967/1999). The construction of the wolf was examined in its own right, as a symbol of nature, and compared to each movement's construction of their human identity in nature.

The messages present in the narratives produced by the actors and organizations of the pro and anti-wolf movements were gleaned from interviews, comments taken at public events, movement web pages, and blog entrees. I found that each movement has a shared sense of what wolves and other "animals" mean, as well as a shared sense of what it means to be human. Coding revealed that these meanings were related in two ways corresponding to the construction of humans' identity in nature. First, each movement demonstrates a

different understanding of how ecosystems work and imagines different proper roles for wolves and humans in that ecosystem, connecting each movement's ideology concerning nature to their role-based human identity in nature. Pro-wolf groups see humans' current role as a destroyer of ecosystems and proscribe an ideal role-based identity as members of the ecosystem. Anti wolf actors, in contrast, see humans' current role as managers of the ecosystem slipping away, and they would ideally like to reinstate that role, seeing humans' rightful identity in nature as manager.

Secondly, each movement constructed collective symbolic boundaries, which not only placed certain people within their in-group and in the out-group, but also placed the movement's members, as human beings, inside or outside the boundaries of nature. This connected each movement's ideology concerning nature to the group-based aspects of their identity. The pro-wolf movement constructs wolves and other animals as similar to humans, and understands being human in part through what they see as humans' shared traits with the rest of the animal kingdom. This places wolves and other animals inside the pro-wolf movement's in-group boundaries, and by extension in their imagined community. Anti-wolf actors construct wolves as the antithesis of human beings, allocating moral and humane qualities to humans while constructing wolves as instinctual and inhumane killers that negatively impact almost every aspect of Idaho's community. The wolf is firmly placed in the out-group and what it means to be human is not understood through what humans share with other life, but through what humans have that other creatures such as wolves do not.

Finally, narratives demonstrated that each movement's human identity and ideology concerning nature is related to a conception of Idaho as a place. Each movement constructs an ideal version of Idaho to strive for, which serves as an optimal home for their human

identity in nature. Pro-wolf actors see Idaho as a place of great ecological value and anti-wolf actors see Idaho as a place of great economic and cultural value. Both movements are seeking to protect and enhance those aspects of Idaho nurturing to their identity. Additionally, each movement's goals are perceived by the other movement as a threat to their interests, and also their vision of Idaho and human identity in nature, highlighting the dynamic interplay of meaning between the two movements.

This analysis demonstrates that understandings of what it means to be human, nature, and the wolf constitute a mosaic of interdependent social constructions that fit into a movement ideology and provide meaning for the self via identities. These ideologies are drawn from the symbolic resources rooted in the social networks and shared stories of each movement's members. This project also demonstrates that the social and the ecological are intertwined and cannot be understood separately.

The persistence of a great number of the earth's species will depend on our actions as humans, so the meaning we give ourselves, and the rest of our ecological world is very important. We have seen in this project that two different social movements have greatly different understandings of themselves and their ecological worlds. Although examining either movement's influence is beyond the scope of this study, the success of both movement's legally and governmentally focused actions and the great numbers of people involved in either movement suggest that their ideas carry weight in the final decisions that will be made to determine the fate of certain species such as the wolf. Further studies should continue this work by examining the ecological implications of environmental movements' and countermovements' ideologies and examining cases aside from wolf issues to determine if the findings of this study transfer to other wildlife related disputes.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Movement Websites, Blogs, and Publications

Anti-Wolf Coalition Website. 2007.
> Retrieved 9/10/07 at- http://wolfrivals.org/iawc/index.php

Boulder White-Clouds Council Website. 2007.
> Retrieved 9/05/07 at- http://www.wildwhiteclouds.org/index.html

Cattleman's Association Website. 2007.
> Retrieved 9/05/07 at- http://www.beefusa.org/

Defenders of Wildlife Website. 2007.
> Retrieved 9/05/07 at- http://www.defenders.org/index.php

