UNIVERSITY OF FRIBOURG, DEPARTMENT OF GEOSCIENCES, GEOGRAPHY UNIT

The Hunter and the Wolf: Environmental Ethics in Switzerland



Tim Tait-Jamieson

O9-202-060

Masters Thesis

Supervised by Olivier Graefe

Bern, May 2012

Tim Tait-Jamieson
Alleeweg 9
3006 Bern
timothy.taitjamieson@unifr.ch

Abstract

In many western industrial societies, recreational hunting (also known as sports hunting) is a contested and controversial issue. This controversy stems from tensions over contrasting moral views of how humans relate or rather *should* relate with the natural world. Moral questions that concern the natural environment are often dealt with within the broad body of work known as contemporary environmental ethics. The purpose of this study was to attempt to understand and describe the relationships hunters have with the natural world through the lens of contemporary environmental ethics. To achieve this, the practice of hunting, concepts of nature, and the relationships that Swiss hunters have with the natural environment, with the animals they hunt, the returning wolf, and the morality embedded in these topics were analysed. Results showed that hunters describe hunting as a complex activity, the kill (which hunting is often reduced to outside of hunting circles) being just one of many aspects. The results further indicated that 'nature' carries considerable meaning and a high level of importance for these hunters. This, paired with the type of action hunting is, reveals a complex and somewhat paradoxical human-nature relationship. Comparing the hunters' descriptions of hunting and the description of their relationship with the natural environment to the different perspectives of environmental ethics, it transpires that their ethic fit most closely with a weak anthropocentric environmental ethics perspective. The analysis of hunters' moral and physical relationships to the animals they shoot, the returning wolf and indeed, the whole natural environment revealed a number of features of the relationships humans have with nature. Generally in society there is a perception that we as people should be seen as stewards and, that we are therefore in charge of protecting and managing the natural environment. This is an asymmetric relationship, which contains aspects of domination, submission and arrogance over nature.

Keywords: recreational hunting, human-nature relationships, environmental ethics, weak anthropocentrism, social construction of nature

Contents

List of Figures, Graphs and Tables iv
Figures iv
Graphs iv
Tables iv

1. Introduction 1

2. State of the Art/ Theoretical Background 6
2.1 Morality and Environmental Ethics 6
2.1.1 Contemporary Environmental Ethics 6
2.1.2 Anthropocentric Perspectives 7
2.1.3 Animal Liberation/Rights: Care for the Animals 8
2.1.4 The Land Ethic 9
2.2 Nature, Social Construction of Nature and Environmental Ethics 10
2.3 Contemporary Recreational Hunting 12
2.3.1 Cultural/Natural Recreation 12
2.3.2 Can killing be Moral? Ethical Considerations of Recreational Hunting 14
2.4 Hunting in Switzerland and Graubünden 16
2.4.1 Hunting in Switzerland 16
2.4.2 Hunting in Graubünden 18
2.5 The Return of the Wolf 21

3. Methodology 24
3.1 Sampling Method 25
3.2 Location and Participants 25
3.3 Interviews and Observations 26
3.5 Data Analysis 27
3.6 Secondary Data 27
3.7 Comments and Limitations 27

4. Results 30
4.1 Hunting in Graubünden 30
4.1.1 'Kulturgut' 30
4.1.2 Being Environmental 31
4.2 Personal Motivation and Meaning of Hunting 32
4.2.1 Family Tradition 32
4.2.2 Social Life 32
4.2.3 The Challenge 33
4.2.4 Hunting and Nature: An Intimate Connection 35
4.2.5 Freedom and Escape 36
4.2.6 Death and Respect 36
4.2.7 Modern Hunter – Gatherers 38
4.2.8 The Importance of Being 'Outdoors' 39
4.3 Rules and Regulations: Evolved Environmental Management 40
4.4 A Mostly Natural (National) Park 43
4.5 The Difficult/Delightful Wolf 45

5. Discussion 50
5.1 'Recreational' Environmental Management 50
5.2 Natural Nature? 51
5.3 Hunter – Nature Relationship 55
5.3.1 Close and Caring 55
5.3.2 'Loving – Killing' and Other such Paradoxes 55
5.4 Hunting, Morality and Environmental Ethics 58
5.4.1 Justifying a Contested Activity 58
5.4.2 The Environmental Ethics of the Hunter 59

6. Conclusion **64**

7. Bibliography **67**

Acknowledgments **74**

Appendix **75**

A: Mind-Maps **75**

B: Map of Local Districts and Communities in Canton Graubünden **79**

C: Raw Hunting Statistics **80**

List of Figures, Graphs and Tables

Figures

Figure 1: Shaw the hunter from the film 'Open Season' 2

Figure 2: Distribution of different hunting systems by canton in Switzerland 17

Figure 3: Distribution of confirmed observations (genetically or by photo) of wolf in Switzerland in 2009 23

Figure 4: Location of National Park 44

Figure 5: Mindmap – Becoming a Hunter 75

Figure 6: Mindmap – Prey 75

Figure 7: Mindmap – Hunting 76

Figure 8: Mindmap – National Park 77

Figure 9: Mindmap – Nature 77

Figure 10: Mindmap – Relationship with Nature 78

Figure 11: Map of local districts and communities in Canton Graubünden 79

Graphs

Graph 1: Total number of a selection of animals killed by hunters in Switzerland between 2002 and 2010 17

Graph 2: Total number of a selection of animals killed by hunters in Canton Graubünden between 2002 and 2010 19

Tables

Table 1: Total number of hunter in Switzerland between 1998 and 2010 80

Table 2: Total number of hunters from a selection of cantons between 1998 and 2010 80

Table 3: Total number of a selection of animals killed in Switzerland between 1998 and 2010 81

Table 4: Total number of a selection of animals killed by hunter is Graubünden between 1998 and 2010 81

1. Introduction

Hunting is a very old human activity and human beings are said to have hunted for around 99 percent of their existence on earth. Throughout much of this time, hunting was wrapped up in survival, as it was focused on gathering and providing food for the hunter's social group. Some have even argued that hunting has played a key role in the evolution and development of human societies (Peterle, 1977). Indeed, Laughlin (cited in Peterle, 1977) describes hunting as the "... master behaviour pattern of the human species. It is the organizing activity which integrates the morphological, physiological, genetic, and intellectual aspects of the individual human organism and of the populations who compose our single species" (p. 151). However he types of hunting which are now pursued in many westernised industrial countries today appear to be quite different from those that would have been pursued throughout much of human history. Even though the main principle of hunting remains the same, (e.g. individuals or groups pursuing wild animals with the overall goal of killing them), for the majority of people living in westernised industrial countries hunting has taken on new cultural meanings and purposes. Where hunting was formerly about gathering food to provide a living, now many take part for reasons that are connected to personal enjoyment and pleasure. This change appears to be a major shift in the reasons or motivations for which hunting is pursued (Curnutt, 1996). This shift in the purposes of hunting has led to different ways of describing and understanding the practice of hunting, and as a result, the activity of hunting is described with terms such as recreational hunting or sports hunting in many westernised industrial countries (Leader-Williams, 2009).

The place of recreational hunting in contemporary western societies is highly contested (Leader-Williams, 2009; McLeod, 2007). Indeed Hunters and the activity of hunting itself are often seen in a negative light and receive considerable criticism. Much of this criticism appears to be directed at the character of those that take part in this activity. As Altherr & Reiger, (1995) describe, hunters are often perceived as a "… sadistic male (sic) armed to the teeth with survival and assault weaponry, 'blasting' a Bambi or another Disneyified animal with saucer-sized eyes to death" (p. 39). Beyond the characterisation of hunters as sadistic, cruel and violent, others also perceive hunters as inadequate or perhaps sub human people. For example, Williams (1995) writes:

> Hunters are piggy … They're overequipped … insatiable, malevolent and vain. They maim and mutilate and despoil. And for the most part they're inept. Grossly inept.

> Camouflage toilet paper is a must for the modern hunter along with his bronco and his beer. Too many hunters take a dump in the woods with their roll of Charmin beside them were mistaken for white tail deer and shot. Hunters get excited. They'll shoot anything – the pallid ass of another sportsman or even themselves (p. 256).

Similar perceptions can also be found in popular culture where hunters tend to play villainous and often imbecilic characters in films and television series (Cartmill, 1996). The classic example of this would be Disney's 1942 animated film 'Bambi', where the shadowy hunter murders Bambi's mother. As Cartmill (1996) highlights in his book 'A view to a death in the morning', many hunters regard the depiction of Bambi and the portrayal of hunters in this film as the "... most powerful piece of anti-hunting propaganda ever produced" (p. 162).
A more current example of such a portrayal of a hunter can be found in the 2006 computer animated film 'Open Season' (Murdocca, 2006), wherein the hapless hunters are portrayed as blood thirsty, gun toting idiots, who wish to shoot anything that moves with no concern for the things they shoot (Fig.1).



Figure 1: Shaw the hunter from the Film 'Open Season' (Murdocca, 2006)

Many of these perceptions appear to be based on the assumption that someone who goes out and kills wild animals, not to provide for themselves of their family, but rather as a source of personal pleasure and enjoyment is probably sadistic, violent and cruel (Keel, 1996). As a result, the modern hunter is presented with a "… major public relations problem" (Keel, 1996, p.30). She also agues that a result of these perceptions have led hunters and proponents of hunting to develop a series of different moral arguments to legitimize this contested activity. Commonly these have included descriptions of the cultural and ecological benefits of hunting (such as continuing cultural traditions and regulating local ecology) as well as highlighting

the view that hunting offers modern people the opportunity to take part in or have a close relationship with the natural environment (Leader-Williams, 2009; Marvin, 2010).

However, opponents of modern forms of hunting such as animal rights activist and environmentalist groups, point out that the fact that the main aim of hunting is to kill wild animals and/or that this killing is done for reasons of personal pleasure and enjoyment can never be overcome by these 'benefits'. Their opposition to hunting is based on the unnecessary suffering of prey animals. Unnecessary, because the suffering and killing of these animals occurs for so called trivial reasons (such as personal pleasure and enjoyment) (Gun, 2001). Furthermore, the type of interaction that modern forms of hunting promotes between people and the natural environment seems to be particularly negative. As Keel (1996), points out; "Hunting is an act of violence…" (p. 30) and therefore should never be promoted. She goes on to argue that modern societies are almost completely separated from their natural environment and that although many feel the urge to reconnect with the natural environment, killing wild animals is not an appropriate way of accomplishing this. This particular argument begins to touch on what is at the crux of the hunting controversy and explains to some level the intensity and ferocity with which the different actors voice their opinions. Even though the subject of this debate is hunting, on another level, what is also being discussed is the relationship between humans and nature (or Human-Nature relationship). Particularly, what *is* the relationship that people have with the natural environment and/ or what *should* this relationship look like? (Dickson, 2009).

In his book 'Nature and Social Theory', Franklin (2002) describes a monumental shift in relations between humanity and the natural environment that has occurred in the twentieth century. Where previously, the natural environment has generally been ignored as a topic, in recent times concerns relating to how people view, use and relate to the natural environment have exploded into the consciousness of many people. As he further describes, the diversity of those that are interested and concerned with environmental issues is unprecedented. "We have seen ordinary suburban people, the elderly and the retired, young schoolchildren and workingclass families out on the street protesting nature issues" (Franklin, 2002, p.1). The fact that environmental issues have increasingly become the topic of discussions in public, political and academic circles is perhaps of little surprise, particularly when one considers the gravity of the issues being discussed (such as climate change, deforestation, pollution, and loss of biodiversity and ecosystems).

One major body of academic work that focuses on the normative aspects of these environmental issues, as well as the ways in which societies interact with the natural

environment, is contemporary environmental ethics. As described by Pojman (2005b): "Environmental ethics concerns itself with these global concerns: humanities relationship to the environment, its understanding of and responsibilities to nature, and its obligations to leave some of nature's resources to posterity" (p. 2). Within contemporary environmental ethics, there are numerous different positions, approaches and perspectives that advocate many different concerns and worldviews. These approaches and perspectives describe and prescribe how people should think about and act towards certain aspects of, and indeed, the entire natural environment (Rolston III, 2003).

The purpose of this study is to view the Hunter- Nature relationship through the lens of contemporary environmental ethics. For this undertaking, this study focuses primarily on the hunters of a region in Switzerland (Canton Graubünden). Hunting in Switzerland has a long tradition and continues to form an important part of the cultural identity and community life for many people, particularly in Canton Graubünden (Schweizer Fernsehen, 2011). A fundamental task of this study is to attempt to understand the Environmental Ethic of the Swiss hunter. Particularly useful for this task is Proctor's (2001) alternative definition of ethics as involving "… sorting out why people care as they do and to what extent these ways of caring are philosophically justified" (p. 227). The first task therefore is to untangle how hunters care about the natural environment and to then examine how this care is justified. To uncover this care, this study focused on exploring three major areas of interest: the meaning of hunting, the concept of nature and the relationship that these hunters have with the natural environment, as well as the morality imbedded in these topics.

In addition, due to a useful coincidence, the presence of the returning wolf (*Canis lupus*) was added to these topics. Since the nineteen hundreds the European wolf has been considered extinct throughout Switzerland. This extinction resulted from hundreds of years of persecution and the expansion of humans in Switzerland and throughout most of Europe (Glenz, Massolo, Kuonen & Schlaepfer, 2001). However in the last 20 years the wolf has been making a gradual return to a number of alpine regions of Switzerland. This return has been greeted with wide spread debate about the place of the wolf in contemporary Swiss society (Wallner & Hunziker, 2001). For many, the wolf is a symbol of wilderness or nature, which is often seen as positive light (the re-wilding of Switzerland) and negative light (anti-human/ modernity)(Caluori & Hunziker, 2001). The topic of the wolf offers two important areas of enquiry for this study. Firstly: it provides a current and relevant topic to discuss important theme such as 'nature' and Human- Nature relationships and secondly: it poses a possibly difficult question to the environmental ethics of the hunter, as wolves are often seen

to be direct competitor for prey animals (Wallner & Hunziker, 2001).

The resulting 'hunters ethics' are then compared and contrasted to a number of the different perspectives and positions located within the field of contemporary environmental ethics. This study is not about describing or prescribing how people should act towards the natural environment, nor is it about arguing the morality (or immorality) of the practices of modern hunting. It is rather an attempt view the moral relationship that Swiss hunters have with both the animals they hunt, and the natural environment in which this interaction occurs. This required a slight twist in the way that contemporary environmental ethics is often viewed. Instead of viewing environmental ethics as a sort of guideline for the ways that society should think about and act towards the natural environment, here it will be viewed as a substantial body of work with which a group of people's ethics (in this case hunters) can be compared and contrasted (Pojman, 2005a). Three contrasting perspectives of environmental ethics are of particular interest for this study. These are: the anthropocentric, the animal liberation/ rights, and land ethic perspectives. These three perspectives are the most commonly used to either justify (anthropocentric and the land ethic) or criticise (animal liberation/ rights) the actions of recreational hunters (Dickson, 2009).

Although primarily focussed on hunters, their ethics and the relations they have with the natural environment, this study allows for an enquiry the into much lager topic of society-nature relations. Despite what many perceive, recreational hunters are human, and they make up a part of the complex network of modern westernised societies. Therefore it is an aim of this study to see what hunters' relationships with the natural environment, both morally and otherwise, can reveal about our own relationships with the complex and often hard to tie down thing that we call *nature*.

2. State of the Art/ Theoretical Background

2.1 Morality and Environmental Ethics

> We are discussing no small matter, but how we ought to live (Socrates in Plato's Republic, cited in Pojman, 2005a, p. 4).

The topic of ethics, as highlighted in the quote above, is not about what is, but rather what should be (Pojman, 2005a). It is a part of moral philosophy, which deals with social norms (Procter, 1998b). Simply described, "… ethics involves analysing the basis and justification of morality" (Proctor, 2001, p. 226). These justifications often use judgment concepts such as '*right'*, '*wrong*', '*permissible*', '*ough*t', '*good*' and '*evil*'. The result of these judgements can then be used to, "… establish principles or right behaviour that may serve as action guides for individuals and groups" (Pojman, 2005a, p. 4). Beyond this definition, Proctor (2001), describes an alternative way to look at the subject of morality and ethics. He describes it as an enquiry into (or thinking about) the act of 'caring'. This enquiry examines the things we care about, the things we do not care about as well as the things we have no judgement on. It asks questions about why we care (or not) about these things, all in order to "…sort(ing) out why people care as they do and to what extent these ways of caring are philosophically justified*"* (Proctor, 2001, p. 226). In the context of this research study, the care about the natural environment is of primary concern.

2.1.1 Contemporary Environmental Ethics

The branch of ethics that deals with questions regarding the natural environment is called environmental ethics. Environmental ethics analyses and explores the moral and ethical relationship that people have with aspects of, and indeed, the entire natural environment. Environmental ethicists are particularly interested in exploring the responsibilities, duties and obligations that people have or should have, towards *nature* (Proctor 1998a; Rolston III, 2003).

The field of environmental ethics is a relatively new branch of western philosophy that rapidly developed in the mid 1970s after a few notable authors published works questioning the ways that societies related with their natural environment (for examples see Pojman, 2005e; Procter, 1998a). At that time, authors began applying moral philosophical frameworks to the natural environment, frameworks that up until this point had been somewhat self-reflective, as they had tended to focus solely on humans and their duties and responsibilities

to other humans. Authors began discussing, applying and justifying ways to expand moral considerations to include certain aspects of, or the whole natural environment. Today, the concerns, perspectives and approaches of environmental ethics are numerous and very far reaching. Different perspectives within environmental ethics include: anthropogenic, animal rights/ liberation, bio/ eco centric, land ethics, ecofeminism and deep ecology, to name just a few (Rolston III, 2003). These various perspectives deal with concerns as wide reaching as "… Pollution (sic), population control, resource use, food production and distribution, energy production and consumption, the preservation of wilderness and of species diversity …" (Pojman, 2005a, p. 2). Within these very different and wide reaching topics, there are numerous debates describing what value is, whom or what can give value, and whom or what might have value (Pojman, 2005c). The large quantity and the wide spectrum of different perspectives and approaches that deal with these issues, as well as many others, highlights the difficulties in providing a comprehensive and cohesive round up of the subject of environmental ethics. Bringing together such a large volume of literature is always problematic, if not only for the difficulty in giving all concerns and perspectives an appropriate amount of words. For this reason, three very different perspectives that are particularly relevant to modern hunting have been chosen for this study and will be broadly outlined below. The relevance of these three perspectives is primarily based upon the fact that they are commonly invoked in the discussions that surround the ethics of recreational hunting (Dickson, 2009). These are the anthropocentric perspective, the animal rights/ liberation perspective and the land ethic.

2.1.2 Anthropocentric Perspectives

2.1.2.1 Caring about People

An anthropocentric perspective is a position that centres humans at its core. In this perspective, people only have serious duties and obligations to each other (individuals and/or groups) and there are no direct moral obligations towards the natural environment, be it living organisms (fauna or flora), non-living things (soil, water and rock) or to the ecosystems which join these together (Rolston III, 2003). One early proponent of this view was Immanuel Kant. In 1873, writing in the *Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals*, he argued that man (sic) has no direct duties to animals, because his (sic) intellectual and rational abilities allowed him to understand moral laws distinguishing him from animals (which cannot understand these laws) (2005).

2.1.2.2 Weak and Strong Anthropocentric Perspectives

Despite the fact that the anthropocentric approach is completely human focused, a relatively large amount of 'environmental work' can be achieved using this perspective (Rolsten III, 2003). Using a human centred perspective to indirectly conserve and protect the natural environment is often termed 'weak' anthropocentrism or stewardship (Light & Rolston III, 2003). Weak anthropocentrism can be contrasted with strong anthropocentrism in that the weak anthropocentric perspective takes a broader, more environmentally focused view on what is of value to humans (Norton, 2005). This is possible, as Baxter (2005 [1974]) points out, because a human-focused perspective is not necessarily negative for the natural environment, as people require a relatively healthy environment to live. People need clean air, unpolluted water, and safe food to eat. With this in mind, it is relativity clear, that it is in the best interest of the individuals and of societies to protect and conserve the environment (regardless whether or not they choose actively to do so). One common concern with an unhealthy environment is that the biodiversity of the environment suffers. When biodiversity suffers, it is not only the natural environment that suffers, as Meadows (2005 [1990]) highlights in three important points, but also humanity. Firstly, biodiversity has substantial financial value both now and into the future. Secondly, biodiversity carries out valuable environmental services that are vital to many agricultural industries, such as pollination of fruit trees by insects. Thirdly, "biodiversity contains the accumulated wisdom of nature and the key to its future" (Meadows, 2005, p. 240). Because people require a healthy environment to live in, it is conceivable that keeping the environment healthy could be part of the human social contract. The human social contract is in essence an understanding that people must cooperate with each other in order to be able to live together. In regards to the environment, the social contract could oblige people to protect the environment in-so-far-as not to create unhealthy environmental conditions for themselves and other people (Rolston III, 2003).

2.1.3 Animal Liberation/Rights: Care for the Animals

The animal liberation and animal rights perspectives are concerned with how modern societies treat and use animals. They have arisen criticising the ways in which animals are treated in modern societies (Pojman, 2005d).

The animal liberation perspective argues that what makes beings of moral consideration is not the ability of rational thought as proposed in the anthropocentric perspective, but rather the ability to suffer (Pojman, 2005d). Singer (2005 [1976]) argues that the same moral concern that is shown to people based on the premise of rational ability, should in fact be shown to all

sentient beings. With the term `sentient beings`, Singer not only means to humans but also animals. Singer rationalises this argument by pointing out that criteria such as intelligence is not a valid way of the describing boundaries of moral concern. He asks:

> If possessing a higher degree of intelligence does not entitle one human to use another for his own ends, how can it entitle humans to exploit nonhumans? (Singer, 2005, p.60)

Essentially, animal liberation is a utilitarian argument that aims at maximising the highest number of `interests` possible (Pojman, 2005d). Singer (2005) argues that sentient beings have interests and in order to attain the aim of maximising the highest number of interests, sentient beings should also be considered.

The animal rights perspective on the other hand, argues that animals have rights that are equal to the ones humans have. The foundation of this argument is that both people and animals share certain psychological properties (Pojman, 2005d). These include: "…capacities for emotion, memory, belief, desire, the use of general concepts, intentional action, sense of a future, and some degree of self-awareness" (Warren, 2005 [1987], p. 73). Regan (2005 [1985]) argues that beings with these capacities have intrinsic value and should therefore be of ethical concern.

When looking at the applications of these two perspectives in everyday life, the animal rights perspective is more radical compared to the animal liberation perspective (Pojman, 2005d). This is because the utilitarian foundation of animal liberation opens the door for the interests of certain individuals to be overridden in 'for the greater good' type situations (AIDS drug testing being a well-used example, see Singer, 2005) The animal rights perspective on the other hand calls for a complete halt to all animal testing, animal use in agriculture as well as both commercial and recreational hunting (Regan, 2005).

