Marlis Heyer
Susanne Hose
Hrsg.

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URS WILDNIS CONSERVATION
CUT-OFF LOBBY PROBLEMW
ENTNAHME WANDEL POLITI
TUNG MEDIATION RESPECT

Encounters with Wolves:
Dynamics and Futures
Begegnungen mit Wölfen
Zetkanja z wjelkami

Serbski Sorbisches
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Serbski **Sorbisches**
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Vorwort

Begegnungen mit Wölfen, Begegnungen mit Menschen

Im sorbischen Tiermärchen »Des Wolfes glücklicher Tag« weissagt die Füchsin[1] dem Wolf, er werde den ganzen Tag lang nur Glück haben. Der Wolf, Antiheld dieser Geschichte, lässt sich von dieser Prophezeiung ermutigen: Entgegen seinem ursprünglichen Plan, den Tag im siche-ren Zuhause zu verbringen, zieht er los und sucht sein Glück. Doch welcher Art könnte das Glück eines Wolfes sein? Das Märchen findet eine simple Antwort: Es liegt in der Sättigung, und zwar nicht mit dem erstbesten Fressen – einen Sack salzigen Specks lässt er links liegen –, sondern mit einem richtigen Festmahl. Auf seinem Weg begegnet er einer Stute mit ihrem Fohlen, einer Sau mit Ferkeln sowie Ziegen und endlich auch Schafen samt ihren mensch-lichen und hündischen Beschützern. Der Wolf interagiert mit all diesen Protagonisten und sie mit ihm. Seine Gegenüber, menschliche wie nicht-menschliche, reagieren auf seine Anwesen-heit einerseits mit Angst, andererseits aber auch mit listiger Verteidigungstaktik. Anstatt »sein Glück« zu finden, holt der Wolf sich blaue Flecken und beendet seinen Tag einsam, verletzt und hungrig (Nedo 1956: 71–73; ATU 2004: 122a; vgl. auch González Sanz 2014). Pech gehabt, könnte man kommentieren. Einer von Marlis Heyers Forschungspartnern deutet die Geschichte anders, nämlich dahingehend, ob »Des Wolfes glücklicher Tag« nicht jeder Tag sei, an dessen Ende er noch am Leben ist?

Das Märchen über den tölpelhaften Wolf, der seine Beute verliert, ist weitaus komplexer als nur eine Erzählung über die dem »großen Beutegreifer«[2] nachgesagte Gier und Angriffs-lust (Pujol 1999: 342 f.). Indem der Wolf von seinen Beutetieren schmeichlerisch umgarnt und schließlich ausgetrickst wird, schlägt die von ihm ausgehende Bedrohung karnevalesk (vgl. Bachtin 1990) in ihr Gegenteil um. Zum Schluss triumphieren die Schwachen, die seine Hybris und Naivität geschickt auszuspielen wissen. Der Aggressor wird selbst zum Opfer; er muss sich geschlagen geben und kann in der Tat von Glück reden, dass er mit dem Leben davonkommt. Für alle, die auf der Seite der Schwachen stehen, bietet das Märchen Genugtuung. »Im Mär-chen wird […] die Welt dichterisch bewältigt,« resümiert der Schweizer Germanist Max Lüthi. »Was in der Wirklichkeit schwer ist und vielschichtig, unübersichtlich in seinen Bezügen, wird im Märchen leicht und durchsichtig […]« (1997: 79). Märchen liefern uns einfache Repliken

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1 Im Ober- und Niedersorbischen ist das grammatische Geschlecht des Wortes für den Fuchs weiblich und für den Wolf männlich. Signifikant für die Paarung von »liška« (Füchsin) und »wjelk« (Wolf) im Märchen ist demnach die Allegorie für das Weibliche, das die körperliche Überlegenheit des Männlichen durch List und Tücke übertrumpft. In den Märchen wirkt der Wolf allerdings besonders tump und einfältig.

2 Der relativ junge Begriff »Beutegreifer« ersetzt den Dysphemismus »Raubtier«, der seit Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts als Bezeichnung für andere Tiere erbeutende Fleischfresser benutzt wurde (Grimm 1893: 234; vgl. auch www.wolf.sachsen.de/wolf-und-nutztier-3974.html [22. 4. 2020]).

Preface

Encounters with Wolves, Encounters with Humans

In the Sorbian animal folktale "The Wolf's Lucky Day,"[*] the vixen[1] predicts to the wolf that he will have good luck for the rest of the day. The wolf, the anti-hero of this story, is encouraged by this prophecy: Contrary to his original plan to spend the day at his safe home, he leaves and seeks his fortune. But what is fortune to a wolf? The tale presents a simple answer: It lies in the feeling of satiety, which is not provided by the first available meal – a bag filled with salty bacon, which the wolf ignores – but rather by a lavish feast. On his way, he meets a mare with her foal, a sow with piglets, as well as goats and, finally, sheep with their human and canine protectors. The wolf interacts with all of them and vice versa. His counterparts, human and nonhuman, react to his presence with fear but also with cunning and defense. Instead of seeking "his fortune," the wolf is left with nothing but bruises and ends his day lonely, injured and hungry (Nedo 1956: 71–73; ATU 2004: 122a; cf. González Sanz 2014). Bad luck, one might say. Instead, one of Heyer's research partners perceives the story differently and mentions that the wolf's lucky day is any day on which he is still alive at the end of it.

The tale about the foolish wolf that loses its prey is significantly more complex than just another story about the greed and aggression of the "large carnivore"[2] (Pujol 1999: 342 f.). By letting all the prey beguile and outwit the wolf, his posed threat is inversed in a Bachtinian car-nivalesque manner (cf. Bachtin 1990). In the end, the weak triumph by using the wolf's hubris and naiveté against him. The aggressor turns into the victim and has to acknowledge defeat. As a matter of fact, he can count himself lucky even to be alive. Readers that tend to root for the underdog will obtain satisfaction when reading this story. "In the fairytale, the world is conquered in a poetic manner," summarizes the Swiss Germanist Max Lüthi. "Everything that is difficult and complex in reality and confusing in its references, is depicted as simple and transparent in fairytales" (1997: 79).

Fairytales offer simple replicas of otherwise highly differentiated and tangled realities, which could be part of the reason for their continued popularity. In other words, we are now able to interpret fairytales about animals[3] with much more depth instead of focusing merely on

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1 The grammatical gender of fox is female and that of wolf is male in Upper and Lower Sorbian language. Therefore, the allegory of the feminine which triumphs over the physical superiority of the male through subterfuge and guile is significant for the pairing of "liška" (vixen) und "wjelk" (wolf) in the fairytale. However, the wolf in those fairy-tales is portrayed as particularly naive and simpleminded.

2 A discursive shift happened regarding the German word for "(large) carnivore" in the German language. The dysphe-mism "Raubtier," which translates literally as "robbing animal," has been used since the mid-18th century to refer to carnivores that were preying on other animals. This is partially replaced by the term "Beutegreifer" today, which translates literally to "prey grabber" (cf. Grimm 1893: 234; also www.wolf.sachsen.de/wolf-und-nutztier-3974.html [22. 4. 2020]).
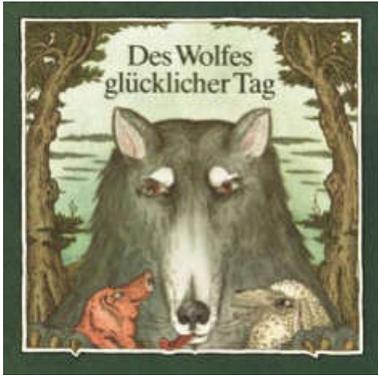
Fig. 1 **Title "The Wolf's Lucky Day"** *Sorbian folktale, illustrated by Johannes K. G. Niedlich, Domowina-Verlag Bautzen 1987*

auf ansonsten hoch differenzierte und verworrene Wirklichkeiten, worin sich wohl ein Teil ihrer anhaltenden Beliebtheit begründet. Mit anderen Worten, wir können heute aus jenem Tiermärchen[3] weit mehr als lediglich die Gefahr von Wölfen für sogenannte Nutztiere herauslesen.

Für unser Konferenzthema »Encounters with Wolves: Dynamics and Futures« bietet »Des Wolfes glücklicher Tag« ein Paradebeispiel, um auf die Vielschichtigkeit des Verhandelns zum Thema »Wolf / Wölfe in der modernen Gesellschaft« verweisen zu können. Denn es zeigt gleichnishaft Möglichkeiten auf, antizipierte Begegnungen zwischen verschiedenartigen Akteuren auszuhandeln, damit verbundene Hoffnungen zu formulieren, Ängste abzubauen und nicht zuletzt Handlungsstrategien zu entwickeln. Bezeichnenderweise wird der von den anderen Tieren und ihren Beschützern verprügelte Wolf nicht getötet, sondern nur vertrieben. Mit Blick auf die gegenwärtigen Diskurse über Wölfe erscheint es uns wichtig, nicht nur nach den Begegnungen, sondern auch nach den Formen und Modi des Begegnens zu fragen (vgl. Fenske und Heyer 2019), wenn über erzählte und ontologische, über politische und biologische Wölfe – um nur einige mögliche »Wolfsarten« zu nennen – gesprochen wird. Der Wolf, den das Märchen erzählt, ist ein Wanderer, der sich zwischen wilden und domestizierten tierlichen und menschlichen Anderen bewegt. Er überquert Grenzen zwischen verschiedenen Räumen (vgl. Frank und Heinzer 2019), begegnet Wesen verschiedenster Art und setzt sich mit deren Lebensweise auseinander. Auf der Suche nach Nahrung verhält er sich, wie es auch in aktuellen Handreichungen des Landes Sachsen steht, »opportunistisch« (Wehrspohn, Schäfer und von Borell 2014: 9 f.). Dieses wölfische Verhalten hat das Märchen inspiriert, das wiederum allen, die es hören oder lesen, die Möglichkeit zum Amüsement über den potenziellen Fressfeind ihrer Nutztiere und somit zum Triumph über die eigenen, menschlichen Ängste bietet. Darüber hinaus kann man die Tiermärchen als Allegorie lesen, bei denen es nicht um die tierlichen, sondern die menschlichen Verhaltensweisen, Charaktere und Lebensmaximen geht. Als anthropomorphe Erzählgestalt symbolisiert der Wolf Stärke und Autarkie[4], aber auch Hybris und Gier. Und schließlich markiert »der Wolf« als Politikum unterschiedliche *menschliche* Interessen und Vorstellungen vom Leben und produziert politische Mehrheiten und Minderheiten. In der

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3 Der Erzähltyp ist bereits in den Sammlungen von Prosafabeln aus dem 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr. bezeugt; seine Bekanntheit dankt er frühen Drucken von Fabelbüchern wie etwa das des frühhumanistischen Übersetzers Heinrich Steinhöwel (1410/1411–1479, González Sanz 2014). In der Lausitz wurde es erstmals zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts in Ratzen bei Lohsa (sorbisch Łaz) ca. zehn Kilometer östlich von Hoyerswerda / Wojerecy aufgezeichnet (Haupt / Schmaler 1843: 161 f.).

4 Vgl. ATU 2004: 201, Der freie Wolf: Wolf und Hund streiten über das bessere Leben. Der Wolf verteidigt den hohen Wert der Freiheit, für den er Hunger und Rastlosigkeit in Kauf nimmt.

the dangers of wolves to livestock.

"The Wolf's Lucky Day" is a prime example when it relates to the topic of our conference "Encounters with Wolves: Dynamics and Futures," as it highlights the multilayered subject of "wolf / wolves in modern society." It shows possibilities of how to negotiate anticipated encounters of heterogeneous actors, how to communicate related hopes, release fears and develop strategies for action in an allegorical manner. It is significant that the wolf is only being battered and driven away by the other animals and their caretakers but not killed. Regarding current discourses about wolves, it seems important to us not only to ask about encounters but also about differing forms and modes of encountering (cf. Fenske and Heyer 2019) when talking about different "kinds of wolves," such as narrated and ontological, political and biological wolves. The wolf narrated by this particular fairytale is a wanderer that is meandering between wild and domesticated animals and human others. He crosses the borders between different spaces (cf. Frank and Heinzer 2019), encounters entities of various kinds and studies their way of life. During his search for food, he behaves and acts in a way that is "opportunistic," a term that is also used in current information brochures distributed by the state of Saxony (Wehrspohn, Schäfer and von Borell 2014: 9 f.). This wolfish behavior has inspired this fairytale, which, in turn, offers its readers the option of amusement about the potential predator of their livestock and triumph over their own human fears. Moreover, animal fairytales can be read as an allegory in which the main focus is not on the animal but rather on the human behavior, character and maxim for life. Narrated as an anthropomorphic figure, the wolf symbolizes not only strength and autarky[4] but also hubris and greed. Finally, "the wolf" as a political issue marks different *human* interests and concepts of life and produces political majorities and minorities. Within the representation of a new advance of wolves in Western Europe at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century[5], renowned motifs of storytelling and new stories of everyday life about actual and fictional encounters with wolves intermingle. There is no other animal in Europe which retains stereotypes inside the collective memory as vehemently as the wolf (cf. Heyer and Hose 2020).

Such a resort to culturally established motifs of storytelling materializes itself in current discourses and new artifacts. After the wolf returned, signs were put up in various areas about five years ago. Statements similar to the following were written on them: "Wolves are

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3 This type of narration has already been found in collections of prose fables from the 5th century. Early prints of fable books, for example, those of Heinrich Steinhöwel (1410/1411–1479), an early humanist, made them popular (González Sanz 2014). These narrations were first documented in Lusatia at the beginning of the 19th century in Ratzen, close to Lohsa (Sorbian: Łaz), which is about ten kilometers east of Hoyerswerda / Wojerecy (cf. Haupt and Schmaler 1843: 161 f.).

4 Cf. ATU 2004: 201, The free Wolf: Wolf and dog are fighting about the better life. The wolf defends the high value of freedom, for which he hazards the consequences of hunger and restlessness.

5 According to the German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation, 105 wolf packs, 25 pairs and 13 territorial single animals were confirmed within the monitoring year 2018/2019. As wolf puppies are born at the end of April and beginning of May, a monitoring year starts on 1 May and ends on 30 April of the following year. The main territories spread from Lusatia in the southeast to the North Sea in the northwest. Most packs roam in Brandenburg, Saxony and Lower Saxony (BfN 2019). Currently, 23 packs each have a territory in Saxony; seventeen of these live in Upper Lusatia (Henning 2020).

Fig. 2 **Wolf warning sign I**, Upper Lusatia, Photo Marlis Heyer

Repräsentation der erneuten Ausbreitung der Wölfe in Westeuropa Ende des 20., Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts[5] vermischen sich altbekannte Erzählmotive und neue Alltagserzählungen über wirkliche und unwirkliche Begegnungen mit Wölfen. Bei keinem anderen Tier in Europa hält das kollektive Gedächtnis so vehement an den überlieferten Klischees fest wie beim Wolf (vgl. Heyer und Hose 2020).

Ein solcher Rückgriff auf kulturell verankerte Erzählmotive materialisiert sich in gegenwärtigen Diskursen und neuen Artefakten. Vor gut fünf Jahren tauchten in vielen Regionen, wo Wölfe wieder ansässig wurden, Schilder mit dieser oder ähnlichen Aufschriften auf: »Wölfe suchen auch in diesem Gebiet nach Beute. Hunde an kurzer Leine führen. Kinder bitte beaufsichtigen«. Unterschrieben waren die zunächst noch sehr provisorisch wirkenden laminierten Ausdrucke, die an Bäumen oder Zaunpfählen entlang forstwirtschaftlicher Flächen oder Wege angebracht waren, etwa mit »Die Jagdberechtigten«. Auf Nachfrage der Presse wussten allerdings nur wenige Jäger bzw. Jagdpächter von dieser mehrheitlich privaten Aktion. Der *Weser-Kurier* mutmaßte demzufolge einen »verspäteten Aprilscherz« (Niehaus 2016). Die Märkische Oderzeitung dagegen unterstrich die Notwendigkeit der Warnung und zitierte Jäger, die den Rückgang des Wildes beobachtet hatten, das durch die Anwesenheit der Wölfe scheu geworden sei (Kühl 2016). Für viele Anwohner/innen, Spaziergänger/innen und Hundebesitzer/innen wirkte der Hinweis verunsichernd bis beängstigend, denn sie stellten die Signalwörter *Wölfe, Beute, Hunde, Kinder* in den durch die Erzähltradition eingeübten Zusammenhang. »Frisst der Wolf jetzt auch Menschen auf?« (Ahlfeld 2016) kommentierte die Volksstimme Sachsen-Anhalt die »Vorsichtsmaßnahme«, was die Leserschaft wiederum zum Für und Wider herausforderte. Einen Scherz erlaubten sich auch anonyme Reaktionen, die die Warnung mit dem Kommentar »Achtung, gefährlich für kleine Mädchen mit roten Mützen, die ihre Oma besuchen wollen« bzw. »Ich habe Angst um Oma, gez. Rotkäppchen« versahen.

Alles in allem förderte das Auftauchen der inoffiziellen Hinweisschilder den Austausch von Narrativen zum Thema »Wolf«, die an narrative Traditionen anknüpfen (auch wenn sie sich

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5 Laut Bundesamt für Naturschutz wurden im Monitoringjahr 2018/2019 in Deutschland 105 Wolfsrudel, 25 Einzelpaare und 13 sesshafte Einzelwölfe gezählt. Da der Nachwuchs von Wölfen Ende April/Anfang Mai zur Welt kommt, läuft ein Monitorjahr vom 1. Mai bis 30. April des Folgejahres. Das Hauptverbreitungsgebiet erstreckt sich von der Lausitz im Südosten in den Nordwesten bis an die Nordsee. Die meisten Rudel siedeln in Brandenburg, Sachsen und Niedersachsen (BfN 2019). In Sachsen haben derzeit 23 Wolfsrudel ihr Territorium. Davon leben 17 überwiegend in der Oberlausitz (Henning 2020).

hunting in this area for prey, too. Keep dogs on a short leash. Please supervise children." These initially makeshift and laminated prints, which could be found on trees or fenceposts along forestry areas or paths, suggested that they were hung up by the authorities. Upon inquiring of the press, only a few hun-

Fig. 3 **Wolf warning sign II**, Upper Lusatia, Photo Marlis Heyer

ters and tenants of a shoot knew about this mainly privately conducted campaign. The local newspaper, *Weser-Kurier*, assumed a "belated April fool's joke" (Niehaus 2016). By contrast, the *Märkische Oderzeitung* highlighted the necessity of this warning and quoted hunters who have noticed a decrease in game because it has become elusive due to the presence of the wolf (Kühl 2016). These signs caused bewilderment and fear among many residents, strollers and dog owners, because they combined signal words such as *Wolves, Prey, Dogs* and *Children* in a well-known way and gave them context through practiced narrative traditions. "Does the wolf now eat humans too?" (Ahlfeld 2016), commented the Volksstimme Sachsen-Anhalt on the "precautionary measure," which further challenged the readers to think about the pros and cons. Other passersby thought it was funny to annotate the warning signs and added: "Caution, dangerous for little girls with red capes who want to visit their grandma," or "I am worried about my grandma, sgd. Red Riding Hood."

All in all, the appearance of the unofficial signs encouraged dialogue about narratives on the subject of "the wolf," which hold on to stereotyped narrative traditions (even though they disassociate themselves from them). Comparable to the functioning of legends, something is negotiated here that one has not usually encountered oneself. The persistent interest in the signs is demonstrated by offers of an advertising technique company in Lower Saxony, which now offers ten different professional signs about wolves with the statement: "Wolves are not harmless. They are wild and, therefore, unpredictable." If these signs warn, alarm or protect and whether they generate security or insecurity, is certainly a matter of perspective. However, it is safe to say that, due to their resort to traditions of storytelling and their establishment in the cultural memory, they achieve a certain emotional response among woodland strollers. Even though the latter do not encounter real wolves, they are confronted with the circumstance of coexisting in a shared space.

When we chose the conference title "Encounters with Wolves: Dynamics and Futures," our aim was to focus our cultural studies research on the meeting points and *contact zones* (Haraway 2008) which the "return of the wolves"[6] creates. These encounters bring with them processes of mutual learning, changes of theories and practices, narratives and knowledge. Thus, encounters, direct or indirect, mediated or unexpected, also bring into question what we

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6 This phrasing works as a solid expression. It is used in the media but, unlike some interpretations, does not only include ecological but also social negotiations. This is the focal point of the DFG project: "The Return of the Wolves. Cultural Anthropological Studies on the Process of Wolf Management in the Federal Republic of Germany". Cf. also Tschofen (2017).

von ihnen abgrenzen), die selbst stereotyp geprägt sind. Vergleichbar mit dem Erzählen von Sagen wird hier über etwas verhandelt, dem man selbst in der Regel nicht begegnet ist. Die offenbar anhaltend große Nachfrage nach den Schildern belegen etwa die Angebote einer Werbetechnikfirma in Niedersachsen, die mittlerweile unter der Erklärung »Wölfe sind nicht harmlos. Sie sind wild und damit unberechenbar« zehn verschiedene professionelle Wolf-Hinweisschilder anbietet. Ob diese Schilder warnen, alarmieren oder schützen, ob sie Sicherheit oder Unsicherheit erzeugen, ist sicherlich nicht zuletzt eine Frage der Perspektive. Klar ist jedoch, dass sie gerade durch ihren Rückgriff auf Erzähltraditionen und deren Verankerung im kulturellen Gedächtnis eine emotionale Resonanz bei Waldspaziergänger/innen erzielen. Diese begegnen also keinen lebendigen Wölfen, sehr wohl jedoch werden sie mit der Tatsache des Zusammenlebens im geteilten Raum konfrontiert.

»Encounters with Wolves: Dynamics and Futures« – mit der Wahl dieses Konferenztitels wollen wir das Augenmerk kulturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf jene Berührungspunkte und *contact zones* (Haraway 2008) richten, welche die »Rückkehr der Wölfe«[6] mit sich bringt. Die Begegnungen gehen mit Prozessen des gemeinsamen Lernens und mit der Veränderung von Theorien, Praktiken, Narrativen und Wissensbeständen einher. Gleichzeitig stellen die Begegnungen, direkt und[7] indirekt, vermittelt und unvermittelt, in Frage, was wir über das Zusammenleben mit Wölfen wissen oder zu wissen glauben. Wölfe sind flüchtig und manifest in einem. Die wenigsten von uns bekommen sie zu sehen. Es scheint als wollten sie sich unseren (kulturwissenschaftlichen) Blicken entziehen; die Tiere bleiben weitgehend unsichtbar. Ihre Anwesenheit materialisiert sich vielmehr in Zäunen und Herdenschutzhunden, in Gesetzestexten und biologischen Studien, in Kotproben und DNA-Tests, in Dokumentarfilmen, Zeitungsartikeln, in den oben beschriebenen Hinweistafeln und vielem mehr.

Wölfe erregen Emotionen, setzen materielle und diskursive Effekte. Sie wecken Hoffnungen und Zweifel, bringen Konflikte und Fragen mit sich. Die Aushandlungen möglicher *Zukünfte* (vgl. Zeitlyn 2015; Arnold und Heyer in diesem Band) mit Wölfen müssen vielstimmig geführt werden. Sie müssen auch die Stimmen einbeziehen, die allzu oft überhört werden, die leise sind und nicht zu den schablonenhaften, stereotypen Bildern passen, die von Medien und den Lobby-Verbänden der verschiedenen Interessensgruppen so oft gezeichnet werden.

Wölfeforschung jenseits von Biologie und Ökologie

Um den komplexen, an die Wolfsrückkehr geknüpften Prozessen sowie den damit zusammenhängenden Fragestellungen und Herausforderungen gerecht zu werden, kann die Rückkehr der Wölfe nicht allein von biologischen und ökologischen Studien begleitet werden. Auch die Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften müssen ihren Anteil leisten und mit ihrer Expertise zum

6 Diese Formulierung funktioniert inzwischen als stehende Wendung. Sie wird vielfach medial aufgegriffen, bezeichnet aber entgegen dem ersten Eindruck nicht nur einen ökologischen, sondern einen gesellschaftlichen Aushandlungsprozess. Diesen stellt auch das DFG-Forschungsprojekt »Die Rückkehr der Wölfe. Kulturanthropologische Studien zum Prozess des Wolfsmanagements in der Bundesrepublik« in den Fokus. Vgl dazu auch Tschofen 2017.

knew or thought we knew about living with wolves. Wolves are elusive and manifest simultaneously. Only a few of us ever get to see them. It seems as if they want to escape our (cultural studies) gaze. Their presence materializes in fences and guarding dogs, law texts and biological studies, fecal samples and genetic testing, documentaries and newspaper articles, the signs mentioned and much more.