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> http://www.defenders.org/newsroom/press_releases_folder/2008/04_28_2008_twelv
> e_conservation_groups_challenge_federal_wolf_delisting.php

Friends of the Clearwater Website. 2007.
> Retrieved 9/05/07 at- http://www.friendsoftheclearwater.org/hello/front

Idaho Cattle Association Website. 2007.
> Retrieved 9/05/07 at- http://www.idahocattle.org/index.dsp

Idaho Conservation League Website. 2007.
> Retrieved 9/05/07 at- http://www.wildidaho.org/index.php

Idaho Conservation League. 2007. "Idaho Conservation League comments on Idaho
> Wolf Population Management Plan: A Letter to Steve Nadeau." By John Robinson

Idaho Trout Unlimited Website. 2007.
> Retrieved 9/05/07 at- http://www.idahotu.org/

Idaho Wool Growers Association Website. 2007.
> Retrieved 9/05/07 at- http://www.idahowool.org/

King's Outdoor World Blog. 2007.
> Retrieved 01/27/2007 at- http://blog.kingsoutdoorworld.com/2007/01/27/wolf-
> hunting-in-idaho-set-at-2650/

Ralph Maughan's Wildlife News. 2007.
     Retrieved 10/10/2007 at- http://wolves.wordpress.com/2007/10/10/wolves-in-the-
     fold-ranchers-struggle-to-co-exist-with-an-old-montana-predator/

Ralph Maughan's Wildlife News.. "Matthew Brown wolf article reveals
     MSM assumptions about wolves, West." By Ralph Maughan
     Retrieved 11/24/2007 at- http://wolves.wordpress.com/2007/11/24

Save Our Elk Coalition Website. 2008.
     Retrieved 5/17/08 at- http://www.saveourelk.com/

Sportsman for Fish and Wildlife Idaho Website. 2007.
     Retrieved 9/18/07 at- http://www.sfwsfh.org/idaho.cfm

Western Watersheds Website. 2007.
     Retrieved 9/05/07 at- http://www.westernwatersheds.org/

Wilderness Society (Idaho Branch) Website. 2007.
     Retrieved 10/15/2007 at- http://wilderness.org/ourissues/wilderness/

Wolf Recovery Foundation Website. 2007.
     Retrieved 9/05/07 at- http://www.forwolves.org/

Wolf Education and Research Center (WERC) Website. 2007.
     Retrieved 9/10/07 at- http://www.wolfcenter.org/

Wolf Education and Research Center (WERC). 2007. *Sawtooth Quarterly: Fall Edition.*

Code	Sub-Code	Description
Biography	(0)	Personal story with the issue.
Organization	(4)	Refers to organization.
	Strategy	Any reference to planning to achieve goals.
	Goal	Purpose statement and/or goal concerning wolves.
	Size	Refers to # of members/volunteers, or coverage area.
	Paid	Number of paid staff.
Nature	(0)	Refers to the construction of nature (provides balance vs. savage, etc.- includes habitat).
*Code also present under "Management."	Balance	Any reference to nature providing balance.
Humans' Role In Nature	(3)	Construction of human's relationship to nature.
	Ruler/Manager	Humans constructed as the inherent ruler of/ having dominion over nature.
	Member	Construction of humans as needing to be/being a member of an ecological community.
	Harmer of	Construction of humans as harmful to nature.
Management	(1)	Any reference to management plan, management strategies, etc. (nature as/people as a manager).
*Code also present under "Nature."	*Balance	Any Reference to management providing balance.
Wolf	(1)	Construction of the wolf's ecological niche and traits.
	Risk of	Referring to any risk the wolf would pose (to human safety, the economy, game, livestock, etc.).
Economy	(1)	Any reference to economy.
	Tourism	Any reference to tourism.
Game	*Expected Frequently with and without a direct	Any reference to game populations.