2.1.4 The Land Ethic

The land ethic is an ecologically based approach founded by Aldo Leopold (Callicott, 2005 [1987]). Where animal rights and animal liberation limit the extent of moral concern to certain animals, the land ethic argues for an even more holistic ethic. Instead of focusing on individuals or even species of animals, the land ethic cares about the entire biosphere. The main argument is, that what is valuable about the natural environment is less the individual aspects in its make up, but more the ecosystems and processes which bind the different parts together (Pojman, 2005c). For example:

> A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise (Leapold, 2005, p. 148 [1947]).

Instead of the natural environment being of value to people, as in the anthropogenic perspective, in the land ethic the natural environment is the holder of intrinsic value (Pojman, 2005c). As described by Callicott (2005), implementing such a maxim as described above, would require a revolutionary change in the ways in which societies interact, use and relate to the natural environment. Leopold (2005) outlines that it would require humans to change their role from 'conqueror' of the environment to a mere member of the biotic community. For people, the moral boundaries are often similar to the perceived societal boundaries. The land ethic prescribes that these moral boundaries should be enlarged so that they encompass the entire biotic community and not only the human society (Callicott, 2005). In Leopold's (2005) words, be it "… soils, water, plants, and animals, or collectively: the land" (p. 141).

2.2 Nature, Social Construction of Nature and Environmental Ethics

For all its usage - in everyday life, in political and philosophical discussions (particularly those presented above), and in many parts of science- *nature* is a very difficult term to completely come to grips with (Castree, 2001; Demeritt, 2002; Soper, 1995). For Castree (2001), *nature's* complexity is directly related to it being both a stand-alone concept (with multiple meanings), as well as a term useful for describing features of the concept. He writes:

> Nature is both a concept and all those physical things to which the concept refers. It's a complex concept, not just because it refers to many different entities – from the weather through animals to human 'nature' and beyond – but because it also has multiple meanings (Castree, 2001, p.5).

Despite this complexity, a number of authors have offered definitions of this term. In the world of western academia as well as in western everyday life, *nature* is often understood in three distinctive, but ultimately connected, ways. These are (1) *external nature:* nature as a thing both external to, as well as fundamentally different from, society, (2) *intrinsic nature:* nature as a fixed or unchanging quality (e.g. human nature), (3) *universal nature:* nature as something that encompasses everything there is (including society). For a more in-depth description of these definitions, see Castree (2001) and/or Demeritt (2002).

According to Castree (2001), these three definitions of *nature* come with a common presumption: that the facts of *nature* "... can be known 'in itself'."(p. 8). The implications of

this 'known in itself', is that *nature* must have certain non-changeable characteristic, which we as humans can know and therefore describe and understand. Compared to this, the theory of social construction of nature argues that the facts of nature cannot, at least in this way, be known in themselves. The ways that human speak about, analyse, and understand *nature* will always contain social elements because those that are speaking are using human modes of description and concept building. This means that whatever humans speak about will ultimately be biased in some way (Castree, 2001; Proctor, 2001). Castree (2001) writes:

> … however rigorous and scientific one's investigations of the natural might be, there is no easy way to separate objective observations from social biases and political interest (p. 9).

Following this line of thought, social constructionists argue that nature is really less natural and more social. It is important to note, that this does not mean that nature, in a physical sense, does not exist separate from people, but saying anything beyond the fact that nature exists, without the use of human perceptions and concepts is seemingly impossible (Proctor, 2001).

As describe in section 2.1 and by Castree (2001), environmental ethics tend to follow the more conventional ontological understandings of nature. Castree also describes that environmental ethicist use these understandings as a foundation for the moral and ethical considerations about the natural environment. For example, the anthropocentric ethic can be seen as using the perceived boundary between society and the natural world to create corresponding moral boundaries, while the land ethic notes such a perceived boundary and attempts to enlarge it. As the theory of social construction of nature contests this understanding of nature it invariably causes some very fundamental problems for environmental ethicists, so much so that some authors describe the imminent arrival of a 'post-environmental ethic' (see Castree, 2003). It should also be noted that criticism of the environmental ethics ontology of nature is certainly not limited to social construction of nature. Authors such as Latour (1993) have also pointed out apparent problems with a dualistic understanding of society and nature. Writing in the famous book ‘We have never been modern’, Latour (1993) undertakes an analysis into the ‘modern human’. In which the fallacy of popular thought regarding the separation between society and nature is revealed. Latour further argues that modern scientific technologies and understandings have not separated societies from nature, but rather have increased our connections, as well as the complexity of these relations.

Others however, take a less critical and ultimately less destructive position towards these

implications for contemporary environmental ethics. Proctor (1998a; 2001) for example, argues that not all the considerations highlighted by the social construction theory limit the ability to both speak about, and apply morals and ethics to nature. Indeed the inclusion of the social aspect into environmental ethics could no doubt enrich them. This perspective can perhaps be seen as an attempt to release such discussions from being bogged down in such a foundational debate. For Proctor (2001):

> The social constructionist perspective can enrich environmental ethics by reminding us that any human pronouncement on nature entails social as well as biophysical considerations, that are, so to speak, important truths we invoke in our defense of certain normative positions (p. 229).

Environmental ethics continues to be a relevant and important topic of discussion. Relevant and important because it gives people a voice to say something about the natural environment and then connect what they say to moral considerations. Thinking about nature, the natural environment and our concerns and responsibilities towards them, is undoubtedly important; particularly when one considers the position of humans here on earth and the complete reliance of society on the natural environment (Rolston III, 2003). As Proctor (2001) describes:

> Let us listen to those who tell us that we must act to save freshwater species *(or what ever we are fighting to protect),* … ; they have at some level a legitimate and universally-binding claim on reality. And at the same time let us be prepared to challenge the constructedness of their claims, and the constructedness of our own counter-claims, in the spirit of particularistic limitation (p. 236).

As previously described this study exists as an attempt to untangle the complex moral and physical relationship that hunters, and indeed all people, have with the natural environment. With Proctor (2001) in mind, particular attention will be shown to the constructedness inherent in the hunters' concepts and indeed relationships with nature. On that note, it is now time to enter the physical and moral world of contemporary recreational hunting.

2.3 Contemporary Recreational Hunting

2.3.1 Cultural/Natural Recreation

Historically, the activity of hunting has always been connected to survival. Survival in that it was primarily focused on gathering food and providing material that were used to provide clothes and shelter (Peterle, 1977; Taylor, 2009)**.** In today's terminology this type of hunting

would be called subsistence hunting (Curnutt, 1996). There are still numerous social groups throughout the world, who engage in this type of hunting (examples include the people of the Banyamwezi tribe of Tanzania, and the Machiguenga and Piro subsistence hunters of Peru), however, for the majority of people living in contemporary westernised societies, hunting has taken on new meanings and purposes (Alvard, Robinson, Redford, & Kaplan, 1997; Carpaneto & Fusari, 2000; Taylor, 2009). The different types of hunting are often distinguished and understood based upon the rational and motivation which lead the hunter to hunt. On top of subsistence hunting (mentioned above) there are two main forms of hunting, commercial hunting and recreational hunting, prevalent today (Curnutt, 1996). Out of these three types, this study will focus on recreational hunting.

Strictly speaking, hunting is an activity where a person or persons go out to pursue '*wild animals'* or '*game'* with the purpose of killing them. Recreational hunting (often also described as sports hunting) is defined as a form of hunting "…where the hunter or hunters pursue their quarry for recreation or pleasure" (Leader-Williams 2009, p. 11). The distinguishing feature of recreational hunting, as can be seen in the quote above is, that it is pursued for reasons of enjoyment rather than, as in the case of subsistence and commercial hunting, to provide a living (Curnutt, 1996; Leader-Williams, 2009). Recreational hunters often describe the enjoyment that they get from hunting to arise from things such as: camaraderie, participating in traditional and cultural activities, solitude and escape from urban life, participating within 'nature', as well as the challenges that hunting offers (Curnutt, 1996; Leader-Williams, 2009; Marvin, 2010).

Interestingly, the theme of killing is a rarely discussed topic for many recreational hunters. One explanation for this is that even though the purpose of hunting is to kill, the killing is not a necessary or the even the most important part of recreational hunting (Marvin, 2010). For example, Leader-Williams (2009) nicely describes this in the following quote:

> The hope and intention of the true recreational hunter is to kill the quarry, but the skills used to find the quarry, and how the quarry is killed, are more important than the fact the quarry was killed (p. 10).

Marvin Further highlights, that what is also important about recreational hunting is the process of hunting. He compares this process and its importance in hunting to similar processes in other activities such as mountain climbing. For mountain climbers, if the only aim were to get to the top of mountain, other means (such as helicopter or easier paths) would be acceptable to achieve the goal. However, in mountain climbing as well as hunting,

achieving the goal (getting to the top of the mountain or the kill) is not the only thing linked to satisfaction. Getting there (in mountain climbing) or stalking/finding prey (in hunting) is often just as important (Ortega y Gasset, 2007. Marvin further argues that modern forms of hunting, which are conducted in westernised industrial societies, are `complex cultural practices`. Focusing too much on one aspect (the killing) obscures these complexities. Viewing hunting simply as an activity where individuals go out and kill wild animal for their own pleasure and enjoyment, limits one's ability to see aspects such as its cultural importance, values towards prey or the environment and behaviour and practices within the activity of hunting (Leader-Williams, 2009; Marvin, 2010)

2.3.2 Can killing be Moral? Ethical Considerations of Recreational Hunting

Recreational hunting is a highly controversial and contested issue in many modern societies (Dickson, 2009; McLeod, 2007). As described by Simpson and Cain (2001), the controversy that surrounds this issue is essentially a question of morality. Specifically: (1) is it morally acceptable to kill wild animals, and/ or (2), is it moral to kill for apparent reasons of personal pleasure? Opponents of recreational hunting have tended to criticise the activity of hunting because in their opinion it: kills wild animals for purposes of sport or recreation, causes inhumane suffering, violates the rights and/or intrinsic value of certain wild animals, poses a threat to biodiversity, and is an uncivilised human activity (Cahoone, 2009; Gun, 2001). Proponents of recreational hunting on the other hand have tended to argue for hunting on the basis of: its use to environmental management, its ability to promote positive environmental virtues and by comparing it to the ways that animals are generally treated in modern societies (Cahoone, 2009; Dickson 2009; Knezevic, 2009).

The first pro-hunting argument is an ecological argument and it is based on the premise that recreational hunting can play a positive role in the management and conservation of the natural environment. Recreational hunters can benefit conservation by controlling the numbers of certain animals through hunting. They can also help eradicate obnoxious species that disrupt the local ecology. Furthermore, the money that hunters pay for permits and the like can be invested into conservation programs (Dickson, 2009). This argument is often used with the land ethic in mind. Here, the ethical justification for recreational hunting is based on its cumulative or indirect positive effect on the conservation of the entire natural environment (Dickson, 2009; Simpson & Cain, 2001). The actual killing of the individual animal is seen to be irrelevant in the bigger picture of overall ecosystem conservation. However, it is important to point out that under the land ethic, hunting is only moral when it protects the local

ecosystems. As Simpson and Cain (2001) describe, its justification is still more a case of environmental prudence than of straightforward morality. Realisation of these positive effects rests on a number of key aspects, such as 'correct' scientific knowledge of the workings and processes of local ecologies, the implementation of conservation based hunting plans and regulations, as well as hunters actually abiding to these plans and regulations (Cahoone, 2009). Furthermore this justification tends to get a bit sticky when, as Cartmill (1996) notes, natural regulators such as large predators come back into the picture. Hunters tend to be the first to object to such a return but none-the-less continue to justify hunting as an ecological necessity.

Where the ecological argument focuses on the positive effects that hunting can have for conservation, the second argument focuses on the positive virtues of hunting. Hunting is said to offers people the opportunity to have a much closer and more realistic relationship to nature (Peterson, Hansen, Peterson, & Peterson, 2011). For example, instead of purchasing some de-animalized piece of meat in a supermarket, hunters go out into nature and kill an animal for their food, often also doing the butchering themselves (Cahoone, 2009). As Knezevic (2009) highlights, in many modern societies the connection that people make between their food and its origin (e.g. the natural environment) is becoming more and more fragile. For some researcher this connection between nature and food is particularly important because as Cahoone (2009) put it "… Ignorance of food is ignorance of our most basic relation to nature" (p. 83). Hunting is therefore justified because it provides people with the opportunity to have both, a more realistic relationship and more knowledgeable relationship to their natural surroundings. Realistic in the sense that death is a natural part of nature and knowledgeable because hunters tend to know a great deal about all the wildlife that lives in their local area, not just the ones they hunt (Cahoone, 2009; Knezevic, 2009). As Cahoone (2009) points out, hunters often "… receive queries from government agencies about non-game species of concern" (p.83).

Another argument focuses on the vilification of hunters in modern societies. For many people killing wild animals because you like to do it is completely unacceptable. Connected to the unacceptability of this activity, those that take part in it, often have a very bad image (Keel, 1996). They are portrayed, often simultaneously, as in-humanely cruel and incompetent (see Williams (1995) quoted in Introduction). It is argued that it is rather unfair that many people view hunting in modern societies as an evil, when they themselves consume meat (Knezevic, 2009). For a person to be able to eat meat, some animal has to die. The eater may not be doing

the actual killing, but nonetheless an animal still dies (Knezevic, 2009). One may argue that this is not the same because recreational hunters in particular enjoy an activity which culminates in the death of an animal. However meat eaters also enjoy eating meat. Furthermore, experts say that meat is not necessary (or at least not at the levels that it is often consumed) for a healthy diet (Singer, 2005). Indeed in terms of necessity, recreational hunting and meat consumption is rather similar. It should be pointed out that any serious anti-hunting activist is likely to see this hypocrisy, but the majority of people living in westernised countries who both enjoy eating meat and see hunting as a disturbing activity will not make this connection (Knezevic, 2009). It should be noted, that this is not really a morality based argument per se, but rather more of a justification based on the idea that if one thing is not wrong, the other cannot be wrong either.

A feature of these three arguments is that they speak little on the morality of individuals killing individual wild animals and instead focus on the indirect environmental positives of hunting (Keel, 1996; Simpson & Cain, 2001).

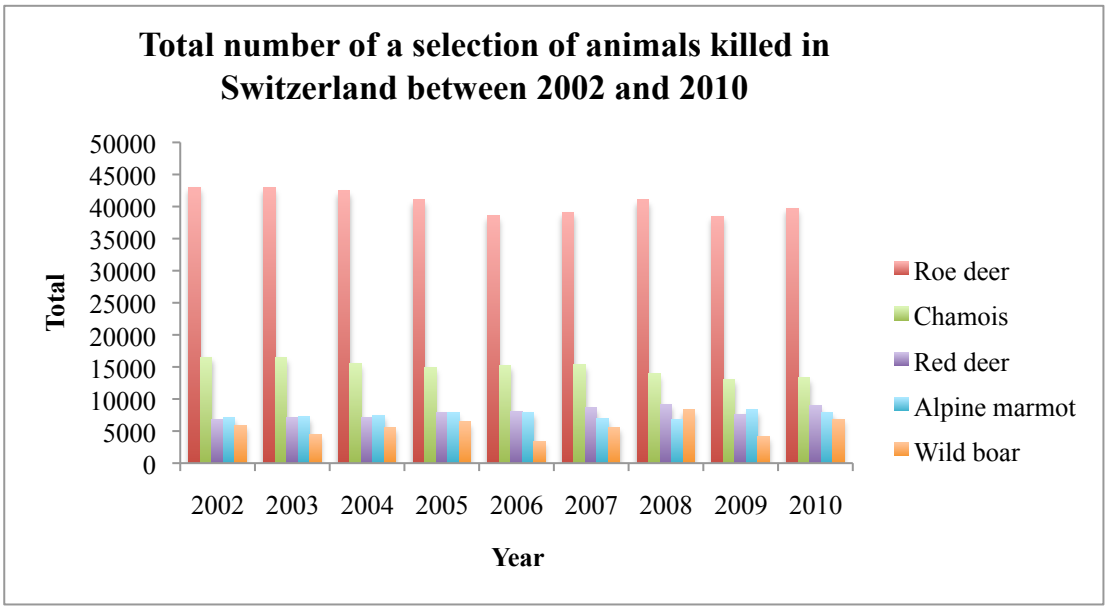
2.4 Hunting in Switzerland and Graubünden

2.4.1 Hunting in Switzerland

In 2010 some 30’295 individuals took part in hunting activities throughout Switzerland. For the last decade the total population of hunters in Switzerland has stayed relatively constant with roughly 30’000 annually turning out (see Table 1 in Appendix). During the year 2010, these hunters killed around: 40’000 roe deer *(Caperolus caperolus)*, 13’000 chamois *(Rupicapra rupicapra)*, 9’000 red deer *(Cervus elaphus)* and almost 8’000 alpine marmot *(Marmota marmota)* (see graph 1 and Table 3 in Appendix). Of all the cantons in Switzerland, Graubünden has continuously had the highest populations of hunters. In 2010 Graubünden had a total population of 5848 hunters, Valais had 3882, Ticino had 3540 and Bern had 2641 (see graph 2 and Table 2 in Appendix).

In Switzerland, hunting is a highly regulated activity. It is regulated by the Swiss federal government as well as individual cantons. The Federal government provides the minimum levels of hunting rules and regulations that have to be adhered to. These levels are founded on four major aims: (1) to protect the biodiversity of Switzerland, (2) to protect endangered species, (3) to keep damage to forest and agriculture to a reasonable level and (4) to allow a

reasonable use of wild animals for hunting. Each canton is expected to plan and implement hunting in their respective regions, which requires them to adapt the minimal requirements to local conditions. A canton is able to increase the strength of these regulations but not weaken them (Bundesamt für Umwelt, 2010).



Graph 1: Total number of a selection of animals killed by hunters in Switzerland between 2002 and 2010 (Bundesamt für Umwelt, 2011).

Different cantons in Switzerland implement these hunting regulations differently. There are three different general types used by cantons: (1) a complete ban on hunting (Jagdverbot), (2) a Revierjagd system and (3) a Patentjagd system (see Figure 3 for the distribution of the systems in cantons).

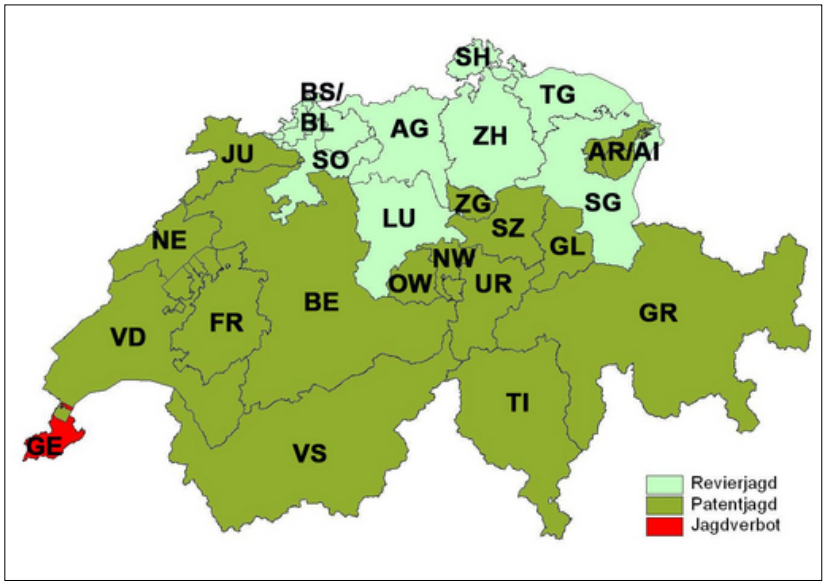


Figure 2: Distribution of different hunting systems by canton in Switzerland (Bundesamt für Umwelt, 2010).

In the Revierjagd system, hunting zones in the canton are divided and leased to groups such as hunting clubs or hunting associations. An individual must become a member of a group in order to be able hunt. No quota target is specified, rather the amount of animals taken in a year is reported, which directly affects the cost of the lease. In the Patentjagd system, the hunting zones are managed directly by the canton. Hunters apply at the cantonal level to purchase a permit that gives them the right to hunt throughout the canton. The number of animals per season that can be hunted in the Patentjagd system is often regulated by a quota system (Bundesamt für Umwelt, 2010).

2.4.2 Hunting in Graubünden

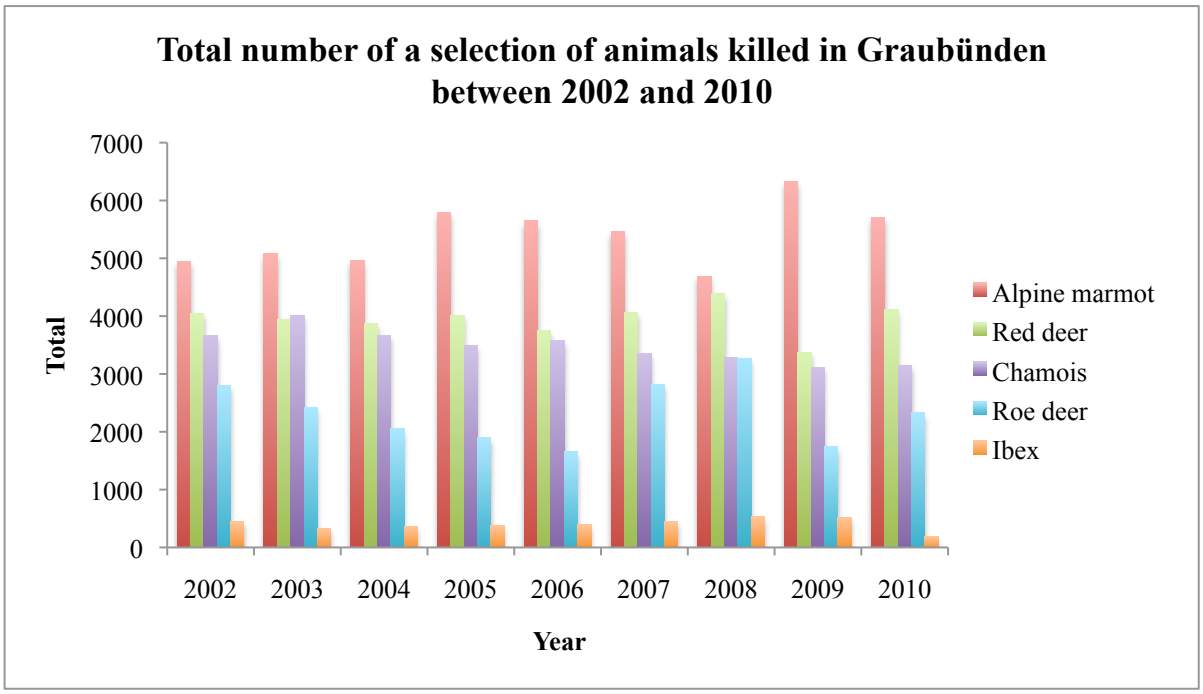
Graubünden is an alpine canton with numerous peaks and settled valleys. It is located in the South-east of Switzerland and is well know within Switzerland and throughout Europe as both a summer and winter holiday destination. The canton of Graubünden is made up of 11 different districts. These are: Albula, Bernina, Hinterrhein, Imboden, Inn, Landquart, Maloja, Moesa, Prättigau/ Davos, Surselva , and Plessur (where the capital Chur is located)(see Appendix B for Cantonal map)(Canton Grisons, 2012b). In terms of landmass, Graubünden is the largest canton is Switzerland, but has the lowest population density (Canton Grisons, 2012a). It is also the Canton with the largest number of active hunters (see Graph 2).