Wolves evoke emotions and create material as well as discursive effects. They stir up hopes and doubts and carry conflicts and questions with them. The negotiations about what potential *futures* (cf. Zeitlyn 2015; Arnold and Heyer in this volume) with wolves might look like have to be conducted in a polyphonic way. These also have to include voices which are all too often overheard, are quiet and do not fit into clichéd and stereotypical ideas which are often portrayed by the media and lobby organizations of different interest groups.

Research on Wolves beyond Biology and Ecology

In order to understand these complex processes, as well as connected questions and challenges, the return of the wolves cannot solely be supervised by and organized through the lens of biological and ecological research. The expertise of social and cultural sciences also has to contribute and deliver their share in order to obtain a better understanding of these *multispecies*[7] processes. The unique perspective, especially of European Ethnology and Sociocultural Anthropology, that highlights the logics of everyday life, can make the effects on versatile networks in which the returnees interact visible.

This is precisely the premise for the research project "The Return of the Wolves. Cultural Anthropological Studies on the Process of Wolf Management in the Federal Republic of Germany" under the direction of Michaela Fenske at the Chair of European Ethnology at the University of Würzburg, which is funded by the German Research Association (DFG).

This project, with sub-projects in Lower Saxony and Lusatia and a research focus on human-animal relationships, labor worlds and narratives, is dedicated to the processes triggered by a wolfish presence. The sub-project carried out in Lusatia found a cooperation partner in the Sorbian Institute, with outstanding regional and professional expertise, through which a deep understanding of the region and its history and present has been made possible. The "return of the wolves" for Sorbian studies is not only relevant as a topic of public discourse within the Sorbian settlement zone. It is also necessary to research how entities, such as livestock and livestock guarding animals, game and wolves, contribute as a constituting moment to rural Sorbian or multicultural everyday culture, especially regarding the ways of life and agriculture in Lusatia. Apart from that, a cultural studies approach to research about wolves is also relevant to the topic of research "Minorities and Nature" at the Sorbian Institute (Langer 2019; Piñosová 2019). In Germany, Lusatia is predestined for research about wolves, especially because the return of the animal started out in this region. Bautzen / Budyšin was chosen as the location for the conference to account for this development and the accumulated knowledge.

7 Multispecies approaches work under the assumption that society is formed by human and nonhuman Others and that our coexistence influences our lives and identities.

besseren Verständnis dieser *Multispecies*[7]-Prozesse beitragen. Gerade der spezifische Blick der Europäischen Ethnologie bzw. Sozial- und Kulturanthropologie, der Alltagslogiken in den Vordergrund stellt, kann die *viel-artigen* Netzwerke sichtbar machen, innerhalb derer die Rückkehrenden Effekte setzen. Genau hier setzt das von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) geförderte Projekt »Die Rückkehr der Wölfe. Kulturanthropologische Studien zum Prozess des Wolfsmanagements in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland« unter der Leitung von Michaela Fenske am Lehrstuhl für Europäische Ethnologie / Volkskunde der Universität Würzburg an. Mit Teilprojekten in Niedersachsen und der Lausitz sowie Forschungsschwerpunkten auf Mensch-Tier-Beziehungen, Arbeitswelten und Narrationen widmen sich unsere Forschungen den durch wölfische Präsenz angestoßenen Prozessen. Die Untersuchungen in der Lausitz finden in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Sorbischen Institut statt, dessen regionale und fachliche Expertise ein tiefes Verständnis für die Region und ihre Spezifik in Geschichte und Gegenwart ermöglicht. Für die Sorabistik sind die »Begegnungen mit Wölfen« nicht nur als ein im sorbischen Siedlungs-gebiet geführter gesellschaftlicher Diskurs interessant. Vielmehr wäre zu fragen, inwieweit hinsichtlich der Lebensweisen in der Lausitz allgemein, besonders der Bewirtschaftung von Wald und Wiesen nicht auch die Herden- und Herdenschutztiere, das Wild und eben auch die Wölfe ein konstituierendes Moment ländlicher sorbischer bzw. mehrkultureller Alltags-kultur ist. Darüber hinaus liefern die kulturwissenschaftlichen Wölfeforschungen einen Beitrag zum ebenfalls am Sorbischen Institut angesiedelten Forschungsthema »Minderheiten und Natur« (vgl. Langer 2019; Piñosová 2019). In Deutschland ist die Lausitz als Standort für Wölfe-forschung prädestiniert, da auch die Rückkehr der Wölfe in dieser Region ihren Ausgang nahm. Mit Bautzen / Budyšin als Tagungsort wurde dieser Entwicklung und dem hier akkumulierten Erfahrungswissen Rechnung getragen.

Von Beginn an setzte das Würzburger DFG-Projekt auf internationale Vernetzung. Besonders eng arbeit es mit dem von Bernhard Tschofen geleiteten Forschungsprojekt »Wölfe: Wissen und Praxis. Ethnographien zur Wiederkehr der Wölfe in der Schweiz«, das am Institut für Sozialanthropologie und Empirische Kulturwissenschaft (ISEK) der Universität Zürich ansässig ist und vom Schweizer Nationalfonds (SNF) gefördert wird. Die in diese Kooperation involvierten Wissenschaftler/innen sehen sich als Vertreter/innen einer wissenschaftlichen Disziplin, die sich der Erforschung von Alltagen widmet, und gehen von der Prämisse aus, dass Gesellschaften nur verstanden werden können, indem sie über Menschen hinausgedacht und analysiert werden. Aus diesem Fach- und Forschungskontext (vgl. Kirksey und Helmreich 2010; Ingold 2013) heraus wollen wir mehr über Entwicklungen und Dynamiken zwischen Wölfen und Menschen, aber auch Schafen, Hunden, Rehen und weitere erfahren. Um den Austausch zu forcieren, luden wir andere Wissenschaftler/innen nach Bautzen ein. Das positive Echo be-stätigte uns darin, hier einen Nerv getroffen zu haben: Wölfe sind – mit ihrem Potenzial zu polarisieren – (handlungs-)mächtige nicht-menschliche Akteure, die uns sowohl als Forscher/innen als auch als Mitglieder der Zivilgesellschaft herausfordern. Mit wem wollen wir zusam-

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7 Multispecies-Ansätze gehen davon aus, dass Gesellschaft gemeinsam von Menschen und nicht-menschlichen Anderen gemacht wird, und dass das gemeinsame Leben und Werden bestimmt, wer und wie wir sind.

*Fig. 4 **"will kommen** [well come / want to come] – **chcu přińć"**, series 1–28, sheet 12, Sophie Natuschke, multicolor offset, 49 x 62 cm, 2018*

From the beginning, the Würzburg project has striven for networking at an international level. A close cooperation was established with the project "Wolves: Knowledge and Practice. Ethnographies on the Return of Wolves in Switzerland," under the direction of Bernhard Tschofen, based at the Department of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies at the University of Zürich and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF). The researchers involved in the cooperation regard themselves as representatives of a discipline which dedicates its research to the everyday lives of people (cf. Kirksey and Helmreich 2010; Ingold 2013). Furthermore, they support the premise that society can only be understood by thinking and analyzing beyond the human. We are eager to learn more about the developments and dynamics of the encounters of wolves and not only humans but also sheep, dogs and others. In order to exchange knowledge and experience, we invited other researchers to initiate a dialogue in Bautzen. The broad audience attracted by this avowal once again showed the relevance of this topic: Wolves, with their potential to polarize, are powerful nonhuman actors who challenge us as researchers as well as members of civil society. With whom do we want to live? Who is involved in, affected or influenced by processes of change? Which instruments do we have in order to cope with nonhuman, for example, wolfish impulses?

menleben? Wer ist in Veränderungsprozesse involviert, wer von ihnen betroffen oder durch sie beeinflusst? Und welche Instrumente haben wir eigentlich, um mit nicht-menschlichen, also beispielsweise wölfischen, Impulsen umzugehen?

Um diese und viele andere Fragen zu diskutieren sowie sich über Erfahrungen, Expertisen und Projekte auszutauschen, trafen sich vom 27.–29. Juni 2018 Forscher/innen aus verschiedenen europäischen Ländern und kultur-, gesellschafts- und naturwissenschaftlichen Disziplinen in Bautzen. Die Konferenz wurde von den Wölfeforscherinnen und -forschern vom Lehrstuhl für Europäische Ethnologie/Volkskunde der Universität Würzburg, dem Sorbischen Institut und dem ISEK der Universität Zürich gemeinsam organisiert. Die Beiträge des vorliegenden Tagungsbands basieren im Wesentlichen auf den gehaltenen Vorträgen und den der Tagung geführten Diskussionen. Sie (re-)präsentieren ganz unterschiedliche Annäherungen an Wölfe[8]. So eröffnen wir ein breites Spektrum verschiedener Perspektiven auf eine Spezies und ihre Verankerung im kollektivem Gedächtnis, in sozialen und wissenschaftlichen Kontexten und öffentlichen Diskursen. Die Autorinnen und Autoren stehen an unterschiedlichen Punkten ihrer wissenschaftlichen Werdegänge und jeweiligen Forschungsprojekte, und so sind auch die Aufsätze unterschiedlicher Natur. Während einige Beiträge abgeschlossene Untersuchungen vorstellen, gewähren andere Texte Einblick in laufende Projekte.

Für den Tagungsband haben wir die Beiträge zwei Themenbereichen zugeteilt: Die Beiträge im ersten Bereich legen einen stärker regionalen Fokus auf Wölfe in den Kontexten von Erinnerung, Tradition, Raum oder Folklore. Die Arbeiten im zweiten Bereich setzen sich eher mit Fragen nach der Konzeptualisierung und Theoretisierung von Wölfen auseinander. Die Unterteilung dient mehr der groben Orientierung für die Leser/innen und ist nicht als programmatische Gliederung zu verstehen.

Regionale Fallstudien

Die Wölfe wanderten aus Polen in die Lausitz ein. **Emilia Mielaniuk** stellt in ihrem Aufsatz ein liminales Wesen vor, dessen Bild in Folklore, Sprache, Kunst und Bräuchen fest verankert ist. Mielaniuk zeigt, dass das Wolfsbild im vorchristlichen Polen wesentlich nuancierter war, als es das gegenwärtige Schwarz-Weiß-Bild vermuten lässt. Ihrer Argumentation folgend, könnte dieses differenziertere Verständnis Aushandlungen heutiger Beziehungen erleichtern.

Aus Polen geht es weiter nach Finnland, ein Land, auf das in Wolfsdebatten oft verwiesen wird. **Heta Lähdesmäki** untersucht, wie Vergangenheit als Argument für den heutigen Umgang mit Wölfen genutzt wird. Dabei setzt sie sich mit kollektiven Erinnerungen auseinander und sucht nach verschiedenen, zum Teil im hegemonialen Diskurs verlorengegangenen Erinnerungen an Mensch-Wölfe-Beziehungen.

Thorsten Gieser gibt mit seinem Beitrag einen tiefen Einblick in den Umgang der Tuva (Mongolische Republik) mit Wölfen. Diese Hirten verbindet ein komplexes Netzwerk aus Erfahrungen und Erzählungen mit den Wölfen, mit denen sie sich die mongolische Steppe teilen.

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8 Leider konnten nicht alle Vortragenden der Konferenz zur vorliegenden Publikation beitragen. Wir freuen uns
umso mehr, einige Autorinnen und Autoren gewonnen zu haben, die an der Tagung teilgenommen haben.
Ein Bericht über die Tagung erschien unter H-Soz-Kult (Gieser 2018).

We brought a multidisciplinary and international group of researchers together to let them share their experiences, thoughts and expertise, and to discuss these and more questions and projects with each other on June 27 to 29, 2018. The conference was organized by the research teams at the Chair of European Ethnology at the University of Würzburg, the Sorbian Institute and Department of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies at the University of Zürich. The contributions to this volume are based mainly on the presentations and following discussions which took place during the conference. They (re-)present different approaches to wolves[8]. Consequently, we open up a wide spectrum of different perspectives towards a species and its implementation into collective memory, social frameworks, scientific thoughts and public discussions. The authors are at different stages of their academic careers and research projects. Thus, the types of articles differ. Some of them represent concluded studies, while others offer a glimpse into research in progress.

The publication is subdivided into two parts. The contributions in the first half share a rather strong regional perspective, thinking about wolves in the contexts of memorative or traditional practices as well as of space or folklore. The contributions of the second part highlight questions of conceptualizing or theorizing wolves. However, this segmentation only serves as a means of orientation and should not be understood as a programmatic outline.

Regional Case Studies

German wolves initially came to Lusatia from Poland, and that is where **Emilia Mielaniuk** takes us with her research. She introduces the wolf as a liminal creature "trapped between the imagination and the reality," whose image and understanding is deeply rooted in folklore, linguistics, arts and traditions. Mielaniuk shows that wolves in pre-Christian Polish traditions were neither black nor white but nuanced in many ways. Following along with her argumentation, this differentiated understanding might ease encounters with wolves nowadays.

From Poland we move to Finland, a country often referred to in debates about wolves. **Heta Lähdesmäki** shows how the past is used as an argument for how to interact with wolves now. To do so, she takes into account shared memories and analyzes different, sometimes forgotten ways of remembering and narrating human-wolf-relationships.

Thorsten Gieser gives us a deep insight into Tuva's (Mongolian Republic) approach towards wolves. Sharing space in the Mongolian steppe, these pastoralists' interactions with wolves unfold as a broad network of intertwined experiences and stories. We are introduced to a tradition of both deep respect for and hunting of wolves.

Finally, **Robert Lorenz** shares his perception of Lusatia as "wolfland" with us in a photo essay, inviting us to look through the lens of his camera onto well-known landscapes and scenery. For everyone who does not know the region of Lusatia, his pictures offer impressions of shared living spaces of humans and wolves, even though none of them are actually portrayed.

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8 Unfortunately, some presenters were unable to contribute to this publication. We are therefore delighted to
have received contributions from scientists who attended the conference as listeners. The original programme
can be found in the conference report (Gieser 2018).

Zum Schluss der ersten Sektion präsentiert **Robert Lorenz** seine Wahrnehmungen der Lausitz als »Wolfsland« in einem Fotoessay. Den Kenner lädt er dazu ein, vertraute Landschaften und Szenen durch seine Kameralinse neu zu sehen. Für alle, die die Lausitz nicht kennen, bieten seine Bilder die Szenerie zu den Lebensräumen, die sich Menschen und Wölfe in der Lausitz teilen, wenngleich weder die einen noch die anderen »persönlich« abgebildet sind.

Wölfe denken / konzeptualisieren / kommunizieren

Zu Beginn des zweiten Themenbereichs beschäftigen sich **Irina Arnold** und **Marlis Heyer** mit Multispecies-Politiken. Sie fragen, ob gegenwärtige politische Instrumentarien mit Wölfen und Anderen umgehen können, solange sie nicht in Netzwerklogiken und Interdependenzen denken. Von Ansätzen aus den Futures Studies inspiriert, denken sie über Möglichkeiten nach, Antizipationen zukünftiger Menschen-Wölfe-(und Andere)-Interaktionen in politische Maßnahmen einfließen zu lassen.

Elisa Frank gewährt uns Einblick in den Werkzeugkasten einer wölfeforschenden Kulturanthropologin. Auf George Marcus' Konzept einer Multi-sited Ethnography gestützt, folgt sie verschiedenen »Leit-Wölfen«, um ihr Feld und das gesammelte Material zu strukturieren und ein neues analytisches Instrument zu entwickeln.

In einem von **Laura Duchet** geführten Interview spricht **Michael Gibbert** darüber, wie das Management der Rückkehr der Wölfe als Kommunikations- und Marketingaufgabe verstanden werden kann. Im Vergleich mit anderen Arten zeigt er auf, wie ein und dieselbe Spezies im Laufe der Zeit als Plage, als geschützte Art und als jagdbares Wild gelten kann.

Manuela von Arx, Ilona Imoberdorf und **Urs Breitenmoser** stellen in ihrem Aufsatz die Ergebnisse einer Studie vor, die sich mit Kommunikationsstrategien unterschiedlicher Schweizer Institutionen zum Wolf beschäftigte. Ihr Beitrag kann als praktischer Ratgeber zur Verbesserung der Kommunikationsstrukturen gelesen werden – eine Aufgabe, die keinesfalls nur in der Schweiz ansteht.

Schließlich setzt sich **Sebastian Ehret** damit auseinander, wie Ansätze aus den Human-Animal-Studies und ähnlichen Theorierahmen in Diskurse jenseits der Akademie transportiert werden können. Um für die höchst komplexen Schichten der Mensch-Wölfe-Beziehung(en) zu sensibilisieren, entwirft er ein elaboriertes didaktisches Schema, das Zusammenhänge und Interdependenzen aufzeigt, ohne zu polarisieren.

Thinking / Conceptualizing / Communicating Wolves

Thinking about multispecies politics, **Irina Arnold** and **Marlis Heyer** ask if our current political tools are able to deal with wolves properly as long as they do not think in networks and interdependencies. Inspired by approaches from Futures Studies, they wonder how anticipating future human-wolves-(and others)-interactions could be transformed into political measurements.

Elisa Frank gives us an insight into the tool kit of a cultural anthropologist dealing with wolves in Switzerland. Leaning on George Marcus' concept of a multi-sited ethnography, she follows several Leit-wolves to structure her material and develop an analytical tool.

Michael Gibbert talks in an interview conducted by **Laura Duchet** about how to conceptualize the return of wolves as a question of communication, management and marketing. Comparing the development of the wolf population to that of other animals, Gibbert introduces the climax of a species transforming from pest to protected species to fair game.

Manuela von Arx, Ilona Imoberdorf and **Urs Breitenmoser** present the outcomes of their study on communication strategies employed by different authorities in Switzerland regarding wolves. Their contribution can be read as a practical guide for the improvement of communication tactics, a need that does not only affect Switzerland.

Last but not least, **Sebastian Ehret** asks how perspectives of Human-Animal-Studies and similar theoretical frameworks can be transferred beyond academic discourses. He designed an elaborate educational scheme to sensitize people to the complex layers of human-wolf relationships, which reveals interrelationships and the inherent multidimensionality without polarizing.

finden, der die Tagung so besonders gemacht hat. Das schließt den wissenschaftlichen Austausch genauso ein wie die angeregten Diskussionen während und nach der Konferenz. Wir wünschen uns mehr Gespräche miteinander und empfinden die Bautzener Tagung als positives Beispiel dafür, wie ein Dialog gelingen kann.

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* All quotations from sources that were only available in the German language have been translated by the authors. Please refer to the German version of this text for the original quotations.

Emilia Mielaniuk

Wolves in Poland
The Situation of the Species Trapped Between the Imagination and the Reality

A Background for Research

Homo Sapiens seems to constantly lose its privileged position as the only biological species which is a subject of interest for the academic scholars of humanities, social studies, anthropology or even philosophy. Humans are increasingly often considered one of many various species. Anthropocentric perspective is completed (although inevitably not replaced) by reflection on nonhuman beings and relationships between humans and other species. Studies on animals are no longer reserved for zoologists. Animal Studies, as an interdisciplinary approach, uses the methodology of anthropology, law, ethics or epistemology to redefine the place of the animals in human thinking. In spite of using the anthropomorphism and a trap of considering *human* categories as appropriate to describe another species, placing an animal in the light of interest in order to revalue interspecies relationships brings many advantages (e. g. supporting the movement for protecting extinct species or raising discussions between various social groups).

As an effect of a rising interest in Animal Studies in Poland and at the University of Silesia, the representatives of the faculty of culture studies organized a seminar called "Wilk w naturze, wilk w kulturze" (2013). It was an opportunity to confront the cultural figure of the wolf with *Canis Lupus* as a species in its biological sense. The anthropologists, philosophers and biologists (including zoologists specializing in wolves) gathered together to discuss the current situation of the species within Polish boundaries and from a universal perspective. The polyphonic discussion resulted in a book entitled "Wilki i ludzie. Małe compendium wilkologii" (Wężowicz-Ziółkowska and Wieczorkowska 2014). The book was considered to be a close to complexity view of the species in its biological sense[1], its transfigurations in culture (e.g. popular culture, also anthropology of culture – the figure of wolf in mythology systems of various cultures) and, finally, a metaphoric figure, for example, an important symbol in psychoanalysis. Surprisingly, not only academics were interested in the book, but it also turned out to be an important position for representatives and members of environment protection associations and other people interested in the topic of

*Fig. 5 **Cover of the book "Wilki i ludzie. Małe kompendium wilkologii"** 2014, a graphic project by Agnieszka Lesz*

human-environment relations. The publication was necessary and filled a gap by looking at the topic of wolves[2]. Despite the work done to improve common knowledge about the *Canis Lupus* species, stereotypes are still vivid and strong enough to let people devaluate the statistics and biological facts relating to wolves. The numbers speak for themselves: According to the research undertaken by the Millward Brown Institute and commissioned by the World Wildlife Foundation, 66 % of Poles consider wolves to be a dangerous species and 71 % of the respondents would be scared if they met a wolf in the forest.

On the other hand, 66 % of people think that the wolf should be a protected species, and 77 % are of the opinion that it is needed in nature. Nevertheless, it still does not gain any sympathy from half of the Poles contacted. This is despite the fact that the species is most often associated with family and herd (55 % of respondents) and cooperation in the group (34 %). Associations with danger (40 %), Red Riding Hood eaten by the wolf (33 %), unpredictability (29 %) and threat to people (22 %) still exist[3]. Common knowledge and feelings seem to remain irrelevant to the size of the population of Canis lupus in Poland, which is strictly bound by the legal provisions.

A Wolf in Law

The legal situation of the species has changed diametrically in Poland's history. After World War II, the wolf population was considered to be a threat to people; various actions have been taken to exterminate the species since 1955. A direct incentive to hunt and liquidate wolf puppies by paying financial rewards from the state budget was begun. In 1960, wolves were threatened not only by hunting, but the poisoning of individuals was also allowed. As a result of these activities, the wolf population in Poland had dropped to about 100 individuals in 1973. It was a kind of critical point; somewhat later the bounties offered to hunters were abolished and the species was entered onto the list of game animals. The protection of the species can be discussed from 1992, when the heads of individual provinces began to introduce legal regulations recognizing the wolf as a protected species. According to general Polish law, the wolf was under partial protection from 1995, and the species has been under strict protection throughout the country since 1998. Currently, any wolf hunting is forbidden (with the exception of dangerous individuals and with special permission), and poaching is subject to the penal code. Wolves have been classified as a species near threat ("NT") in the Polish Red Book of Animals. The population of *Canis lupus* in Poland is currently estimated at about 2,000 individuals. Geographically, they occupy three zones throughout the country. The largest of them is the Polish part of the Western Carpathians: Mountain ranges such as the Beskids, the Tatra Mountains and the Bieszczady Mountains. The second largest wolf cluster is located on the

1 Thanks to the articles by Andrzej Bereszyński and his coworkers – the zoologists working on an experimental wolf farm of the University of Life Sciences in Poznań.

2 Two years later, Adam Wajrak, a naturalist living in Białowieża National Park, published a book "Wilki", in which he reported his observations of the species and its relations with inhabitants of one of the wildest parts of Poland (Wajrak 2016).

3 The research began in February 2016 on a representative group of 500 people; available at https://media.wwf.pl/pr/310338/dolacz-do-watahy-w-godzine-dla-ziemi-wwf-i-chron-wilka [21. 2. 2019].

4 According to the Census executed in 2011.

border with Belarus, in the Białowieża Forest, considered as the last primeval forest in Europe. The third zone is the voivodeship at the western border of the country: Western Pomerania, Lubuskie voivodeship.