Livestock	relation to the economy.	Any reference to livestock operations (sheep, cattle, etc.).
Government	(2)	Any reference to state/federal agencies, politics, or government.
	IDFG	Any reference to the IDFG.
	USFWS	Any reference to UWFWS.
Rights	(3)	
	States/Sovereignty	Any reference to states rights/ sovereignty.
	Animal/Wolf Rights	Any reference to animal/wolf rights, or the ESA.
*May be used separately from rights for public property.	Property	Any reference to private property rights or public property.
Facts	(2)	Refers to any authoritative statement of the way things are.
*Science may occur separately from fact claims (guide).	Science	Any reference to science (when used to make an authoritative claim, cross-code with fact).
	Personal Experience	Any reference to personal experience used to assert privileged knowledge on a matter..
Self	(0)	Construction of self and allies.
Other	(0)	Construction of opposing groups and their ways of doing things.
Coalitions	(0)	Any reference to cooperation between groups to achieve a common goal.
Other Issues/Activism	(0)	Refers to other issues a participant finds important and/or has been an activist on.
Place	(0)	Refers to a sense of place or location, any reference to Idaho/wilderness as unique, etc.
Media	(0)	Any reference to the media and how the story has been covered in different papers.
Motivation	(2)	Motives for action, for example; my cows were eaten/want to help the environment, etc.
	Grievance (reactive)	
	Protection (proactive)	
Stakeholder Mt.	(0)	Any Reference to Stakeholder meetings.

<u>**Appendix C: Interview Guide for Actors Involved in Wolf Issues in Idaho**</u>

Introduction and Consent Script

- Hello, my name is Andrew Caven and I am calling from Washington State University in Pullman, WA. I am conducting research on conservation policy. More specifically, I am gathering information from groups known to be actively involved in advocating for or against different wolf conservation policies in Idaho.
- I have contacted you because it is known that your organization _____ has been involved in advocating for/against the continued conservation and protection of the wolves in the state of Idaho. I am interested in your organization and your experiences with this issue. I realize that you have a very busy schedule but your participation is vital to the success of our study. This should take approximately forty-five minutes. This study has been reviewed and approved by the WSU Institutional Review Board for human subject participation. If you have questions about the study please contact the researcher, Andrew Caven, whose telephone number is listed below. If you have questions about your rights as a participant please contact the WSU IRB at 509-335-3668 or irb@wsu.edu. If you would like to contact the principal investigators (me) you may do so at: 509-335-4595. All of the information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. We will not identify you personally in any publications but we may identify the organization you volunteer/work for. If there is any question you would prefer not to answer let me know and I will skip over it. Would you be interested in speaking with me about your activism and the organization you are involved with? To ensure that I accurately recall the information you provide I will need to record our conversation. Is this okay?

<u>**QUESTIONS**</u>
First, I am going to ask you some general questions covering wolf issues in Idaho and the involvement of the organization(s) you have been working with, as well as your personal involvement.

Organizational
1. How did you come to be involved in wolf issues in Idaho?
2. What is the official name of your organization?
3. What is your role in the organization?
   a. Do you have an official position?
   b. Are you employed or a volunteer?
4. If you are not a professional activist, what is current your employment situation?
5. What is the goal of the organization you are involved with?
   a. What is your personal view on the wolf situation in Idaho?
      i. How would you solve the problem?
      ii. Does your position differ from that advocated by your organization?
6. How many people are involved in your organization?
   a. How many paid staff do you have? (For large organizations, specify in Idaho)
   b. How many volunteers? (For large organizations, specify in Idaho)

7. What activities does your organization partake in to achieve its goals?
    a. How Often?
8. How frequently do you participate/ work for your organization in these activities?