Hunting in canton Graubünden has a long history and is of considerable importance to many people. In the recent 'Wilde Natur' documentary series *(*Schweizer Fernsehen, 2011), the presenter of the program Andreas Moser, described hunting in the Canton Graubünden as a "*Kulturgut*", an object of cultural importance. Comparing its cultural importance to other well know Swiss traditions such as the *Fasnacht* festival in Basel, the cow fight meetings in canton Valais, and the *Sechseläuten* in Zurich. Graubünden is also described as a place where antlers and horns hang on most walls and where many inhabitants catch a 'special fever' in September.

Today canton Graubünden operates a Patentjagd system. Hunters purchase a permit from the canton in order to obtain the right to hunt. In Graubünden there are two main types of hunting permits. These are permits for the *Hochjagd* and for the *Niederjagd,* which are differentiated by the animals that can be targeted. In the Hochjagd, animals such as red deer, roe deer, chamois, wild boar *(Sus srofu)*, marmot, fox *(Volpes volpes)* and badger *(Meles meles)* can be targeted. In the Niederjagd animals such as hare *(Lepus europaeus/ Lepus timidus)*, blackcock

(Lyurus tetrix), snow grouse *(Lagpus muta)*, an assortment of water birds (e.g. cormorant *(Phalacrocorax carbo)*, coot *(Fulica atra),* mallard duck *(Anas platyrhynchos*) and eurasian jay *(Garrulus glandarius)* can be target (Jagdbetriebsvorschriften, 2010). In Graubünden the Hochjagd (with 5432 participants in 2010) appears to be more popular than the Niederjagd (with 1788 participants in 2010)[1] (Bundesamt für Umwelt 2011).

Currently the number of hunters in Graubünden has stayed on the same level (just under 6000 hunters) for the last decade. Hunting, in this canton seems not to have lost popularity in these years, nor has its popularity grown significantly. During the 2010 hunting season, just under 6000 alpine marmots, over 4000 red dear, over 3000 chamois, over 2000 roe deer and 191 ibex *(Capra ibex)* were shot in Graubünden (see Graph 3 or Table 4 in Appendix).



Graph 2: Total number of a selection of animals killed by hunters in Canton Graubünden between 2002 and 2010 (Bundesamt für Umwelt, 2011).

The long tradition of hunting in this canton is said to be based on the abolishment of the hunting privileges of the rich that occurred in 1526 (Kantonale Arbeitsgruppe 'Grossraubtiere', 1999). This abolishment of these privileges opened up the activity of hunting to all citizens of canton Graubünden. In principle the tradition of the Graubünden 'freie Jagd' continues to this day, although has gone through a number of periodic developments (Canton Graubünden, 2012a; Kantonale Arbeitsgruppe 'Grossraubtiere', 1999).

[1] Hunters can take part in both types of hunting therefore the numbers may not equal the total number of hunters.

By viewing these developments it is possible to see how the practice of hunting and the regulations that govern it have evolved through time. Key among these developments is the implementation of a number of restrictive regulations on hunting that first occurred in 1875. A key driver of these regulations was, that at this time the environmental conditions of this region were not good. Extensive agriculture, harsh climate and unregulated hunting had meant that most animals, except the Chamois (but including the large predators), were practically extinct from this region. The overall purpose of these restrictions was to restrict hunting with the aim to increase the overall numbers of animals. However these first restrictions were largely unsuccessful, mainly because hunters began to focus primarily on taking trophy animals (for example males with large horns). This resulted in an imbalance in populations in that they were primarily made up of young and female animals. Despite this unbalance, these regulations and decreasing levels of agriculture saw a marked increase in the wild populations of animals such as red deer, roe deer, and chamois. Such an imbalance was seen to have a negative effect on the natural environment because it lead to increased levels of destruction to forests and poor animal condition. This marked increase and an increased understanding of the effects an imbalance in both animal populations and local ecology eventually led to a new direction in the regulation of hunting in Graubünden. Where formally the aim was to increase animal numbers, regulations changed to focus on sustaining healthy population numbers. The role of hunters within these regulations was now to control the numbers of certain animal populations in order to protect the stability of the natural environment (Kantonale Arbeitsgruppe 'Grossaubtiere', 1999). From its foundation in 1526, the 'Bündner freie Jagd' can be seen to have evolved from a practice that degrades the natural environment to one that is actively focused on protection and sustainability. This is a major shift and has seen the perception of hunters and their relationships with the natural environment go from destroyer of the natural environment to arguably be one of environmental manager (Schweizer Fernsehen, 2008).

To achieve the goal of a balanced local ecology and animal populations, the canton of Graubünden undertakes extensive annual biodiversity surveys. Within this, systematic observations are undertaken to gain an approximation of the total amount of animals living in the region. Factors such as numbers of dead animals found, current illnesses (for example the chamois blindness disease), climatic conditions, the observations of game-wardens and the prognoses of past years are taken into consideration in order get a clear picture of the biodiversity located in this region. This survey is then used to develop an annual hunting strategy which establishes the amount of necessary regulation to be undertaken by that years

hunt (Amt für Jagd und Fischerei Graubünden, 2011). Recently a new factor has begun to be included in these annual reports. This is the factor 'large predator'. As noted earlier, large predators such as the wolf, bear and lynx are gradually returning to canton Graubünden and indeed many alpine regions of Switzerland. Of particular interest to this study is the wolf, because they are likely to have the greatest impact to the populations of wild animals (Kantonale Arbeitsgruppe 'Grossaubtiere', 1999).

2.5 The Return of the Wolf

The return of the wolf to Switzerland officially began in July 1995, when 70 sheep from an alp in the Val d'Entremont, in canton Valais were found savaged (Pro Natura, 2009). The culprit or culprits of this massacre were later identified as a roving wolf or a small group of wolves, which had most likely crossed the boarder from Italy in to Switzerland (Breitenmoser, 1998). Although other similar events had occurred prior to 1995, this particular event is generally considered as the beginning of the return of the wolf to Switzerland after an absence of over 150-year (Glenz et al, 2001). Originally, the wolf could be found throughout most of the landmasses of the northern hemisphere in almost all of the different climatic and topographical conditions. However by the 1900s the wolf had all but disappeared from Western Europe. The decline of wolf numbers closely followed the expansions of human populations throughout Europe. Wherever people settled, wolves were hunted and persecuted. This persecution was often based on the threat that they posed to domesticated livestock and as a competition for wild game. Along with this persecution, degradation of the environment by expanding communities also played a role in the eventual disappearance of the wolf from much of Western Europe (Breitenmoser, 1998). However, small isolated populations managed to survive, particularly in the Iberian Peninsula, in the Balkans and in Italy (Glenz et al, 2001; Mech, 1995). In the mid 1970s the Italian wolf population was given legal protection, which in tandem with reintroduction of wild ungulates lead to a substantial increase in numbers and an eventual expansion from southern and central Italy to the beginning of the Alps. For Switzerland, this expansion has meant that for the last decade and a half the wolf has slowly been making its way back (Glenz et al, 2001).

The exact number of wolves in Switzerland at any one time is difficult to calculate, mostly because their presence is often undetected until carcases of wild or domesticated animals are found. Nonetheless, in 2009 there were 520 registered wolf sightings, considerably more than in previous years, 109 of these were verified either genetically or with a photograph (see

figure 4). The distribution of the sightings is still mostly located in the southern alpine Cantons (e.g. VD, OW, GR, BE, FR, VD, VS, TI and for the first time in 2009; LU SZ and NW). Valais had the most sightings in 2009 with a total of 211, 33 of these being confirmed (either DNA or photo), followed by Fribourg (94 total and 27 confirmed) and Graubünden (67 total and 10 confirmed). At this point the re-colonisation of Switzerland by the wolf is at an early stage with sightings few and far between and as of yet no known recorded breeding (KORA, 2010).

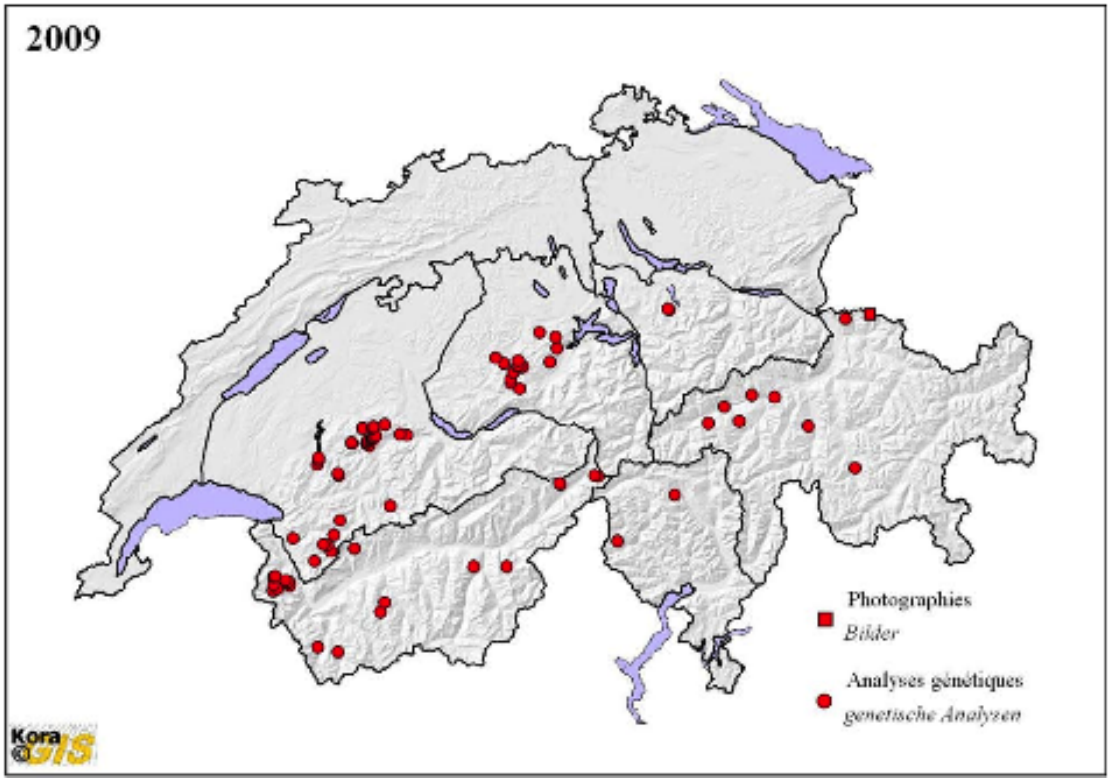


Figure 3: Distribution of confirmed observations (genetically or by photo) of wolf in Switzerland in 2009 (KORA, 2010).

This situation of the wolf in Switzerland seems rather remarkable. It is certainly uncommon for a large animal to recolonise, a small and densely populated country such as Switzerland, under its own impetus. Since the events in July 1995, there has been significant discussion and controversy in the public and political arenas about the place of the wolf in Switzerland. For many the return has been greeted with approval, while others have shown considerable disapproval (Caluori & Hunziker, 2001; Hunziker, Hoffmann & Wild-Eck, 2001). Particularly invested in these discussions and controversy are alpine farmers and hunters who are generally considered to be major stakeholder in this issue (Wallner & Hunziker, 2001). For the hunter the wolf returning after a substantial absence is perceived to have two effects. Firstly there could be greater competition for prey, with wolf and hunters fighting for a specific number of animals. Secondly having a wolf in a local environment might result in

prey animals becoming much shyer, thus making it much harder for the hunter to be successful (Breitenmoser, 1998; Breitenmoser-Würsten, Robin, Landry, Gloor, Olsson & Breitenmoser, 2001). Despite these concerns the position of the Swiss hunter towards the wolf is difficult to gauge. Opinion ranges from strong opposition, to complete acceptance (Wallner und Hunziker, 2001). JagdSchweiz's (Switzerland's nation wide hunting association) position on the wolf can be seen as somewhere in the middle of this range. In a number of opinion pieces, JagdSchweiz has outlined their position towards the wolf, together with other large predators (lynx *(Lynx lynx)* and brown bear (*Ursus arctus arctos)*). They have been somewhat careful not to comment on the question of whether they (wolf, lynx and bear) should or could comeback to Switzerland, instead arguing for stronger regulatory powers. This means that should these animals (currently protected by conservation laws), require management they could be killed. It would seem that although not directly opposed to the wolf, they are not exactly happy with its possible return and feel that they are likely to be adversely effected (Müller, 2008).

As described in the introduction the topic of the return of the wolf offers two areas of potential enquiry. (1) The wolf is often seen as a symbol of wilderness and nature and therefore provides a current and relevant entry point into discussions of 'what is nature?' and the relationships that hunters', and indeed people have with the natural environment (Caluori & Hunziker, 2001). (2) The theme of the wolf offers a number of possibilities to broach questions relating to their ethical positions towards the natural environment.

3. Methodology

Modern forms of hunting, which are practiced in contemporary societies, can be seen as a complex cultural activity. Both the practices of hunting, as well as the relationships that the hunters have with the animals and the landscape in which this relationship occurs are steeped in social meanings (Leader-Williams, 2009; Marvin, 2010). Because of this cultural complexity as well as the exploratory purpose of this study, a qualitative research approach was chosen. Qualitative research has been described as being useful in exploring and unravelling the complex and often contradictory aspects of human beings (Clifford, French & Valentine, 2010). This approach offers a wide selection of possible tools and source materials. They include data sources such as interviews, observations, experiences, visual images and stories (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003).

The aim of this study was to understand how the Swiss hunter cares (or does not) for the natural environment, and to compare and contrast this with the many perspectives and approaches of contemporary environmental ethics. The data was gathered via ethnographic observations, semi-structured interviews and various searches of lay literature and media. Brewer (2000) outlines a description of ethnography:

> Ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally (p. 6).

The key aspect here is the participation of the researchers in the 'natural setting' of those that they study. The ethnographic approach naturally lends itself to the present study, because the practices and behaviour of hunters while taking part in hunting activities are a vital aspect of the social meaning of the practice of hunting (Marvin, 2011). Ethnography used in tandem with semi-structured interviews allows the researcher to both explore the subject in a natural setting as well as focus the conversation upon areas of interest. Semi-structured interviews have a basic structure but also allow a level of flexibility to pursue uprising themes and ideas (Bryman, 2004; Longherst, 2003).

3.1 Sampling Method

A convenience sampling method was used to select participants to take part in this study. A convenience sample is an example of a non-random sampling method whereby participants are selected based on them being an individual of interest who is both available and accessible (Bryman, 2004). In the case of this study, a contact (familiar with many of the inhabits of the focal region) used local knowledge to find and contact possible candidates for the study. The individuals of interest for this study were any person that takes part in hunting activities reasonably regularly. Distinctions such as age, sex or hunting experience were not considered. The contact then provided a list with names and phone numbers of hunters who had shown interest in taking part. Attempts were made to contact all candidates on the list. When contact was made, the prospective participants were given a brief description of the study and asked whether they wanted to participate. A number of the candidates could not be contacted or were unable to attend the interview and therefore did not take part in the study.

3.2 Location and Participants

Hunting is an activity that can legally be pursued in 25 of the 26 different cantons of Switzerland. In 2010 there was some 30,000 registered hunters throughout the country (Bundesamt für Umwelt, 2011). Due to limitations with the size and the scope of the study, it was decided to focus on the canton of Graubünden. This canton was selected for a number of reasons. Firstly, hunting has a long history in Graubünden and is considered to be culturally significant to the region (Schweizer Fernsehen, 2011). Secondly, of all the hunting cantons, this region has the largest number of registered hunters (just under 6000 individuals) (Bundesamt für Umwelt, 2011). Furthermore, this canton is one of the small number of regions that has had public sightings, photo trap and genetic evidence of wolves (KORA, 2010). Finally, the author of this study had a number of contacts acquainted with this canton, which proved invaluable in identifying and providing access to possible participants.

In all, six persons took part in this study. All the participants were men and were born or had spent much of their life living in Canton Graubünden. The age of the participants was diverse, ranging from around 25 to early 60s. The occupations of these participants were: two farmers, one local businessman, one electrician/ ski instructor, and two foresters. The hunting experience of this group ranged from 2 to 30 years. All actively hunted most years, mainly in the Hochjagd, but some also took part in the Niederjagd and the Extrajagd.

3.3 Interviews and Observations

The interviews and observations undertaken throughout this study were conducted in various settings. It was originally proposed to conduct interviews while hunting, however this was soon considered impractical because the methods of hunting performed (stalking) required silence and did not allow for conversation. Furthermore it was not possible to join everyone when out hunting. It was therefore decided that interviews should be conducted in a place of the participant's choice. If possible the author joined the participants in a hunt at another time. The settings chosen by the participants included their offices, places of business, local restaurants and pubs.

For the interviews, a number of questions and probes were pre-prepared. These were centred on four major topics: hunting in Graubünden, hunting regulations and rules, the National park and the wolf. These topics were selected because of their relevancy and propensity to foster discussion about themes fundamental to the purpose of this study. For example, the topic of hunting in Graubünden was perceived to foster conversation about the participants' motivations, the importance they give to hunting (both personal and otherwise) and its social meaning. The topics: rules and regulations, the national park, and the wolf were perceived to foster conversation about how the participants see themselves in relation to, and how they relate to the natural environment. Furthermore, these topics were also perceived to foster conversation around the hunter's care and ethics towards the natural environment. It is important to note that care was taken not to directly ask philosophical questions for the fear that this might discourage conversation and affect the interview negatively. Opinions and concerns of the interviewer on the content of the interviews and activities during the observations were also firmly kept in check.

At the beginning of the interviews or observations all participants were advised that their participation in this study was anonymous and that aspects of local features such as town names and specific hunting locations would not be used. The interviews were conducted in either German or English, the choice of language used was made by the participant. The majority of the interviews were conducted in German. A Dictaphone was used to capture the content and notes were taken throughout. During the observations, field notes were taken and were later written up in detail.

3.5 Data Analysis

The result of the data gathering process was six interview transcripts, field notes from the interviews and two observations. As most of the interviews where conducted in German these were translated into English. All the data gathered was coded along thematic lines. Major arising themes included: hunting motivation and importance, concept of and relationship with 'nature' as well as ethical considerations. The coding procedure used was of the old-fashioned cut and paste variety. Segments, passages, or sentences were manually 'cut' and then 'pasted' into thematic groups. Mind maps were then used as a tool to unravel the different sub themes and their connections (see appendix A).

3.6 Secondary Data

Secondary data was used to broaden the scope of the data collected for this study. Data was gathered from local newspapers, NGO magazines (such as Pro Natura) and numerous online sources (such as online news broadcasters (e.g. Schweizer Fernsehen) and hunting association websites (e.g. JagdSchweiz).

3.7 Comments and Limitations

As discussed in the methods section, this study principally used a qualitative methodology. Qualitative methods are particularly useful for gathering and analysing complicated and in-depth topics. Hunting is clearly such a topic. However, because qualitative methods focus on gathering data that is very in-depth from small samples, results cannot be representative of the whole population in the same way as quantitative studies with data from (large) samples are. This means that the results of the study cannot be generalised to hunters from Graubünden, Switzerland or even the world and the results are unlikely to be easy to replicate. However, these methods did allow for the collection of a large quantity of rich and diverse data that allowed in-depth enquiry and analysis into the complicated world of hunting, Human-Nature relationships, and to gain a much better understanding of how the participants people make sense of the world.

The sample population was gathered using a convenience sample. This sample was selected because there were some concerns about getting participants to take part in this study. By selecting those that wished to be part of this research, this meant a certain guarantee of source material. However, this form of sampling has its limitations and draw backs, the most

apparent being the danger of selecting candidates with agendas. This concern was overcome to some extent by cautiously describing the scope and purpose of the study to the participants. Another concern with convenience sample is that the sample may be biased towards one view or another. As the sample was procured through the help of a contact that knew the area and the hunters well, it is possible that only some types of hunters were included in the list of possible participants. This cannot be ruled out and results have to be read and understood with this possibility in mind.

Another aspect that has to be kept in mind, is that ethnographic methods require the researchers to immerse themselves into the community or group for an extended period of time (Bryman & Teevan, 2005). A task that, as Bryman and Teevan (2005) helpfully point out, presents certain difficulties for master theses and small research assignments on the basis of the amount of time it takes to become 'immersed in a social setting'. A point which is certainly true for this research project. Ethnographic methods were chosen nonetheless, as they allow the study of people in their naturally occurring settings, creating a certain level of comfort for the participants (in this case the interviewees).

Furthermore, the author of this study was an English native speaker with a good but not excellent command of German. As the vast majority of the interviews were conducted in German, this should also be kept in mind. This may have resulted in some leads not being followed up as thoroughly as they could have been or some minor misunderstanding occurring. On the other hand it is possible that as it was obvious to the participants that the interviewer was not native to Switzerland, this may have made them take greater care to explain specific aspect of hunting in Switzerland. To try and eliminate as many translational problems as possible, all German quotes were include along with a translation checked by a second person.

Much of what is written and discussed about recreational hunting is normative and as such focuses on the morality/ immorality of this practice (Marvin, 2010). This study is an attempt to move away from this tradition. Despite the fact that it contains many normative aspects, its purpose is not to lay moral judgement but rather to analysis normative concerns in order to gain a better understanding in to how different people view the world. However because this is an ethnographic study, the authors' position and attitude towards hunting is none-the-less relevant. Relevant in that the attitudes and personal opinions that a researcher brings to a study can affect the interactions that they have with the participants, and consequentially the

result itself. My position towards hunting is somewhat unclear. I consider myself to be environmental minded and dislike the needless killing of animals, however I can also see the ecological benefit that can be achieved through responsible hunting. I have experience in hunting but I would never consider myself to be a hunter. However this experience proved useful in gaining trust and understanding the finer points of hunting particularly in the observing stage.

Regarding the subject of environmental ethics, it is important to remember that the scope of this study did not allow for all perspectives and approaches to be considered in depth. For this reason, three specific approaches were chosen to focus on because: (1) they are commonly invoked in the moral discussion of hunting, and (2) they each approach and view the question of ethics towards then natural environment very differently. Because a choice had to be made, it is possible that parts of other perspectives which may have had important or relevant points to this study were overlooked.

The decision was made not to include full versions of the transcripts of the interviews and observations in this study. This exclusion is primarily based on protecting the anonymity of the participants, as a number of them outlined concerns relating to their identity and identifying features of their hunting locations. The region where this study was conducted is made up of a number of small close-nit communities and as such, by releasing the information contained in the transcripts the anonymity of the participants could not be guaranteed. There is a strong possibility that someone who has knowledge of the community could identify the participants, based on this information included in the transcripts.