The presence of the wolf in the cultural memory of Poles (of which examples are presented further in this text) reflects the fact that the inhabitants had frequent and direct contact with this species. That changed – over the years, the urban character of the country developed (almost 60 % of inhabitants live in the cities[4]); people are no longer dependent on nature. They learned how to manage environmental resources (although the current global climate crisis, proven to be a result of human actions, shows that the management was approached in a short-time perspective) and take advantage of it. It concerns the relationships between not only humans, domesticated animals and wild species, but also various wild species. Although the country is still one of the most forested in Europe, the forestry is focused on economic factors, marginalizing the aspect of protecting wild nature. The wolf is still considered a pest, especially for stock farmers. It is undeniable that the number of cows and sheep attacked by wolves has risen relative to the increase of the population of the predator. However, based on recorded cases, the wolf is not as threatening economically as, for example, the beaver. The contribution paid by the government for the losses caused by wolves is much smaller (the example of Podlaskie voivodeship: 8,000 € paid as "wolf contributions" and 500,000 € paid as "beaver contributions")[5]. According to this data, it can be said that the economic factor is (or does not have to be) relevant to the social opinion about the specific species. However, the numbers seem to be irrelevant regarding the common opinion, which constantly presents *Canis lupus* as a direct threat to humans' lives, safety and goods.

Wolf Between the Words

Folklore collects the social beliefs and stereotypes on various subjects as a product of a vernacular culture. The sayings and proverbs are a classic form of this aspect of culture. Julian Krzyżanowski (1972) notes 162 examples in which the wolf is a main figure in his lexicon of Polish proverbs. The interesting fact is that the non-Polish equivalents of those proverbs (English or German) do not contain wolves or contain them incidentally. The table below shows a few examples of the Polish proverbs with their equivalents in English and a general meaning.

As we can see, only one equivalent among these very popular Polish proverbs mentions the wolf. In others, it is replaced by: *devil* (sic!) – that is undoubtedly a sign of a context of evil – or another animals (dogs – which obviously have a lot in common with wolves but as a domesticated species, are not associated with wild nature and threat, or leopard, the animal not present in the Polish imaginary of species). The vernacular culture mechanisms are founded on the principle that the participants, i.e. the members of the local society or another specific group, take an important part in creating various forms of their culture. It seems obvious that the base for the texts of culture consists of subjects that coexist with humans in the environment. From this perspective, the large number of wolves in Polish folklore is not surprising. The research should show comparable data for a complex comparison, i.e. giving the total number of proverbs in various lexical and cultural parts of Europe (as it has been given for Poland).

Polish proverb	Exact translation[6]	English equivalent	Meaning
Nie wywołuj wilka z lasu.	Do not call the wolf out of the forest.	Let sleeping dogs lie.	*do not talk about the danger, unless you want it to show up*
(Natura) ciągnie wilka do lasu.	(The nature) calls the wolf to the forest.	The leopard cannot change its spots.	*you cannot cheat your natural instincts*
O wilku mowa (a wilk tu).	Speaking about the wolf (and the wolf shows up).	Speak of the devil.	*when you mention somebody and he/she shows up accidentally*
Nosił wilk razy kilka, ponieśli i wilka.	The wolf carried a few times, and the wolf was carried too.	Don't cry "wolf!".	*the one who is an abuser may once became a victim*
Wilk syty i owca cała.	Wolf is well-fed and a sheep is safe.	Win-win situation.	*when both sides of the conflict situation are satisfied.*

However, the small set of examples seems to be enough to draw conclusions without (or with only a little) risk of simplification and generalization.

Folk songs, where the textual layer is carried on the musical layer, are a good transmitter of the cultural meanings, among others. Research of the repertoire from various regions (Wężowicz-Ziółkowska 1991:133, 158) gives many examples and the wolf is most commonly a representative of the wild lust threatening innocent young girls. Such a kind of love is the opposite of a romantic one: It is earthbound, uncontrollable and based on an instinctive kind of sexuality:

Piła len pod borem,	[She drunk flax in the forest
Bojała się wilka	she was afraid of the wolf
Wilk za nią, skokł na nią,	wolf was behind her
Zrobił jej Marcinka.	wolf jumped on her
(Wężowicz-Ziółkowska 1991: 158)	made her a little Martin.][7]

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4 According to the Census executed in 2011.
5 According to the report "Przyszłość wilka w Polsce" (The Future of the Wolf in Poland), material published as a result of the conference organized by the Senate Committee of the Environment and governmental Environment Protection Committee (Senate Committee 2015).
6 All the translations are mine – E.M.
7 The translation is mine – E.M.

The *Lexicon of Polish Folk Tales'* ethnolinguistic analysis of Polish folklore points out that the wolf is one of the most popular protagonists of animal folk tales[8]. Surprisingly, in those stories, the predator's most common features are silliness, naivety and greed. It is often laughed at or even beaten. In the plot layer, the wolf is convinced that it can get food in a way inadequate to its biological predispositions and always fails (Rzepnikowska 2018). It is surprising how differently the figure of the animal is presented. It can be recognized as an exemplification of the mechanism of mocking fear which is common in rural folklore (Bachtin 1975).

Liszka wilkowi przyjaciół psuje,	[A fox spoils friends for the wolf,
po całym lesie go obgaduje,	he talks about him all over the forest,
że żarłok nigdy nienasycony,	that the glutton is always insatiable,
że szkody robi na wszystkie strony.	that he does damage on all sides.][9]
(Karpiński 1915)	

In other kinds of folk tales (those which involve human protagonists), the wolf is most commonly an antagonist or a donor, sometimes taking the role of a helper[10]. Those kinds concentrate on such features as independence, strength and flair (Wróblewska 2014).

It is worth mentioning that *Wilk* is a popular surname in Poland – it is listed in the 55th position of Polish surnames (Zawadzki 2002). It is estimated that 45,000 people in the country have this surname. Furthermore, there are also many popular variations: *Wilczyński, Wilczek, Wilczak, Wilkoń*. The surnames, allegedly from the nicknames, show that inhabitants of the area of Poland were commonly compared to the animal; those who were given such special nicknames probably deserved it because of their character traits (courage, independence, but probably also evil or even insanity). Analogically, the geographic names should be pointed out. There are approximately 200 places (e.g. villages, settlements, towns) that have been named relating to the wolf – *Wilkowyje, Wilcze Doły, Wilcza, Wilki*. The lexicon of Polish geographical names notes 306 places of which wolf is the basis for their names; there are various nouns for whose *wolf* is a word formation base and it is frequently used in an adjectival form (Minister of Administration and Digitalization 2015). The other geographical units, such as mountains, rivers and streets, should also be considered, however, because of the lack of one specific source, the numbers will not be given. According to Jerzy Bartmiński's ethnolinguistic theory of the linguistic image of the world, the language preserves the experience of the community (Bartmiński 2009). Lexical structure shows the vision of the world shared by the people (cohabitants, nations). In this perspective, there is no doubt how important the wolf figure has been in Polish imaginary.

8 The category of animal folk tale ("a short story, of which the animals and humans are protagonists. It always contains a moral") has been widely described by folklorist Violetta Wróblewska (2011).
9 The translation is mine – E.M.
10 I refer to the categories specified by Vladimir Propp in his classic work "Morphology of the Tale" (1928). The categories are still used by folklore text researchers.

Wolves in Religious Folklore

The appearance of Christianity in the Slavic lands brought huge changes in the cosmology and perception of the world. However, in the rural territories, where people lived with a huge respect for the environment, considering it their host (as well as the host for another species), the rejection of the Slavic rituals and beliefs (which are based, to a large extent, on the relationship between human and the nature) was hard to execute. As a result, in many cases, the old rituals and festivals were being merged with the Christian order. One of the most durable aspects of the old beliefs adopted into Catholic church were relations between the *sacrum* and nature. Polish ethnologists list the species of animals that were considered as a personification of deity and of those that were on the evil side in folk cosmology (Tomicki 1981: 16–17). *Canis lupus* is an interesting example as the species is not linked to either of the opposing sides. It is situated on the border – a magical sphere, where the connections between good and bad, heaven and earth, people and demons are possible. I would like

Fig. 6 ***Our Lady of the Candles accompanied by wolves*** Source: Wikimedia Commons [21. 2. 2019]

to use the example of Our Lady of the Candles to illustrate this. She is celebrated on February 2, the day of the feast called Candlemas in the Catholic Church (in the Catholic calendar, it is the day of the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple or the Purification of the Virgin Mary). In Polish folklore, on this day, the saint is said to have walked through the fields accompanied by wolves. However, the legend is more complex: At the end of winter, when there was almost no food left for people and wild animals, villages were often attacked by wolves. The Holy Mother is said to have saved one of the wolves from village men who wanted to kill the animal. At the same time, she is believed to protect people from the wolves. In this specific example, a wolf is connected to the deity and she protects the wolves and protects people from wolves simultaneously. The association of the flame of the candle that the Lady carries (and the faithful people bring to church on that day) with the flame of the eyes of the wolves is also interesting. The demonic power of the wild has been bridled by the deity – the balance between good and bad, wild nature and civilization has been achieved. The fact that February used to be called the "Wolf month" seems to be a complement of the legend.

Another example of religious folklore with a figure of wolves is Christmas Eve. During the festival supper, the farmers in the Podhale region used to invite the wolf to join the family for the meal. The animal was encouraged to come with special vows; if the invitation was not taken up, wolves were asked to keep away from the farm during the next year. Christmas Eve

is the time of the passage[11], the moment of coexistence of *sacrum* and *profanum*, when God comes to Earth to meet people. As was mentioned before, the wolf belongs to the sphere of the "between", the sphere of the border. That is why its hypothetical presence during Christmas Eve does not seem to be inappropriate.

Wolves in Art

Among various artists (especially representatives of realism), there is one painter that needs to be mentioned: Alfred Wierusz-Kowalski [1849 –1915]. Born in Suwałki, the northeastern end of Poland and one of the wildest regions, the artist happened to meet the wolves. He even spread the written description of his dramatic encounter with them – the wild and hungry animals attacked the sledges in which the family travelled. However, the father of the family managed

Fig. 7 **Samotny wilk** [A lonely wolf] by Alfred Wierusz-Kowalski, 1890, Source: Wikimedia Commons [21. 2. 2019]

to survive the skirmish, but they had to sacrifice one of the horses. Many years later, Wierusz-Kowalski gained fame in Western Europe as a "wolf painter." He succeeded commercially, as the wolves were a very trendy topic. In his "wolf works," the animal is most commonly presented in winter scenery. It can be interpreted as a personification of the outcast and isolation: The lonely wolf staring at the pack from the distance or standing outside human settlements. Although the experience from childhood is undoubtedly a source for this theme, the author is suspected of intentionally filling the niche for financial reasons (Ptaszyńska 2011). The motive of the lonely wolf was becoming increasingly popular in the United States of America in the end of 19th century. The Polish painter probably decided to introduce that motive into the European sphere – and succeeded. However, the theme must have found a fertile ground in which to flourish. The 19th century was still full of rules and conventions into which the entity must fit. The real needs and emotions may be accessible only through the art. The wolves, with their independence, strength and exuberant nature, may be the personification of human longings. Nevertheless, the work of Wierusz-Kowalski is highly valued and reaches high prices at auction. The theme of the wolf is also present in Polish popular culture and reproductions of the painter's works are easily available.

11 The division of the world between two spheres – sacrum and profanum is a basis for Mircea Eliade's theory of the morphology of religion. In certain moments of time (such as Christmas Eve), the division between those two spheres is blurred and the deity is present between humans in the act of hierophany (Eliade 2008).

Fig. 8 **Wilki napadające na sanie** [Wolves attacking a sledge] by Alfred Wierusz-Kowalski, 1889, Source: Wikimedia Commons [21. 2. 2019].

Present Fears

All the examples mentioned above seem to be relics of the rural past. However, the fear of the wolves considered as mysterious and dangerous creatures is still alive. The rumors about wolves attacking humans appear in the mass media a few times every year. Although they are usually contradicted by facts, in the common opinion, the animals are a real threat as they used to be years ago. The headlines of the articles are constructed to drive the fear: "Will the wolves start to attack people? The hordes are coming", "In Bircza wolf attacks in daylight. He is not afraid of people," "Warning – wolves attack on west coast." The fact is that the reports of wolves attacking humans are close to zero and even if they happen – the animals have been "domesticated" previously or are hybrids of wolves and dogs. The fear – although disproportionate to the real danger – is still strong. The balance between the cultural constructs that has been sustained in Polish society for centuries and a species needing protective actions seems to be an urgent goal to achieve. Thanks to organizations such as Stowarzyszenie dla Natury "Wilk," there is a hope that the awareness will rise in a field of coexistence between human and *Canis lupus*.

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Heta Lähdesmäki

The Memory of a Shared Past
From Human-Wolf Conflicts to Coexistence?

Introduction

Being a historian, I am interested in what happened in the past. As a historian focusing on a very topical issue, human-wolf relationships, I am also interested in how people use the past as an *argument* in wolf discussions. The past and the present go hand in hand; as feminist scholar Sara Ahmed writes, "each encounter reopens past encounters" (Ahmed 2000: 8). Ahmed also states that "[t]he past is living rather than dead; the past lives in the very wounds that remain open in the present" (Ahmed 2004: 33). In human-wolf history, many wounds are still open. In this article, I write about these wounds in the Finnish context from the late 19th century onward. These wounds and the ways the shared history between humans and wolves is told and remembered are part of cultural memory. As memory studies scholar Astrid Erll points out, cultural or collective memory is a controversial issue and the term is often used in vague ways. It is defined in the book *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies* edited by Erll, Ansgar Nünning and Sara Young (2008), as "the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural context" (Erll 2008: 1–2). In a way, the wounds I concentrate on here can be seen as part of the canon of human-wolf history, the official version of what happened (cf. Assmann 2008: 100–102).

I use newspaper reports and magazine articles, historical studies and contemporary literature as well as material related to wolf population management and research to find out how the interspecies past is remembered. I ask how the past has been represented and how it has been used as an argument, for instance, for killing wolves. I focus on two narratives or arguments: One that tells that the shared past was a conflict or even a war which ended when people exterminated wolves in Finland at the turn of the 20th century. The other narrative I focus on tells that after wolves were hunted down, the recent past, meaning the 20th century, was wolf-free, or almost wolf-free, until the end of the century when wolves 'returned' to Finnish nature. After that, I try to see whether the past could be remembered differently, for example, as coexistence. Finally, I discuss whether the past and the ways it is remembered could help us coexist with wolves today.

Argument No. 1: Past as a Conflict

Wolves and humans have coexisted in Finland for a long time. However, most Finns know only that wolves killed children during the 19th century and that subsequently, Finland's wolves were almost exterminated. Historical studies and the media often tell the story of the shared past as a narrative of conflict (Lähdesmäki and Ratamäki 2015; Lappalainen 2005; Teperi 1977).

Conflict is a strong word. As anthropologist John Knight puts it, people-wildlife conflicts mean "relations of rivalry or antagonism between human beings and wild animals which

typically arise from territorial proximity and involve reliance on the same resources or a threat to human wellbeing or safety" (Knight 2000: 3). What is important to see is that people-wildlife conflicts are usually understood in an anthropocentric way (Knight 2000: 3, 23). They are viewed mainly from the humans' perspective: Wildlife threatens humans' way of life, predators attack people, wild animals steal people's prey and crops, and so on. Conflicts are seldom considered from a nonhuman perspective: When people kill wild animals, take over and change their living environments and reduce their nutritional status, it is rarely seen as a conflict. This is also the case with the way many Finns think about the past.

According to the *past as a conflict* narrative, Finns and wolves were at war with each other. In this narrative, the wolves are on top in this battle between species; they threatened people's livelihood by killing reindeer, sheep, cows, dogs and horses, and caused fear when rabid wolves occasionally attacked adult

Fig. 9 **Popular wolf image: a bloodthirsty predator attacking children** *Kansanwalistusseuran kalenteri 1883: 96*

humans. It was also difficult to kill wolves, which made them a bigger nuisance. What caused the deepest wounds, to use Sara Ahmed's term, was that there were three occasions during the 19th century when non-rabid, healthy wolves allegedly attacked and killed children. The wolf image, the idea of what wolves are and what they do, has been affected by the memory of these alleged incidents. The cultural image of wolves has, for a long time, depicted wolves as bloodthirsty predators attacking children, similar to the picture published in an almanac by the Society for Popular Enlightenment in 1883 (Fig. 9).

These incidents are part of a shared cultural memory and media brings them up from time to time, especially when wolves are a current topic. Wolf conservation in Finland began in 1973, outside the reindeer herding area, which covers about 36 percent of the surface of the country[1]. The decree on wolf protection did not actually restrict the killing of wolves that much

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1 Reindeer herding covers land areas from Finland, Sweden, Norway and the Kola Peninsula. In the reindeer herding area in Finland, Sámi and non-Sámi Finnish citizens are allowed to practice reindeer herding, while in Sweden and Norway only the Sámi people are allowed to practice it. The reindeer herding area has a special status and when it comes to wolf protection, different rules are followed that those in the rest of the countries.

outside the reindeer herding area, because it was possible to kill wolves legally during certain months in some of the Eastern municipalities, where most of the wolves existed, during the 1970s and 1980s. It was also possible, under certain circumstances, to kill wolves elsewhere in Finland; for instance, if wolves caused damage or their numbers became too numerous (Decree No. 749/1973 [Wolf protection]). However, the idea that wolves are protected made some people worry about safety both before and after conservation began. The incidents that took place in the 19th century proved to some opinion piece writers that wolves were a threat to humans here and now (see, e.g. Luurila 1972: 2). Historian Jouko Teperi also hinted in the preface of his historical study on human–wolf conflicts in the 19th century that to protect wolves was not a reasonable thing to do, because humans and wolves cannot coexist peacefully, as the past shows (Teperi 1977: 5 – 6).

Finland became a member of the European Union in the 1990s and wolf conservation became stricter. In the reindeer herding area, the wolf came under annex V of the Council Directive 92/43/EEC on the conservation of natural habitats and of wild fauna and flora. This means that wolves could be hunted with permits issued by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Outside the reindeer herding area, the practice has changed several times, but the outline is that people needed to get special licenses in order to make an exception to the protection. Even though it was possible, it was now harder to kill wolves legally and it called for more bureaucracy. Due to conservation, wolves were able to form packs and proliferate more regularly. Again, people brought up the 19th-century events in the media, and some people were afraid that they would recur (Virtanen 1995). Wolf packs have been living in south-west Finland since 2005, and when their territories were first formed, local media and people brought the century-old events out as a warning example (Lähteenmäki 2013; Neihum 2018; Setälä 2005). Because the past wounds were kept open, as Ahmed puts it, it has been difficult for some people to get used to wolves in these areas.

Furthermore, the killing of wolves is remembered in a certain way: The historical narrative, as told by the media and some historians, continues to emphasize that Finns no longer wanted to share their living space with wolves after the child killing incidents and, with the help of better hunting techniques and better guns, they overcame wolves, won the war and got rid of them from central, south and west Finland. The narrative goes on, telling us that people's lives became peaceful after the wolves were gone, thus, suggesting that killing them solves the perceived problem (Lappalainen 2005: 136 – 137; Teperi 1977: 166).

During the 20th century, people persisted in believing that hunting was the best (perhaps even the only) way to react to the wolves' presence (Lähdesmäki 2014). The killing of wolves was unrestricted before 1973. Wolves could be killed legally anywhere, by anyone (see for instance Act No. 290/1962 [Hunting]). From the 1970s onward, some people have felt that conservation and limits on hunting are too restrictive. Nowadays, people living in wolf areas can feel powerless, and some rely on poaching (Rannikko 2012). I argue that these ideas derive from cultural memory, which implies that coexistence between humans and wolves in the past was a constant conflict, that coexistence was impossible and killing was the only way to solve the problems in the multispecies relationship. Killing wolves has often not been seen as a part

of the conflict but as a way to make the conflict disappear. I will come back to this topic in the last chapter, but first I discuss the second argument often used in wolf discussions, that is, the idea that Finland was wolf-free in the recent past.

Argument No. 2: Past as Wolf-free

Genetic research combined with statistical information on wolves killed by people implies that Finland could have had a population of 1400 wolves before it declined at the turn of the 20th century (Aspi et al. 2006: 1569, 1572; Jansson et al. 2014: 2). According to historical sources, before the wolf population declined, wolves inhabited almost the whole country from the shores of the Baltic Sea to Lapland (Teperi 1977). In addition to the idea that the past was full of conflicts and killing, there has been a persistent narrative that after the population declined, the near past, meaning the majority of the 20th century, equals the absence of wolves.

Many present-day Finns believe, mistakenly, that the country was almost wolf-free during the 20th century and that the national wolf population died out at some point. An article published in 2017, for instance, in the largest subscription newspaper in Finland, *Helsingin Sanomat*, stated that wolves "were all killed" and "became extinct" after they killed children in the Turku region in the 1880s (Huhtanen 2017). A common notion is that wolves, in a way, returned to Finland's nature from Russia around the turn of the 21st century when they were known to form packs and proliferate inside the country's borders. Many scholars from various fields researching human-wolf relations have stated this, and so did I before I started to work on my doctoral dissertation on human–wolf relations in 20th-century Finland (Bisi 2010: 15, 37, 47; Borgström 2011: 13; Lähdesmäki 2011: 4; Lappalainen 2005: 136 – 137; Pohja-Mykrä 2014: 32; Teperi 1977: 166). These misunderstandings proceed from the fact that no one before me has done thorough research on wolves in Finland throughout the whole of the 20th century.

The idea that there were no or almost no wolves in Finland can be found in some of the 20th-century sources. Some popular zoological books stated that there were hardly any wolves in the country during the early 20th century (Kivirikko 1940: 23 – 24; Siivonen 1956: 130). In *Suuri nisäkäskirja* (Siivonen 1956), blank areas in maps illustrating the wolves' distribution in 1900 and 1956 emphasized the alleged absence of wolves (Fig. 9). According to the book, the species bred throughout the country in the 1880s but "has now for the past semi-centennial been exiled to the furthest fells in Lapland" (Siivonen 1956: 130). Identical maps were published thirty years later in a report by the Council for Natural Resources maintaining the idea that wolves were absent (Luonnonvarainneuvosto, Maa- ja metsätalousministeriö 1986).

Statistical data concerning hunting bounties newspaper reports and hunting magazine articles tell a different story. According to bounty statistics published in the Statistic Yearbook from 1900 to 1942, wolves were killed annually – except for the year 1928 (Statistical Yearbook of 1944). After 1942, there is a gap in the statistics until 1980, but according to newspaper reports and magazine articles, the 38 years in between were nothing but wolf-free.

Newspapers wrote about wolves that were seen, whose paw prints or kills were observed, including in the areas claimed to be wolf-free. Papers also reported on the number of wolves killed annually. Some wolves received a lot of media attention. Roaming male wolves, for
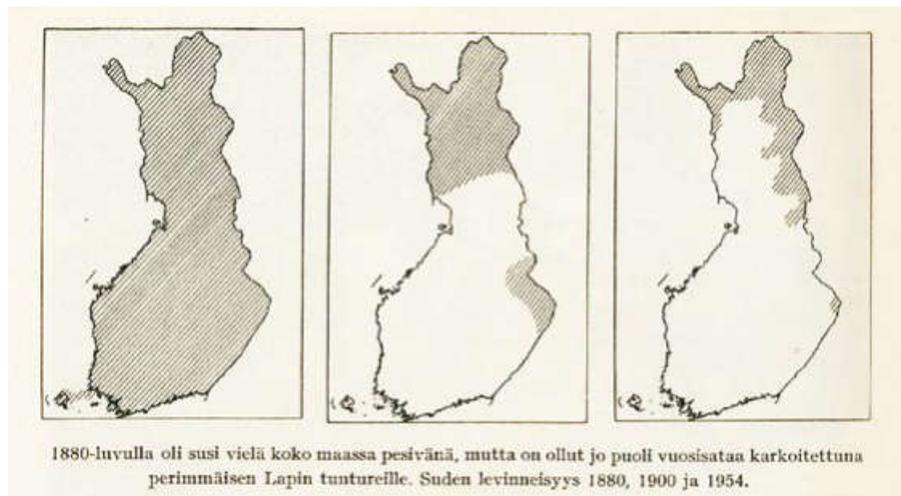
Fig. 10 **Distribution of wolves in 1880, 1900 and 1954** Siivonen 1956: 130

instance, that were seen and killed in Lieto in south-west Finland in 1920, in Tavastia in south Finland in 1953, in South Ostrobothnia in west Finland in 1967 and the wolf seen and killed in Tavastia in 1972 appeared on the pages of local newspapers (see e.g. *Hämeen Sanomat* 1953, 1972; *Satakunnan kansa* 1967b; *Uusi Aura* 1920). These wolves were probably young individuals trying to establish their territory and find a mate.