Wolves and Wildlife
9. What do you think our role, as humans, **should be** in managing wildlife?
    a. Managing Wolves?
10. How do you feel wildlife **is currently** being managed?
    a. How do you feel wolves **are currently** being managed?
11. What do you perceive as the wolf's role in the ecosystem?
12. What problems or risks do wolves pose in Idaho?
13. Are the rights of any Idaho Citizens being compromised by the presence of wolves in Idaho?

If not yet answered in the above questions
                i. What are the effects of wolves on Elk? Deer? Moose? Other Game?
                ii. What are the effects of wolves on the ranching and livestock owning community?
                iii. What effects have the wolf's presence had on the Idaho economy?
14. What information and experience provides a basis for your beliefs about wolves?
    a. What have you read?
    b. What have you seen?
14. How has the Federal Wildlife Service handled the "wolf situation" in Idaho?
15. How has the Idaho Department of Fish and Game handled the "wolf situation" in Idaho?

Movement Coalitions. Oppositions, and Self-Definitions
16. Do you know of (any/ any other) "Anti- wolf organizations" in the State of Idaho?
    a. What do you know about them?
    b. How do you feel about them (like or dislike)? Why?
    c. If you had to paint a picture of the typical person participating in "Anti-wolf activism," what would they be like?
17. Do you know of (any/any other) "Pro- wolf organizations" in the State of Idaho?
    a. What do you know about them?
    b. How do you feel about them (like or dislike)? Why?
    c. If you had to paint a picture of the typical person participating in "Pro-wolf activism," what would they be like?
18. Does your organization ever work together with other organizations or associations to achieve its goals?
    a. [If so,] which groups? Can you describe some of the work you have done with "group x"?

Animal Rights Questions
19. As humans, is it our right to decide whether wolves can exist in the areas surrounding us?
20. Do the wolves themselves **have** any rights as you see it?

      a. **Deserve** any rights as you see it?
21. What do you think is the intellectual capability of the Gray Wolf? Do you think they are intelligent?
22. Do you think wolves have emotions?
      a. What information do you base your beliefs off of?

General Worldview Questions
Now I am going to ask you some general questions related to your attitudes. We will cover topics such as the Government and the Environment.

23. Have you ever been involved in any activism before?
24. What other political issues are important to you and what is your position on them?
      a. What is the greatest threat to the well being of the people in your community?
If not mentioned in the questions above
        i. Gay Marriage
       ii. NAFTA
      iii. Immigration Reform- Fencing the borders
25. Does the federal government have the best interests of its citizens in mind?
26. Does the state government have the best interests of its citizens in mind

27. Instructions: I am going to ask you a series of questions related to the environment. Please respond by answering with one of the following categories that best fits your opinion.

        SA=   Strongly Agree
        MA=   Mildly Agree
        U=   Neither Agree nor Disagree
        MD=   Mildly Disagree
        SD=   Strongly Disagree

Question	SA	MA	N	MD	SD
We are approaching the limit of the number of people the earth can support.					
Humans have the right to modify the natural environment to suit their needs.					
When humans interfere with nature it often produces disastrous consequences.					
Human ingenuity will ensure that we do Not make the earth unlivable.					
Humans are severely abusing the environment.					
The earth has plenty of natural resources if we just learned how to develop them.					
Plants and animals as have as much right as humans to exist.					
The balance of nature is strong enough to cope with the impacts of modern industrial nations.					
Despite our special abilities humans are still subject to the laws of nature.					
The so-called ecological crisis facing human kind has been greatly exaggerated.					
The earth is like a spaceship with limited room and resources.					
Humans were meant to rule over the rest of nature.					
The balance of nature is very delicate and easily upset.					
Humans will eventually learn enough about how nature works to be able to control it.					
If things continue at their present course, we will soon experience a major ecological catastrophe.					

Footnote: Questions Reproduced from Dunlap et al. 2000.

Appendix D: Footnotes

1- Because the 14 news articles concerning the wolf situation in Idaho were not examined systematically for content only those cited in this paper's text are listed under references.