4. Results

4.1 Hunting in Graubünden

4.1.1 'Kulturgut'

As outlined in the state of the art section, hunting in Graubünden is often described as being of significant cultural importance. A similar view could clearly be found in the opinions of the hunters that participated in this study. For example, one hunter (H2) described hunting as having importance for the whole canton. He highlighted that hunting has traditional ties and is comparable to the cultural festivals of other regions such as 'Fasnacht' or 'Halloween'. Although different types of hunting can be pursed at different times during the year, for most, the highlight of the hunting year is the annual Bündner Hochjagd. The Hochjagd signifies the open season on a number of animals such as red deer, roe deer, chamois and wild boar and runs for three weeks in September (Jagdbetriebsvorschriften, 2010). One of the hunters (H4) described the Hochjagd as the crown of the hunting year. Its popularity is clear to see, in 2010 just under 5500 hunter took part in the Bündner Hochjagd compared to the just under 1800 hunters who took part the Niederjagd (Bundesamt für Umwelt, 2011). One aspect of this was described by one of the hunter's.

> **H4:** Man sagt auch immer (wenn) geschäftlich sei im September nicht viel zu machen, die meisten Leute seien auf der Jagd. Das ist natürlich ein bisschen ironisch gemeint, aber es ist schon so, dass sich in dieser Zeit sehr sehr viel um die Jagd dreht. (*One also always says, when its September, not much business can be done, most of the people are out hunting. Of course this is said a little bit ironic, but it is still like that, that a lot is revolves around (the) hunting*).

This statement although meant as a joke, clearly highlights the importance that hunting has in the canton of Graubünden. For others, hunting is something that is a tradition for their family:

> **H1:** With my family, my whole family hunts, well at least my dad, and all of his six brothers and sisters, they all hunt. And I hunt, my two sisters don't hunt, but they really like the meat, and a lot of friends, here in the Engadine, a lot of people hunt. Its… how you say… in every second family, [a] tradition.

However, despite hunting being seen as a traditional activity the hunting that is practiced in Graubünden today differs from the hunting practiced in the past. As one of the hunters points out for example, that the purpose of hunting has now changed. Where formerly hunting was about gathering food for survival, now hunting is more a 'hobby'. Essentially because one

does not need to hunt in order to live. He describes:

> **H1:** For the people, yea, because it is an old tradition, like 50 years ago they had to hunt to survive, and now going more into, like a hobby, because you don't hunt to live... anymore.

4.1.2 Being Environmental

As described on the official website of the canton of Graubünden, the long established tradition of hunting now takes place based on biological principles (Kanton Graubünden, 2012). For the hunters that took part in this study, hunting goes further than being just being compatible with wild biological principles. Hunting in this canton and indeed in the rest of Switzerland it is generally said to play an important role in wildlife management. One of the hunters explains:

> **H3:** … dann ist es noch wichtig, wir haben hier den Nationalpark, und wenn wir Jagd nicht hätten, hätten wir zu viel Hirsch, zu viel Reh. Also die Jagd ist nicht nur Hobby und schön, sondern auch noch wichtig weil wir reduzieren die Hirsch schon. (... *then it is also important, we have a National park here and if we didn't have hunting, we would have too many deer, too many roe deer. So hunting is not just a hobby and nice, but also important because we do in fact reduce the deer).*

Hunters in this study see hunting as a tool for wildlife management, which helps provides an important environmental service by regulating the population numbers of certain animals, namely deer and roe deer. Over-population of these animals can have negative effects on the protection forests (avalanche protection) from over-grazing. Furthermore, increased population numbers also increases the chances of disease and sickness in these animals groups (Schweizer Fernsehen, 2008). As one of the hunters describes, the need for regulation stems from a lack of traditional predators in this area, which would have kept the numbers of these animals in check in the past:

> **H2:** … Wir haben ja keine, jetzt noch nicht, Bären, Luchs und Wolf, und wenn es Überpopulationen gibt dann riskieren wir das die Schutzwälder in einem Winter zerstört werden, wenn Überbestände sind und das wäre nicht gut. Und zweitens gibt es dann viele Autounfälle, das ist auch nicht gut... *(... We don't have Bears, Lynx or Wolves here yet, and when overpopulation happens then we risk having the protection forests destroyed in one winter, when there is over stocking then that is not good...).*

These hunters believe that hunting is an appropriate answerer to the problem of over-population, in light of a lack of natural predators to regulate the population numbers of certain

animals, In this way, these hunters talk about themselves as regulators of the natural environment. A job that, according to them, someone else would have to do if they did not do it. This would, according to one hunter come with very high costs to the local canton:

> **H2:** … dort [in Genf] müssen die Wildhüter die Tiere reduzieren und sehr hohe Kosten für die Allgemeinheit, die Löhne für die Wildhüter und so weiter und die städtische Bevölkerung von Genf versteht je länger je weniger etwas vom Zusammenhang Natur, Menschen and Umwelt und so weiter. … (… *there (in Geneva) the game keepers have to reduce the animals and it has a very high cost for the public, the wage for the game keepers and so on, and the city population of Geneva understands less, the more (time) passes, of the relationship between nature, people, and the environment and so on ...*).

4.2 Personal Motivation and Meaning of Hunting

4.2.1 Family Tradition

For the majority of the participants in this study, getting started as a hunter came about thanks to an introduction from, or by participating in hunting with, family or friends. For some, this introduction came early in their life. For example one of the hunters (H1) described that he grew up with hunting: "... I grew up with hunting. I went with my dad (since I was) with two years in backpack, hunting. We had (the) gun, I was in the backpack, I just grew up with (it). It's a big part of my life." Indeed a number of the hunters accredited their involvement in hunting to their father, including hunters 5 and 6.

Another hunter (H4) describes how he would often join his friend while they hunted until one day he asked himself, why he himself did not hunt. Others describe becoming interested in hunting through their job. Hunter 4 explains that for his job he spends considerable time:

> **H4:** ... in der Wald, viel in der Natur, und zuerst wollte ich nicht jagen, weil ich bin viel mit dem Tieren, viel mit dem Wald unterwegs und dachte ich ja dass ist nichts, noch ein Hobby draussen und da hat es mich gepackt, ich sah dann die, die Abschusszahlen und das war sehr interessant. (… *in the forest lots, often in nature, and at first I didn't want to hunt because I am often with the animals, often about in the forest, and I thought that it was nothing for me, another outdoor hobby, and then it got me, I saw the hunting target numbers and that was very interesting*).

4.2.2 Social Life

Each of the hunts observed during the process of the data collection for this study culminated in all the participating hunters adjourning to a local pub to 'drink a beer', warm up and have a

chat. Although not strictly a part of the physical action of hunting, for many of the hunters involved in this study, socialising with other hunters forms an important part of why they hunt. This was also described by the hunters themselves on several occasions. For example one of the hunters (H2) spoke of having numerous good friends associated with hunting, and that they meet 7 or 8 times a year, during, as well as outside of the hunting season. For this hunter, the experiences of hunting fostered good friendship:

> **H2:** Weil ich mit der Zeit grosse Freude an der Jagd bekommen habe, vor allem mit Freunden auf einer Hütte während der Jagd leben, und auch in der freie Natur, und die Jagderlebnisse sind wunderbar, dass gibt gute Freundschaften, und wir essen dann das Fleisch zusammen machen Fondueparties, und mit den Frauen, und das ist, das gibt [eine] ganz gute Kollegenbande. *(Because with time I receive lots of joy from hunting, especially living up in the hut with friends during the hunt, and also outdoors (being outdoors), and the hunting experiences are wonderful, it fosters good friendships, and we eat the meat together, have fondue parties, and with the wives, makes a really good group of friends).*

Another participant went to great pains to point out that he is not a 'murder type' of hunter, the type that wants to kill as many animals as they can, and he pointed out that other aspects such as friendship and hut life were actually much more important to him. He went on to concede that killing was certainly a part of hunting, indeed the purpose, but for him hunting was made up of a number of different things and that the killing was merely on of those things:

> **H3:** ich bin ja nicht so ein Mördertyp, so der Jäger der, der möglichst viele Tier erlegen will, sondern ich bin ender (sic) der Typ der gerne auf die Jagd geht und wir haben eine Hütte hier im Tal und dann haben wir eine gute Kameradschaft mit den Jagdkollegen, dass gefällt mir gut, mir gefällt das Hüttenleben fast noch besser als die Jagd selber. *(I am not really a killer type, the type of hunter that wants to slays as many animals as possible, but rather I am more the type that likes to go out hunting, and we have a hut here in the valley and then we have a good camaraderie with the hunting colleagues, I really like that, I like the hut life almost better than the hunt itself).*

4.2.3 The Challenge

Throughout the course of the observed hunts, it was clearly apparent that hunting in canton Graubünden is not easy. On both of the hunts that were observed, the participants spent a relatively large amount of time preparing and strategizing. As well as this, a number of the target species were observed during the hunt, but neither of the two hunters was successful in

shooting their respective prey. Furthermore, and in part thanks to regulations forbidding the use of vehicles, on both observed hunts the participants were required to hike relatively long distances out of the main valley, well before dawn, in less than pleasant weather conditions. Reflecting on a hunt, one hunter describes some of the knowledge and experience that hunting requires:

> **H6:** Yeah know the land form, that's very important… the other guys here [points to the hunting group] they always go there hunting [where we were today], they know every trail, every little tree group or something, and they know ok… in there are deers, if they are [there], I have to go this way, they jump out this way, so I can shoot there … because it brings nothing if you go in the group of 3, and the deers jump out, and your in there and cant see where they go… so that's a little bit tricky.

It is clear that hunting is hard, but these difficulties do not appear to diminish the motivation of these hunters. Indeed, the difficulties or put differently, the challenges presented by hunting, actually appear to be part of the reason that they enjoy and take part in this activity. A example of this, shown by one of the hunters (H6), who expressly described that one of his main motivation for hunting was to take part in the "... Challenge zwischen Mensch und Tier." (… the challenge between humans and animals). For the other hunters in this study it is unclear whether the challenge provided by hunting is seen as one that is between humans and animals or between these individual and something else. It was clear, that 'challenge' is an important factor for all hunters in this study. For example, most of the hunters said that their favourite animal to hunt was the chamois (Gämse). They described this as a 'special hunt' or as being different, and most preferred it to all other types of hunts. For them, a key aspect to their enjoyment of this hunt was the degree of difficulty. One hunter (H1) described this hunt as follows:

> **H1:** Because it is a very special hunt. … you have to think a lot. It is a very hard hunt. You must know a lot about the animal, … Because there is exact regulations about what animal you can shoot, how old how big, everything is written in the regulations. It is a very time costly hunt. [when] … you go deer hunting, you sit down below a tree and wait… then shoot him… With Gämse [Chamois] you go and walk the whole day, you are in the mountains the whole day, then you see a Gämse, then its possible that you are in the same place for six, seven hours, you observe and look what you can shoot.

For this hunter in order to be successful in this particular hunt one has to overcome certain mental and physical challenges. As another hunter describes, the hunt for the chamois brings together a number of factors, which makes it both very challenging and exciting:

> **H4:** Es ist die Gebirgsjagd, ... Es ist eine Jagd die meistens im Gebirge stattfindet. Es ist

> verbunden mit eben wie gesagt der Beobachtung, mit dem Kennenlernen, mit dem Laufen, mit ... ja es sind so viele Faktoren, das Wetter spielt eine sehr sehr grosse Rolle, der Wind eine grosse Rolle, es sind viele Faktoren die zusammen kommen und das ganze sehr spannend machen. *(It is the mountain hunt.... It is a hunt that mostly takes place in the mountains (high up rocky parts). It brings together, as I said, the observation, with getting to know (the animal), with the walk, with… yeah, there are so many factors, the weather plays a very very big role, the wind a big role, there are many factors that come together and that makes it very exciting).*

It is likely that the sense of achievement from accomplishing something that they see as challenging is an important factor in their enjoyment of this specific hunt. As one of the hunters (H5) puts it "… Sonst ist es [die Jagd] ja langweilig wenn man einfach nichts macht." (… otherwise it [the hunt] is boring when one basically doesn't do anything). Clearly related to this, is the ideas put forward by another one of the participants (H6), that hunters should have to do something to get the animals. As he explains, hunting should not be easy, because one has to do something to deserve the animal that is killed:

> **H6:** ... its better if you don't can use the car, I think you have to do something to merit this animal, not just come out the car or sit in the car and shoot the animal…

4.2.4 Hunting and Nature: An Intimate Connection

The term 'nature', although seemingly clear at first glance, is a difficult term to come to grips with. It is used in a multitude of different ways, and indeed its meaning is often rather subjective. For all the hunters that participated in this study, 'nature' is closely associated with hunting. A common theme throughout all of the interviews was, that a key part of hunting is the chance to spend time in nature. As one of the hunters (H1) explains:

> **H1:** … I like to go hunting. One is outside with the nature, beautiful weather. Where I go hunting the cell phone doesn't work, no television, we cook with fire, no power, a little bit of holidays".

Indeed for a number of the hunters the motivation to hunt was strongly connected with being outside with nature. When asked why they currently hunted one of the participants answered:

> **H4:** Vor allem weil mich die Natur interessiert, es geht nicht nur um die Jagd. Und mich interessiert die Natur während dem ganzen Jahr. Ich kann zusätzlich eine hegerische Massnahme machen. Dass ich mithelfen kann die Natur, die Wildnis zu gestalten in einem gewissen Sinne. *(Primarily because I'm interested in nature, it's not just about hunting. And I'm interested in nature during the whole year. I can additionally take gamekeeper measures. That I can assist to in a sense shape nature, the wilderness).*

For this participant, nature is clearly an important reason for why he hunts and as he describes in the quote above, his interest in nature is not just about hunting. Furthermore, this participant also connects his motivation to hunt to the management of wild animals.
Another hunter also hinted that for him, nature was more important than the hunting itself:

> **H5:** Weil es mir in der Natur draussen gefällt, das Alleinesein, das Schauen. Nicht wegen dem Schiessen, sondern wegen den Tieren. Das ist ein bisschen nebenbei das Schiessen, aber am meisten wegen der Natur. (*Because I like being outside in nature, the aloneness, the looking. Not because of the shooting, but because of the animals. The shooting is a bit on the side, but mostly because of the nature*).

4.2.5 Freedom and Escape

Connected to the motivational theme of 'nature' is the theme of freedom. A number of the hunters described particularly enjoying the sense of freedom that they receive with hunting. Often this sense of freedom is intimately connected to ideas of escaping civilisation and getting away from the rigours of everyday life:

> **H3:** ... ich habe hier so viele Termin, ich muss am 9 das, um 10 das, am eins das, und auf der Jagd kannst du machen genau was du willst, die Freiheit, das ist das was mir gefällt. Die grosse Freiheit ist gewaltig, du kannst entscheiden, will ich jetzt hier sitzen und warten oder geh ich auf den Berg, geh ich zurück auf die Jagdhütte, keine Termine, kein Stress, das gefällt mir. *(What I especially like... I have so many appointments here, I have to do this at 9, that at 10, at 1 this, and when you go hunting you can do exactly what you want. The freedom is what I like. The freedom is immense, you can decide, I want to sit here now and wait or go up the mountain, or do I go back tho the hunting hut, no appointments (deadlines), no stress, I like that).*

4.2.6 Death and Respect

In the 'Schweizer Fernsehen' (2008) television program 'Einstein: Auf der Jagd', a reporter, in a conversation with a hunter, described hunters as having a strange relationship with the animals they hunt: " Man hat schon noch ein eigenartiges Verhältnis zum Tier, einerseits jagt man es, anderseits spüre ich hier einen sehr grossen Respekt (3.27min)". (One has a strange relationship with the animal, on the one side you hunt them, on the other I can feel that you have great respect for these animals). To this observation, the hunter replies that he thinks that one of the main duties of hunters is to respect animals and that ethics in hunting are very important:

> Das Tier als Lebewesen schätzen und auch dementsprechend bejagen. Also nicht einfach darauf los pulvern, sondern wirklich weidmännisch jagen, dass man sagen kann, man hat alles Mögliche getan, damit das Tier sauber getroffen worden ist und auch entsprechend schnell tot ist. (*to see the animal as a living being and to hunt it accordingly. Not to just shoot it, but rather really hunt sportsmanlike, so that one can say, one has done everything one can, so that the animal is shot cleanly and dies as quickly as possible*)(3.47min).

For the hunters that took part in this study respect for the animals they shoot was also important. One of the hunters (H4), for example, takes a very similar view to that which is described above. For him, the most important part of hunting is to have respect for nature. For him this respect is not only connected to seeing the animals as a living thing, or as he puts 'being conscious of nature', but also in being environmentally knowledgeable so that one can live with nature:

> **H4:** ... der wichtigste Teil [auf der Jagd] ist der Respekt zur Natur das ist für mich eigentlich das Wichtigste. Dass man sich bewusst ist was für ein Privileg die Bündner Hochjagd ist, aber vor allem auch, dass man sich zum ersten bewusst ist, und das zweite, dass man lernt mit der Natur umzugehen, dass man die Natur, das heisst die Pflanzen, die Bergewelt, die Steine, die Tiere lernt zu respektieren und mit der Natur lebt auch, ja. *(...the most important part of hunting is the respect for nature, this is for me in fact the most important. One should be conscious of the privilege that the Graubünden Hochjagd is, but first of all also, that one is conscious of nature, and secondly that one learns to handle (deal with) the nature, that means to learn to respect the plants, the mountain world, the rocks and to live with nature, too).*

Other hunters put more emphasis on being a skilful hunter. For them this includes correctly identifying the animals and their gender, deciding whether or not to shoot. As one of the hunter (H6) explains:

> **H6:** You always have a 50 percent [choice], I shoot or I don't shoot, I'm somebody who says, I'm not sure... so I don't shoot... other peoples they just, if they see something, they shoot.
>
> **Interviewer:** Why do you say that when your not sure, you don't shoot?
>
> **H6:** Because I don't want to pay a fine, (laughs), yeah that's the reason for it (laughs). And also... it gives you a bad image, if you shoot… its not ok if you shoot a cow with a calf, because after, the calf is alone, and [there is] probably for 90 percent [chance], it don't survive the winter... so I don't wanna shoot a cow with a calf.

For this hunter the choice whether or not to shoot has pragmatic (not getting a fine), social

(getting a bad image), and ethical (causing 'unnecessary' death) implications. Beyond choosing to shoot or not, the hunters also put importance on making a clean shot, or put another way, a quick kill. Similar to choosing to shoot or not, this also has both ethical and pragmatic reasons:

> **Interviewer:** Is that important (to make a quick kill)?
>
> **H1:** … for the animal, yeah. You kill something, so if he dies quickly, its nicer… Because if you hit him in the leg, you have to go get the dog, go do research [think about where the animal could have gone and or is likely to be], if you find him or not, its [a] 50/50 [chance]. So it's always good to make, place a good shot. For you, for the animal, and for the meat [bullet damaging the meat].

For another hunter (H6) respect for the hunted animal can be shown by conducting certain rituals after the animal has died. The first thing that he does when he gets to the dead animal is to take out a hip flask and take a sip of schnapps. He used the term 'palorma' to describe this ritual. The purpose of the 'palorma' is to salute or show a last honour to the hunted animal. For this hunter this ritual is of utmost importance and is a value that was passed down to him from his father. It seems that this ritual is widespread, during one of the observed hunts several of the hunters were seen taking a drink after an animal was killed. The same hunter (H6) also pointed out that he has other ways of showing respect to the animal. One of them being, the carrying of the animal down from the mountain, although this is not always possible:

> **H6:** If you hunt deers', ok you pull them down... but if I hunt a Gemse, I never would pull him down, always put him on the backpack…
>
> **Interviewer:** Why is that different?
>
> **H6:** I don't know... if I got a possibility to carry it, … if somebody shoots you then he drags you down the dirt, … It's not an honour for the deer to get pulled through the dirt.

4.2.7 Modern Hunter – Gatherers

While the actual killing of the animal was discussed above, what happens to the hunted animal once the hunter has brought it home is also of importance to the moral discussions that surround hunting. For one of the hunters (H5), when asked what he does with the hunted animals he simply replied: "ja mal sicher essen". (Yes, well of course you eat it). A similar sentiment was shown by all of the hunters in the study. For them, there was no question what one does with the animal one hunts: one eats it. As one hunter (H4) explained, the meat that cannot be consumed straight away is stored to be consumed during the rest of the year:

> **H4:** Also die Tiere verwerten wir selber, wir machen da sogenannte Metzg daraus, und verpflegen uns eigentlich während dem Jahr mit diesem Fleisch. (*Well we make use of the animal ourselves. We make a so called Metzg of them (usually this means when you have a day where you use everything of the animal and either eat it then or make it into sausages (blood and other) and prepare it to be stored) we really eat the meat over the course of the whole year.)*

Furthermore not only do the hunters eat the animals that they kill, some also butcher them themselves:

> **H1:** ... With the deers, I bring it to the butcher, because... the butcher does 70% or the cutting, then he brings... I go get him, and cut him up into pieces, and pack him how I like. And Gemse, ... I do on my own. Everything, because you need about half a day, to do... everything, to skin him and pack him up.

This hunter further points out that for him, hunting is not about commercial gain. He specifically points out that he does not like hunters selling the meat that they shot to restaurants and butchers.

> **H1:** "...And a lot of people, they go hunt... to make money. And that's what we don't want. Because a lot of people try to shoot a lot of deers, to sale [sell] them to the butcher or to the hotels, so they get a lot of money... That's not the sense that I learnt to hunt... If I shoot one deer, I'm happy. For me the hunting is not over but, I'll take it easier, and I'll say I got my meat for the winter. Maybe I shoot one or two Gämse [chamois] ... and then it's finished. … 80 % of the hunters ... well they don't do it on purpose for the money, but they just shoot whatever they can, and if you shoot 3 or 4 deers, and 2 or 3 Gämse [chamois], what are you doing? With all the meat... can't eat them... so you sell them to the butcher or whatever, to the hotels.

Above a number of the hunters pointed out that hunting today and hunting in the past is different because regardless wether a hunter today is successful or not, his family will still have enough to eat. Despite this food gathering is clearly still an important aspect of hunting in Graubünden, even if it doesn't have its past necessity.

4.2.8 The Importance of Being 'Outdoors'

As seen above, the majority of the hunters saw hunting as an opportunity to be outdoors. However hunting is not the only type of outdoor activity that these hunters take part in. Generally speaking they all take part in a broad array of different outdoor activities . A feature of these hobbies is, that they are often sport orientated. One of the hunters explains that along with hunting he has a number of other outdoor hobbies:

> **H2:** Ja, ein Haupthobby ist mit Ski und Fellen gehen, dann Langlauf, Bergsteigen und natürlich Skifahren und in Sommer Biken. (*Yes, a main hobby is to go with ski and skins (ski touring), then Nordic skiing, mountain climbing/ hiking and of course skiing and in summer (mountain) biking*).

The large portion of their free time spent participating in these sorts of outdoor activities, indicates a clear fondness for being outside. As one of the hunters describes it:

> **H4:** ... ich bin also sehr naturverbunden, eigentlich schon immer gewesen und gestalte meine Freizeit eigentlich im Freien in der Natur. (*Yes, yes, I am very close to nature. I've really always already been and I arrange my free time usually outside in the nature*).