It seems that the story about Finns winning the war and getting rid of the wolves is not the whole truth. One reason why Finns did not succeed in getting rid of wolves was that 'immigrating' wolf individuals came to Finland from Russia. Wolves crossed the eastern border one by one, and occasionally wolves were observed in numbers: There were a lot of border crossing wolves in Eastern Finland, for instance, around the turn of the 1960s (Lähdesmäki 2014).

Even though contemporary people were aware of the wolves' presence, they made it *discursively* invisible and 'unnatural.' When reporting wolf sightings, newspapers often mentioned that "wolves have not been seen in this area within living memory" (see e.g. *Lapin Kansa* 1938), or "for years" (e.g. *Satakunnan Kansa* 1967a). Such statements made any contemporary presence somehow unusual and momentary as if the wolves were not here to stay. People often ensured that any wolf presence was indeed unusual and temporary by killing them soon after they were observed (Lähdesmäki 2014).

There have also been disputes about the 'Finnishness' of the wolves living in Finland. Sometimes the border-crossing wolves were called intruders and Russian or foreign wolves (see e.g. Siivonen 1956: 128, 141). These terms are charged (and humanizing) and reveal that these wolves were understood to be out of place. By calling the border-crossing wolves intruders or Russian wolves, the papers made the wolves' presence 'unnatural' and further legitimized their killing (before 1973, it was legal for anyone to kill wolves anywhere in Finland). Historian Peter Coates has analyzed that notions on nonhuman nationality are linked to the attribution of

spatial and biological belonging, the right to exist (Coates 2007).

People question wolves' right to live in certain areas even in today's Finland. Nowadays, more wolves are living in west Finland than in east Finland (Luke 2019). The narrative that wolves have been absent is used as an argument to resist their current presence in newspaper writings (Pekkala 2018; Heikkila 2014).

In a way, the notion that wolves were absent has some truth to it: According to game researchers, wolves have proliferated regularly in Finland only from the mid-1990s onward (Suurpetotyöryhmä 1996: 35). Some of my 20th-century sources mention wolves being born inside Finnish borders before the end of the century. Zoological books, newspapers and hunting magazines report sightings of wolf dens or pups, for example, in north Finland in the Oulu area in 1906 (Siivonen 1956: 131–132) and east Finland in Ilomantsi in the 1980s (Sivonen 1983). It is also important to see that if wolves did not proliferate regularly in Finland before the 1990s, it was not because of a lack of trying from the wolves' side. Only after strict conservation from the 1990s onward was it possible for wolves to live longer, form packs and proliferate, because it was no longer so easy to kill them legally.

Past as Coexistence? Living with Wolves and Staying with the Trouble

Thus far, I have written about how Finns have remembered the shared past by using two examples of the commonly employed narratives. The frequently repeated narratives give only one side of the story; cultural memory is quite selective (Assmann 2008). Cultural anthropologist and literary studies scholar Aleida Assmann writes that some things are always forgotten, whether through active or passive forgetting is not sure (Assmann 2008: 97–98). In this chapter, I reflect on how we could think about the past relationships in new ways, see the previously forgotten parts of the past and how this could contribute to the present-day relationships.

Sara Ahmed writes that "[b]ringing pain into politics requires we give up the fetish of the wound through a different kind of remembrance" (Ahmed 2004: 33). If we want to be able to coexist with wolves, one thing we need to do is to let the wounds heal. As I and environmental policy researcher Outi Ratamäki have suggested before, new stories and new ways to remember the shared past are needed in order to let the wounds heal (Lähdesmäki and Ratamäki 2015). One way to do this could be to remember the past as a challenging yet mutual coexistence rather than a conflict.

Of course, one has to admit that the relationships between humans and wolves in an agrarian society were often violent; wolves killed domestic animals and people killed wolves. Still, the story is not as simple as the one we are accustomed to hearing. According to historian Jouko Teperi, before the infamous incidents of wolves allegedly killing children, Finns were not eager to hunt wolves. Historian Jouko Lehikoinen has also shown that some people paid fines rather than participating in mandatory big hunts (Lehikoinen 2007: 83, 191). Teperi suggests that people were reluctant because, firstly, it was difficult to kill wolves and, secondly, people felt that wolves were like a natural force – uncontrollable (Teperi 1977: 73–75). Could the unwillingness to hunt wolves also mean that they were not perceived as malign enemies or terrible burdens by all Finns?

We need to remember that historical sources are selective. When it comes to wolves and other wild predators, many of the sources, such as newspapers, statistics, legislation, photographs and pictures, only tell about the negative impact predators had on humans, such as attacks on prey and people. As historian Jennifer Adams Martin states about sharks, there are very few sources relating how sharks ignore humans and an abundance of sources telling about attacks. The lack of sufficient control data showing that sharks actually do not often attack but avoid people affects how sharks and the shared past is seen (Martin 2011: 452, 454). It is important to recognize that the wolves that never crossed paths with people and never killed reindeer or cattle are missing from most of the sources. They are, in a way, invisible. The old narratives might also exaggerate the harmfulness of wolves because they are often based on insufficient contextualization. It is true, for instance, that wolves killed a lot of domestic animals, but animal diseases were a bigger threat to agrarian society (Soininen 1974: 219). In a way, wolves became scapegoats for all the hardships farmers had to endure.

What I think is needed to let the wounds heal in human-wolf relationship(s)? are narratives where the past is multivoiced (see also Lähdesmäki and Ratamäki 2015). Historical sources are biased when it comes to not only predators but also people. Historian Peter Boomgard has noticed a distortion in the sources when studying the historical relationships between tigers and people. Boomgard states that,

> [o]ne has to look hard at the voluminous literature on tigers in order to find indications that tigers were not always and not everywhere looked upon as deadly enemies. On theoretical grounds it could be argued that the literature at our disposal is biased against such information, and that peaceful coexistence between humans and tigers is therefore underreported. (Boomgard 2001: 59)

The situation is the same when it comes to wolves. Historical sources often state that the wolf is/was the most hated predator in Finland (see e.g. Ylänne 1926: 238), but was it so? Some sources indicate that not everyone hated wolves; and it seems that besides fear and hate, people felt an admiration for wolves. Wolves' appearance, hunting skills and wits were admired (see e.g. *Karjalainen* 1962; Siivonen 1956: 131, 133, 135–137). Some Finns and the Skolt Sámi, one of the Sámi ethnic groups living inside Finnish borders[2], have also told stories about people transforming into wolves, for instance, to run faster (Lehikoinen 2009: 234–235; Pentikäinen 1995: 101–104). These stories tell us that people could admire wolves and their abilities even though they killed reindeer and livestock. Many Finns have also openly criticized big hunts, at least, since the 1950s. A cartoon titled "The last act in the wolf drama" published in the *Hämeen Sanomat* newspaper in February 1953 commented on the chasing and killing of a lone wolf that had roamed to the south of Finland (Fig. 10). The picture tells about relatively positive feelings toward wolves, depicting it not as a Big Bad Wolf but as a small wolf trying to

2 The Sámi people are indigenous Fenno-Ugric people inhabiting areas in present-day Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia.

live his life and dreaming of Walt Disney's Bambi. In 1972, many people wrote opinion pieces to the same newspaper and, briefly, demanded that wolves should be protected (Andsten and Raunistola 1972: 5; Moilanen 1972: 4).

In the first chapter, I mentioned the idea that killing solves conflicts. Nowadays, strict conservation is seen as a problem by some Finns. Unrestricted (or less restricted) hunting is posed as a way to solve "wolf problems" by many rural people, such as hunters and farmers (Rannikko 2012; Rintamaa 2018). I argue that these wishes are based on the idea that prior to 1973 when wolf conservation began, unregulated killing solved the problems in the human-wolf relationship. When looking into the past, this was actually not the case in Finland, at least not in the long run. Even if some Finns wanted to get rid of the wolves and had the right to kill wolves wherever and whenever they wished, successful hunts did not make wolves disappear: The wolf numbers were constantly replenished by new ones from the east. Nor did free hunting prevent wolves from preying on domestic animals. This becomes clear when looking into the history of compensation paid by the state. The state paid compensation from the 1950s and 60s onwards when wolves and other predators killed domestic animals and reindeer (Act No. 574/1956; Council of State, Decision No. 335/1961). The practice shows that killing – even though it worked in terms of killing wolves – did not remove the problem of wolf predation on livestock and reindeer.

*Fig. 11 **The last show of the wolf-drama** Hämeen Sanomat 1953: 3*

Moreover, the new narratives need to emphasize that in the past, people tried to live with wolves, adjust to their presence and stay with the trouble, as science studies scholar Donna Haraway puts it (2016). This was done, for instance, by using means other than killing to prevent wolves from preying on domestic animals. In an agrarian society, dogs wore iron collars; the houses on farms were built close to each other to form a closed yard that barred predators from entering it; shepherds (often children) guarded sheep and cattle in woodland pastures (Kaarlenkaski 2012: 207); and people built fences that were higher than normal ones, specifically to keep wolves away in east Finland in the 1960s when the number of large predators was high due to immigrating wolves (Karjalainen 28.8.1961, 2). These kinds of nonlethal methods of livestock protection are often interpreted negatively, as responses to threat and, as such, part of wildlife conflicts (Knight 2000). Instead of highlighting the conflict side of these actions, we could remember these past examples as human efforts to adjust, to live together with wolves.

Fig. 12 **The Wolf Action Group** *when building protective fences*

Some of these practices have been forgotten, but some are used nowadays in re-invented forms. Some people have made protective vests for hunting dogs from the 1990s onwards. The idea was to prevent wolves from killing dogs even if the predators attacked them during hunts: In the first two decade of this century, for example, a local inventor living in southern Savonia, in south-east Finland, made vests that contained chili pepper and had spikes on them; he also planned to incorporate electricity in them (Liikkanen 1998; Niiranen 2014). Also, from the 1990s onwards, sheep farmers and wolf conservationists have collaborated in building special wolf fences sponsored by the state to protect sheep in wolf areas (Fig. 12).

These present-day examples are not perfect; they do not solve all the problems. However, they are ways to live with wolves. If we want to live in the present-day world, often descri-

bed as Anthropocene, we need to try to learn to cope with the trouble of living together. One way to do so could be to look more closely at the others we live with. We need to stop looking at the past (and present) relationships only through anthropocentric lenses and try to imagine it also from the wolves' perspective. We should ask, what has it meant for wolves to coexist with humans, not just the other way around. Many current historians and other scholars are trying to say something about how, for instance, cows, horses and dogs view the world and people (Fudge 2017; Pearson 2012; Swart 2010). This more-than-human history approach has also been used with wolves: While writing about *The lost Wolves of Japan*, historian Brett Walker tries to say something about the wolves' side of the story (Walker 2005). Of course, there are many methodological and theoretical challenges when trying to consider another creature's point of view. We cannot, for example, fully escape anthropocentricism and never go inside other minds. However, many historians have stated that we need to try to escape the human(centered) perspective. They are trying to broaden the perspective, for example, by using research on semiotics, biology and ethology (see e.g. Mizelle 2010: 44; Walker 2005: 11). The change of perspectives is vital, because, as historian Sandra Swart has stated, human history has never been only human; we have a multispecies past and we need to write multispecies history in order to understand it – and ourselves (Swart 2019).

Conclusion

How we remember the past is vital for the present human-wolf relationship. When media and historical narratives repeatedly mention past conflicts, they maintain negative wolf images, intensify fear and hatred of wolves and, by doing so, perpetuate conflicts in the present-day relationship. They enable people who do not wish to share their living spaces with wolves to use history as an argument. Wolves' presence in certain parts of the country can be perceived as 'unnatural' because of misleading notions about the past.

We should not simplify or silence the past. Rather, I think we should tell many different narratives, more varied and multivoiced narratives than those that have been commonly told. The new narratives should also try to consider the wolves' side of the story. Previous narratives have been anthropocentric. In order to coexist with wolves, we need to recognize that they have their perspectives. We need to tell more-than-human histories and make the wolves and their past visible. If we relate that humans and wolves were archenemies in the past, they will surely be so in the future.

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3

Thorsten Gieser

Beyond 'Natural Enemies'
Wolves and Nomads in Mongolia

Introduction

When I visited a community of Tuva pastoralists near Dsaamar, about 150 kilometers north-west of the Mongolian capital Ulaanbaatar, wolves had killed a lamb the night before. Everybody was still nervous and feared further attacks. Therefore, several men had placed empty oil barrels around the community land which were meant to resemble humans on guard. Older children and teenagers slept outside on the pastures surrounding the tents, ready to scare away any wolves that might appear (the Tuva believe that wolves only attack adults and will not harm children), and the dogs barked into the darkness all night long – running up and down, protecting the pastoralists' animals from a threat I could not see in the pitch dark. It was the first night I slept in the steppe under the stars. And it was a disturbing feeling to know that wolves were somewhere out there, not knowing when or even if they would attack. I do not know how I managed to fall asleep, wondering if the Tuva's tales of man-eating wolves were true or not …
(Field diary, August 12, 2002).

Although the situation pictured above was perhaps more disturbing for me than for the Tuva, the general atmosphere described is a common feature of pastoralist life whenever they expect wolf attacks on their animals or have just experienced one. Although wolves are generally responsible for the loss of only one to five animals per year, a small percentage of the total number of fallen stock per year[1], every single animal is valuable and such a loss can be critical when numbers are depleted in harsh winters. Due to the Tuva pastoralists' involvement in animal husbandry, one would expect them to see wolves as their 'natural enemies.'

This view is shared by Khuukhenduu and Bidbayasakh (2001), who studied wolf depredation in the Gurvan Saikhan National Park in southern Mongolia. They state that "[t]he total cost of livestock lost is estimated at $ 27,455 for interviewed families, which translates into $ 183.03 per family, a high proportion of their annual income. At present, Mongolia pays no compensation for wolf depredations. Thus, rural people hate wolves when they lose animals to them" (2001: 10). Similarly, Reading et al. (1998) maintain that wolves in Mongolia are disliked and persecuted by nomads, officials and local biologists at all levels of government. Comparable statements can be found in other reports by conservation biologists throughout the world.

In these reports, the conclusion seems to be that the economic loss automatically results in a negative attitude towards wolves. However, I would like to question the rationale behind the view that the study of the economic outcome of human-wolf interactions gives us an all-encompassing description of human-wolf relationships.

From an anthropological standpoint, human-animal relationships are always considered to be ambiguous, complex and dynamic. The same is true for so-called human-wildlife conflicts. Various examples of such an approach from diverse regions can be found in John Knight's edited volume *Natural Enemies: People-Wildlife Conflicts in Anthropological Perspective* (2000). The last part of his introduction, entitled "Beyond natural enemies," defends the anthropocentrism inherent in this collection of studies on human-wildlife conflict by pointing out the value of "showing the cultural character of the term 'natural enemies'" (2000: 24). However, it is only in his later work, *Waiting for Wolves in Japan* (Knight 2003) that the expression "beyond natural enemies" is unfolded to present a broad perspective on the complexity of wolf representations in Japan. Here, he elaborates on the meaning of wolves for the developing environmentalist movement, conflicts around wolf introduction plans, traditional views of Shinto religion, wolf-related place names, the wolf in folklore and the wolf's relationships with other animals. Thereby, Knight shows convincingly that a framing of conflicts goes beyond the economic and the political. The wolves presented in his book are not just part of a conflict, they are part of a lifeworld. This is the line of thought that I am going to follow throughout this chapter.

However, there is one more dimension to that phrase "beyond natural enemies" signified by the word 'beyond.' Wolves – wherever they are – are elusive animals, encounters with them are rare and knowledge about them fragmentary at best (Lopez 1978: 4). We have to admit that wolves spend most of their lives unknown to us humans. They are mostly beyond our perceptions and beyond our knowledge. Perhaps perceptions and knowledge need our imagination to reach these 'beyonds.' And this is where wolf stories come in: "To know someone or something is to know their story, and to be able to join that story to one's own" (Ingold 2011: 160–161). The Tuva encounter wolves in a variety of ways and they also know a variety of wolf stories. What emerges is a complex set of relationships which tells of the lives of the Tuva and the wolves and how their lives become entangled. Wolves begin to take shape as ruthless predators (hunters of both domestic animals and humans), in return being hunted as prey, venerated as 'sacred' animals, respected and feared as 'wild' animals and sometimes even acknowledged as benevolent neighbors.[2]

Into the Field

The Mongolian Tuva are an ethnic group of about 4,000 people living in the region around Dsaamar and in the Altai mountains of the Bayan-Ölgii-Aimag, Khovd-Aimag and Khövsgöl-Aimag (Mongush 2003). They are seminomadic pastoralists specializing in herding horses,

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1 Detailed numbers are available from, for example, the Mongolian national park Gurvan Saikhan. The percentage of livestock killed by wolves there was 2.3 % between 2000 and 2001, compared to 1.5 % in Kazakhstan, 1.6 % in Siberia and 2.2 % in the Volga region (Khuukhenduu and Bidbayasakh 2001).

2 Further literature that offers insights into human-wolf relationships in Mongolia more generally is Bernard Charlier's Faces of the Wolf (2015) or Jiang Rong's acclaimed novel Wolf Totem (2008) for more literary insights into the situation in Inner Mongolia.

sheep, goats, yaks, cows and camels. Accordingly, most of their life focuses on these animals. Horses and camels are needed for transport. In addition, camels are held for their high-quality wool, as are sheep. The Tuva, furthermore, process and use various milk products gained from milking horses, sheep and goats. The products include milk, yoghurt, quark and *airag* (fermented mare's milk). As the pastoralists' main task is to care for their animals, their nomadic way of life is highly influenced by a need for pastures, which are switched every few months. Furthermore, the climatic conditions demand that they find shelter against the cold winds at the beginning of winter.

Most of the time, they place their *ger* (Mongolian term for *yurt*, a Russian word meaning a large round tent) within an *ail* (community of pastoralists) which can consist of up to ten, but more usually about five *ger* with their respective families. In the past, these communities were formed mostly of related families. Today, however, they may include unrelated families. Within the *ail*, herding work is distributed, usually amongst men. The *ail* represents the core of Tuva social life, offering opportunities for men and women alike to be in company, discuss matters, let children play together, and so on (Bruun and Odgaard 1996). This is the setting in which people hear stories and anecdotes about wolves and where most wolf encounters take place.

Wolves are so present in the Tuva's lives because Mongolia has one of the largest wolf populations in the world. However, they tend to live in the remote parts of the steppe, the mountains or the forests, hiding from human sight most of the time. Therefore, encounters between wolves and humans are rare and mainly limited to hunting situations (both humans hunting wolves and wolves hunting domestic animals or humans), interacting with wolves kept in captivity or wolf body parts used as talismans or medicines. From both perspectives, the humans and the wolves', domestic animals are at the center of their interest. Both rely on them for food, although in different ways. The pastoralists' task is to herd and protect their animals. The wolves, by contrast, are like invaders or thieves (so the Tuva say) who find in the pastoralists' animals the only source of food besides small mammals, such as marmots.

My ethnographic fieldwork among the Tuva in the Bayan-Ölgii-Aimag (western Mongolia) was conducted in summer 2002. I was introduced to their community as a friend of the family by Galtai Galsan, son of Chinagiin Galsan (then the leader of the Tuva and an internationally well-known shaman), which gave me easy access to close and distant relatives. In the course of the fieldwork, I interviewed 15 individuals, among them mainly elders, two shamans and two wolf hunters. The interviews each lasted 45 to 90 minutes and were tape-recorded. Galtai acted as an interpreter while I jotted down key issues and terms. Later in the day, these jottings were elaborated into a fieldwork journal. I discussed the resulting notes with other pastoralists who lived nearby and checked the information with Galtai during the whole course of the fieldwork and writing-up process. I also compared the information I received with my observations. As wolf encounters are rare, these observations were limited to watching people use wolf body parts as talismans and medicine, interacting with a wolf kept in captivity and preparing for a wolf attack. Not unusually, my knowledge of human-wolf relationships was complemented by everyday life in the *ails*, thereby gaining an insight into herding activities, family lives, religious obligations, dealings with officials and many other things.

Wolves as Predators

There is a Tuvan folk tale that tells of the origins of the predator wolf. Once, there was an old rich man who had a son and owned 1,000 horses. One day, they wanted to move on to other pastures. When the man led his horses to a nearby river, he came across a *dshelbege* (a female 'evil spirit'). She was going to kill him unless he gave her either his son or his 1,000 horses. The old man decided to stay alive and to give his son to her. So, he promised to the *dshelbege* leave his son's bow and arrows behind so that his son would have to ride back to the old *ail* to fetch them, and there the *dshelbege* could seize him. And so it happened. The son rode back and met the waiting *dshelbege*. When he realized who she was, he rode off as fast as his horse could go, chased by the evil spirit. She eventually managed to kill the horse, but with the loyal animal's last effort, it threw the boy into a nearby tree. The *dshelbege* now began to saw at the tree. The boy begged some birds who flew by to fetch his dogs, Geser and Basar, to help him. But they all refused because he had shot and laughed at them previously. Finally, an eagle took pity on him and went to fetch the dogs. As the *dshelbege* saw the two dogs approaching, she dived into the water close by. Geser and Basar followed her and killed her at long last. However, Geser was badly injured in the fight and could not manage the way back to the family. Not knowing what to do, the boy left him behind. Embittered, Geser swore to come back as a wolf and to prey on humans and their animals to take revenge on people for leaving him to die after he had risked his own life to save theirs.

Chinagiin Galsan, shaman and leader of the Tuva, once told me that I could not understand the Tuva's relationship with wolves unless I understood this story. For him, as a shaman, there are certain rules which everybody must obey. While everybody is free to break these rules, people, nevertheless, have to live with the consequences of their actions. This is especially true for breaking the rules of interaction with 'nature' or dangerous animals such as wolves. Wolves are sometimes referred to as 'Bad Heads' (Tuv. *gokii*) because of their bad thoughts of killing, and people can be criticized for being 'as sly as wolves.' However, they are neither considered 'evil' nor are they often blamed for their actions. Hunting and killing is just what wolves do. In the words of Chinagiin Galsan: "The wolf is never so much wolf as in the moment of killing." Yet, they are not considered to be 'killing machines.' A general belief states that wolves eat what they have killed for seven days, then they eat the leftovers for another seven days; for seven days they drink only water, and the last seven days of the lunar month they feed on air. So, it seems that there is more to wolves than hunting and killing. And it shows the wolves' ability to adapt to the harsh climatic conditions of the Mongolian steppe and mountains – with its scarcity of food – and their much-admired resilience.