4.3 Rules and Regulations: Evolved Environmental Management

Overall, all participants spoke relatively positively about the regulations and rules that govern hunting practices in canton Graubünden. One hunter (H4) for example said: "Ich denke der Kanton Graubünden hat ein sehr sehr gutes ... Jagdverordnung. …, ich möchte sagen in Europa vorbildlich und man sieht auch den Erfolg" (I think the canton of Graubünden has a very very good … hunting regulation. …, I would like to say in Europe it is exemplary, and one also sees the success). It is fair to say that the hunters in this study accept the rules and regulations implemented by the canton of Graubünden. The key reason that they accept the cantonal regulations is because they see that the overall aim of these regulations is to sustain the wild game populations. This has not always been the case. According to the participants, the hunting regulations in the past were much less precise and strict, which resulted in a number of animals such as the Ibex becoming practically extinct due to over-hunting.

> **H3:** Ja, ich war eben vor 20 Jahren ... war ich nicht Freund von der Jagdregelung, da wurden die schönsten Tier geschossen, die stärksten Tier, und das ist ja nicht im Sinne der Natur, darum wurde ich damals nicht sofort Jäger. Und eben jetzt haben wir seit ungefähr 10/15 Jahre die Jagdplanung, und das ist eine gute Sache, das ist auch ein Grund weil [warum] ich jetzt auf die Jagd gehe, also wir gehen im Moment mit unserem Gesetz sehr nachhaltig auf die Jagd, also das ist für mich eine gute Sache das stimmt so. (*Yes, it was (like) 20 years ago … I was not a friend of the hunting regulations. There the best animals were shot, the strongest animals, and that is not in the sense of nature, as a result I didn't become a hunter straight away back then. And now, we have had the hunting strategy for around 10/15 years, and this is a good thing, and this is also the reason why I go hunting now, so at the moment with our rules, we hunt very sustainably, so for me this is a good thing, it's right like this*).

For this hunter and indeed all the participants in this study, the evolution of the hunting rules and regulations described in section 2.4.2 are clearly seen as positive. So much so, that at least for this hunter, it apparently played an important role in why he decided to become a hunter.

Most of the hunting regulations in Canton Graubünden are designed to protect the animal population. In regards to this, it is particularly interesting to see whom it is that the animals need protection from. All the participants of the study outlined a strong belief that hunting needs to be regulated.

> **H2:** Ja das muss man, weil sonst, wenn man nur mit der Vernunft agieren würde, und ein Appell an Ethik und an Verantwortung des Jägers, denn wären es vielleicht fünf oder 10 Prozent die sich daran halten würden, aber 90 Prozent würde ich jetzt einmal schätzen die schiessen alles was kommt, wird einfach alles geerntet. Und das gäbe dann grosse Eingriffe in die Populationen die nicht gut wären. *(Yes this is a must, because otherwise if you try and work with reason, and appeal to the ethics and responsibility/ accountability of the hunter, then there would be maybe 5 or 10 percent who would follow the rules, But 90 percent I reckon would shoot everything they see, and everything would harvested. And there would be a large impact on the population, this would not be good).*

Apart from pointing out the importance of regulations in hunting, these comments highlight a high level of distrust in other hunters. Similar concerns were evident in the majority of the participants. Indeed there appears to be a lack of trust on the part of the participating hunters, that all hunters would act in a 'good' way should these rule not exist. It transpires, that what the animals need protecting from, are in fact the hunters themselves. This mistrust of hunters in general (but maybe also themselves) may have historical roots. As described above, many animal populations were negatively affected by hunting in the past, or as one hunter (H4) put it: hunters just shot too much.

In speaking about the rules and why people might not follow them, one of hunters described a possible reason for someone to do something outside of the rules. This participant pointed out that hunters might feel pressure to be successful to not be seen as a 'bad hunter' by the community.

> **H2:** …wenn die drei Wochen Jagd im Ende sich neigen, man hat noch nichts geschossen dann ist man in der Gesellschaft ein bisschen ein schlechter Jäger, …, weil jeder der einen trifft frägt [fragt] was hast du geschossen, und man sagt: noch nichts, dann gibt es so viel Druck dass man halt auch auf unerlaubte Tiere schiesst. (*When the 3 weeks of hunting are almost over and one has not yet shot anything, then one is a little bit of a bad hunter within the community, because everyone you meet asks what you have shot, and if*

one says: nothing yet, then there is so much pressure that one also just shoots an unpermitted animal).

For this hunter, the moral and social pressure by the community to not be seen as a poor hunter could mean that a person might shoot whatever they see, regardless of the legality of it. A similar concern was pointed out in the recent television documentary 'Einstein: Auf der Jagd' (Schweizer Fernsehen, 2008). A ranger from Graubünden described that when hunters get to the end of the hunting season and they have not yet shot something, the risk that they will shoot an unpermitted animal becomes much higher.

However, for a number of the hunters, social pressure works both ways. A number of the participants pointed out that social pressure also helps ensure that the hunting rules are followed correctly. Because there are so many hunters in the relatively small area of this canton it is hard to do something without somebody seeing you do it.

> **H3:** ... wir haben in Kanton Graubünden fast 6000 Jäger, also in diesem Jahr sind glaub 5300 auf die Jagd gegangen, und das sind ja nicht alles Freunde, und da wenn du irgend einen Schuss hörst dann beobachtest du sofort und darum ... da ist die Anzeige der anderen Jäger (ist) sofort da, also das geht ja gar nicht ohne. (*... we have almost 6000 hunters in canton Graubünden, this year I think that 5300 went hunting, and they are not all friends, and when you hear a shot then you immediately observe and therefore..., the complaint from other hunters is immediately there, it really doesn't work without*).

For this reason that the majority of the participants of this study this is the main reason that most hunters generally follow the rules and do not shoot unpermitted animals.

Despite this general acceptance of the hunting rules and regulations, some of the hunters did point out a number of what they considered to be small areas of concerns with the ways that hunting is regulated in Graubünden. For example, the complexity of the rules is seen to take out some of the freedom that is associated with hunting:

> **H4:** Man kann sich sicherlich über einige Punkte, ist man sicher nicht immer einig. Wenn ich jetzt mit älteren Jägern spreche verstehe ich sie zum Teil wenn sie sagen sie gehen nicht mehr so gerne auf die Jagd, sie hätten nicht mehr die Freiheit, weil sie fast mit dem Gesetz in der Hand auf die Jagd gehen müssen. (*One can definitely about some points…(where) one obviously does not always agree. When I talk with the older hunters I understand in part when they say they don't like to go hunting that much anymore, that they no longer have the freedom, because they have to almost have to go hunting with the rules (rulebook) in their hand)*.

A specific problem that one of the hunters (H5) voices about the rules is being being allowed

to shoot deer calves and deer with milk during the special Extrajagd but not during Hochjagd. This is a bit as he put it: 'daft'. He points out that when one shoots a deer with milk one is possibly killing three animals as they might have a calf from last summer as well as being pregnant. A number of the other hunters point out similar concerns.

4.4 A Mostly Natural (National) Park

The Swiss National park is located in the South-eastern corner of canton Graubünden, in the Engadine valley, near the villages of Zernez and Scuol (see Fig. 5). The National park covers a total area of 170.3 km², which is made up of a mixture of forests, alpine meadows and rock environments. These environments boast a broad range of different species ranging from a sizable population of red deer to around 5000 different species of invertebrates. The national park was founded on the 1st of August 1914 and since then has belonged to the highest category of nature reserves. This means that in this national park, it is forbidden for visitors to leave the path, to light fires, to leave rubbish, to pick up or leave objects and to camp, among a number of other limitations. This strong protection is said to result in "…Nature (is) left to her own devices, without hindrance, or human intervention" (Swiss National Park, 2010a).

The majority of the hunters that took part in this study visit this national park between one or three times per year. The main reason for the visits is that it offers a unique chance to view a substantial number of animals at close range. As one of the hunters explains, the Val Trupchun (a valley in the national park) has the highest number of animals in a unfenced area, of any region in Europe. For the hunters, the chance to see large numbers of animals such as red deer, especially during mating season (known as the rut) is quite an experience. One hunter explains:

> **H2:** Weil die Hirschbrunft im Nationalpark ist etwas eindrückliches und da führe ich häufig Leute die die Hirschbrunft noch nie gehört haben und noch nie die Hirsche, so viele Hirsche so nah gesehen haben. Da kann [man] mit zwei Stunden wandern 300 Hirsche sehen auf 150 Meter Distanz, das ist schon eindrücklich darum. (*Because the deer rut in the national park is something impressive and I frequently guide people there, that have never heard the rut and never seen so many deer so close. There you can walk for 2 hours and see 300 deer at 150 meters distance, that is impressive*).



Figure 4: Location of National Park in Graubünden, Switzerland (Swiss national park, 2010b)

Another hunter believes that they are lucky to have the National park this close and he describes that he is always amazed to hear that other locals have never been to visit, as he considers it to be a really beautiful and impressive thing.

One the other hand, one of the hunters did not share the other's high opinion of the national park. He describes that even though it is not fenced in and the animals that live there are generally considered to be wild, it still feels like a zoo:

> **H1:** Too many animals, its like a zoo. I don't like that. If I go in there and see 500 (animals) in 200 meters. And there are 300 deers in there, and that's not right… if they stand one beside the other. That's not good.

The majority of the hunters also felt that the national park had a high level of importance specifically for this region, but also for Switzerland. Not only does the region benefit significantly from tourism generated by the national park, but the area also offers considerable protection for the wildlife in Graubünden. One of the hunters describes this:

> **H4:** Also der Nationalpark hat sicherlich einen sehr hohen Stellenwert für die Region. Ich sage jetzt mal touristisch ist es etwas vom Grössten im Engadin. Und ist auch wichtig als Rückzugsgebiet für die Tiere, dass man sieht dass eine intakte Natur eigentlich noch [sich

> selbst] überlassen werden kann. Und für mich persönlich ist das sehr sehr wichtig; wobei ich nicht unbedingt ein Befürworter bin, dass ein Nationalpark jetzt vergrössert würde. Weil das hat sicherlich Vor- und Nachteile. Ich denke so wie die Situation jetzt ist, ist es sicherlich nicht schlecht. (*Well the national park has certainly a very high significance for the region. I'd say for the tourism it is one of the biggest things (the best) in the Engadine. And it is also important as an area of retreat for the animals, also that one sees that an intact nature can actually still be left to its own device. And for me this is very very important; in saying that, I am not an absolute supporter, that a national park is enlarged. Because this certainly has advantages and disadvantages. I think, how the situation is now, it is certainly not bad*).

Furthermore, as a number of the hunters pointed out, the establishment of an area that is without human influences offers considerable research possibilities. As described by one of the hunters, the national park offers the chance to see what the alps would look like without humans, and it also offers the chance to compare disturbed (by humans) environments with undisturbed environments to analyse the effect that people are having on the natural environment in the alpine areas.

> **H2:** Ja, für die Forschung und ein Stück Natur fast unbeeinflusst durch den Menschen erhalten zu können, eben für Forschungen wenn man ausserhalb des Parks etwas untersucht wo der Mensch Einfluss hat, sagen wir die Landwirtschaft oder die Forstwirtschaft oder die Störungen im Winter mit Schneeschuhen oder Variantenfahren oder im Sommer Biker, Jagd, und als Vergleich Nationalpark ohne Jagd, ohne Biker, ohne Störungen auch ohne Wild im Winter da man kann gute Vergleiche für die Forschung gewinnen. (*Yes, for the research and to conserve a piece of nature that is almost uninfluenced by humans, especially for the research, when one examines places outside the park where humans have influence, for example the agriculture or the forestry or the disturbances by snow shoes or tour skiing in winter, or biking in summer, hunting. And in comparison the national park, without hunting, without bikers, without disturbances, also without wild animals in winter, there one can make good comparisons for research).*

4.5 The Difficult/Delightful Wolf

According to KORA (2010) there has not been a resident wolf in the focus area of this study up to now. However as wolves often travel throughout the alps without being identified (or often only after carcases are found) it seemed appropriate to ask the hunters whether they felt

that there was currently a wolf living in their region. Because they themselves or their friends often spend a considerable amount of time outdoors, they could have come across signs of wolves in the area that had not been noticed otherwise. The majority of hunters seemed to think that at least right now there was no wolf living in their area. But more than one hunter pointed out that there have been some wolves in the past, however, they only seemed to be travelling through. All participants seemed to have a good knowledge of where and when wolves were seen in the past and were able to give numerous examples. That been said, one hunter strongly believed that there were wolves in this area it was just because they were so shy, that they were rarely seen.

Despite all this knowledge about the sightings, none of the participants had seen a wolf themselves. One of the hunters (H4) however, told a story about his son seeing a wolf 4 or 5 years ago.

> **H4:** mein Junge und eine Bekannte sind am Abend nach Hause gekommen ... und haben gesagt sie hätten einen Wolf gesehen oder einen grossen Hund, einen Wolferhund… da unten ... auf der Loipe. … und in der Nacht hat ein Freund der die Loipen macht mit Loipenmachen einen Wolf gesehen,... und hat dann dem Wildhüter angerufen und etwa 5 Minuten den Wolf gesehen im Scheinwerferlicht. Dann ist der Wildhüter gekommen und sie haben die Spuren gefunden... Aber er war auf Durchgang und hat man nicht mehr gesehen nachher. ... Also ich bin überzeugt es hat Wölfe obwohl wir das gar nicht merken. Da sie sehr scheu sind eigentlich. (*my son and a friend came home one night ... and said that they had seen a wolf or a big dog, a wolferdog. ... down there on the Loipe (cross-country ski run). And that night, a friend of mine who makes the Loipe saw a wolf while he was making the run ... and he called the game ranger and he had the wolf in the headlights for about 5 minutes. Then the game ranger came and they found tracks ... But it was passing through, it wasn't seen again ... Well I'm certain that there are wolves around without us being aware of them. They are really shy, really*).

The fact that these hunters belief that there has been wolves in their region in the past appears not to affect their outdoor behaviour. Indeed all participants were quite certain that even if the wolf returned for good, their behaviour would not change. This seems to indicate that they do not have concerns about their personal safety in regards to wolves. As one of the hunter pointed out, he would consider himself lucky just to see a wolf:

> **H2:** Nein, weil um, ich weiss dass die Tiere ... es so scheu sind, man wird froh sein können wenn man überhaupt einmal einen Bären oder einen Wolf sieht, ... no Problem. (*No, because I know that the animal is so shy, one would be lucky if one could actually see a bear or a wolf once. ... no problem).*

As described in the state of the art section, the wolf is often seen to create problems for hunters in Switzerland, with hunters tending to take a opposing view in the ongoing public discussion about the place of the wolf. However in this study the majority of the hunters appear to react positively to the possibility of the wolf returning. For example one of the hunters (H4) described feeling very excited and fascinated when he learnt that a wolf had passed through close to where he lived. He went on to say that his first thought was: "… wow cool, wir haben Natur, wir haben Wildnis …" (we've got nature, we've got wilderness). Another (H1) refers to himself as a Befürworter (advocate), as someone that is not against the wolf or any other large carnivores returning. Another still (H5) points out that these animals (such as the wolf, lynx and the bear) have to live somewhere so he does not have a problem with their return, as they were here before. Another one of the hunters described his feelings towards the wolf as follows:

> **H3:** Der kommt sicher und ich freue mich wenn er kommt, da habe ich Freude, ja, obwohl ich Jäger bin, bin ich natürlich auch Naturfreund, ... und ich hätte wirklich Freude wenn der Wolf kommen würde. *(They will surely come, and I am looking forward to them coming. I'm glad, even though I am a hunter, I am of course also a nature lover, ... and I would be very delighted if the wolf would come).*

While majority of the participants were in favour of the re-colonisation of the wolf, a small number outlined concerns. One participant (H6) in particular was not in favour of a return, based on a perceived lack of space. He pointed out that he did not have anything against the wolf, but just thought that Graubünden was not big enough to have both people and the wolf living there at the same time. It is possible that this participant's occupation (a farmer) was a factor in this opinion. In this case it is difficult to tell where this concern comes from: Is it concern for the activity of hunting (through increased competition for prey)? or is it concern for a loss of livelihood (wolf killing domesticated animal)? It is interesting to note that the other farmer participant (H5) also described livelihood concerns but had a more pragmatic perspective regarding the wolf's presence. He believed that a re-colonisation would create a number of difficulties for people in this region but figured, that it had as much right to life and food as humans do. Particularly, because as he described, the wolf was probably here before us.

The idea that the return of the wolf will cause difficulties to the people in the region was present throughout all of the interviews. Most highlighted the problems that the wolf could cause to local hunting and agriculture. However one participant (H2) also pointed out the

possible economic impact a pack of wolves could have on the National Park:

> **H2:** ...wenn sie aber im Rudel kommen, und zum Beispiel im Val Trupchun wo die 300 Hirsche sind, 2 / 3 Wolfe, dann fressen sie vielleicht ein paar Kälber, und alle Hirsche sind weg für immer, und touristisch gesehen ist das ein riesen Schaden, dann kommt niemand mehr nach S-chanf und ins Engadin, der ganze wirtschaftliche Effekte des Nationalparks er wäre dahin. (… *when they come in a pack for example in the Val Trupchun, where there are 300 deer, 2/ 3 wolves maybe eat a few calves and then all the deer will be gone forever. From a touristic point of view, that is a large damage, then nobody will come to S-chanf anymore, and the Engadine. The whole commercial effect of the national park would be lost*).

For most of the hunters the fact that the return of the wolf is likely to cause hardships to local community means, that the chance of the wolf and people actually being able to live together is difficult to predict. For on hunter (H2) such a possibility is, at least for the moment, unlikely:

> **H2:** ... das wird schwierig für den Wolf... vielleicht aber... vielleicht mit den Jahren, aber jetzt im Moment sicher nicht... es hat viele die etwas dagegen haben. Und ja jetzt im Wallis hatte es ja immer wieder 1 / 2 gehabt, die sind immer wieder geschossen worden. Von dem her glaube ich im Moment sicher nicht. Aber später wer weiss... *(This will be hard (difficult) for the wolf... maybe but… maybe with the years, but now, at the moment, definitely not… there are too many that are against it. And now in Wallis there has been 1 or 2 again and again, they were always shot. Saying that, I think at the moment, certainly not, but later, who knows).*

For this hunter, and indeed all the hunters involved in this study, a major factor in the success of the wolf re-colonisation is the acceptance from those that live in a (possible) wolf habitat. This is perhaps no surprise when one considers that it was these communities who initially caused the extinction of it (Breitenmoser, 1998). However the implication of this is, that if people do not want the wolf, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, for it to survive in the region. Particularly interesting therefore, is the perspective pointed out by one of the hunters (H4), that describes conflict between humans and wolves as being a human problem. He explains:

> **H4:** ... ich sage mal, der Mensch ist sich gar nicht mehr gewohnt mit Situationen umzugehen, wie ein Wolf oder einem Bären. ... ich habe den Eindruck eben, dass die Menschen das Problem haben und nicht die Tiere... dass der Mensch sich gar nicht mit dem auskennt, was für Einflüsse das man hat auf die Tiere, aber die Tiere ich denke, die Tiere als solches hier ... ein Wolf könnte leben, bin ich überzeugt, auch vom Lebensraum

> her. ... Es ist klar, die Bauern zum Beispiel, die Schafbauern oder auch Viehbauern, haben nicht so Freude daran, aber ich denke wir Menschen müssen oder müssten wieder lernen umzugehen mit dieser Situation. Und nicht umgekehrt... *(... well I think the problem are not the wild animal, the problem is the human. We can't I'll say, the human is not used to situation like this anymore, like with a wolf or a bear. ... I have the impression that it's the human that has the problem not the animals ... humans are not familiar with it anymore, what type of influence one has on the animals ... a wolf could live here I'm convinced, also looking at the habitat… It is clear, the farmers for example, the sheep farmers or also the cattle farmers, are not that happy about it, but I think we humans have to, or should learn to deal with this situation again. And not the other way around).*

For this hunter it is the human that has a problem and not the wolf. He argues that the wolf can live in many areas but what will stop it from doing so is the people. If people want to keep the wolf, then it is people that will need to adapt to the new situation. What this adaption might actually look like was unclear, but as another hunter (H3) pointed out, that it would likely include changes in agricultural practices, such as sheep flocks being continuously supervised.

5. Discussion

5.1 'Recreational' Environmental Management

Hunting is often split into three distinctive categories: Commercial, subsistence and recreation. These different categories are distinguished by their purpose. For example subsistence and commercial hunting have the purpose of providing a living (either food or money) for the hunter. The purpose of recreational hunting is to obtain personal enjoyment or pleasure (Curnutt, 1996; Leader- Williams, 2009). The hunting described by the participants of this study has a strong correlation to recreational hunting. The participants of this study make a similar distinction as above, between the types of hunting that occurred in the past and the type of hunting they participate in today. Where as in the past people hunted to survive (subsistence hunting), now hunting can be seen primarily as a hobby. Although, hunters today are still gathering food, it is more a supplement or a speciality than a main source of food.

Throughout the course of this project it was also evident that the hunters enjoyed the activity of hunting, and most of them wished that they could spend more time pursuing it. Another sign of hunting being perceived as a hobby by these hunters was the fact that they were willing to pay a considerable amount of money to participate in this activity. For example, money needs to be spent on equipment such as outdoor clothing and weaponry as well as annual permits to be able to hunt.

However such descriptions of recreational hunting have inherent dangers, as Marvin (2010) points out. When one considers that the purpose of recreational hunting is to obtain personal pleasure or enjoyment, it is not such a large leap to assume that the pleasure of hunting comes directly from killing animals or that the killing of the animal is a important part of hunting. However, this understanding of hunting is too simplistic (Marvin, 2010). As famously described by Ortega y Gasset (2007):

> Death is essential because without it there is no authentic hunting: the death of the animal is its natural end and finality: that of the hunt in itself, not that of the hunter. The hunter endeavours to achieve this death because it is the sign which gives truth to the whole hunting process, nothing more. In summary, one does not hunt in order to kill, but rather the reverse, one kills in order to have hunted. (p. 105)

For the present study this point has considerable relevance. A key feature of the hunters' description of the practice of hunting was, that although the killing of wild animals is the

overall aim, the actual doing so is not required in order for personal pleasure or enjoyment to be obtained from hunting. The hunters in this study enjoyed many different aspects of hunting. They enjoyed spending quality time with friends and family, they enjoyed spending time out in nature, and they enjoyed the challenges associated with hunting. Distinctly absent within the discussions about their motivations and enjoyment was the topic of the killing of the animal. Those that did speak about it often did so to explain that hunting was not just about the shooting or the killing, but that it was much bigger than that. For example, one hunter described that he hunted in order to spend time in 'nature' and that the shooting of the animal was a secondary aspect.