This belief in the wolf's abilities as a predator is further elaborated in a number of ways, often through hunting narratives. Although most Tuva have never actually seen wolves hunting, such stories are circulated widely by those who have witnessed them hunting. Each story demonstrates a particular facet of the animal's cleverness and, thus, adds to the common knowledge about wolves and their behavior. Here, we see how the wolves succeed mainly by their steadiness, endurance and hardiness:

One winter, a pack of wolves chased a herd of snow goats up a cliff. The wolves waited at the bottom while the goats were slowly freezing to death at the top of the cliff. One after the other, the dead goats fell off the cliff and landed among the waiting wolves who devoured them. Where the wolves had lain the ice had melted away. Wolves are good at enduring the cold and besides, they are hardier than the goats. That's why they were able to kill the goats. (A., pastoralist and wolf hunter)

Another story speaks of their cunning and trickery. When wolves hunt horses, for example, they wag their tails like dogs. The foals become curious and come closer. Then the wolves pretend to flee and when the foals follow them, retreating from their herd, they attack. With a similar tactic they outwit guardian dogs. Some wolves approach them in a friendly manner. Sometimes the dogs are, thus, lured away from the herd where the rest of the pack lies in wait and attacks the dogs once they come close enough. Or the dogs are lured one way, while the rest of the pack attacks on the other side of the herd. A final example shows how their cleverness helps them kill even the most powerful animals:

> Wolves sometimes hunt bears in a clever way when they cannot find anything else to eat. One sly wolf attacks with a jump, rips open the bear's belly and withdraws immediately. When the bear backs away, the other wolves attack from behind and pull out the bear's entrails until the wounded bear with his open belly loses his strength and surrenders. (A., pastoralist and wolf hunter)

However, it is not the occasional attack on a single animal that the pastoralists fear. The wolves' capability of 'surplus killing,' i.e. when wolves take more animals than they can actually eat at that moment and keep on killing, is far worse. Although it is extremely rare that wolves kill dozens of animals at a time, almost everyone amongst the Tuva knows someone who has experienced such an attack. As wolves are capable of killing a large part of a pastoralist's livestock in one night, they can destroy the pastoralist's basis of livelihood in an instant. There are some attempts to explain this behavior, but nobody is really sure. One informant told me that wolves try to enhance their reputation among other wolves with surplus killing. Others say that today's sheep are more stupid than in the past. They do not really run away but only run around. Not understanding their behavior, the wolf becomes increasingly aggressive and, therefore, kills more and more animals. Finally, there is a mythological explanation:

> According to myth, Tenger [*the God of Heaven in the Mongolian Buddhist and Shamanistic pantheon*] once told the wolf that he is allowed to kill one out of thousand sheep, but the wolf understood that he is allowed to kill all but one out of thousand sheep. The wolf was running too fast as Tenger spoke to him and simply misunderstood the godly order. This is why the wolf, so we say, is a dangerous four-legged animal who can destroy the life of nomads in an instant. (S., former schoolteacher, now pastoralist)

And it is not just the livelihood of nomads that is at stake, it is their own lives as well. Most Tuva do not doubt that wolves attack and kill human beings in addition to their domestic animals, although I have met no one who had actually witnessed this. As with the killing of domestic animals, wolves are hardly ever blamed for their actions. The fault is usually on the human side. According to mythology, wolves only kill evil people with negative *karma* and/or they kill to execute a godly order. Sometimes they also punish people who have acted against tradition, as illustrated by the following quote from a pastoralist I met:

> So, it is a tradition in our lives that we don't bring any milk products out of the yurt on the 'nine-days,' that is on the 9th, the 19th and 29th of each month. If one does that, it is likely that one's animals will be attacked by wolves in the night or some other bad thing happens.

Furthermore, wolves punish bad behavior against wolves (see the story of Geser and Baser above). Wolf hunters, in particular, are afraid of wolves taking revenge. There is more than one story about famous wolf hunters who were killed by wolves in the end. I was told of a cruel wolf hunter, for example, who once found nine cubs in a den. Instead of killing them, he severed their sinews at the knee and left them to die. But they managed to survive, and some years later, the hunter came across them again. His horse suddenly stumbled, he fell into their midst and was devoured.

Wolves as Prey
Wolves are regarded as special due to their double role of being both predator and prey. Thus, while one part of the wolves' lives is governed by their hunting activities, the other part is governed by the continuous need to hide from humans. Accordingly, wolves are said to hide and sleep by day and to hunt by night, which is the opposite of what humans do.

Currently, hunts after wolves are not very common. According to Pratt et al. (2004), wolves were heavily hunted by organized groups up to the 1990s. In communist times, a hunter received 50 Tugrik and a sheep as payment from a state agency for killing a wolf. At the same time, a new metaphor concerning wolves was introduced in the Soviet Union which was also brought to Mongolia in the 1940s when the country was plagued by rabies. As Chinagiin Galsan writes in his autobiography, Soviet vets came to Mongolia giving pastoralists poison to kill rabid wolves. These vets said that they will triumph over the wolves as they had triumphed over German fascism (Schenk and Tschinag1999: 167). Today, pastoralists consider the number of wolves is increasing, but since the turn to democracy at the beginning of the 1990s, organized wolf hunts are very rare. The state administration still pays for every kill, but I have not met a single hunter who has ever claimed such payment. "Too bureaucratic," one hunter said to me, or they simply did not know about any bounties. Moreover, in contrast to snow leopards or bears, wolves have a low market value and are, thus, not profitable to hunt (Pratt et al. 2004: 602). This corresponds to my informants' comments on the lesser aesthetical value of wolf furs.

Nevertheless, the Tuva have two traditional wolf hunting days in a year. The first day is in the spring, shortly after cubs are born. Older wolves are killed, and one or more cubs are occasionally raised at home until autumn. Then the cubs are killed, and their body parts are sold or given to friends and relatives as talismans or medicines. The second hunting day is in the autumn, soon after the first snow has fallen and tracks are easy to find, identify and follow. Apart from these two days, wolves are hunted whenever they have attacked a pastoralist's animals.

Hunting wolves demands skilled hunters. In particular, they have to be more intelligent and more favored by the gods than wolves are. As wolves are highly respected for their cunning, intelligence and bravery (which often surpasses human capabilities), only the best hunters are deemed worthy of killing a wolf by the gods and the wolves themselves. This worthiness must be demonstrated in hunting. The hunter has to prove his skills against the wolf in a real, risky situation. It is no surprise to see that hunters have a considerable amount of respect for, or even fear of, their prey. I met a young pastoralist who had shot his first (and last) wolf several years ago. He and some older hunters had found a den where a she-wolf and her cubs were hiding from them. The older hunters told him to enter the den and shoot the wolves, but the young man was afraid to go into the dark den. After a few minutes of teasing, he decided to do it, crawled into the dark and shot the she-wolf and all her cubs. He has never seen a wolf since. The reason for this is that he broke one of the hunting rules, which is punished by the gods with certain consequences. Those who kill a she-wolf and all her cubs will never again see a wolf in their whole life. The rule says that you should leave at least one cub alive so that the rest of the pack has a cub to care for and, thus, does not take revenge. As exemplified in the account above, hunting rules are not just abstract knowledge or ethical guidelines. All rules are proved by concrete examples showing the negative consequences of breaking them.

However, there is more to hunting than rules, contests and risky situations. Interestingly, I found not only the most respect for wolves but also the greatest admiration for them among wolf hunters. One hunter even told me that you have to love wolves to kill them. This love, he said, is unlike children's love of wolves for bringing luck to those who see them. A hunter's love springs more from the sense of an intimate relationship with wolves and knowledge of one another. A retired hunter reported that he quit hunting after many years as he had dreamt of wolves very often (generally considered a sign of luck). They promised to make him rich if he stopped hunting. His admiration and love for wolves, which had developed throughout all the years of hunting, finally became so strong that he followed the wolves' plea and stopped hunting them.

Wolves as Dogs of Heaven

After a consultation with the spirits of a local *ovoo* (sacred place), a shamaness told Cheme, (one of Galtai's brothers who accompanied us) to get a wolf's knee joint, which he should bind to his car keys. Cheme had had a serious accident some months before I arrived, and he was nervous about driving. With the help of the wolf's knee joint, so the shamaness told us, he could prevent further accidents. As Cheme was quite skinny, the shamaness also advised

him and another relative who had a severe illness and had, therefore, lost a lot of weight, to eat powdered wolf's stomach to help them gain some weight. In another instance, powdered wolf's stomach was prescribed to someone who suffered from stomach cancer and had undergone surgery in a hospital in Irkutsk before and was now to be given the 'medicine' to heal.

This little episode shows a different side of wolves. Wolves are regarded as 'heavenly' creatures who should be respected because of their close relationship with *Tenger*, the God of Heaven. This relationship is expressed in the wolf's pseudonym *tengeriinokoi* (Mong. Dog of Heaven), which marks the wolf as being 'special,' dangerous and benevolent at the same time. A wolf killing sheep is as *tengerleg* ('heavenly') as a wolf nursing a human child (see next section). Animals are generally regarded as being tengerleg when they have an outstanding ability, such as strength or speed. Parallel to this term, the word *hiimori* (literally, 'windhorse') is used to denote people with exceptional abilities which they are said to have because of being favored by the gods. This term is usually reserved only for humans, except for wolves. Wolves also have *hiimori*, as they are revered for their strength, intelligence and speed. Consequently, even those who want to just see a wolf also have to be favored by the gods. Killing a wolf, as we have seen, demands even more.

The wolves' status of being *tengerleg* bears an important consequence which affects the use of names for them and other beings. It is believed among the Tuva and neighboring pastoralist communities that one should not speak the name of *tengerleg* and / or 'dangerous' beings. Mountains in the Altai, for example, are *tengerleg* and are, therefore, referred to by a pseudonym. Similarly, a wolf is called 'dog' (Mong. *nokoi*), 'Grandfather' (Tuv. *eshej*), 'Red Eye' (Tuv. *giizil garag*), 'Wood Tail' (Tuv. *iish gudurug*) or 'Dog of Heaven' (Mong. *tengeriinokoi*). The proper Tuva word for wolf, *bör*, is rarely used as this would 'summon' the wolf, and wolves are said to be strengthened every time someone speaks their name. This rule becomes especially important when hunters prepare to go on a wolf hunt. To speak the wolves' proper name would warn them, as they are said to be able to hear over long distances. Although the same rule applies in principle to the Mongolian word for wolf, *chono*, I noticed that people use it quite freely. No one could tell me whether this is because Mongolian, for many, is their second language after Tuvan.

It is no wonder then that this *tengerleg* animal is closely associated with shamans. One shaman even called the wolf a 'four-legged shaman' because wolves can work themselves up into a state of 'rage' which is equal to shamans working themselves up into a trance. The 'four-legged shaman' features in shamanic practices and beliefs in three different ways. Firstly, shamans utter different sounds at the beginning of some rituals to call their spirits. This 'shaman's call' includes different types of 'nature sounds,' such as the whistling of the wind or the wolf's howl. This call is the shaman's way of asking the land for assistance in the ritual. The wolf, therefore, is included as a part of the land.

Secondly, the wolf used to serve as a mount for shamans to ride to faraway places fast while being in a trance. Today, there are no shamans in the region of Ölgiy and Zengel-Sum who use the wolf in this way. But a great Tuva shamaness, whose daughters I met, used to ride to Ulaanbaatar and other places on a wolf. This image of the wolf as a mount also appears in the

iconography of some gods of the old Mongolian pantheon. *Güjir Tenger*, the god of horned animals, is one of those gods who is described as being like a wolf and having a wolf as a mount. A shamanistic invocation says that he rides on a rabid wolf, preys on humans, prowls like a wolf and kills like a wolf (Tucci and Heissig 1970: 362). It is important to note that the mount in the iconography of the gods is not (only) a separate being who is related to the god. The mount seems to be an externalized aspect of the god himself. *Güjir Tenger* is a wolf himself, as is demonstrated by his behavior. Another god associated with wolves is Begtse, the god of war, who is accompanied by the 'Red Master of Life' or the 'Atrocious Life-Master,' riding on a wolf.

Thirdly, the great shamaness mentioned above also used to let wolves bring spirits to her while she performed her shamanic rituals. In past times, it was even thought possible for some powerful shamans to turn themselves into a wolf. However, the heiress to this shamaness told me that there is no shaman left among the Tuva who can do so. Everyone I met, except for one other shamaness, thought it impossible for a human being to shape change into the shape of another being because "a human being is a human being and an animal is an animal."

Wolves as Wild Animals

Nature is an all-encompassing system which ideally remains in balance, a state of normality, regulated by tenger (the sky, heaven). Actions or events in one part of the system affects the other parts. Most of the rules concerning human treatment of things in nature are designed to preserve the normal, 'balanced', state of affairs, and essentially this means leaving such entities to exist in their own way. (Humphrey et al. 1993: 51)

Although the Mongol term for nature (*baigal*) includes human existence (ibid.), most Tuva I met drew a clear line between wolves and human beings. Wolves are not just part of nature; they are 'wild' (Mong. *zerleg*), i.e. they can do whatever they want, and they live in the mountains far away from where humans live. The 'otherness' which is expressed in this definition points to the wolf as perhaps the most typical representative of 'wilderness' (Mong. *dselüüd gadsar*), a concept which needs an explanation from a Tuvan perspective.

The world – in the eyes of Tuvan shamans – consists of many 'circles' of various sizes. Within this framework, there are different levels of circles and each circle contains several other circles. Starting at the top level, it can be said that the Earth is a circle which consists of many other circles, i.e. the continents. The continents are divided into smaller circles, such as the steppes, the mountains and the desert. Within the circle of the *Altai* mountains are still smaller circles, the *ails* (communities). It is possible to describe the whole world as consisting of circles, ranging from macroscopic to microscopic levels. When I discussed this issue with Galtai Galsan, he pointed out a crucial property of a circle, namely, that it does not have corners. If yurts were square instead of round there would be corners without any use. In a round yurt there is no useless space. Every place in it has its clearly defined use. The same is true for the whole world. Nowhere does a shaman see useless space. Every being has its places where it is meant to dwell at a specific point of time. Thus, places have different kinds of uses for different beings at different points in time. This is, of course, a pastoralist's view of a dynamically changing

world in movement, where ontological relationships are always becoming and continually rearranged. The world of circles is certainly not a static geographic one. It follows that, from a human perspective, the world is divided – relative to human movements – into at least two parts, places and paths meant for humans and those that are not. The one not meant for humans is called wilderness. It is far away from human places and paths and, therefore, beyond human control and unknown, to a great extent, just like wild animals. As wolves have their places and paths, it becomes clear why wolf encounters are rare. Wolves live in a different habitat than pastoralists. The latter live in the steppe while wolves live in the mountain areas where they are hidden from human sight. But this is not to say that their paths never cross. For wolves live only in different places from humans during the day. At night, hidden by darkness, their paths lead to human communities, where they go hunting. So, wolves can be said to be constantly on the move – moving in and out of human territories, hunting, killing and hiding.

In rare cases, however, they might invade human territories. One informant told me that, when he was a child, he had to herd his family's horses out in the steppe. In the night, wolves came, and he hid inside his small yurt. Outside, the wolves killed many horses and then he heard the wolves surrounding the yurt. But they did not come in. They left a few hours later and when he came out of the yurt, he saw that the wolves had urinated and excreted all around. The wolves had marked the yurt as their territory. As we can see, wilderness and wild animals are conceived here as dynamic concepts which cannot be reduced to a simple spatial dichotomy of (human) center and (wild) periphery.

Similarly, the categories of 'wild' and 'domesticated' are as dynamic as the boundaries of the 'circles.' Under certain circumstances, domestic animals can become wild but wild animals can never become tamed or domesticated. Those animals who are wild or have returned to the wild should be left where they are, because they cannot be controlled. Even in the case where young wolves are captured in the spring and raised until the autumn, these wolves are neither controlled nor tamed. They are locked up in a cage, but the free will of wolves cannot be broken. Correspondingly, dogs who have returned to the wild are shot or left where they are as they can never be redomesticated and trusted again. Even sheep or goats can return to the wild when they live in the wilderness, i.e. when they are not cared for by human beings.

In view of this, I suggest that for the Tuva, their domestic animals are more 'tended' than 'domesticated.' They must continuously care for these animals to maintain their status as 'belonging to humans.' Life, then, for the Tuva, is a continual struggle with wilderness. Their animals must be cared for so that they do not become feral (Ingold 2000: 61–76). Somewhere out there "where human feet do not wander" (Mongolian phrase) are the wild predators, the wolves, who prey on humans' animals and humans themselves.

Wolves as Neighbors

Even though the Tuva eagerly pointed out and stressed many differences between themselves and wolves, I also discovered a sense of 'shared fate' regarding wolves. They recognize that the seasonal activities, problems and needs of wolves are similar to their own and all other animals in the region. Due to the harsh climatic circumstances, all animals have to struggle with similar

environmental conditions. As a young woman told me, wolves tend to their offspring like humans do and wolves, like humans, kill and eat sheep and cattle. This sense of living in the same environment and sharing similar foci in life is expressed at least in the Tuva's respect for those wolves who live nearby. These 'neighbors' recognize certain rules that non-neighbors do not. For a wolf, it would be unwise to kill animals belonging to a neighboring pastoralist, because pastoralists generally know the dens near their *ail*. The pack would be hunted down immediately. Therefore, wolves "go over seven mountains (and rivers) to kill" (i.e. one 'circle' away), as "only poorly skilled thieves steal in the neighborhood" (both Mongolian phrases).

Like human neighbors in the *ail*, neighboring wolves engage in reciprocal relationships. On the one hand, for example, wolves are said to protect the herds of their human neighbors from other wolves. It is known to the wolves, so the Tuva say, that – should the herd be attacked – they would be the first to be suspected. Therefore, it is in their own interests to prevent other wolf packs from hunting in their territory. On the other hand, wolves in need might find help from their human neighbors, for example, when they have a thorn in their paw or a bone stuck in their mouth. The wolf hunter A. told me of an old woman who lived alone and lost all her animals during a long, harsh winter. Then, one night she heard someone shooting outside. As she went out of the yurt, she saw a wounded wolf lying nearby. The old woman carried the wolf inside and nursed his wounds. She gave him meat from her dead animals to eat until he finally recovered. Since that time the wolf brought living sheep and goats to the old woman every day. Finally, she became one of the richest nomads in the region. This wolf's behavior was said to be 'noble-minded' and similar benevolent behavior is reported in many other stories.

A related theme is the nursing of human children or baby animals by neighboring wolves – a recurrent and prominent theme in many parts of the world (Lopez 1978; Marvin 2015). The pastoralist and wolf hunter D. told me about a family who was unable to have children:

> All babies died the day they were born. A shaman told the family to place the next baby in a nearby wolf's den for five months. The parents did so. The wolves did not harm the baby since they harm no young, be it wolf cubs or human children. The wolves raised the child until he was one year old. Then his parents stole him and brought him back to their home. The wolves wanted him back. However, the boy's parents would not let him go. Being refused their wish, the wolves killed all the family's horses but finally gave up. No child of this family has ever died at birth since then and their successors are known as the 'wolf family' that lives until today.

From the Tuva's perspective, the rules for living with neighbors – like all the other rules I have mentioned before – are known and generally respected by both sides. Wolves know the consequences of breaking the rules and can imagine what their human neighbors would do in return. So, for the Tuva, it is clear that wolves are capable of real *social* interaction with humans. They are capable of 'taking the role of the other.' This is demonstrated in the following account where a Tuva told me of a she-wolf who stole a lamb in her neighborhood to show her cubs how to hunt and kill. She told her young not to injure the lamb. But they played so intensely

that they, unfortunately, killed the lamb. The she-wolf knew that this was a violation of neighborhood rules and went to another herd far away to steal a lamb that looked like the dead one. She then brought it discreetly into the herd where the other lamb was missing, as she knew that she and her cubs would be hunted down if she did not replace the dead lamb.

Epilogue

During that first night outdoors in the steppe near Dsaamar that I recalled at the beginning of this chapter, my experience was infused with the stories I had heard before. As it was early on in my fieldwork, I had not heard too many stories, but they were disturbing enough to make me feel uneasy in that to-me-unknown 'animal atmosphere.' Wolves had just been there the night before; they left a dead lamb behind; oil barrels now stand as if in memory of this event; the night is more lively as children stay with the herd in anticipation; the dogs run around all the time and bark all night into the dark where they perceive or just imagine the wolves to roam. While the atmosphere was already dense from all that I could perceive, what was it like for the Tuva who perceived all this (and probably many things I did not) and who imagined so many things more, fueled by all those stories they had listened to since their childhood?

In European countries where wolves have returned recently after a long (forced) absence, scientists often want to displace common 'myths' about wolves (i.e. 'traditional' and/or personal-subjective narratives) with scientific 'facts.' Even among scientists themselves, personal narratives are generally disregarded as subjective 'anecdotes' (Kompatscher et al. 2017: 206–209). Interesting, perhaps, but not very informative. Yet, stories seem to have their place among the Tuva; not just for entertainment but for knowledge about wolves. This way of conceiving stories is, from an anthropological standpoint, typical of so-called 'traditional environmental knowledge' per se. Here, stories are not primarily considered to be collections of 'facts' to be transmitted from narrator to audience but instead offer guidance in an ever-changing world. As Tim Ingold put it: "[T]he telling of stories is an education of attention" (2013: 110). Wolf encounters and wolf stories go hand in hand, as do perception and imagination. Colin Scott, who has been working with the North American Cree for some decades, summarized this conception of stories when he explained how a young man might experience his first encounter with a bear:

> His experience of that meeting, what he notices, how he interprets it, and the stories he tells about it later, involve all he had learned to imagine before the event, resonating with the unique unfolding of the event itself, made all the more vivid by expectation, and all the more exigent of understanding. (Scott 2006: 54)

The Tuva certainly *understand* wolves in this way and perhaps this is the reason why their relationship cannot be reduced to one of 'natural enemies.' Instead, the complexity of their relationships mirrors the variety of encounters and stories available in the steppes and mountains of Mongolia.

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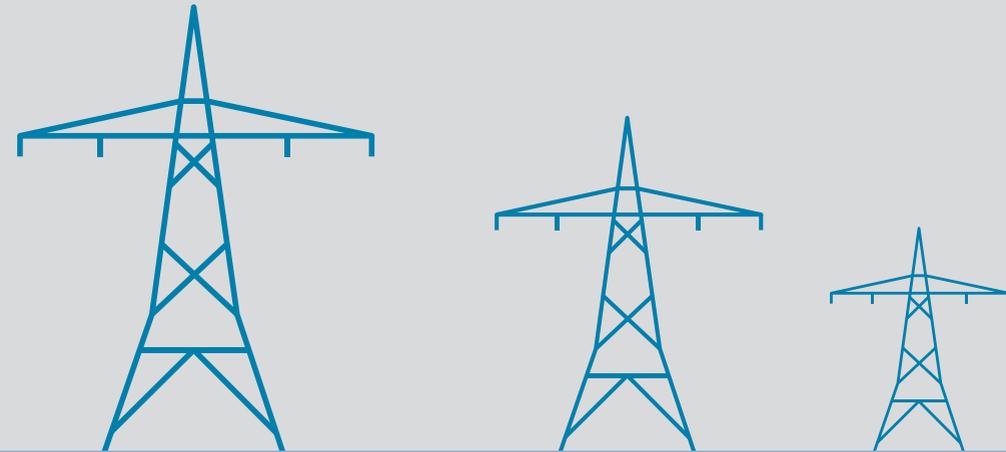
Wolfsland
Wjelči kraj
Wolf Country
Photo Essay

Robert Lorenz

Wolf Country
Photo Essay

I first encountered 'The Wolf' as a photographic theme of Lusatia in 2008 in the form of a political threat written on a ridge pillar near Boxberg / Hamor: "Politicians, take action against the wolves, or we will vote for NPD!" (far-right ultranationalist party). Shortly thereafter I wrote about the political fault emerging here between the center and the periphery that "the periphery responds to the feeling of being left by the center 'to Wolf,' by opposing the center with 'the Nazi,' its own wolf, and letting it enter the parliaments 'in the cities'." (Lorenz 2008: 153) Ten years later, about 35 % of the voters in Lusatia made this threat come true and elected the right-wing populist AFD as the strongest party in both the Brandenburg and Saxon parts of the region.

In the last 150 years, Lusatia has undergone multiple transformations, especially in its central part: Within a few decades, the path led from the quiet, small-scale Sorbian heath landscape to the socialist 'coal and energy center of the GDR.' Its 'transformation process,' that took place after 1990, as if in fast motion, is now coming to a foreseeable end in the wake of global climate policy. What remains is a Lusatia that has to develop a new narrative of itself. In this process 'The Wolf' has become a highly emotional metaphor for the return of the wilderness to an area which, together with its people, was still at the center of the modernist promises of socialist progress.

However, the animal is not merely a metaphor and politically contested allegory of 'future.' It is also a concrete predator in a landscape in which it has found its place over the last twenty years: Firstly, in the almost deserted expanses left behind by the open-cast mines after the man-made clearing of the heath. In the meantime, however, also in the densely populated areas of southern Upper Lusatia, where the conflicts increase and the political pressure from animal keepers and hunters rises to contain the spread of the packs. The wilderness is a topic of conversation at garden fences and while sharing a beer with the neighbors in front of the garages. Who saw them last, where did they cry last, should one drive the cows to the pasture at the edge of the forest where, in the second year of drought in a row, some fresh grass still remains? Do I still dare to go alone into the forest where there is not a single mouflon left?

The twenty photographs in this series represent an attempt to approach the emotional and spatially tangible landscape of Wolf country with its fields of tension outlined here.

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LORENZ, Robert 2008: Wir bleiben in Klitten. Zur Gegenwart in einem ostdeutschen Dorf, Münster: LIT Verlag.

Nr. 1   View from the landscape park Nochten / Wochozy to the power station Boxberg / Hamor, 2013

Nr. 2 In the South town of Weißwasser / Běła Woda, 2013

Nr. 3 Village green Nochten / Wochozy, 2013
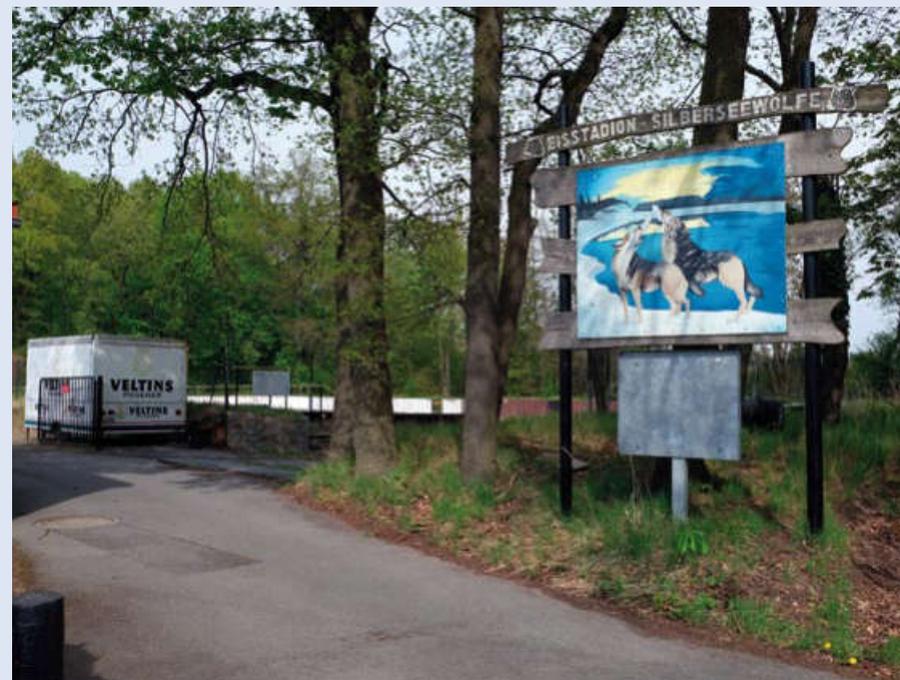
Nr. 6 Wuischke / Wuježk, 2016

Nr. 7 Pasture near Lohsa / Łaz, 2015

Nr. 8 Fields near Klein Trebendorf / Trjebink, 2014

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Nr. 14 The Struga-creek between Trebendorf/Trjebin and Schleife/Slepo, 2014

Nr. 15 Restored pond landscape closed due to mining damage at Lohsa/Łaz, 2015

*Nr. 16 "WK X", former housing complex in typical GDR panel construction
at the edge of the Neustadt of Hoyerswerda / Wojerecy, 2014*

*Nr. 17 Country road on the backfilled tip of the Nochten / Wochozy open-cast mine
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Nr. 18 At Bärwalder See near Uhyst / Delni Wujĕzd, 2014

Nr. 19 At Bärwalder See near Uhyst / Delni Wujĕzd, 2014

Nr. 20 Groundwater drainage nearby Trebendorf / Trjebin at the open strip mine-perimeter of Nochten I, 2012

Nr. 21 Heathland near Trebendorf / Trjebin designated for coal mining, 2012
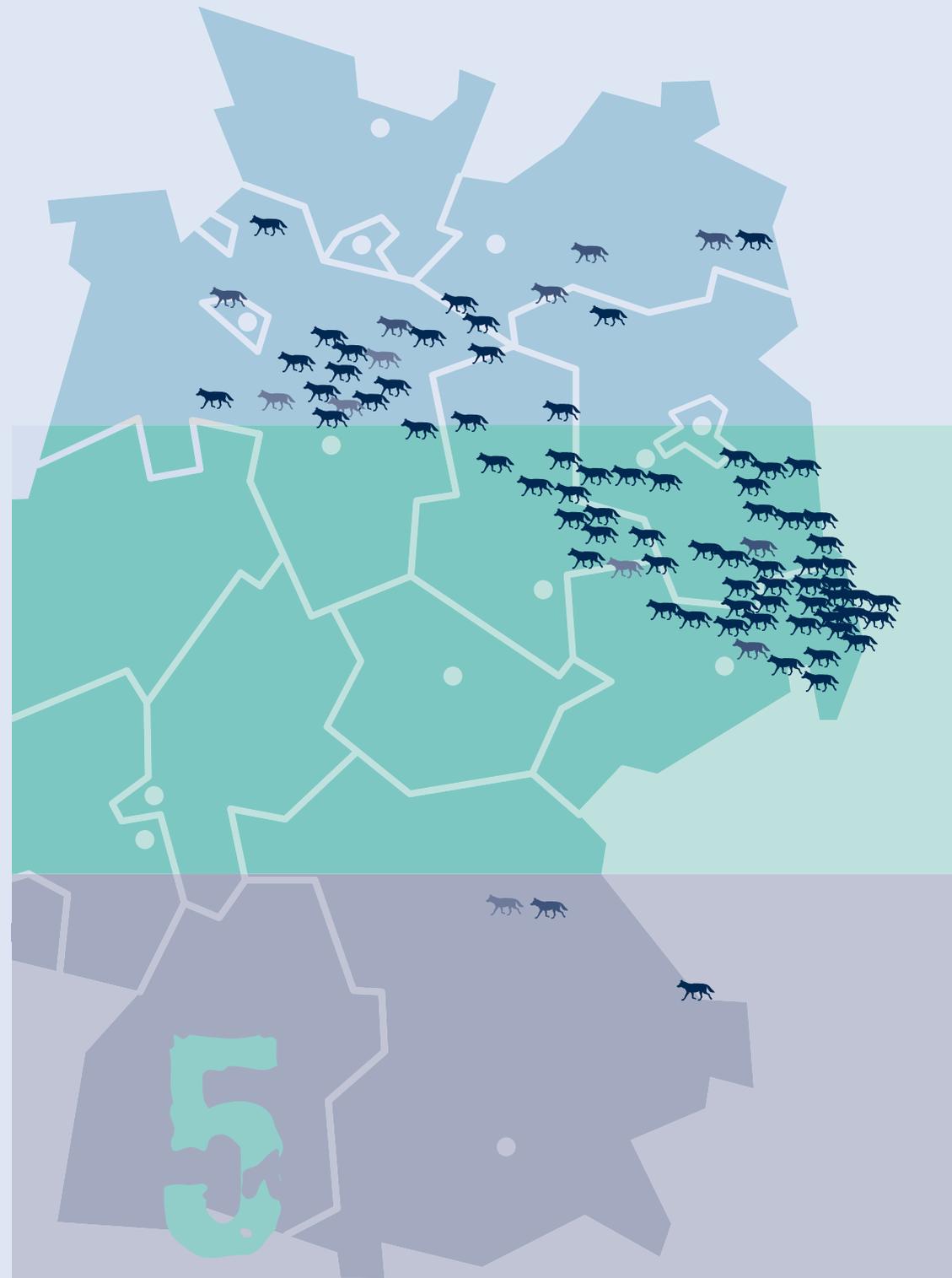
Nr. 22   Bridge pillar near Boxberg/Hamor, 2008

Irina Arnold and Marlis Heyer

'Chased by Wolves'
Multispecies Politics in Motion

Are wolves actors in politics and policy making? If so, how do they influence political processes on different levels? This paper[1] aims to exemplify the role of wolves in Lower Saxony and Lusatia (the regions where we conduct our research) in what we call *multispecies politics*. Three topics serve as focus points to illustrate our analysis: 'Game Law,' 'wolf-free zones' and 'hybridization.' Moreover, we draw connections between our approaches, perspectives and theoretical background.

Firstly, a short introduction of our research projects might be helpful. Marlis Heyer conducts her research in Lusatia (German: Lausitz, Sorbian: Łužyca/Łužica), a region at the center of Central Europe, traversed by the rivers Spree and Neisse. Lusatia stretches from southern Brandenburg to eastern Saxony, and to the Polish voivodeship of Lower Silesia and Lubusz. It is a remarkable area, coined by the Sorbian minority, strip mines and the landscapes that remain when these mines close. It is there where the German wolf story had its recommencement. During the fieldwork for her project, she has collected narrations and narratives about human-wolf interaction. Lusatia is the German hotspot for experiences with wolves, relating to private individuals, authorities, public relations, education and politics. Lusatia is also a space, due to its position on several borders, where wolves can and must be understood as migrating and moving – unimpressed by human-made frontiers; not only when they come from, for example, Poland, but also when they leave to new realms, following old routes, for example, towards Lower Saxony.

The second project focuses on the federal state of Lower Saxony in the North-West of Germany and the human and other-than-human relationships and interactions. Irina Arnold tries to get insights into the changes and adjustments of various groups in their everyday life that occur due to the presence of wolves. Her focus, so far, has been on working with shepherds. The aim of this approach is to not only view and understand wolf-management as a process of learning but also as a multispecies project. A major concern of Arnold's research is how to use sensory ethnography regarding other-than-human beings and how to include nonhumans in endeavors of Ethnographic Futures Research or Futures Studies.

The two regions were chosen to show the similarities and differences in the processes of learning how to live with wolves. While Lusatia was the first region in Germany with returning wolves, Lower Saxony followed as the first of the so-called 'old,' i.e. Western, federal states. One assumption in our research proposal was that the processes of wolf-management would adopt prior examples, for example, Lusatia would serve as a model for Lower Saxony: Learning based on knowledge already gathered, however, seems to be impeded by the specifics of each region and the circumstances, contexts and entities involved. Thus, our research projects are exemplary in that they concentrate on these specifics and take them seriously, while, at the same time, allowing for comparison and making general comments outside the exemplary. As different as our fields and approaches might be, both are constructed as multispecies fields and are analyzed according to this perspective. Following Kirksey and Helmreich (2010: 545), "multispecies ethnography centers on how a multitude of organisms' livelihoods shape and are shaped by political, economic, and cultural forces." Therefore, instead of centering on human actors, we follow humans, wolves, sheep, dogs and other species who form habitats, discourses, presents and futures.

Our title guides us through our paper in several ways. The first part "Chased by Wolves" refers, on the one hand, to a very strong debate about game law and shooting wolves and to our impression that politics are haunted and hunted by wolves and by public longing for simple solutions for coexistence. On the other hand, it serves as an image for our theoretical approach using the concepts *adaptation and anticipation*. We will use those two concepts as a perspective on our material for now, without having actually employed it as a methodological tool in a futures-oriented research. Why turn to Futures Studies? They offer helpful concepts and approaches, combining narrative perspectives with affects, senses, emotions, practices and knowledge. In short, Futures Studies provide us with impulses to connect our approaches. How do they do that?

One key concept of Futures Studies is the *scenario*. It is defined by anthropologist Robert B. Textor as "a story, an imagined 'future history'" (1995: 465), or, following Science and Technology Studies' researchers Phillip Olla and Jyoti Choudrie, "a narrative of a likely future" (2014: 373). With its focus on narratives as a mode of creation of worlds, research on narrative cultures (cf. e.g. Marzolph and Bendix 2014) can analyze scenarios as modes of creating futures in the present. This concept of scenario is connected and intertwined to the aforementioned concepts of *adaption and anticipation*. We discovered these two terms in Mark Nuttal's paper "Tipping Points and the Human World: Living with Change and Thinking about the Future"[2] from 2012. The anthropologist Nuttall deals with climate change and his research concentrates on Greenland. While we felt uncomfortable with our approach, using terms like "reactive" and

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2 The concepts were introduced to the field of anthropology by John W. Bennett in 1976, and Robert B. Textor developed his Ethnographic Futures Research (EFR) method at the same time. The field of Futures Studies is currently becoming bigger and increasingly institutionalized, with Finland leading when it comes to combining Ethnographic Futures Studies and Human-Animal Studies (cf. http://animalagency.utu.fi/en/ [17. 6. 2018]) and regarding the institutionalization and exchange between academics and the public (for an overview on the history, disciplines and methodologies, see Heinonen et al. (2017).

"preventive" regarding the debates we are following, he offers an approach that is less techni-
cal and more careful in considering the complexities we are confronted with.

In short, *adaptation* refers to "being reactive" (Nuttall 2012: 102). By contrast, *anticipa-
tion* "allows us to see the importance of intentionality, action, agency, imagination, possibility,
and choice, but at the same time allows us to recognize that anticipation is also about being
doubtful, unsure, uncertain, fearful, and apprehensive" (Nuttall 2012: 102). It "is about percei-
ving the world, relating to it, moving around in it, making sense of it, thinking about what to
expect from it, and what possibilities exist that one can gain from" (Nuttall 2012: 102). With
his emphasis on all these modes of being and connecting to the world, one could state, accor-
ding to anthropologist Tim Ingold (2013): To future is a verb. As an anthropologist dealing with
futures, Nuttall argues:

> As we ponder the possibility of a future world characterized by a series of looming
> tipping points, a consideration of anticipation, I suggest, could be helpful in shedding
> light on how people think about the world around them, how they think, orient themsel-
> ves and live toward the future, and how they create and enact change within a world
> that is also undergoing a constant process of becoming and being remade. Anticipation
> helps to orient human action — and emphasizes that people make the future, at least
> the immediate future and their concerns about what that future may bring, relevant
> in the present — whereas it could be argued that adaptation is a reaction or response
> to change that contributes to influencing or constraining human activity. This reactive
> aspect of adaptation is fundamentally different from the predictive or proactive aspect
> of anticipation, by which people can take possible future events including catastrophic
> ones into consideration and act on that anticipatory knowledge. (Nuttall 2012: 104)

David Zeitlyn, social and cultural anthropologist, introduces the concept of "'regimes of antici-
pation'" (Zeitlyn 2015)[3]. He states:

> Such an approach gives us a way to think about how we "care about the future" and
> how present cares, attitudes and decisions, shaped by the past, have constraining in-
> fluences (to say the least, to be deliberately modest) on subsequent futures. Present ac-
> tions are future orientated in various different and interesting ways. (Zeitlyn 2015: 390)

A distinct viewpoint that pluralizes time is always connected to those perspectives: "[...] rather
than thinking about past, present and future I want to think of pasts, presents, futures" (Zeit-
lyn 2015: 387). Nuttall adds: "[...] when we talk about futures, we refer to a range of multiple
possible situations not one single future fixed at a particular point in time" (Nuttall 2012: 102).

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3 Zeitlyn develops that concept in respect of Susannah Radstone's "regimes of memory" (2000) and the focus on
   performance and processuality by Kirsten Hastrup (2005). The concept is otherwise widely attributed to Vinccanne
   Adams, Michelle Murphy and Adele E. Clarke and their article from 2009 "Anticipation: Technoscience, life, affect,
   temporality".

Thus, Futures Studies concentrate on "possible or probable future cultures" (Textor 1995: 464),
"possible and desirable futures" (Olla and Choudrie 2014: 370), "potential futures" (Olla and
Choudrie 2014: 381) or more poetically spoken, they "view the future as a branching tree with
alternative possibilities" (Niiniluoto 2017: 23). It is, however, important not to separate different
times or temporal dimensions[4]:

> By concentrating on one temporal aspect, the researcher might easily forget to con-
> sider the others, whereas in fact the researcher must 'move' along the whole temporal
> dimension. [...] How we experience the past is always connected to how we anticipate
> the future and, conversely, our experiences of the past always affect our vision of the
> future. (Männikkö 2017: 29 – 30)

This is addressed by Zeitlyn, who makes a strong case for "pluralizing the past" (Zeitlyn 2015:
387), seeing that "there is not one present with a single truth but a series of linked presents
each with its own (and interconnected) set of truths" (Zeitlyn 2015: 388), as well as acknow-
ledging that "the future seems to be open" (Zeitlyn 2015: 389). Knowledge, narratives, prac-
tices, emotions and our everyday lives are not bound to one single time but connected to va-
rious temporalities. The impulses from Futures Studies help to keep that in mind and work out
complexities.

We are not only moving through times (pasts, presents, futures), but also through dif-
ferent political spheres: We try to figure out how they are in motion, influence each other and
which kind of interdependencies can be seen. How are both human and nonhuman actors
involved and influence those political fields? That is what the second part of our title refers to:
"Multispecies Politics in Motion." We will move back and forth up and down and sideways in
the huge amount of data. We want to show how politics are in motion and explicitly involve a
multispecies perspective in this task. There is a growing body of work and research that deals
with "political animals," "political zoology" and related topics and / or perspectives. Nonhumans
are recognized as actors and participants in – formerly attributed only to humans – political
spheres[5]. When it comes to research on 'participatory politics,' which focus on environmental
topics and the different levels of policy making, nonhumans seem to be missing as actively
involved in those processes (Welz et al. 2012).

The following analysis is a first example of how we might combine insights from both
our projects. It is an experiment how our collaboration can deepen the understanding and
broaden the regional focuses, bringing to the foreground an interconnected web. It is also an
attempt to work with the theoretical concepts and perspectives we hold helpful for our analy-
sis. We identified three main topics from our current field visits and the following media texts
connected with politics and policy that are interesting for us: The question whether and how

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4 Robert B. Textor coined the term "tempocentrism" (mirroring the phenomenon of "ethnocentrism"), cf. Textor
   (1995, 2003).
5 For a very short overview about the biggest influences regarding the cultural sciences, cf. Doll and Kohns
   (2017: 25 – 34).

to implement wolves into the game law, the concept of wolf-free zones and the controversies about 'hybridization'[6]. From our point of view, how human-wolf interactions are dealt with on different political levels can be analyzed with these three examples. International, federal and regional politics, and local policy makers and stakeholders deal with wolves, anticipate interactions and scenarios yet to come and look for ways of implementing these scenarios into legal, institutionalized and / or practical forms.

Game Law
Germany is organized into 16 federal states. Concerning wolves, there are laws on a national level as well as a federal or even provincial level, not to forget the international level. The legal framework deserves an extra encyclopedia and cannot be dealt with here in detail (BMU n.d.; Faß and Gofferje 2018). There are laws or regulations that concern wolves directly and indirectly, i.e. that come into the discussion about wolves even though they are not obviously connected to wolves (e.g. protection of heath and other habitats, and animal and plant species). We will focus on material from our research that are of immediate concern when it comes to hunting or shooting wolves. Finding a time horizon is always difficult and kind of artificial. Regarding Lower Saxony, Arnold decided to take as the starting point when a member of the Green Party switched to the Christian Democratic Party in 2017 and named wolf politics as one reason, causing the government to lose the majority and, therefore, forcing new elections. Those elections were right after the national one and, thus, mirror how politics on a national and federal state level are intertwined. The media texts from June to May 2018 were analyzed by Arnold and show a constant movement between various positions concerning the hunting of wolves and between different parties on various levels. There are often opposing movements, for example, while the European Union confirmed the status of wolves as strictly protected in December 2017, politicians in Lower Saxony simultaneously tried to ensure possibilities of hunting wolves. In March and April 2018, the Minister of the Environment and the Minister for Agriculture were arguing for and against the shooting of wolves, leaving the public rather confused. Because of those politics that only talk and make promises but do not act properly in the eyes of many people who are directly confronted with wolves, interest groups, such as livestock owners, keep responding to the neglect of their claims with bonfires, demonstrations and other forms of action. They also point out that it is not just about wolves but a complex web of life. A good example to illustrate our point is a postcard printed by an alliance of different stakeholders (*Aktionsbündnis aktives Wolfsmanagement* [Action Alliance for Active Wolf Management]) that shows sheep on a dyke, saying "We ensure the dyke's safety" and the slogan "One wolf – no sheep – no dyke – no land – no life!"

When analyzing the subject in "We ensure the dyke's safety," we find a multispecies entity, a hybrid meshwork that includes human and sheepish actors (as well as herding dogs, the soil, pasture and their plant communities, water level, flood protection provided by the

dyke, etc.). The slogan "One wolf – no sheep – no dyke – no land – no life!" points to a view that connects different species and landscapes with the broader context of life. The alliance's name "Action Alliance for Active Wolf Management" expresses the dissatisfaction with the current handling concerning one species. Looking at the term 'management' and the narratives and practices described with the concepts of adaptation and anticipation, 'active' means anticipating certain scenarios and creating measurements in the present to be better suited to adapt to possible futures.

The German government, after a long coalition-building process, published its coalition agreement on March 12, 2018. Under the headline "Pasture farming," wolves were included in this political anticipation of the ongoing legislative period. Underlining the importance of this specific form of herding/grazing in ecological, cultural and social terms, wolves appear as opponents of these values. The government states, "We want wolves that have crossed pasture fences or become dangerous to humans to be removed" (Koalitionsvertrag 2018: 86–87, translated by the authors). We observed a demonstration that was organized in Berlin as reaction to this paragraph in the government's coalition agreement. While in the demonstration's setting a possible inclusion of the species wolf into game law was interpreted as clearly negative, to some actors in our fields this is a promising future scenario. Looking at Saxony, this scenario was realized in 2013 when it incorporated the wolf into the game law. Before this step was taken, anticipations of different actors ranged from worst to best case scenarios. While some assumed that such an implementation would result in random shooting, others believed that it would involve hunters in monitoring processes on a large scale. Now, some years later, the dust has settled. Wolves belong to those animals with a yearlong closed season. Monitoring, since it is an unpaid task for hunters, has not increased significantly, according to the experiences of different research partners. Some of the latter even state that the inclusion into the game law just puts another bureaucratic obstacle in the way of dealing with wolves: trapping and radiocollaring them, for example, was impossible until recently (cf. BT AU: 18, 31.)

Despite the interpretation of some actors that the inclusion of wolves into the game law poses a threat, wolves dwell in Lusatia. Packs thoroughly inhabit large areas of the region. Territories enlarge or shrink, but there are almost no blank spaces left. Wolfish actors have established a space regime and share the region with all the other species – including humans – who live here. Most of the time, this co-living is tacit, invisible and common. In cases of confrontations, there are discussions about shooting certain individuals or even packs. But this targets specific individuals which are 'misbehaving,' not the whole species. It seems to be consensus (even though not everybody is happy about it) that other wolves will take possession of empty territories. Opposed to this situation, which is co-defined by human and other-than-human actors, the question in other regions is not *which* but *whether* wolves are allowed to live there at all.