Further complicating the concept of hunting, the participants in this study, went to considerable lengths to point out that hunting was not just about recreation. For them, hunting in Graubünden and indeed in the whole of Switzerland, plays an important role in the management and protection of the natural environment. All the hunters strongly believed that the natural environment needed to be effectively and efficiently managed and that hunting was a way to do this. Current environmental thought does indicate that knowledgeable and well-regulated hunting can be effective in regulating and managing certain animal species (Dickson, 2009). The participants appear to view hunting as both: an enjoyable hobby, and way of protecting and managing the natural environmental. Indeed it appears that the hunters perceive themselves as environmental managers. Particularly important for this perception is the development of the rules and regulations that govern hunting in Graubünden. As see in Section 2.4.2, the development of these regulations has changed the activity of hunting so that it now plays an important role in sustaining and protecting the natural environment of the entire canton.

5.2 Natural Nature?

Soper (1995) describes that the word 'nature' "…is one of the most complex words in language" (p.1). This is because it can be used in multiple ways and to describe multiple things (Castree, 2001). Attempting to make sense of this concept is therefore particularly difficult. As Soper (1995) explains: "It [nature] is at once both very familiar and extremely elusive" (p.1). Nonetheless, understanding how people (in this case hunters) view nature both as a concept and in relation to themselves is of particular interest when attempting to describe their environmental ethics.

When describing their motivations to hunt and what they were doing while they hunted, a number of the hunters spoke about enjoying being 'outside' in nature. This use of the words ‘outside’ and ‘nature’ together form a way of describing where it is, that nature can be found. It seems to indicate that the location of nature is not ‘here inside with us’ but rather ‘out there somewhere’. Furthermore, the hunters also connected the term nature to ideas of freedom and escape. The journeys that they make while hunting or while participating in other outdoor hobbies are seen as escaping from the rigours of everyday life (such as meetings and deadlines) by entering nature. This mode of reference highlights that these hunters make a difference between civilisation, the place in which they live, work and interact with other people, and nature, where they can get away from all that.

Apart from describing nature with subjective aspects such as freedom and escaping civilisation, the hunters also described nature in more objective ways, similar to generally accepted ecological and biological thought. This was particularly evident when the hunters talked about their role in the management of the natural environment. They used an array of biological terms and concepts such as population (‘Wildbestände’), forest borders (‘Waldgrenze’), to regulate (‘regulieren’), and to regenerate (‘verjüngern’). Included in this way of speaking are ideas about how nature works. One of the hunters describes how he understands nature working when talking about the wolf returning to the area:

> **H1:** Because with the wild animals, its not a problem. Its not like if we had one or two wolfs, we don’t have anymore deers. Because that is the nature… it regulates… on its own. Same thing in the winter… if you have a strong winter, a lot of deers die. And two years later you have (a lot more). And if you have the wolf, and he kills every month a deer, the next year they do (are) more, more little deers. Its nature … Kreislauf [cycle] …

For this hunter, nature is an interconnected circle where all aspects, including the wolf and the deer, are connected within. Other hunters speak about nature having a sense. A sense in that the strong live and the weak die.. Referring to nature in this way implies that nature is a not only made up of a number of different animals and plants but also has certain process which binds all these elements together.

A number of the hunters described both positive and negative effects that people have had, or are having on in the natural environment. For these hunters, examples of positive effects included regulating certain animal species through hunting as well as the creation of the national park. Negative affects included overhunting and a various array of human disturbances of nature:

> **H2:** ...gerade da ... mit der Schneeschuhläufern, mit Variantenfahrern, Langläufern, Hundbesitzer, Ornithologen, Reiter, Segelflieger, es gibt so viele Störelemente, ... (*... here ... especially with snow shoe walkers, with back country skiers, Nordic skiers, dog owners, bird watchers, riders, gliders, there are so many elements of disturbance*).

The use of the terms regulation (as above) and disturbance here is interesting and strengthens the theory that the hunters see themselves and indeed all of human society as being separate from nature. A discussed above, most of the hunters see nature as being made up of individual aspects which are joined together by an number of natural process. However by using words such as disturbance as well as regulation, it is unlikely that they see themselves as being part of that process. Indeed the word regulation, particularly in the context of conservation (as it was often used), implies much more of an interested but ultimately unattached observer role than a member of the natural environment.

Connected to this type usage of the term 'nature', a number of the participants spoke of 'wilderness'. For example one participant (H4) described an interest in 'shaping nature'. "Dass ich mithelfen kann die Natur, die Wildnis zu gestalten in einem gewissen Sinne" (That I can assist to shape nature, the wilderness, in a sense). For this participant it is clear that 'nature' and 'wilderness' are two closely connected terms. As noted by Castree (2001) 'wilderness' is a term that is often seen to be fundamentally opposed to the term 'civilisation'. This participant also used the term wilderness in a description of his feelings when he realised that a wolf had passed through his valley. He said:

> **H4:** Es war sehr spannend. Ich denke es war, ja zuerst habe ich gedacht, wow cool, wir haben Natur, wir haben Wildnis und ich fand das sehr spannend. *(It was very exciting. I think it was, well at first I thought wow cool, we've got nature, we've got wilderness and I found that fascinating)*.

This description shows that for this participant the wolf conjures up ideas of nature and wilderness. It seems that for him the nature of his region changes when something is added. The appearance of the wolf makes local nature into local wilderness. For him this change is positive.

Both in the interviews and during the observations, the hunters spent a considerable portion of time talking about 'nature'. Throughout these discussions, the use of this term and the context in which it was used, varied widely and appeared to cross subjective (connected to personal experiences and meanings) and more objective (following excepted ecological and biological thinking) boundaries. A number of characteristics regarding the hunters concept of 'nature'

were visible. These included describing themselves as going outside into nature and describing how this nature works. The characteristics appear to add up to form a concept of nature that correlates with the concept of external nature (Castree, 2001; Demeritt, 2002). Castree (2001) described the concept of external nature as a perspective that sees nature as being external and different from society. Such an understanding of nature is, as Castree points out, summed up in the term 'natural environment'.

Through this analysis of the use of the term 'nature', it has become clear that the participants of this study see the forest, all the animals (including the deer they shoot and the returning wolf) and the processes that hold all of them together as something they refer to as 'nature'. Furthermore, the hunters perceive this nature to be a stand-alone object, which exists outside of civilisation. It also has processes that regulate and controls the different species that live within it. However the nature that is described here does not easily correlate to the nature that the hunters perceive to exist in their region. Having establishing the need for hunting to regulate their local region, it seems that the hunters believe that this nature there, is not particularly intact, untouched or indeed 'natural'. The hunters point out numerous disturbances that society has had on the local environment. This begs the question, whether an environment that is so disturbed by human influences can still be nature? In other words, does the natural environment have to be 'natural' to be considered nature? For one of the hunters (H3), nature is nature regardless of its 'naturalness':

> **H3:** Das ist schon wirklich Natur, aber ja, das war ja vor zweihundert Jahren noch nicht so, oder. Dort wurde der Wald gerodet, also der Wald ist nicht Urwald. Das ist ein Wald der vor eben 100/ 150 Jahren vom Menschen gepflegt und genutzt wurde, vor allem genutzt. Und auch die Tiere, dort hatte es ja auch vor 150 Jahren, hatte es dort keine Hirsche, also das ist jetzt schon ein wenig künstlich. (*This is really nature, but yes, this was not the case 200 years ago, or. There the forest was cleared, so the forest is not virgin forest. This is a forest that just 100/ 150 years ago was cultivated and used by people, … And also the animals, 150 years ago there weren't any deer, so it is now a little artificially*).

For this hunter, the wildlife in the national park is clearly 'nature', but points out that this was not always the case. It seems that the area where the national park is, has gone through a relatively recent development, from agricultural land to forest, and is now an example of untouched natural 'nature'. This is despite the fact that, as one hunter (H1) puts it, there are now over 300 deer in the park, which makes it feel a bit like a zoo.

5.3 Hunter – Nature Relationship

5.3.1 Close and Caring

When one reflects on the hunting experience as these hunters describe it, one can see a considerable amount of intensity and intimacy in their relationship to the animals they shoot and the location in which this interaction takes place. For example, imagine: You are alone in a forest intently preparing for an animals to appear: and then you see it, … you identify it, … you shoot it, … you watch it die, … you salute it (drink the palorma), … you carry it home, … you prepare it to eat it. The hunter's interaction with nature is specific and particular, it cannot be achieved through any other activity (be it hiking, skiing, foraging and sailing) (Marvin, 2005). As Cavalhedo Reis (2009) explains: "These engagements involve an embodied encounter with nonhuman animals that is rich in meanings and sensualities in ways that few other recreational activities are able to provide" (p. 574). It is of little surprise then, that the hunters that took part in this study see themselves as having a close relationship with nature. For the hunters the activity of hunting provides them with the opportunity to spend much of their time in nature. It also provides them with the opportunity to learn about the animals they hunt as well as many other animals and plants that live in their local region.

Through this interaction, the relationship that the hunters have with nature looks very caring and concerned about the welfare of it. A strong feature in the interviews was how much these hunters enjoyed 'nature'. This enjoyment of nature went some distance beyond hunting. Indeed the relationship often sounds environmental conscious, as several of the participants referred to themselves as 'nature lovers'. Strengthening this perspective of themselves, is the fact that the majority of these hunters accept, and in some cases are enthusiastic about the wolf and other predators returning to their region. Despite the fact that such a return could have a negative impact on the activity of hunting. Furthermore, people who go out and get some of their food from nature they are being somewhat self-sufficient. People who supplement their food supplies from nature rather than from a supermarket do have a closer relationship nature (Cahoone, 2009).

5.3.2 'Loving – Killing' and Other such Paradoxes

Despite the above described care and connectedness, for 21 days in September, these 'nature lovers' go out and kill wild animals for reasons that are, at least in some way, associated with personal pleasure. This seems paradoxical. How is it that these hunters talk about themselves as lovers of nature on the one hand, but on the other hand actively destroy a part of the very

nature they love? Killing is almost always perceived as a violent and destructive action and is rarely associated with ideas of love and caring. Such a relationship is likely to be complex and difficult to come to grips with. For example, as described above, many of the hunters interact with nature all year round and consider themselves to have a very strong connection to this nature. Indeed they often describe that they enjoy observing the animals throughout the year. However, living in an area where such animals are hunted and being hunters themselves, they know that is it reasonably likely that they or someone else may kill the animal that they have observed and maybe even admired at other times. This topic was also discussed in the 'Einstein: Auf der Jagd' (Schweizer Fernsehen, 2008) television program:

> **Interviewer:** Hat man als Jäger eigentlich die Tiere gern? *(Does one as a hunter like animals?)*
>
> **Hunter:** Ja gern, das ist noch schwierig. Man schätzt sie. Ich denke schon, irgendwie kann man so ein Wildtier auch gern bekommen, also jetzt in meinem Fall, wenn ich immer ins Asyl hinüber schaue, und immer die gleichen Hirsche sehe, muss ich jetzt ganz ehrlich sein, bin ich eigentlich fast froh wenn sie die Jagd überleben. Sie müssen nicht unbedingt geschossen werden. *(Like, this is hard to say. One values them. I do think, somehow you can get to like a wild animal like that, now in my case, when I always look over to the asylum (nature reserve), and always see the same deer, if I am really honest, I am almost glad if it survives the hunt. They don't particularly have to be shot).*

For this hunter, there is some confusion about his feelings in regards to the death of animals. The way he talks about the death of animals reveals the paradox inherent in the hunter-nature relationship.

McLeod (2007) also discovered this paradoxical relationship in her research into New Zealand duck hunters. "What is perhaps confusing about duck hunters' relationship with nature (at least from a non-hunter's perspective) is that they both love nature but also want to kill aspects of it." (p. 164). She also goes on to discuss one possible resolution of this paradox. The hunters involved in her study described themselves as having a realistic view of nature. One that sees death as being just a part of nature. By hunting, hunters are participating in that natural process. This is a practical resolution, one that overcomes the 'loving and killing' paradox and the emotional complexities, by viewing death (in this context) as neither good nor bad: it just is. This perspective could also be seen in a number of the interviews in this study. For example one participant described that in nature the strong survive and the weak die.

While this view maybe true for many hunters, for the hunter involved in the 'Einstein: Auf die Jagd' program quoted above, such a cold or apathetic resolution is not the complete story. Furthermore emphasising this, many of the hunters that participated in this study described the importance of respect towards the animals that they kill. A number describe performing rituals of respect such as drinking a 'palorma', place tree bows in the mouth of the dead deer and personally carrying the animal carcass home. By showing respect to the animals that they kill, the hunters seem to show a level of concern that falls outside of such a cold assessment. Hunters may see death as a natural part of nature but this does not mean that they are completely comfortable with it or indeed with the part that they play in such an outcome.

Looking back at McLeod's (2007) work, Marvin (2010) goes further and argues that by hunting many people are participating in nature in a particularly intimate way. They see themselves as not just as participating in, but as being part of nature. There is certainly a sense of this views of the hunters involved in this study. A number of them describe that by hunting, they are doing the job of the absent large predators. By regulating the numbers of certain animals these hunters are interacting with, and participating in nature on an ecological level, as if they were in fact, a member of the natural environment. However, as explored above, the mode in which they speak of nature contradicts this participation. They may be participating in nature, but they do not consider themselves as part of nature. This is particularly evident when they speak of managing and regulating the population of wild animals. Terms such as regulation and managing do not imply that these hunters are participating in the sense of being an integrated part of a process, but rather of an overseer; both separate and detached. A particularly clear example of this is when a participant (H4) described by hunting he can assist and shape nature (full quote see section 4.2.4). This point adds considerable complexity to the understanding of the relationship that hunters have with nature and highlights a difficult question. Hunters may see themselves as being separate from nature, but when one views the interaction in this type of hunting: is nature actually separate from them? Such a question is clearly difficult to answer, specifically when one could argue that by regulating the natural environment, hunters are quite clearly participating in nature. One could further argue that, due to the perceived importance of this interaction, the hunter is relating to nature as an integrated part of the ecological processes. Furthermore, all the hunters that took part in this study strongly believed that the regulation of the natural environment is important. The hunters clearly believe that the natural environment needs this regulation otherwise it would become degraded. As one of the hunters (H5) puts it: without the regulation performed by hunters, nature breaks. Such statements imply that the natural environment is reliant on

hunters, and in a wider sense on society, to be sustained. In this light, despite the fact that for the hunter, they society are, and continue to be, separate from nature. Nature appears to be intimately connected to them. This is perhaps one of the 'inconsistencies' that Latour (1993) is referring to in his analysis of the 'society-nature dichotomy'. An inconsistency that he argues, exerts overwhelming pressure and adds considerable complexity to keeping a clear distinction between what is society and what is nature.

5.4 Hunting, Morality and Environmental Ethics

5.4.1 Justifying a Contested Activity

Hunting is a highly controversial activity in many westernised industrial countries. The form of hunting known as recreational hunting is particularly so. On top of killing wild animals, this type of hunting kills for reasons of personal pleasure and enjoyment. For many people, killing wild animals because you like to do so, is completely unacceptable. They assume that people who take part in this activity have an unbalanced and disturbed relationship with the environment (Keel, 1996). However, the hunters that took part in this study did not fit this portrayal. As shown throughout, they showed considerable concern that the animals they shoot do not suffer. They also appeared competent, and showed strong environmental concern. It was also apparent that they had considerably understanding of animal behaviour, of different species and the local geography. Despite the fact that throughout the course of the interviews the hunters did not directly deal with how they personally justify the practice of hunting, there was still a considerable amount of normative concerns present throughout. These ideas helped to find out how hunters (at least in this study) justified the activity of hunting.

The main justification that could be located in the interviews of the hunter was an ecological argument. Indeed, the ecological argument for hunting appears to be relatively common in Graubünden and in Switzerland (Petschen, 2010; Schweizer Fernsehen, 2008; Weber, 2008). This is clearly apparent in the strong assertions of the need to regulate and manage certain aspects of the natural environment, made by the hunters. As all the hunters pointed out, society must regulate certain animal species (such as roe and red deer) because not doing so would lead to over-population which in turn would be destructive for these animals and the entire natural environment. Hunting is described as the obvious answer to this problem. These arguments imply that hunting in Graubünden is justified because it acts as an environmental

service. This environmental service protects and conserves all of the wildlife that lives in the area. Criticising the ecological argument, Cartmill (1996) argues that: "…population control has never been a motive for hunting" (p. 232). He points out that hunters do not go hunting out of a "…sense of humanitarian duty…"(p. 232), but that they hunt because the like to do it, it just so happens that it can have a positive effect for the environment. For him, a key indication of this is that hunters are usually the first to complain when natural predators come back and start regulating the wild animals themselves. However, for the hunters in this study, rather than diminishing their justification of hunting, the return appears to strength their argument. As can be seen in section 4.5, the majority of participants said that the accepted the wolf as well as other predators (such as the lynx and the bear). This view is held despite the hunters accepting that hunting would probably get harder and that they would have or would be allowed less animals to shoot. It is important to note that a number of the hunters pointed out that their opinions towards the wolf were not likely to be agreed on by the majority of hunters. Furthermore strengthening the argument that hunters play an important role in protecting and managing the natural environment, Weber (2010) points out in an editorial for the Pro Natura magazine, shooting animals is not the only environmental service that hunters provide. Many are active in volunteer projects aimed at protecting and managing the biodiversity of Switzerland:

> Kommt dazu, dass zahlreiche Jäger einen starken Bezug zur Natur haben und in vielen ehrenamtlichen Arbeitsstunden wertvolle Einsätze zur ökologischen Aufwertung unserer Landschaft leisten (Weber, 2010, p. 2). *(Added to that, scores of hunters have a strong connection to nature and many provide valuable work to increase the ecological value of our landscape in many hours of volunteer work).*

For example, as highlighted in the 2011 annual hunting strategy report of Graubünden, volunteer hunters took part in a number of environmental projects such as the 'Aktionprogramm Weisstanne' and the marking and creating new 'Wildruhezonen' (wildlife sanctuary zones)(Amt für Jagd und Fischerei Graubunden 2011).

5.4.2 The Environmental Ethics of the Hunter

5.4.2.1 (No) Animal Liberation and/or Rights

The animal liberation and animal rights perspectives will be dealt with here together. Although they are separate and stand alone approaches, the overall message of extending moral considerations to animals is somewhat similar. The differences between these two approaches are small and irrelevant for their discussion of hunting because both perspectives

directly assert that recreational hunting cannot be morally justified (Regan, 2005; Singer, 2005). In fact, the majority of current arguments against recreational hunting and indeed other types of hunting are based on these perspectives (Cahoone, 2009). In light of the moral foundations of these perspectives, it is extremely unlikely that hunters would have a similar ethic towards the natural environment. Indeed, none of the hunters in this study described their view towards hunting in any way corresponding to these perspectives.

5.4.2.2 A Segregated/Separated Land Ethic?

Where animal rights and animal liberation expand moral concern from humans to animals, the land ethic argues for an even more holistic moral framework. Instead of focusing on human and animals, it cares about the entire biosphere, which also includes elements such as soil and water. In the land ethic an action is right when it helps to protect the 'whole biotic community', it is wrong when it does otherwise (Leopold, 2005).

As discussed above, proponents of hunting have often invoked the Land ethic as a justification of hunting. Indeed it is said that the founding father of this ethic was, an enthusiastic hunter himself (Simpson & Cain, 2001). In the discussion of the justification of hunting, all of the hunters talked about the activity of hunting as being 'right' because it allowed them to look after the health of the environment. It was clear in the way that these hunters talked about hunting and nature that they were interested in the conservation and protection, not only of the animals they hunt, but also of all the other aspects that make up the local natural environment. The focus appeared to be on sustaining a healthy local ecosystem. This outlook seems to fit with holistic types of ethic, in particular the Land ethic.

However, a deeper analysis of the way that these hunters justify hunting, as well as their concept of nature and the relationships that they have with the natural environment reveals major inconsistencies with the land ethic. Apart from the overall mantra of the Land ethic (when something is good for the environment it is good, when it is not, it is not good), the land ethic has two other important characteristics. Firstly, the perspective of the land ethic views the natural environment as a bearer of intrinsic value and as such has value outside that which people give to it. However, nowhere in the interviews did the hunters refer to or imply that nature had intrinsic value. Indeed whenever they spoke about the things that they valued in nature, their reasons for valuing nature were mainly based on personal reasons (such as the enjoyment that they receive from it). Secondly, the land ethic argues that people should see themselves as members of the biotic community. This also does not fit the opinions the hunters expressed throughout this study. As seen in section 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3.2, the hunters

make a clear distinction between society and the natural environment. This distinction clearly indicates that they do not see themselves as members of the biotic community. Added to this is that, these hunters describe themselves as regulators and mangers of the natural environment. A clear example of this view was described by one of the hunters:

> **H4:** Und mich interessiert die Natur während dem ganzen Jahr. Ich kann zusätzlich eine hegerische Massnahme machen. Dass ich mithelfen kann die Natur, die Wildnis zu gestalten in einem gewissen Sinne. *(And I'm interested in nature during the whole year. I can additionally take gamekeeper measures. That I can assist to in a sense shape nature, the wilderness).*

Here, this hunter speaks about taking a gamekeeper or stewardship role in nature. Terms such as gamekeeper or steward do not indicate that he sees himself as a part of the biotic community, but rather as a person in charge of the situation. The clear implication of these two inconsistencies is that, the land ethic perspective does not fit moral and ethical views of those that took part in this study.

5.4.2.3 Holistically Anthropocentric

Many positions and perspectives found within contemporary environmental ethics directly oppose anthropocentric perspectives. Indeed, as Sterba (2005) noted, the division between anthropocentric (human focused) and non-anthropocentric ethics still remains a central feature of environmental ethics. Overwhelmingly, the non-anthropocentric argument (although approached from many different sides) is dominant in contemporary environmental ethics. This dominance can be traced back to the founding environmental ethicists and their initial diagnosis of the anthropocentric worldview as the major cause of many of western societies environmental problems (Light, 2004). Despite the dominance of non-anthropocentric perspectives in contemporary environmental ethics, most western societies continue to practice anthropocentrism. This can clearly be seen in the way that most politically driven environmental protection policy is focused on conserving the natural environment because our society needs it (Rolston III, 2003).

As mentioned above, the anthropocentric perspective puts humans at its core. People only have serious duties and obligations to each other, but are not directly obligated to the natural environment. The value of nature is reliant on a human to do the evaluating (Pojman, 2005d). This perspective is reverberated by the way the hunters talk about nature in the interviews. Nowhere did the hunters directly or indirectly talk about nature as being or having intrinsic value. They did value nature, but the value of nature was always talked about from a human

perspective. Indeed, the hunters outlined the importance of managing and regulating the natural environment (specifically the stability). For example the regulation of certain animals was particularly important to them. As discussed in section 5.1, the hunters often see themselves as environmental managers. The concept of environmental managers is similar to the concept of stewardship. Within the concept of stewardship the best way to protect and conserve the natural environment is to actively manage it in a ways that suit human needs, as Palmer (2006) points out. This perspective strongly correlates to the weak anthropocentric perspective.