Wolf-free Zones
One argument for establishing habitats that are not suited for wolves is to say that the shooting or incorporation of wolves into the game law will no longer be in the discussion. If there is no

6 The terms 'hybrid' and 'hybridization' are used in our fields and broader research contexts to refer to wolf-dog crossbreeding. Biologically, wolves and dogs belong to one species, therefore, the term is misleading.

wolf in the first place, no wolf-related trouble is created[7]. Looking at the concept of wolf-free zones through the magnifier of anticipatory ethnography enables us to understand this as a paradoxical scenario with and without wolves. In a way, this draft of a possible future includes wolves by excluding them; setting up a future along the lines of the past (when wolves were gone). In order to anticipate a wolf-free future, a possible wolf presence and/or shared future must be assumed. While the real opportunities and possibilities to have such zones are debatable, the protection of livestock is not up for discussion. We again found a gap between top-down urban political decisions and the everyday 'lifeworlds' and requirements: one example is the height of fences that is easily raised on paper but not in everyday work. Even though there is consent concerning the motto: "Protection of livestock is protection of wolves," the realization of guidelines can pose obstacles big enough for some livestock owners to resign. While shepherds seem to be one homogenous group most of the time, they, of course, are not. Herd protection measurements are highly contested and debated, and the individual character of this form of animal husbandry makes it hard to find general solutions. Taking a multispecies perspective into account deepens the understanding and might be a way to find solutions in the future. Some of the shepherds use herding dogs but state that this is a danger for the birds nesting on the ground that they have an interest in protecting as well. Even the programs of NABU (one of the biggest nature protection associations in Germany) clash, because they often target one species, flower, etc., and do not consider multispecies 'lifeworlds.' When politics deal with other-than-humans, similar patterns occur. They seem to be reacting rather than anticipating, thus, creating the impression of politics being chased by wolves. Isolated solutions for the problems occurring are made up in hindsight. This becomes especially obvious regarding the very complicated and bureaucratic livestock protection measures and regulations. The southwestern state of Baden-Württemberg is the latest example: A certain region was labeled as a 'wolf area' only *after* an attack by a wolf on sheep, and only *after* that measures for herd protection are being funded and supported by the state. Those measures then become obligatory to receive compensation payments. However, this practice differs throughout all 16 federal states, and Bavaria, with a very strong lobby of livestock owners, announced protection zones for livestock on June 20, 2018.

'Hybridization'

Our last example relates to how wolves and politics, anticipations and narrations are intertwined in our fields. "What wolves do we have in Germany?" This question is essential and at the core of the debate about protection endeavors. If the wolves roaming free in Germany were not real pure wolves, why protect them? And who can tell?

One man told Arnold: "If you want to know how much wolf there is in a certain wolf, you have to do it and pay for it [the test] yourself, send it to Hamburg, let them do it, because the others only test if it is wolf or dog, not how much wolf." While we came across rumors about

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7 Using 'trouble,' we have different scenarios in mind. Wolves mess with different routines and habits when they arrive in new areas. What is defined as trouble by our actors varies due to circumstances and context.

'hybrids' here and there when we first started our projects, the belief that all German wolves are hybrids is getting increasingly prominent at the moment. Two experts were invited to talk at a hearing of the Governmental Committee on the Environment in April 2018. One of them was speaking on behalf of the officially instructed Senckenberg Institute that carries out the genetic monitoring of all wolves in Germany. The other one represented the private ForGen Institute in Hamburg that offers genetic testing. Those two already represent different institutions and, therefore, different knowledge and power. Genetics are a very specialized field with various differing methods throughout Germany and Europe. The narrations of genetic research are highly coded, even encrypted, for those who deal with that topic and, thus, are almost impossible to comprehend for the lay person. Following the debate in the Committee hearing, we wondered: Doesn't taking one side or the other imply believing rather than knowing? Narrating wolves as more purebred or hybrid also means anticipating distinct modes of interaction. Narrating is not only a technique of framing and understanding the world but creates realities as well. The analysis of narratives, therefore, means to investigate futures in the making.

Another critical term is population. The broad definition by the European Union opens up space for discussion. Therefore, we understand the fights about numbers and the definition of a certain population as fights about knowledge and power. The return of wolves is a topic for the whole society to engage in. But some feel left out, and they have been feeling like that for a while. During her fieldwork, Arnold is asked by shepherds and livestock owners:

> What do they want? They — the urban people in their skyscrapers, far away from the reality of rural life. What kind of nature? What kind of landscape? Which species? Which areas? Which flowers, bushes, trees? My sheep are not like a lawnmower that I can just keep in a box. Do you see how the cows stand there, waiting to get out? Do people want me to keep them inside?

Following Nuttall's argumentation, it seems to be crucial to anticipate futures as a society, (be)coming together. "[H]ow the future looks depends on where one is standing at the time" (Nuttall 2012: 102). As long as each actor is standing alone, each of them is left alone with the (sometimes overwhelming) task of anticipating the future(s). A person or group anticipating a future that does not involve shepherds, for example, might not understand the tragedy of wolves killing sheep. On the other hand, a livestock owner who has been adapting to those kinds of futures since the 1950s, might have few possibilities left for further adaptations. As Andreas Schenk from the Federal Association of German Shepherds puts it in the aforementioned hearing of the Governmental Committee on the Environment:

> If you want to understand the problem of the German shepherds with the wolf, then you have to understand that we have been in a really serious, creeping, economic crisis for a long time. I looked it up; the first request concerning this situation in the German Bundestag was in 1953. The statement by the ministry at the beginning was that the reasons for this were the continuing intensification and globalization of agriculture,

especially of small and medium-sized enterprises. In the final part, it was stated that the Federal Government would do everything necessary and possible to preserve sheep farming in Germany. That was in 1953. That was said again and again. [...] If the wolf were not there, then we would hopefully now be talking about how we can really adequately reward the public services of shepherds in Germany and thereby preserve these services and this branch of agriculture and these parts of our culture in the future. The wolf is there and the wolf causes problems. Yes, we must talk about the wolf. But this debate must not cover up the core debate about the survival of sheep farming and shepherding in Germany. (BT AU 2018: 16–18, translated by the authors)

For us, in this example, *wolf* enables certain perspectives by bringing multi-faceted problems of sheep farming practices to the foreground. Therefore, we wonder if and how we can conceptualize *wolf* as catalyst in policy making and/or as a magnifier in the collective anticipating of the future(s). Nuttall, when writing about climate change and people's modes of acting towards and/or relating to it, concludes:

Given the challenges (as well as opportunities) that climate change brings to environment and society, understanding how anticipation is inherent in everyday life and implicit in social relations and cultural practices, and how aspects of those relations and practices can emerge from anticipation, is a way to understand successful local strategies of adaptation, the nature of resilience and how people prepare themselves for uncertain futures. (Nuttall 2012: 104)

From this point of view, the climate change and wolf can lead to similar questions and challenges. Both, as different as they are, require human and other-than-human adjustment to their presence.

How Multispecies are Political Tools?

Getting into political debates on wolves, most of them driven by interests of both human and nonhuman actors, we are confronted with discussions about including wolves into game law, about the numbers of wolves, their general status and their genetics. Knowledge is contested. In broader public discussions, each possible shooting is loaded with even more quarrels: Population is set against individuals, the protection of species against animal welfare. Where protection of species – or in a more general perspective – a multispecies concept of protection is debated, various interests and legislations clash.

At this point, we want to ask whether current politics lack the tools for ensuring a multispecies perspective on protection. Because the debates and the everyday experiences and 'lifeworlds' of our research partners come in more shades than the overall impression of pro and con or black and white might suggest in the first place. How can multispecies politics' tools combine all those various interests? Is it possible? We realized that – despite the fact that there are multiple regulations for almost each species involved in the multilayered processes –

politicians seem to be unable to think in multispecies terms. While species can be separated from each other on paper, out there, they interact, inflict, complement and clash with each other. The complexity of a web of life or even of single ecosystems is hardly represented by law; neither is the complexity and density of conflicting anticipations of the future(s).

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Elisa Frank

Follow the wolves
Reflections on Ethnographic Tracing and Tracking

Wolves have been back in Switzerland for more than 20 years. We look at this return in the research project "Wolves: Knowledge and Practice"[1] as a cultural and social process and examine how society deals with nature – or more precisely: How society deals with various natures differently. Our aim is to understand the variety of positions regarding and practical ways of dealing with wolves against the backdrop of the respective life and working worlds. My subproject focuses on extended contexts that do not belong to wolf management in a narrow sense (i.e. the official, institutionalized administration of wolves) and are not perceived as constituting the immediate core conflict of agriculture vs. nature conservation. I ask about negotiations and debates that Swiss society is having in the course of the return of wolves in these extended contexts.

As the returning wolves are moving from the neighboring Italian and French Alps to Switzerland, the country's main focus of wolf presence so far has been its mountain regions. That is why the current role of and future visions for the alpine regions form an important part in the discussions on wolves in Switzerland. This is certainly intensifying debates and controversies, as in the Alps, the wolves come upon a terrain that is sensitive in not only an ecological but also a social and ideological way: Modern societies have been projecting hopes and longings onto the Alps for decades and they hold a specific role in Swiss cultural memory, politics and self-conception (Risi 2011; Tschofen 2017). In many other aspects, the debates and discussions on the currently about 50 wolves in Switzerland (KORA 2019) resemble those in other countries in western and central Europe where wolves have been returning or spreading in larger numbers in the last few decades: Identity and tradition, heteronomy and autonomy, biosecurity and biodiversity, the relationships between peripheral regions and urban centers of power, of local people and state authorities, and the question of an 'up-to-date' way of dealing with and relating to 'nature.'

What comes into focus in our research project is a multilayered, emergent, hybrid, network-like formation of human and nonhuman actors, institutions, discourses, objects, values, policies, places, sites and situations that we call 'wolf management.' We understand the latter explicitly as exceeding the professional administration of wolves in the well-established

wildlife management of official authorities and to comprise as well less obvious areas, such as tourism, waste management or taxidermy, and a large number of individual, popular and everyday dealings with wolves, also by those people who come into contact with wolves and their presence in a more indirect way than, for example, sheep breeders or hunters. This understanding of 'wolf management' allows us not to generalize the return of wolves as a mere conflict of interests between nature conservation and agriculture but to approach the totality of the returning process and the positions of various people that can barely be reduced to a simple pro- and contra-schema.

One possibility of grasping the formation to which our research is directed is the concept of 'assemblage.' In the words of European ethnologists Sabine Hess and Vassilis Tsianos, this term describes "a contingent ordering of radically heterogeneous practices and things"[2] (2010: 254). The basic condition for doing ethnographic fieldwork in assemblages is, according to Hess and her colleague Maria Schwertl, to understand the field as "a praxeological construction of researchers" (2013: 32) with boundaries that need to be considered and reconsidered continually. Consequently, what is required is "a research design [...] that no longer can pretend that its research object is simply found 'outside' empirically," instead, designing your field is "an epistemologically instructed practice of construction" as Hess and Tsianos (2010: 253) write.

Doing fieldwork in assemblages is a methodical challenge. There is no clearly enclosed 'overviewable' and, in this sense, no 'manageable' field in which the ethnographer can move and gain the impression that it is feasible to fully research it. While this is valid for our whole project (and maybe ethnographic research projects in general), I would, however, claim that this challenge arises in a particular way in my subproject, as I am focusing on the area exceeding the original wolf management and core conflict – and this area, one may get the impression, can be expanded and extended potentially almost endlessly. How to construct, define and delimitate my field is, therefore, a question I have been dealing with. To get an answer to this question, I make use of an approach, among others, that has been described by American anthropologist George Marcus (1995) as multi-sited ethnography and that Hess and Tsianos explicitly mention as an approach that is capable of translating a study in an assemblage-like texture into concrete research activity (2010: 259).

Multi-sited Ethnography
Marcus laid the foundations in his article "Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography" (1995), in the course of globalization, for an alternative to the conventional single-site research, i.e. the stationary fieldwork in one location. Multi-sited ethnography – the term makes it obvious – looks at more than one site. Moreover, Marcus understands 'site' explicitly not only as a place that can be located on a map (1995: 104 f.). According to this understanding, a non-local institution, such as an administrative regime or

2 If not indicated otherwise, all the quotations in this paper (those of my interviewees, from my participant observation records as well as cited articles and literature) that are not in English in the original have been translated by the author.

the Facebook site of an association skeptical or well-disposed towards wolves, can also be a site of research.

Multi-sited ethnography, in Marcus' words, is directed at a "cultural formation, produced in several different locales" (1995: 99). The approach aims at

> putting questions to an emergent object of study whose contours, sites, and relationships are not known beforehand, but are themselves a contribution of making an account that has different, complexly connected real-world sites of investigation. The object of study is ultimately mobile and multiply situated (Marcus 1995: 102).

Thus, multi-sited ethnography is not about doing comparative research in several places; it is not just about a spatial-geographical or social-vertical (e.g. in the sense of studying up) widening of the field. The crucial point Marcus makes with his concept of multi-sited ethnography is to understand 'research' and 'the field' in terms of design: "[T]he field and the research object itself only come into being [...] in the course of the study, according to the researched networks and figurations" as Hess and Tsianos (2010: 259) paraphrase Marcus' idea (cf. also Marcus 1995: 101 f., 2009; Hess and Schwertl 2013: 27 f.).

The concrete clue Marcus provides to carry out a multi-sited ethnography is that the researcher should *follow* something: You may *follow* people, things, metaphors, stories, biographies, conflicts, etc. (Marcus 1995; cf. also Hess and Tsianos 2010: 259; Welz 1998: 183 f.). Therefore, tracing and tracking the one thing to be *followed* is the "mode of constructing the space of investigation" (Marcus 1995: 108) in a multi-sited ethnography. In correspondence to this research practice of *following* something, what is of interest in a multi-sited ethnography is especially to connect the multiple sites and to think in relations: "Multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions [...] with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography" (Marcus 1995: 105).

Leit-Wölfe

I adapted multi-sited ethnography for my research by developing a tool that I call (in German) '*Leit-Wölfe*,' as a working term. This tool will help me to carry out my project in the assemblage-like texture of wolf management in extended contexts.

At the very beginning of my research, in order to enter the field, I defined three areas in the wolf management network that — regarding the whole project — were more likely to fall into my area of responsibility: Environmental education, media and a third part that I called 'politics — (public) administration — interest groups.' I started an open, unstructured nosing around in all three areas. Cultural anthropologist Rolf Lindner describes this research practice of nosing around (1990: 9–12; Massmünster 2017: 47) as a concrete operationalization of the ethnographic *Kulturanalyse*. *Kulturanalyse* (Egger 2014; Lindner 2003; Massmünster 2017: 44–62) is, in addition to multi-sited ethnography, another approach upon which I base my research and the developed tool of the Leit-Wölfe. *Kulturanalyse* is similar to multi-sited ethnography in its con-

structivist understanding of the field, in its thinking in relations and its interest in connections between different sites, as well as in its suggestions to trace and track things.

While nosing around in the three areas mentioned above – i.e. starting to collect ethnographic material, conducting first interviews and doing some participant observation – I made a list of potential actors, sites and situations for further ethnographic encounters. This list became longer and longer, the potential field grew continuously more multilayered – and with that, increasingly emergent, contingent, blurred and vague. That was the moment I came back to multi-sited ethnography as an approach that allows ethnographic research to be done in assemblages. However, I had to adapt Marcus' clue to *follow* something: I realized that what I had been doing while nosing around was nothing else than '*follow* the wolf' – and that in doing so, I had ended up with the feeling that this leads me everywhere and nowhere. That is why I translated Marcus' suggestion into practice by not following the wolf but *several* wolves. I call these wolves that I *follow* '*Leit*-Wölfe' (translated into English hereafter as *Leit*-wolf, respectively *Leit*-wolves). 'Leitwolf' (as one word) in German stands in the biological sense for the leader wolf of a pack but is also used in a figurative sense to describe a leader, for example, the captain of a soccer team. Using the expression '*Leit*-wolf' (with hyphen), I try to capture the idea of these wolves to guide or to lead me through my vast potential field of study – leiten in German meaning to lead, to conduct, to guide. I inserted a hyphen: '*Leit*-wolf' to avoid confusion with the biologically and figuratively used expression 'Leitwolf' and to underline that it is a methodical tool that I developed.[3]

The *Leit*-wolves I identified and constructed after I first nosed around in some sites of my vast potential field and that I am *following* now refer to constellations that seem to be significant for the questions I ask in my project. The *Leit*-wolves – that is my intention – allow me to *follow* and deepen these seemingly significant constellations, to generate more and hopefully revelatory data about them, as I can *track* the *Leit*-wolves to various sites where they are negotiated. The *Leit*-wolves appear in quite different guises: Some derive from concrete individual animals living in the wild in Switzerland, while others reflect more or less established wolf figures or narratives. All the *Leit*-wolves are connected to free-living, 'real' wolves (and their doings), but they are not identical with these animals: The *Leit*-wolf 'the Uri wolf (M68)' derives from a 'real' physical wolf that killed sheep in the canton of Uri in 2016; or the *Leit*-wolf 'the forestry assistant' is connected with the wolves preying on red and roe deer in Swiss forests. However, the *Leit*-wolves differ from these animal actors, as they point to a whole cluster of various actors, sites and practices (of which the physical, living animals are only one crucial element). The methodical tool of the *Leit*-wolf enables me to examine these clusters, i.e. to detect and to grasp ethnographically concrete experiences and situations that are related to them. Cultural anthropologist Michel Massmünster points out this advantage when tracing and tracking something: "To follow connections offers the chance to start from concrete experiences" (2017: 60; cf. also Hess and Tsianos 2010: 256). The various sites the *Leit*-wolves guide me to require different research methods, such as participant observation, qualitative interviews

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or document analysis. Marcus mentions explicitly that a multi-sited ethnography is normally multi-methodical (1995: 108) and he points out that not all sites need to be researched with the same fieldwork intensity in a multi-sited ethnography (1995: 100, 108).

There are four *Leit*-wolves or *Leit*-wolf groups I am currently working on and with:
– M44, the Uri wolf (M68), the Calanda wolves[4]
– the Lötschental, the Valais / Grisons, the Walser, the Swiss, the European, etc., wolf
– the forestry assistant
– the wolf in dogskin.

In what follows, I will give some insights into the way I work with the tool of the Leit-wolves by focusing on one methodical aspect for each *Leit*-wolf (group).

M44, the Uri Wolf (M68), the Calanda Wolves : Reflecting on the Construction of a *Leit*-wolf as an Analytical Chance

Regarding this *Leit*-wolf-group, I discuss in what way reflecting on my construction of a *Leit*-wolf offers a possibility of getting analytical insights.

The first *Leit*-wolf of this group I created was 'M44'. While nosing around in the area of environmental education, I visited Swiss natural history museums and started getting interested in the taxidermied wolves I encountered there. Subsequently, I talked to some taxidermists who had recently mounted or were mounting wolves at that time. One of them was freelance taxidermist Sabrina Beutler. She had already written in her first e-mail that the wolf she had to deal with was M44. When we first met, she told me in detail about M44's afterlife. I thought this to be a significant story that a free-living Swiss wolf after its death – it was shot illegally in the Domleschg valley in the Grisons – initially undergoes several pathological and genetic examinations and, finally, is presented as a preserved specimen in a museum, instead of, for example, ending up in a carcass collecting point. That is why I decided to follow the afterlife of this wolf and created Leit-wolf 'M44' to do so.

The *Leit*-wolf 'the Uri wolf (M68)' resulted from the *Leit*-wolf 'M44.' In the summer of 2016, after having killed more than 50 sheep in the canton of Uri in central Switzerland, M68 was legally shot by the local hunting authorities (Kanton Uri 2016). After having read about that, I got – sensitized by the already defined *Leit*-wolf 'M44' – in contact with the cantonal authorities to be able to *follow* this wolf's life after death, for example, in the taxidermy workshop and the Historic Museum Uri. I talked about "M68" on my first visit to the taxidermist. Initially, I did not notice that the taxidermist himself was not using this term. I only became aware of this when he, while showing me his specimen form, asked me: "And what did you call this wolf?" It was only at that moment – when the taxidermist then also wrote the name "M68" down on his form – that I realized that he always talked about the "Uri wolf" when denominating the dead animal.

This incident is exemplary of the way in which I, as a researcher, always denote and construct a *Leit*-wolf. I do not consider this to be a problem as long as I reflect on these constructions continuously. It is exactly such reflections that can generate analytical insights, as this example shows: That I denoted – at first – 'M68' as a *Leit*-wolf has a lot to do with Sabrina Beutler's telling me about M44. How Beutler talks and thinks about 'her' wolf – as a specific individual with its own biography that also continues after death – is very significant for her perception and dealings with the animal entrusted to her. Understanding M44 as an individual influences even her taxidermy practices very concretely:

Fig. 13 **Materializing the 'Uri wolf (M68)'** *in the taxidermy workshop, Photo Elisa Frank*

In the case of M44, the technique used matches the significance of an individual that will never come to life again and is indeed irreplaceable. Thus, the animal's skin is tanned separately and not treated in a mass process – thrown together with some sheepskins, for example. The artificial corpus that provides the internal core of the preserved specimen is built by me from natural products that are durable. That is to say, I do not just use any artificial substance to hand without knowing if it will simply fall apart in 30 years' time. […] In these cases, I have more responsibility and have to guarantee that the preserved specimen will last for hundreds of years and will still make people aware of M44 in two hundred years' time. (Alpines Museum der Schweiz / Universität Zürich – ISEK 2017: 29, translated by Pauline Cumbers)[5]

5 The Swiss Alpine Museum in Bern organized the exhibition "Der Wolf ist da. Eine Menschenausstellung" ['The Wolf Is Here. An Exhibition about People'] from May 13 to October 1, 2017. The exhibition was a co-production of the Swiss Alpine Museum and our research project "Wolves: Knowledge and Practice" (see note 1). A central element of the exhibition were eight audio points where different experts whose jobs bring them into contact with wolves talked about their experiences, among them the taxidermist Sabrina Beutler. The audio points were produced by Michael T. Ganz after an intensive briefing by Nikolaus Heinzer and me, transcribed by Elena Lynch and translated into English by Pauline Cumbers. The transcripts in German can be read on Alpines Museum der Schweiz / Universität Zürich – ISEK (2017). I make use of this concise quote of the audio point here as my conversations with Beutler have not been recorded on tape but documented in the form of field notes and records taken from memory.

4 M44 is the 44th male wolf that has been identified in Switzerland by DNA analysis since the return of the species; Uri is a canton in central Switzerland, and the Calanda is a massif in the east of Switzerland where in 2012, the first wolf pups since the extinction of the species were born.

The examples of 'M44' and 'the Uri wolf (M68)' show in what way reflecting on the construction of a *Leit*-wolf may lead to analytical insights. Documenting the traces I create – in my case the *Leit*-wolves – may be very valuable, as it forces me to denote exactly why I think this trace to be revealing and, therefore, worth creating and *following*. Such reflections offer good occasions to do analytical work and generate insights in the terms of content. Social anthropologist Annuska Derks emphasizes in an article in which she *follows* the beehive coal briquette in Vietnam that one must always formulate in a multi-sited ethnography explicitly why exactly he or she thinks the thing he or she *follows* is revealing (2015: 332 f.).

The Lötschental, the Valais / Grisons, the Walser, the Swiss, the European, etc., Wolf: *Leit*-wolves as a Mode of Attention

On the basis of the next *Leit*-wolf group, I will elaborate on the trackability of *Leit*-wolves, that is, if a *Leit*-wolf needs to be made in a way that it immediately leads me somewhere, and if not, how it can alternatively be understood as a mode of attention. At the beginning, this *Leit*-wolf group only consisted of the pair 'the Valais and the Grisons wolf' and I will only refer to this pair in what follows.

The story that the dealings with wolves are different in the canton of Grisons than in the canton of Valais had already turned up – accompanied by various explanations – in the first field contacts my colleague Nikolaus Heinzer and I had. We soon noticed, therefore, that regional identities are apparently negotiated with the returning wolves: What makes the Valais into the Valais and the Grisons into the Grisons? Out of that, I created the *Leit*-wolf pair 'the Valais and the Grisons wolf' with the intention that this pair would guide me to sites and actors that may be revealing regarding this aspect. But that was not the case: I listed in a table all the data that I had already collected for each Leit-wolf and that I potentially could still gather *following* this *Leit*-wolf. When studying this 'fieldwork plan,' I noticed that I had used a very simple scheme for this *Leit*-wolf-pair: I had listed the Valais and the Grisons versions of various actor groups (such as local newspapers or natural history museums) and different incidents (such as poached wolves). When going through the interviews I had already conducted with some of the people on this 'fieldwork plan'

Fig. 14 **The answer is "wolf": question card** *["Which unpopular wild animal has been hunted mercilessly in the Valais since 2005 despite statutory prohibition?"] from a board game [BRAFF, Malcolm / CATHALA, Bruno / PAUCHON, Sébastien 2009: HELVETIQ. Das Spiel der Schweiz, Lausanne: RedCut SàRL] designed on the initiative of an applicant to the Swiss citizenship test*

while nosing around, I realized that, although the story 'Valais vs. Grisons' had been part of those conversations, the interviewees had been talking about other aspects most of the time. Above all, I could not imagine generating more statements about 'the Valais and the Grisons wolf' in such an interview (with the same or other people on my list) without contributing massively to the telling of this story myself. In time, it became increasingly clear to me that this *Leit*-wolf pair was not to be *followed* immediately, but that I had to understand it more as a mode of attention. It was by increasing my sensibility to the topic of regional identification through wolves that this *Leit*-wolf pair guided me to a few research sites, as the following example demonstrates.