As noted above many environmental ethicists are concerned about an anthropocentric dominated society. A major concern here is that, anthropocentrism promotes a type of human-nature relationship that they do not agree with. This relationship is based on human arrogance and focuses on dominating the natural environment (Sterba, 2005). Such criticisms are well founded, particularly when one views the role of Graubünden's hunters as environmental manager or steward. As noted earlier, the relationship of a steward with the things that he or she is looking after is not a balanced relationship. It is asymmetrical because it contains aspects of dominance (from the steward part) and submission (on natures part). Despite this stewardship is often contains aspects of looking after and protecting. As noted above the stewardship relationship also contains a humanistic arrogance. It implies that we as humans know or have the capacity to know what is best for those we protect: which in this case is the natural environment. As Lovelock (2006), points out that, this is the major problem with the stewardship concept. It requires society to be completely informed about all things. A state of affairs that is, for him at least, very unlikely. This is a strong argument, particularly when one sees that there is still considerable debate surrounding fundamental terms such as the natural environment and nature (Soper, 1995).

The regulation policy of the hunting in canton Graubünden is an example of anthropocentric environmental conservation. Its aim is to stabilise the biodiversity of this region on a level that is acceptable to everyone: in other words, to people. A pragmatic reading of such aims highlights that this policy wishes to promote biodiversity so that people can hunt, and to regulate the numbers of animals (specifically wild ungulates) on a level that does not cause too much damage to agriculture and to avalanche protection forests. Protecting the natural environment because it is valuable in itself (intrinsic value) was not the most important aspect (Amt für Jagd und Fischerei Graubunden, 2011). The dominance of anthropocentrism in westernised societies is hardly surprising. Particularly when, it is common understand the

natural world as being fundamentally separate from society (Castree, 2001). Such a separation can be seen to influence moral boundaries. As Callicot (2005) points out, moral boundaries tend to closely follow the perceived boundaries of society.

The wolf controversy in Switzerland is a clear example of the dominance and arrogance that is present in society's relationship to nature. As pointed out by the hunters in this study, the success or failure of re-colonisation of wolves back into Switzerland will be dependent on whether or not they are accepted by society. Academic analyses of this topic also appear to take this view (Breitenmoser, 2001; Caluori & Hunziker, 2001; Hunziker, et al., 2001). The implication of such a perspective is that if we as society choose to allow the wolf to stay it can, if not: it cannot. This might seem an overly simplistic analysis but does hold considerable weight when on considers why and how the wolf disappeared in the first place. The controversy that surrounds the return of the wolf to Switzerland is an example of society discussing the *actual* relationships the people have with nature and the relationships that people think we *should* have with nature. No one is however, asking what the wolf, or nature might want.

6. Conclusion

The activity of recreational hunting is highly controversial in many westernised countries. Within this controversy, proponents and opponents primarily focus on the morality (or immorality) of this activity. This discussion on the place of hunting in contemporary societies is part of a much larger and further reaching discussion relating to what society's relationship to the natural environment *is* and what this relationship *should* look like. In this context, this study is an attempt to understand the hunter-nature relationship, both the physical and moral aspects of it, through the lens of contemporary environmental ethics. Such an undertaking requires a socially focused enquiry into the important topics such as hunting, nature, human-nature relationships and the morality that is embedded in these topics.

For the participants of this study, hunting in is a hobby. It is something they all enjoy doing and is something, which takes up much of their free time. For them hunting does not simply equal to killing wild animals, its meaning is far more complex. Tied up within the term 'hunting' are topics such as tradition, challenge, freedom and nature. Furthermore, the development and evolution of certain hunting regulations means that hunters, now also take on the role of environmental regulators and managers.

One somewhat surprising result of this study is the similarities of opinions expressed by the participants. Surprising because of the diversity found in this group. The participants had different occupations (some were involved in agriculture, some in local business and local tourism and some in forestry), their age ranged from 25 to around 65 years. Furthermore, they all considered themselves to be hunters, but their level of hunting experience was also diverse, ranging from two to 30 years. Despite this diversity all the participants described similar perspectives of hunting, particularly regarding hunting's connections to: traditions, environmental management, nature, freedom, challenge and satisfaction. They also described similar views regarding the critical need for hunting rules and the National park. One topic that did highlight some differences in opinion however, was the wolf.

It transpired form the interviews, that the hunter have a close and intimate relationship with their local natural environment. They spend much of their time outdoors and have a level of self-sufficiency that is relatively rare in modern societies. However, this, paired with the type of action hunting is, reveals a paradox in the hunters' relationship with nature. On the one hand, hunters treasure the natural environment and often describe themselves as "nature-

lovers". On the other hand, the action of hunting is violent and results in the death of a part of the very same 'nature'. It has been proposed that this paradox can be overcome by accepting the realities of life and death in nature, but such a resolution did not explain the hunters' feelings with nature in this study.

The results further showed that the term 'nature' carries considerable meaning for these hunters. Through an analysis of the ways that they spoke about and described the term 'nature', it was possible to see that they held a perspective which closely correlates to the concept of external nature. Hunters made a clear distinction between themselves (and the rest of civilisation) and the natural environment. This was also shown by their conceptualisation of the nature-society dichotomy and by their perceived role in the management of the natural environment. Nonetheless, while they may assume that they are separate from nature, it is difficult to separate nature from them.

In an attempt to understand the moral relationship that hunters have with the natural environment, a comparison was made between the hunters' ethics and a number of contemporary environmental ethics perspectives. For this comparison, perspectives such as anthropocentric, animal liberation/rights and the land ethics were chosen, primarily because of their intimate connection to the moral discussions of hunting in westernised societies. The results showed that even though the hunters justify the action of hunting in a way which corresponds closely to aspects of the land ethic, inconsistencies make such a connection between the it and hunters' ethics unlikely. These inconsistencies included a seeming denial of nature's intrinsic value and a perception of themselves as being separate from the natural environment. Both these points indicate that the environmental ethic that most closely resembles that of the hunters is the weak anthropocentric perspective.

In a society such as Switzerland, where concerns and sensitivities for the natural environment, the forests, the animals that live there or might live there in the future (e.g. the wolf), is heightened, the position of hunters seems particularly precarious. Even though, hunting as an activity it is unlikely to disappear anytime soon. A key reason is, that hunting has a long history and has developed through time, from an activity that caused wide spread destruction and extinction of animals such as the wolf and the ibex, to one that is actively focused on sustaining, managing and protecting the natural environment. Such a development can tell us a lot about the ways that Swiss contemporary society generally perceives human-nature relationships. It tells us that we care about the natural environment in quite a holistic way and

that we believe that managing the stability of it is the best way to conserve it. This belief highlights an important feature for understanding human-nature relationships, because it reveals the type of relationship we often have with nature. Taking on the role of manager (or steward) highlights a certain belief that we are in charge of the situation. Such a relation contains significant aspects of domination and arrogance. For the hunters in this study, the controversy over the wolf can be seen as a clear example of this type of dominating and arrogant relationship, because the controversy focuses primarily on discussions of whether or not *we* want the wolf to live in Switzerland. Implementing a different type of human-nature relationship (e.g. non-anthropocentric) has been the focus of contemporary environmental ethics since it conception. However, it appears that environmental ethicists have been largely unsuccessful, which is evident by the continued domination of anthropocentrism in contemporary societies. Like hunting, anthropocentrism appears to be here to stay.

The analysis of the hunter-nature relationship also reveals an embedded distinction between what is social and what is nature. Perceiving themselves as stewards and managers of nature, implies that the hunters did not think that they were participating in or were indeed part of the natural environment. Such a belief is troubling, particularly when we consider the regulatory effect that they have on the natural environment. While the hunters may think they are separate from nature, it is clearly difficult to separate nature from them.

In light of the results of this study, it will be of ongoing interest to see how the hunters would react to the wolf, should it return permanently to Graubünden. Because the wolf has not taken up permanent residence in the area up to this point in time, the discussion and opinions explored in this study have been somewhat hypothetical. As well as this, the actual effects that wolves will have on the biodiversity in the region are still reasonable unclear. It would therefore be particularly interesting to see, if and how the positions and opinions of hunters change when these effects become more apparent, and whether these changes will have an influence on how they see themselves, the natural environment and their relationship with it.

7. Bibliography

Altherr, T. L. & Reiger, J. F. (1995). Academic historians and hunting: A call for more and better scholarship. *Environmental History Review*, 19(3), 39-56.

Alvard, M. S., Robinson, J. G., Redford, K. H. & Kaplan, H. (1997). The sustainability of subsistence hunting in the neotropics. *Conservation Biology,* 11(4), 977-982.

Amt für Jagd und Fischerei Graubünden (2011). *Jahresbericht Jagd 2011.* Retrieved from: http://www.gr.ch/DE/institutionen/verwaltung/bvfd/ajf/dokumentation/jagd/Seiten/Jahresberichte.aspx.

Baxter, W. F. (2005). People or penguins: The case for optimal pollution. In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application* (p. 473-478). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Breitenmoser, U. (1998). Large predators in the Alps: The fall and rise of man's competitors. *Biological Conservation,* 83(3), 279-289.

Breitenmoser-Würsten, C. Robin, K. Landry, J.- M. Gloor, S. Olsson, P. & Breitmoser, U. (2001). Die Geschichte von Fuchs, Luchs, Bargeier, Wolf und Braun-bar in der Schweiz – ein kurzer Überblick. *Forest, Snow and Landscape Research,* 76(1/2), 9-21.

Brewer, J.D (2000). *Ethnography.* Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Bryman. A. (2004). *Social research methods*. Oxford; Oxford university press.

Bryman, A. & Teevan, J. J. (2005). *Social research method: Canadian Edition.* Ontario, Canada: Oxford University Press.

Bundesamt für Umwelt (2010). *Jagdsysteme*. Retrieved from: http:// www.bafu.admin.ch /jagd-fischerei/07833/07883 /index.html?lang=de

Bundesamt für Umwelt (2011). *Eidgenössische Jagdstatistik*. Retrieved from: http://www. wild.uzh.ch/jagdst/.

Cahoone, L. (2009). Hunting as a moral good. *Environmental Values*, 18 (1), 67-89.

Callicott, J. B. (2005). The conceptual foundations of the land ethic. In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application* (p. 149-160). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Caluori, U. & Hunziker, M. (2001). Der Wolf: Bedrohung und Lichtgestalt-Deutungsmuster in der Schweizer Bevölkerung. *Forest, Snow and Landscape Research.* 76(1/2), 169-

190.

Canton Grison (2012a). *Survey of Grisons.* Retrieved from: http://www.gr.ch/EN/grisons/survey/Seiten/GraubuendenimUeberblick.aspx

Canton Grisons (2002b). *Grisons map*. Retrieved from: http://www.gr.ch/EN/grisons/Seiten/GraubuendenKarte.aspx.

Carpaneto, G. M. & Fusari, A. (2000). Subsistence hunting and bushmeat exploitation in central-western Tanzania. *Biodiversity and Conservation,* 9, 1571-1585.

Cartmill, M. (1996). *A view to a death in the morning: Hunting and nature through history.* USA; Harvard University Press.

Carvalhedo Reis, A.(2009). More than the kill: Hunter's relationship with landscape and prey. *Current issues in tourism,* 12(5-6), 573-587.

Castree, N. (2001). Socializing nature: Theory, practice, and politics. In N. Castree & B. Braun (Eds.), *Social nature: Theory, practice & politics* (pp 1- 21). Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing.

Castree, N. (2003). A post-environmental ethics. *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 6(1), 3-12.

Clifford, N. J, French, S., & Valentine, G. (2010). Getting started in geographical research. In N. J Clifford, S. French & G Valentine (Eds.), *Key methods in geography* (2nd edition)(p. 3-15). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Curnutt, J. (1996). How to argue for and against sports hunting. *Journal of Social Philosophy,* 27(2), 65-89.

Demeritt, D. (2002). What is the 'social construction of nature'? A typology and sympathetic critique. *Progress in Human Geography*, 26 (6), 767-790

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2003). *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Dickson, B. (2009). The ethics of recreational hunting. In B. Dickson, J. Hutton & W. M. Adams (Eds.), *Recreational hunting, conservation and rural livelihoods: Science and practice* (p. 59-72). West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Franklin, A. (2002). *Nature and social theory.* London: Sage.

Glenz, C., Massolo, A., Kuonen, D. & Schlaepfer, R. (2001). A wolf habitat suitability prediction study in Valais (Switzerland). *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 55, 55-65.

Gunn, A. S. (2001). Environmental ethics and trophy hunting. *Ethics and the Environment,*

6(1), 68-95.

Hunziker, M. Hoffmann, C. W. & Wild-Eck, S. (2001). Die Akzeptanz von Wolf, Luchs und <Stadtfuchs> - Ergebnisse einer gesamtschweizerisch-repräsentativen Umfrage. *Forest, Snow and Landscape Research,* 76(1/2), 301-326.

Kant, I., (2005). Rational beings alone have moral worth. In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application* (p. 54- 55). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Kantonale Arbeitsgruppe 'Grossraubtiere' (1999). Bericht im Hinblick auf ein allfälliges Auftreten der Raubtiere Luchs, Wolf und Bär im Kanton Graubünden. Retrieved from: http://www.gr.ch/DE/institutionen/verwaltung/bvfd/ajf/dokumentation/grossraubtiere/konzepte/Seiten/StrategieberichtKanton.aspx

Kanton Graubünden (2012). *Jagd und Fischerei.* Retrieved from: http://www.gr.ch/DE/Kanton/ueberblick/Seiten/JagdundFischerei.aspx

Keel, M. (1996). The Killing game: An ecofeminist critique of hunting. *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, 23, 30-44.

Knezevic, I. (2009). Hunting and environmentalism: Conflict or misperceptions. *Human dimensions of wildlife,* 14, 12-20.

KORA (Koordinierte Forschungsprojekte zur Erhaltung und zum Management der Raubtiere in der Schweiz)(2010). *Monitoring der Raubtiere in der Schweiz 2009*. Retrieved from: http://www.kora.ch/main.htm?ge/spec/wolf/index.html.

Latour, B. (1993). *We have never been modern.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Leader-Williams, N. (2009). Conservation and hunting: Friend or foes. In B. Dickson, J. Hutton & W. M. Adams (Eds.), *Recreational hunting, conservation and rural livelihoods: Science and practice* (p. 9-24). West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Leopold, A. (2005). Ecocentrism: The land ethic. In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application* (p. 139-148). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Light, A. (2004). Methodological pragmatism, animal welfare, and hunting. In E. McKenna & A. Light (Eds.), *Animal pragmatism: Rethinking human-nonhuman relationships* (p. 119 139). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Light, A., & Rolston III, H. (2003). Introduction: Ethics and environmental ethics. In A. Light

& H. Rolston III (Eds.), *Environmental ethics: An anthology* (p. 1-12). Malden, MA; Blackwell Publishing Inc.

Longhurst, R. (2010). Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. In N. Clifford, S. French & G. Valentine (Eds.), *Key methods in geography* (2nd edition)(p. 103-115). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Lovelock, J. (2006). The fallible concept of stewardship on earth. In R. J. Berry (Ed.), *Environmental stewardship: Critical perspectives, past and present* (p. 106-111). London: T&T Clark.

Marvin, G. (2005). Sensing nature: Encountering the world in hunting. *Etnofoor*, 18(1), 15–26.

Marvin, G. (2010). Challenging animals: Project and process in hunting. In S. Pilgrim & J. Pretty (Eds.), *Nature and culture: Rebuilding lost connections* (p. 145-159). London: Earthscan Ltd.

McLeod, C. M. (2007). Dreadful/ delightful killing: The contested nature of duck hunting. *Society and animals*, 15, 151-167.

Mech. L. D. (1995). The challenge and the opportunity of recovering wolf populations. *Conservation Biology,* 9(2), 270-278.

Meadows, D. M. (2005). Biodiversity: The Key to Life on Earth. In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application* (p. 239-241). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Müller, T. M, (2008) Der Umgang mit geschützten Tieren, insbesondere die Regulierung von Grossraubtieren: Rechtsgutachten im Auftrag von JagdSchweiz, Zusammenfassung. Retrieved from: http://www.jagdschweiz.org/de/grossraubtiere.php.

Murdocca, M., Jupiter, A., Moore, S., Carls, J. B. (Producers), & Culton, J., Allers, R., Stacchi, A. (Directors). (2006). *Open season* [Motion picture]. USA: Sony Picture Animation.

Norton, B. G., (2005). Environmental ethic and weak anthropocentrism. In L. Kalof & T. Satterfield (Eds.), *The Earthscan reader in environmental values* (p. 81-96). London, UK: Earthscan.

Ortega y Gasset, J. (2007). *Meditations on hunting* (2nd edition). Belgrade, Montana: Wilderness Adventure Press Inc.

Palmer, C. (2006). Stewardship: A case study in environmental ethics. In R. J. Berry (Ed.), *Environmental stewardship: Critical perspectives, past and present* (p. 63-75). London: T&T Clark.

Peterle, T. J. (1977). Hunters, hunting, anti-hunting. *Wildlife Society Bulletin*, 5(4), 151-161.

Peterson, M. N., Hansen, H. P., Peterson, M. J., & Peterson, T. R. (2011). How hunting strengthens social awareness of coupled human-natural systems. *Wild Biology in Practice*, 6(2), p. 1-17.

Petschen, B. (2010, August). Das Fieber steigt. *Engadiner Wochenzeitung*, p. 18-20.

Pojman, L. P. (2005a). What is ethics? In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application* (p. 4-12). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Pojman, L. P. (2005b). On ethics and environmental concerns. In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application* (p. 1-3). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Pojman, L. P. (2005c). Philosphical theories of nature, biocentric ethics, ecocentric ethics, and deep ecology. In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethic: Reading in theory and application* (p. 85-87). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Pojman, L. P. (2005d). Animal rights. In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application* (p. 53-54). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Pojman, L. P. (2005e). *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application*. Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Proctor, J. P. (1998a). Geography, paradox and environmental ethics. *Progress in Human Geography,* 22(2), 234-255.

Proctor, J. P. (2001). Solid rock and shifting sands: The moral paradox of saving a socially constructed nature. In N. Castree & B. Braun (Ed.), *Social nature: Theory, practice & politics* (p. 225- 240). Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing.

Pro Natura (2009). *Geschichte der Einwanderung des Wolfes in die Schweiz.* Retrieved from: www.pronatura.ch.

Regan, T. (2005). The radical egalitarian case for animal rights. In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application* (p. 65-72). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Rolston, H. III. (2003). Environmental ethics. In N. Bunnin & E. P. Tsui-James (Ed.), *The*

Blackwell companion to philosophy second edition (p. 517- 530), Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing.

Schweizer Fernsehen (Producer). (2008, October 10). Auf der Jagd (Television series episode). In: *Einstein.* Zurich: Schweizer Fernsehen. Retrieved from: http:// www.videoportal.sf.tv/video?id=bfda6a2e-1723-4998-a0cd-9a21fa366ac5.

Schweizer Fernsehen (Producer). (2011, August 3). Geld oder leben (Television series episode). In: *Wilde Natur.* Zurich: Schweizer Fernsehen. Retrieved from: http://www.videoportal.sf.tv/video?id=d193a04c-71c9-4587-af44-44496e3c2a45.

Simpson, S. V. & Cain, K. D. (2001). Recreation's role in the environmental ethics dialogue: The case of Aldo Leopold and the morality of hunting. *Leisure/Loisir,* 25(3-4), 181-197.

Singer, P. (2005). A utilitarian defence of animal liberation. In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application* (p. 57- 65). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Soper, K., (1995). *What is nature.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Sterba, J. P. (2005) Environmental justice: Reconciling anthropocentric and non anthropocentric ethics. In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application* (p. 226-236). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Swiss National Park, (2010a). *Swiss National Park.* Retrieved from: http://www.national park.ch/go/en/visit/documentation/

Swiss National Park, (2010b). *Anreisekarte.* Retrieved from: http://www.national park.ch/tasks/sites/de/assets/File/karte_Anreise_biosfera_20105932.JPG

Taylor, A. (2009). *Animals and ethics: An overview of the philosophical debate*. Toronto, Ontario: Broad view press

Wallner, A. & Hunziker, M. (2001). Die Kontroverse um den Wolf - Experteninterviews zur gesellschaftlichen Akzeptanz des Wolfes in der Schweiz. *Forest, Snow and Landscape Research.* 76(1/2), 191-212.

Warren, M. A. (2005). A critique of Regan's animal rights theory. In L. P. Pojman (Ed), *Environmental ethics: Reading in theory and application* (p. 73-78). Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Weber, R. (2010, July). Tradition verpflichtet. *Pro Natur Magazin: Die Jagd in der Schweiz muss modernisiert werden,* 4, 2.

Williams, J. (1995). The killing game. In P. Houston (Ed.). *Women on hunting* (p. 389-403).

Hopewell, N.J.: Eco Press.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost I would like to thank all the participants of this study, I owe them a debt of gratitude, for taking the time to talk to me and for taking me out hunting! Without their time, their information and them sharing their experiences with me made this thesis would not have been possible. I would also like to thank my Graubünden contact for all his hard work in getting me in contact with all the participants of this study.

I would like to thank my supervisor Olivier Graefe for all his help, support and valuable advice in the production (construction) of this thesis. Under his supervision I was given considerable freedom to explore and analyse a topic that I am particularly interested in.

I would also like to thank the Geography Department at the University of Fribourg and all my colleagues for their feedback and support through the writing stage of this thesis.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family for supporting me in all my decisions and being understanding of me only being able to visit once a year at most.
I would very much like to thank Annik in particular, for her incredible help and support which was unmeasurably valuable in keeping me going through tough times.

Appendix

A: Mind-Maps

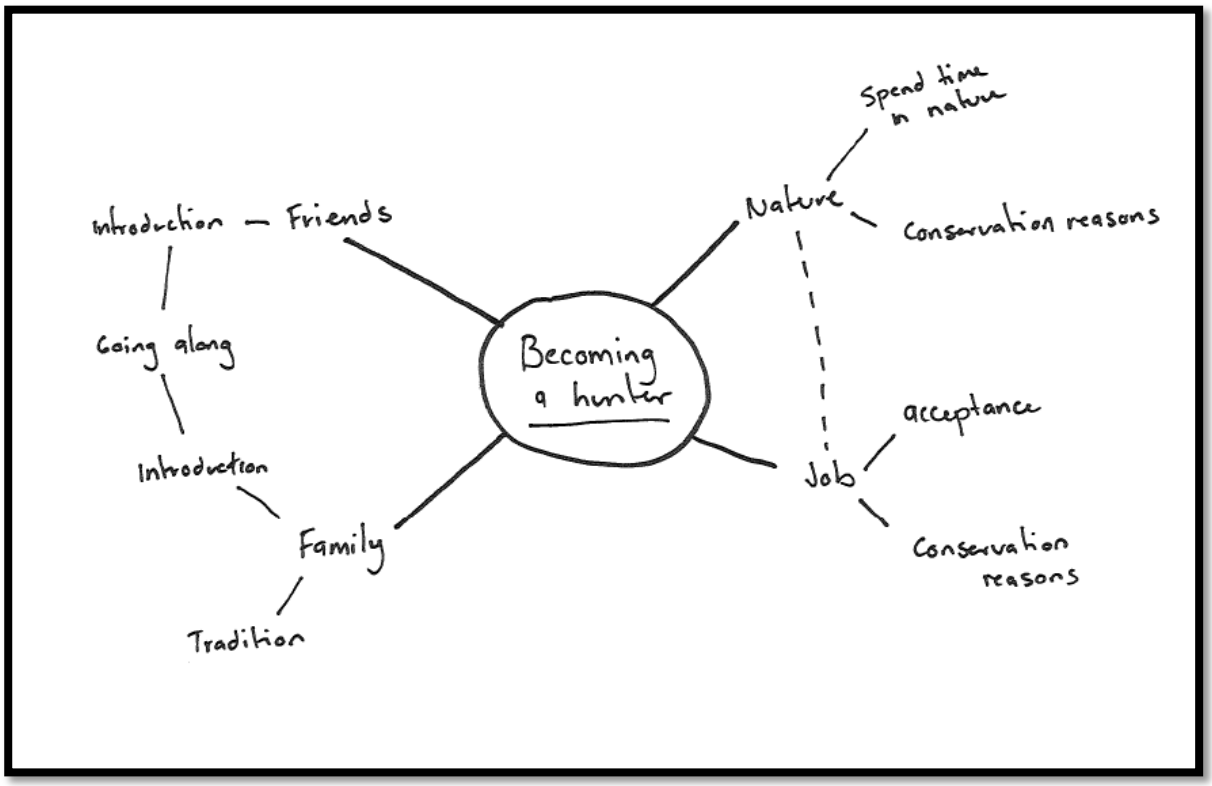


Figure 5: Mindmap – Becoming a Hunter

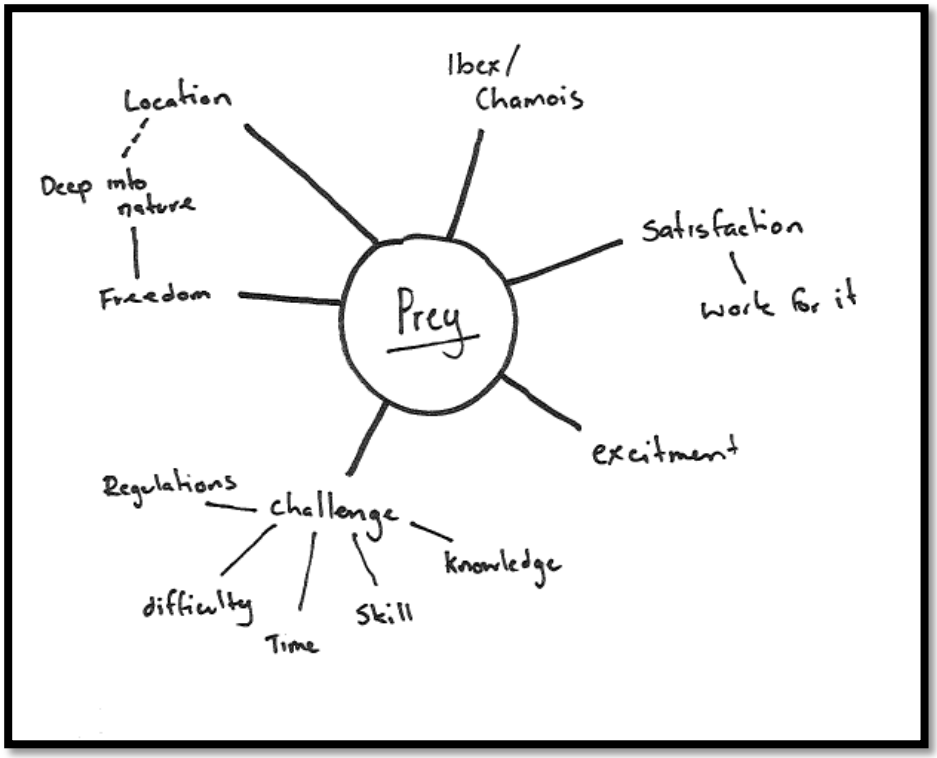


Figure 6: Mindmap - Prey

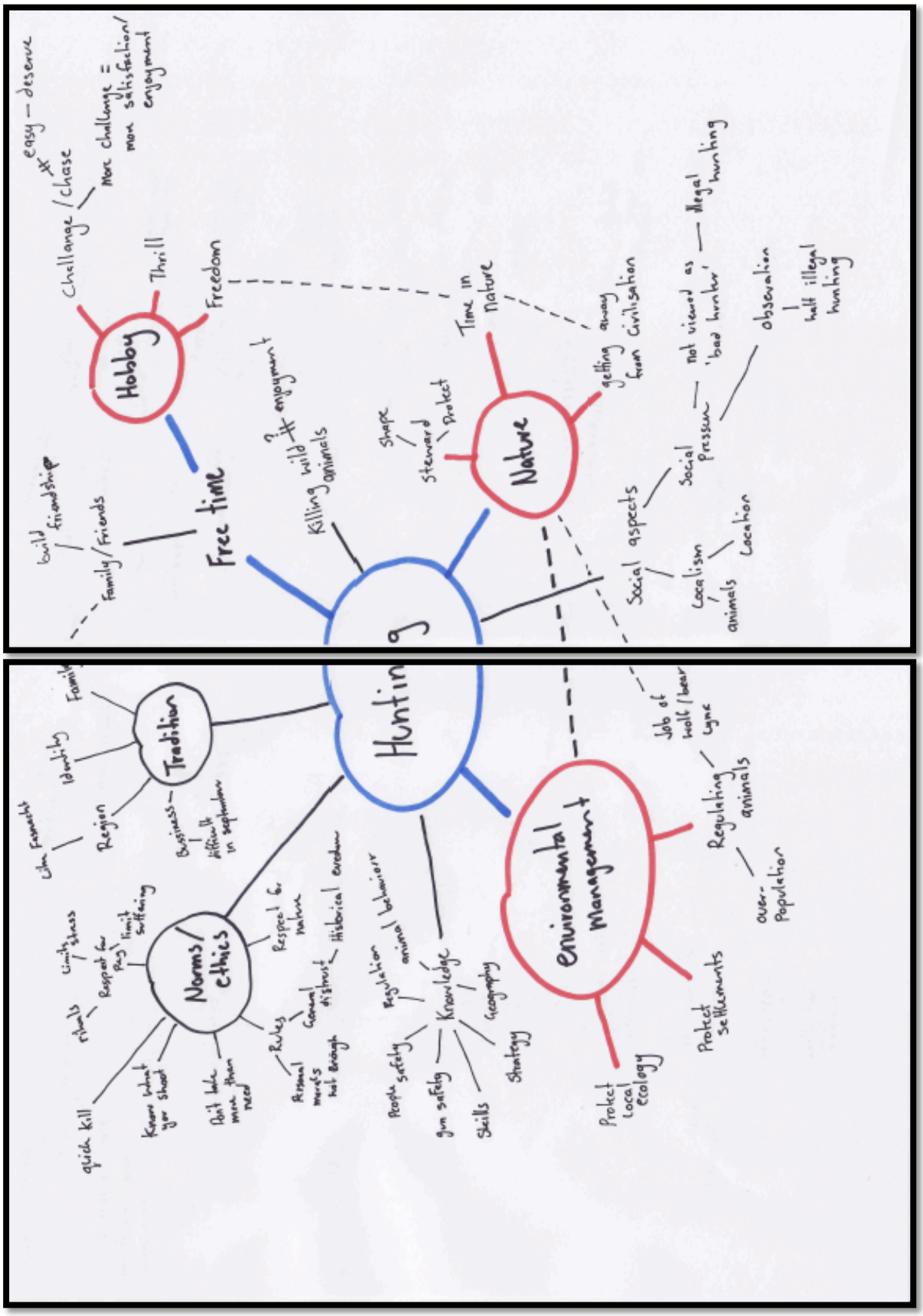


Figure 7: Mindmap – Hunting

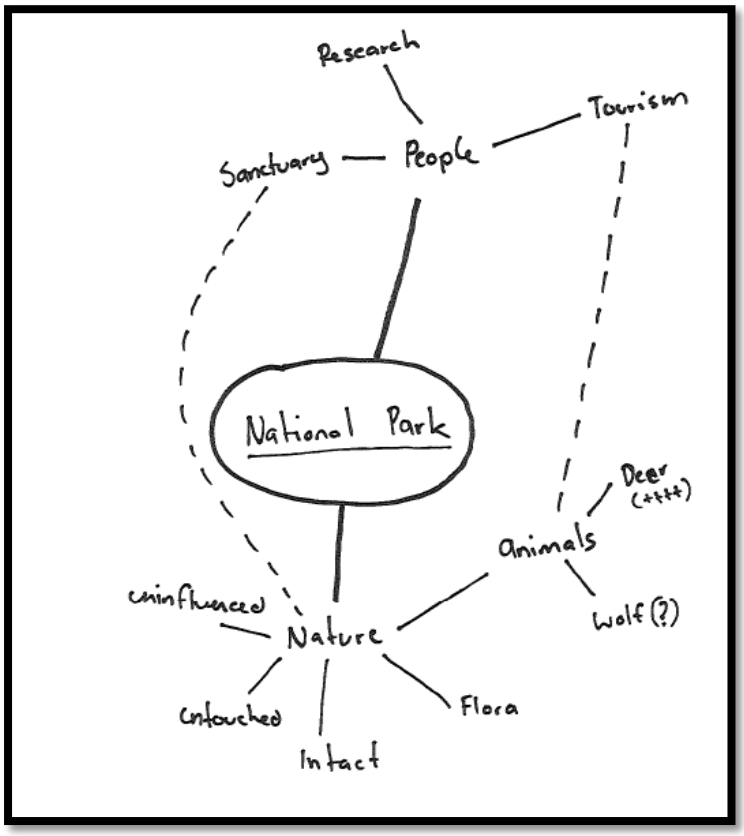


Figure 8: Mindmap – National Park

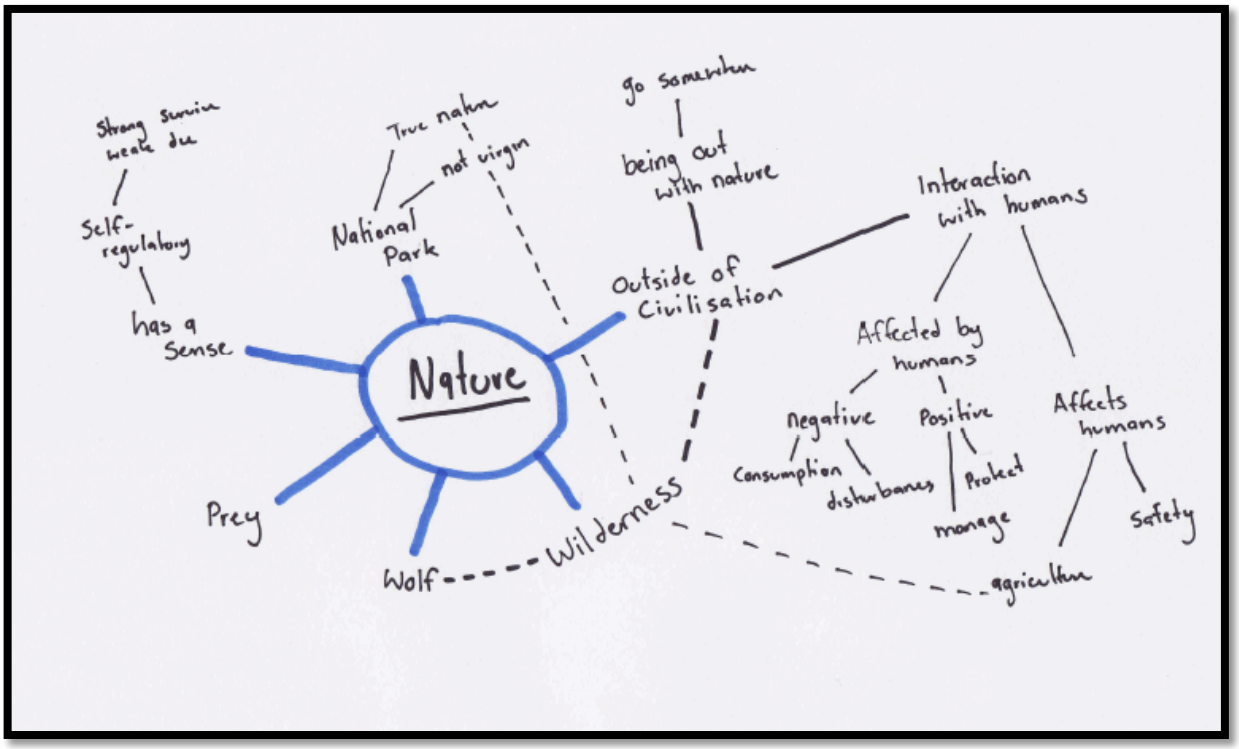


Figure 9: Mindmap – Nature

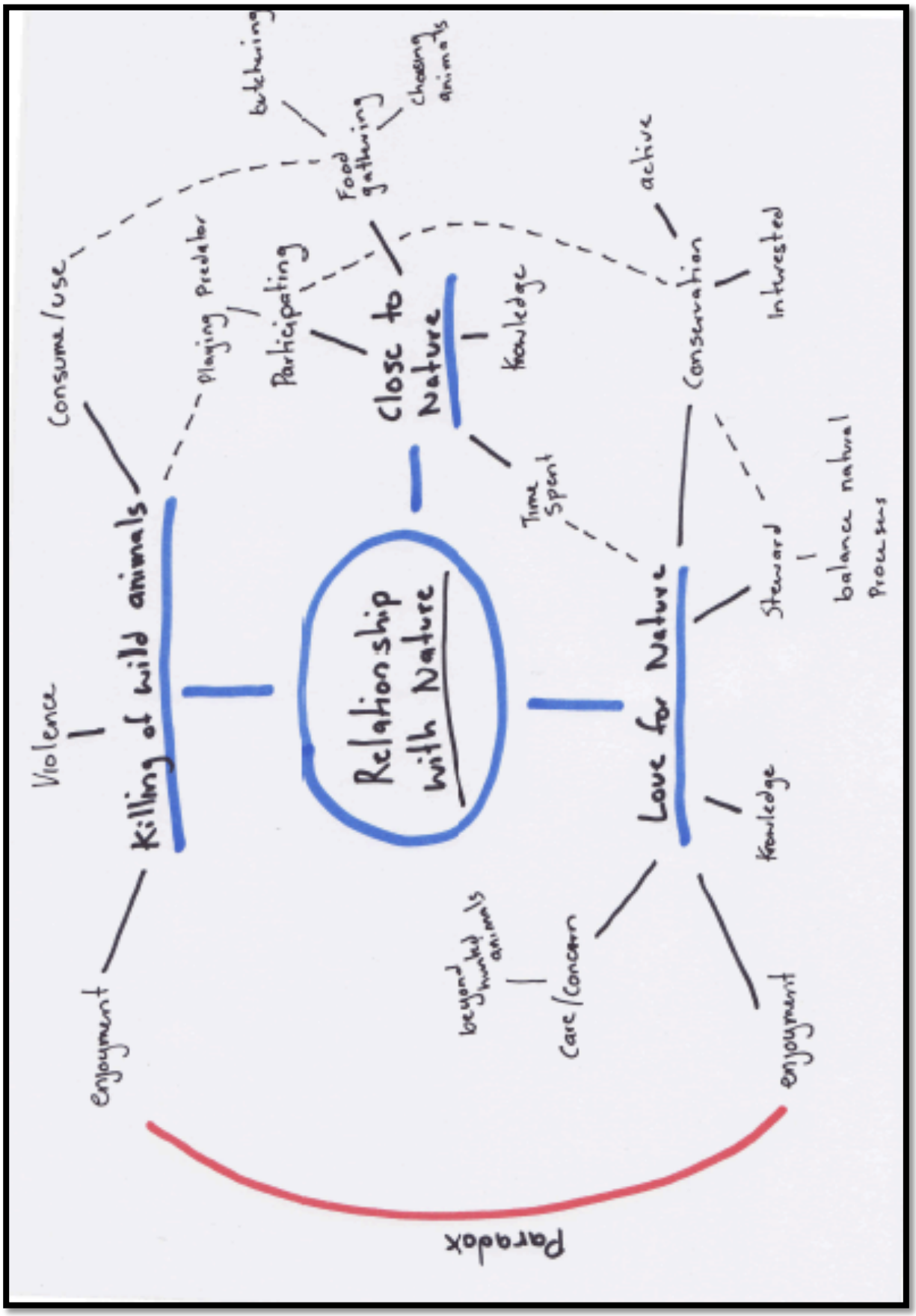


Figure 10: Mindmap – Relationship with Nature

B: Map of Local Districts and Communities in Canton Graubünden

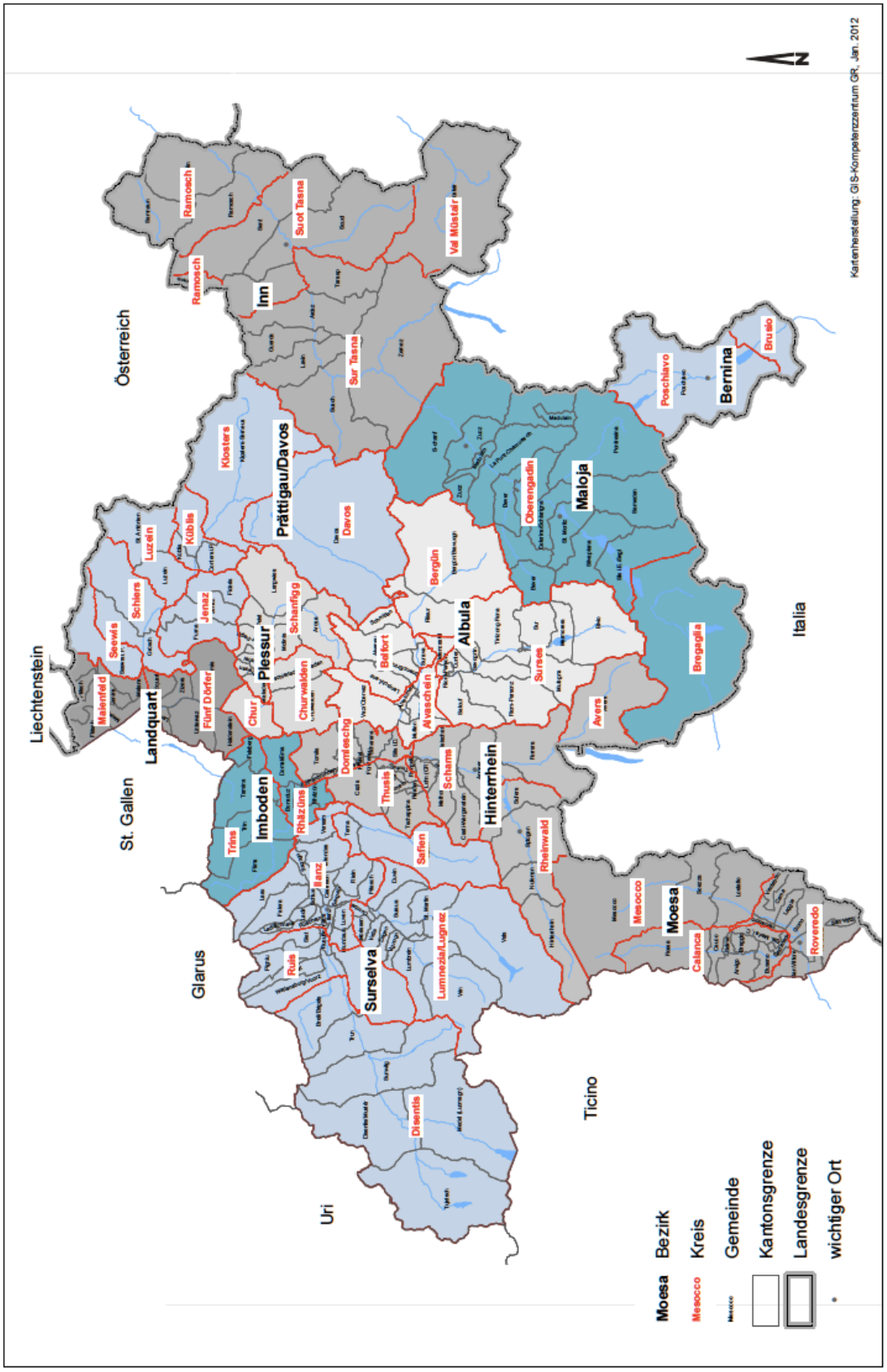


Figure 11: Source: http://www.gr.ch/EN/grisons/Seiten/GraubuendenKarte.aspx.

C: Raw Hunting Statistics

Bundesamt für Umwelt (2011). Retrieved from: http://www.wild.uzh.ch/jagdst/

Table 1: Total number of hunter in Switzerland between 1998 and 2010

Year	Total `
1998	31281
1999	32508
2000	33593
2001	29582
2002	30126
2003	32515
2004	32313
2005	32383
2006	32309
2007	32374
2008	32135
2009	30917
2010	30295

Table 2: Total number of hunters from a selection of cantons between 1998 and 2010

Year	Graubünden	Valais	Tessin	Aargau	Bern
1998	5924	2467	2383	2800	2803
1999	5871	2494	4062	2800	2685
2000	5862	2741	4219	2800	2697
2001	5804	2569	4219	2800	2705
2002	5751	2600	3927	2800	2727
2003	5774	3572	4200	2800	2799
2004	5780	3619	4016	2800	2764
2005	5793	3704	4200	2800	2741
2006	5762	3764	4200	2800	2751
2007	5859	3820	4200	2800	2733
2008	5932	3624	4200	2800	2655
2009	5858	3680	3500	2800	2644
2010	5848	3882	3540	2100	2641

Table 3: Total number of a selection of animals killed in Switzerland between 1998 and 2010

Year	Roe deer	Chamois	Red deer	Alpine marmot	Wild boar
1998	43839	18543	6896	6820	2431
1999	37156	16761	6315	7978	2910
2000	42210	16511	6997	7720	3939
2001	42673	16411	6743	5460	4439
2002	42953	16533	6768	7059	5939
2003	42898	16457	7075	7224	4494
2004	42449	15463	7135	7503	5528
2005	41077	14893	7951	7863	6427
2006	38582	15194	7975	7897	3453
2007	39119	15339	8601	6919	5631
2008	41032	13919	9146	6746	8326
2009	38493	13101	7577	8313	4132
2010	39664	13339	9016	7884	6878

Table 4: Total number of a selection of animals killed by hunter is Graubünden between 1998 and 2010

Year	Alpine marmot	Red deer	Chamois	Roe deer	Ibex
1998	4274	5061	4229	754	4494
1999	4129	2676	4498	679	5240
2000	4230	3009	4393	654	4906
2001	3689	2645	3822	562	3570
2002	4945	4050	3658	2802	445
2003	5075	3945	4005	2423	326
2004	4964	3875	3668	2050	362
2005	5791	4013	3487	1893	384
2006	5646	3748	3572	1655	397
2007	5460	4068	3358	2816	444
2008	4690	4384	3278	3274	529
2009	6334	3365	3115	1746	525
2010	5706	4118	3151	2325	191