The Open Air Gampel (OAG) is one of the biggest Swiss music festivals and takes place in the canton of Valais. An ibex had formed the logo of the festival since its foundation. In 2016, the ibex was replaced by a wolf. The official explanation for this exchange given by those organizing the festival was that the ibex is seen by Swiss people more as a Grisons animal (the ibex is, for example, part of the coat of arms of the Grisons). This replacement created a considerable stir and was discussed extensively online and in social media – perfectly serving its purpose as a PR campaign. In the debates about this wolf in the logo, very similar questions to those in the discussions on physical, free-living wolves were negotiated: How much can one insist on local conditions and characteristics or how much – on the contrary – one needs to arrange with the opinions and ideas of the rest of Switzerland and, therefore, to accept changes in its own territory (such as wild wolves living in the Valais or a wolf becoming part of the logo of the local music festival). I came across this story while reading some articles on 'real,' i.e. physical, free-living wolves on the website of the Upper Valais newspaper *Walliser Bote*. I immediately activated the research mode, i.e. I collected all the material I was able to find on this story (e.g. newspaper articles, the corresponding posts on the OAG's Facebook profile, including all the comments made online, a little video series the organizers had produced to explain the change in the logo) and started asking Valais people I interviewed or met informally about it and put the PR manager of the OAG on my interviewee list.

In this case, the *Leit*-wolf pair 'the Valais and the Grisons wolf' guided me to a new site that I would otherwise perhaps only have briefly laughed about as a funny anecdote. By providing me with an increased sensibility regarding stories about a specific Valais or Grisons way of dealing with wolves, this *Leit*-wolf pair made me – as in the case of the new OAG logo – activate the research mode as soon as I came across something evocative of this subject. This is – to speak in the words of cultural anthropologist Simone Egger – research "on call" (Egger 2014: 407). This kind of research requires one to be analytically attentive and is described by Egger and others as a central element of ethnographic *tracing* and *tracking*. Supposed flukes become in this regard "a consequence of analytical attention" (Massmünster 2017: 57).[6]

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6 Cf. also Ehn and Löfgren (2010: 222), who stress the "cumulative and systematic dimensions" (2010: 218) of serendipity. On serendipity and attempts to influence it (e.g. by nosing around or "going into" a topic) cf. Lindner (2003, 2012).

The Forestry Assistant: Restricting the Field

Presenting the 'forestry assistant,' I discuss limiting or restricting the field with the help of the *Leit*-wolf tool developed. The decision to create a *Leit*-wolf is also a decision among many other potential ones.

One sector that I had defined at the beginning of my research as an area to do some nosing around was the complex of 'politics – (public) administration – interest groups.' The first thing I did to get into this complex was to have a look at the *Konzept Wolf Schweiz* (BAFU 2016), the Swiss national wolf management plan, and its creation. A first version of the plan drafted by the authorities was given into announcement in 2015. The announcement is a phase in the Swiss legislation's preliminary proceedings in which cantons, other federal authorities, political parties, associations, NGOs, interest groups and private persons can comment on the legislative drafts worked out by the authorities. The federal authority responsible received 177 statements in the announcement process of the *Konzept Wolf Schweiz*. This number left me quite helpless at first.

But then – almost in passing – two things happened. Firstly, an environmental journalist I met at a conference for Alpine Studies explained to me that in his view, the forestry sector had not been very well organized and positioned yet regarding the large predator subject. Secondly, some weeks later, my brother told me about a field trip he had done guided by a forestry engineer who expressed himself explicitly and repeatedly in favor of wolves and lynxes and also told the people on the field trip that, in his opinion, the forestry sector had not been commenting on this subject enough yet, but that he and some colleagues are willing to change that. Because of these two 'testimonies,' I started investigating on my own, and the impression was confirmed that the interest group of forestry is currently on its way to forming a voice regarding wolves and positioning that voice publicly and politically. I, therefore, decided to *follow* this trace and to get myself a corresponding Leit-wolf: The 'forestry assistant.' The idea that the wolf may be an assistant to the forestry sector is based on the conviction that wolves, as an element of the forest ecosystem, make a positive impact on browsing damage by reducing the number of game animals and influencing their behavior. A whole field that could be examined ethnographically opened up with this Leit-wolf: Contributions in diverse media from various forestry associations, position papers, studies, people to meet for interviews or to accompany to the woods, Twitter accounts or thematic events (directed either at people working in forestry or the interested public).

I decided, with my *Leit*-wolf 'forestry assistant,' to examine the actor group 'interest groups' and the 'interest game' they play – in external (politics, the general public) and internal contexts (the forestry sector itself) – by doing a case study on this one specific interest group that, in my opinion, is currently in a phase that is revealing for the questions I ask: Formation. The observations I am interested in are, for example, the integration of the wolf figure 'forestry assistant' in a particular understanding of environment as an ecological cycle and how wolves become functionalized in this logic. Consequently, the 'forestry assistant' is also inscribed in significant current discourses, such as climate change (the keyword here is 'tree species diversity'). However, all this is not only about the ecological benefit of wolves for the forest. These considerations are also made in terms of economics, for example, with ideas to calculate the economic benefit of wolves that reduce browsing damage caused by game animals, especially on forests important for absorbing the impact of avalanches and other forces of nature in Swiss alpine regions. Emotional practices are an analytical perspective I put on the data gathered with this Leit-wolf. The ideas just mentioned to calculate the benefit of wolves for the forests in Swiss francs can be read and analyzed as an attempt to de-emotionalize: The sum calculated as a rational and unemotional argument for wolves. But conversely, this interest group is also concerned with creating emotions for the forest and the browsed trees: In an interview with forestry people I did, they discussed why the *Blick* (the Swiss yellow press paper) writes on its front page "wolf massacres sheep" but would never ever make a headline reading "red deer massacre silver firs."

Fig. 15 **Establishing the 'forestry assistant':** *small plastic figures arranged by forestry engineers on a guided wolf hiking tour, Photo Elisa Frank*

The Wolf in Dogskin: Expanding the Field

The *Leit*-wolves have an ambivalent effect in terms of limiting the field: They may not only restrict but also expand it, leading me to numerous new sites, actors, discourses and situations that I would never have thought of when starting the research project. I will elaborate on this point with the help of the 'wolf in dogskin.' At the moment, this *Leit*-wolf consists mainly of two blocks of data.

The first block can be described as stories about 'Swiss national figures' or '*Swiss lieux de mémoire*' that integrate the topic of the resemblance between wolf and dog. There are three such figures: Globi (a figure for children), Barry (the Swiss national avalanche dog) and Schellenursli (the protagonist of a famous children picture book). These popular 'national figures' are brought into connection with wolves in different media where the stories of these three figures have been told recently. The medium of interest for Globi is a book and radio drama from 2006, for Barry, a permanent exhibition that opened in the Natural History Museum in Bern in 2014, and for Schellenursli, a movie from 2015. In all three cases, the connection is always made with the help of some kind of 'reversible figure' wolf – dog. A wolf occurs in these recent representations of the stories of Globi, Barry and Schellenursli. A wolf that suddenly turns out to be, behaves like or is perceived as a dog – or the other way around. This material may be analyzed in the direction of integrating the returning wolves into a national Swiss memory – but as I am not that advanced in my work here yet, for the moment, that remains an analytical speculation. The second block I grasp ethnographically with this Leit-wolf is the subject of hybrids, the crossbreeding of wolves and dogs – a politically very 'hot' subject that periodically creates stirs in Switzerland.

All together, these are very heterogeneous sites, ranging from the genetics laboratory to the children's movie. But the common topic that I see in the popular stories of Globi, Barry and Schellenursli, as well as in the debate on hybrids and crossbreeding, is the negotiation of the question: What *is* a wolf? Is it really a wolf that I see, or is it actually a dog (or at least half a dog)? And vice versa. This also concerns questions of the obvious vs. the actual and the obvious that may be deceptive as well as questions of pure/unambiguous vs. hybrid/ambiguous.

If and how much the dog is actually (still) a wolf is a question I also came across in two additional sites: Firstly, when visiting the Swiss dog fair in 2017, I learned about a dog training method called Natural Dogmanship. This method aims at treating dogs appropriately to the species, appropriately to their 'nature.' At the fair, which was dedicated in 2017 to the special topic "Wolf – the dog's ancestor," this dog training method was presented in a live performance where the person explaining it also made reference to the wolf to grasp and understand the dog's 'nature,' saying that a dog is actually, to a large extent, (still) a wolf, to which the dog owner then needs to do justice in designing the dog's everyday life. Secondly, in the frame of a lecture on domestication at the University of Zurich in the autumn of 2017, I attended a talk entitled: "How much wolf is in my dog? Concepts of wildness and naturalness in dog feeding." The veterinary practitioner who

Fig. 16 **Wolf-approved dog food** in a pet shop window, Photo Elisa Frank

gave the lecture talked about dog and wolf nutrition, the history of dog feeding and an idea recently becoming increasingly popular to feed dogs like wolves feed themselves. The corresponding trend is called BARF, an acronym for "biologically appropriate raw food."

As a "'follow the thing' mode of constructing the space of investigation" (Marcus 1995: 108), the *Leit*-wolves have the tendency to expand the field. Marcus writes about the "speculative, open-ended spirit of tracing things in and through contexts" (ibid.: 107). However, the *Leit*-wolves have, in my case, at the same time, a restricting effect, as they are several and, thus, a conscious selection out of potentially many *Leit*-wolves (as I have tried to illustrate with the example of the 'forestry assistant'). However, this ambivalent, simultaneously restricting and expanding character of the tool *Leit*-wolves is, in the end, nothing more than an expression of the fact that the field is not some kind of laid-out pre-existing entity, but something designed by the researcher and the questions he or she raises. In some way, an ethnographic study is, thus, also always incomplete (Marcus 2009: 28 f.; Massmünster 2017: 51).

The *Leit*-wolves can help me in this 'designing work' I have to do, by 'sounding the edges' in a controlled way. They allow me "[to] think unconventionally about the juxtaposed sites that constitute [the] objects of study" (Marcus 1995: 104; cf. also Lindner 2003: 185). Working with the *Leit*-wolves makes it possible for me to discover which actors, institutions, actants, sites, discourses and situations constitute Swiss wolf management (in a broader, extended sense) and how they are connected to each other instead of defining them at the beginning. This is, according to Hess and Tsianos, one of the main interests when doing research in assemblages: "[T]o identify the multitude of actors that are involved in constituting and negotiating" (2010: 256) the research subject.

In the case of the dog training and dog feeding method mentioned that make reference to wolves, I, however, came to the conclusion not to *follow* the *Leit*-'wolf in dogskin' further in this direction. The sites I *follow* the *Leit*-wolves to should, nevertheless, be linked to the focus of our research project, i.e. the return of wolves in Switzerland as a cultural process and the various ways of dealing with these newly arrived nonhuman beings. While I see this as given in the case of the debate on hybrids and the recent representations of Globi, Barry and Schellenursli (when going in the indicated analytical direction of integrating wolves in popular national stories), I am dubious about such a closer link in the case of Natural Dogmanship and BARF. To put it into methodical terms: I do not *follow* the *Leit*-wolves blindly anywhere; it is every time my decision to *follow* a *Leit*-wolf to and gather ethnographic data about a site it can lead me to. This also protects me from a new form of holism that multi-sited ethnography often entails, as it has been criticized, for instance, by social anthropologist Matei Candea (2007). Although the approach stresses the contingency and constructive character of the field, it leads, according to Candea, at the same time, to "an emergent conception of sites as 'found objects'" (2007: 172) when the ethnographer tracks the things to *follow* (e.g. the people, the things, the metaphors, the stories) "as they do the bounding, the localization, and the delimitation" (2007: 172, emphasis in original). That is why Candea pleads for staying aware of "the necessity of *bounding as an anthropological practice*" (2007: 172, emphasis in original), i.e. to denote selections, reflect on them and take on the responsibility for these decisions (2007: 174 f.).

Conclusion

The *Leit*-wolves are the tool I developed – and am still developing further – to research ethnographically the network-like, emergent, complex assemblage in which I am interested in my project. They form a way of constructing the field that allows me, in the words of Hess and Tsianos, "to include a multitude of actors and discourses of which the practices are related to each other, but not in the sense of one central (systemic) logic or rationality, but in the sense of a sphere of negotiation" (2010: 253). Similarly, Marcus talks about the "'worlds apart'" (1995: 102) that can be brought together in a multi-sited ethnography. To me, that is the decisive contribution of the *Leit*-wolves to my study: They allow me to throw light on a multitude of sites that are all involved in the return of wolves in Switzerland and are, therefore, part of wolf management in an extended sense. However, by working with *Leit*-wolves, I do not consider those sites as segmented but am able to analyze their entanglements and interactions without needing to detect one central rationality. In addition, the *Leit*-wolves not only make multi-sites in which the returning wolves are negotiated visible and (ethnographically) graspable, but also the wolf itself as a multi-faceted, hybrid being consisting of manifold dimensions (e.g. biological, scientific, political, historical, narrative, cultural). Hence, the challenge is to describe a body in dialogue with images and ideas and to analyze the simultaneity and relationships of the various dimensions of this animal.

The *Leit*-wolves, by helping me to research networks and figurations continuously and, therefore, to always think in relations, hopefully develop an integrative effect that lets the complexity – regarding multiple sites and a multi-faceted animal – be captured (and represented[7]) instead of dissolved.

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7 On the question of how to represent and write down research that has been carried out in an emergent
   assemblage, cf. Hess and Schwertl (2013: 32); Massmünster (2017: 13, 58 – 62); Schwertl (2013).

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Laura Duchet and Michael Gibbert

Managing a 'Wicked Problem'
A Conversation with Michael Gibbert

Michael Gibbert is the Professor of Sustainable Consumption at the Università della Svizzera Italiana in Lugano, Italy. He is interested in innovation management, marketing research methodologies and the human dimension of wildlife management as a form of nature consumption. This includes an analysis of the communicational framework surrounding the topics of hunting and wildlife management. Apart from his academic career, he is not only a hunter but also a farmer, which is why Michael Gibbert is an exceptional individual regarding the discourse about the return of the wolf. His deep involvement with hunting led to the interview reported here, in which lethal control mechanisms were the focus. Albeit, it is essential to note that Michael Gibbert is not only advocating lethal strategies of wolf management. Rather, as he pointed out during his presentation at the conference, he regards the wolf as a 'wicked problem,' a term prevalent and often used in management studies and which characterizes itself through a lack of definitive formulation and an absence of a true universal solution. To Gibbert, the wolf and the questions arising with it are not something that can be solved effectively but something that needs to be managed and dealt with. It is crucial that an account of the current situation is given due to the immediacy of the subject and the rapid development within the discussion on wolves. Laura Duchet is a student assistant at the Universtiy of Würzburg and works for the DFG project "Die Rückkehr der Wölfe. Kulturanthropologische Studien zum Prozess des Wolfsmanagements in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", which is directed by Professor Michaela Fenske. She also attended and helped organize the conference, where she was introduced to Michael Gibbert and his ideas and thoughts. The following interview was conducted in the early summer 2019, roughly one year after the conference.

Laura: Michael, could you please tell me how you got interested in wolves in the first place and how you developed an approach to wolves and wolf management coming from strategic management, marketing and communication science? Why is research from your disciplinary perspective of interest pertinent and how does it relate to you personally?

Michael: The topic became especially significant to me while I was on my sabbatical and the declared objective was to focus on the wolf and its communication, especially regarding how it is or can be managed. When opening the newspaper, we see something about wolves every single week, regarding the damage they cause and the controversy stirred up surrounding culling individual species or individuals of a particular species. It struck me that the wolf used to be all over the news and that it is a super interesting case of effective communication management.

Marketing is directly linked to communication science, and at the university where I am based in Lugano, the marketing department is not part of economics but is actually part of communication science. A lot of what we see at the moment when it comes to wolf management is really about how to communicate to the relevant stakeholders, for instance, farmers and hunters, and to the public interested in wildlife management. They need to discuss what needs to be done, what is done, what should be done, what could be done and what is not done. Hence, it is very much a communication issue currently and it is closely related to the subdiscipline of marketing.

My stance here is that the wolf definitely needs to be managed. Let us look at the etymology of the word 'manage.' It comes from the Italian *maneggiare*, which is based on the Latin words *manus*, the hand, and *agere*, to act. This describes really nicely what we are looking at when it comes to the wolf. We need wolf management, as in we need to act and possibly do it with our hands.

Laura: Aside from your academic perspective, you are also a hunter yourself. How has that impacted on your view of wildlife management, animal and population control?

Michael: Hunters are individuals, amateurs really, who kill animals as a hobby. That is the most mundane way of looking at this. At the deeper level, however, hunters are also individuals to whom the state or the region delegates wildlife management. Thus, they are wildlife managers in many ways. However, we need to differentiate two very different legal concepts here, which unfortunately are frequently mixed up in the popular press when it comes to wolves.

The one is *hunting*, in which a certain species and certain categories of that species or several animals are basically up for grabs. They are taken out of the population by amateurs via a license that is bought and paid for and allows them to take out these individuals. The second concept here, which I think is important to understand, is *culling*, which is where state officials – provocatively, we can call them 'professional killers' – take out specific animals with the objective of containing, for instance, the spread of a disease. Many ungulates are also killed for humanitarian reasons if there is an injured animal, et cetera. A more recent example regarding the wolf is taking out the so-called 'problem wolves,' which cause particular damage and really need to be taken out of the population. The two concepts are often mixed in the news, with unfortunate consequences and misunderstandings.

Laura: I want to follow up on your statement on hunting or culling wolves. During your presentation, you mentioned a weapon called a 'Lupara,' which proved to be a historically effective way of population control. This weapon turned out to act as a material link between human and wolf, as it forced both to learn how to cohabit with one another. Could you elaborate what its characteristics are and on your stance concerning this weapon when we talk about wolf management?

Michael: Just for the record, I want to point out that I did not promote the use of an illegal weapon, which is what the *Lupara* is, and I did not promote the use of an illegal weapon as an effective wolf management tool. With that being said, historically speaking, the *Lupara* was the method of choice and symbolically stands for wolf hunting and the illegal killings of wolves.

But let me tell you what a *Lupara* is. Basically, it is a side-by-side, double-barreled shotgun with its shoulder stock and part of the barrel cut off. It is highly illegal to cut off the shoulder stock and particularly the barrel, as this means the gun is effectively turned into a pistol which can be more easily hidden in a rucksack, for instance. Commonly, these are loaded with a specific kind of munition, the buckshot, or *Postenschrot* in German, which basically fires several spheres of lead instead of just one bullet. Typically, those are somewhere between 6 and 8 mm and you get anything from nine to a dozen of these bullets in a single cartridge, quite unlike the regular shot, which is anywhere between 2 and 4 mm, and which is used for small game, such as rabbits. Since you cut off the barrels, the shot spreads quite significantly at a short distance and, as such, inflicts an enormous amount of damage to anything you shoot at. Back in the days when it was still commonly used, it was a very effective way of killing a wolf if you needed to. However, there is a deeper insight, regarding the effective distance at which you cull, hunt or, in the case of the *Lupara*, poach wolves. That distance, by definition, is beyond 30 m, which means that the buckshot spreads too much to be effective. This meant that the wolf effectively knew where the trouble was coming from.

On that note, we must not forget that the technology at our disposal at that time when the last wolves were shot was the muzzle-loading firearm. A muzzle-loading firearm, as the name implies, is a single or double shot rifle or shotgun, which you need to load from the front, and which takes too long to reload in order to place an effective second shot at a fleeing animal. Therefore, you typically only have one or two shots, because by the time the weapon is reloaded, the animal will probably be gone. The other thing with these weapons – the only technology available at the time, in addition to poison and traps, of course – was that the effective range of these weapons was well below a hundred meters. Consequently, when the wolves arrived in packs and were shot at, they realized where the bullet came from and avoided that area afterwards. The gory detail about these weapons is, however, that they are not super accurate, at least not by modern standards. You ended up merely wounding wolves, instead of inflicting a fatal injury. Some of these wolves were, therefore, able to return to the pack, which then realized that this is a no-go zone. The problem with firearms technology today is that you can shoot animals at five times, even ten times that distance. Thus, these wolves do not know where the danger comes from and will not recognize the area as a zone that should be avoided. Therefore, if your objective is to scare away wolves effectively, the range of shooting becomes a key element in making the wolves understand where the danger is coming from, so that they can effectively avoid that area. Now, I am not advocating regressing in firearms technology – even though in the US, the deer seasons opens first to so-called primitive hunters, who are allowed to hunt only with such firearms dating back to the 18th century, precisely to give the animal a greater chance to escape – but the point is that in order to scare off wolves, they need to know where the scare comes from.

Laura: Technology has transformed tremendously and opened up new possibilities over the past decades. What would be your proposal for an effective way to manage wolves with the resources we have at hand today?

Michael: Currently, the legal status of the wolf is being reconsidered all across Europe. At the moment, the only method to kill wolves legally is through culling by state officials. Time will tell whether the culling method will evolve into a hunting method, where actual hunters will be given licenses to take out and help with population control, just as it happened with ungulates, many of which, such as roe deer, red deer and *Capra Ibex*, were extinct after the Second World War and whose numbers are now rising despite or maybe, as many people would say, because of the hunting regulations. I do not think the wolf will or should disappear. But I do think that we need to contain the species as populations grow. Just as we have done with other large mammals.

Laura: The discourse about hunting and culling is exceptionally prevalent in the current discussion on wolves. However, you also mentioned during the conference the handling of wild boars and ungulates, such as the *Capra Ibex*, the latter being especially interesting due to the fact that even though once extinct, they are now thriving and, therefore, becoming an issue which challenges hunters especially, as they have the obligation to solve that. Why did you choose an approach with various species regarding wolf management and how does this provide an outlook on potential future consequences?

Michael: Let us start with the case study of the *Capra Ibex* in Switzerland. At some point, there was not a single one left in Switzerland, which is the case I was talking about at the conference. In 1906, the Swiss authorities stole two young animals from the hunting reserve of the Italian king, because any legal attempts to obtain the species had failed previously. Therefore, basically all *Capra Ibex* in Switzerland are now related in some way or other to these two stolen animals. Upon reintroduction, their numbers grew slowly but steadily. Consequently, they rose from a heavily protected species to a huntable species. And when I say hunting, I mean hunting, not culling. I believe the *Capra Ibex* is a very nice illustration of what might happen to wolves in the future, in the sense that as populations grow, the state will not have the means to cull them, thence hunting will come in and you will be able to actually issue hunting permits for wolves.

The wild boar is a completely different story due to the fact that it used to be fair game rather than a protected species and a very interesting fair game for hunters. However, because it proliferated so much, for a variety of reasons, it turned into a pest. This has happened in the US with other ruminating ungulates, for instance, the white-tailed deer, and it can be observed in many other cases of ungulate population as well. In many parts of Europe, the red deer has proliferated so much that it is almost on the verge of being considered a pest. The interesting dynamic here between these three concepts – pest, fair game and protected species – is that the wild boar started out as fair game and then turned into a pest, whereas the *Capra Ibex*

started out as a protected species and turned into fair game. The wolf started out as a pest, was exterminated and then developed into a protected species. The questions now are: What will happen to the status of the wolf from that perspective? Will it perhaps become fair game again? Will it even degenerate into a pest, as it used to be 150 years ago or not?

Laura: Many people fear that your scenario might come to pass, and the growing wolf population will turn into a pest once more. What would be a convenient way of managing wolves and what needs to be considered when establishing those regulations?

Michael: Well, the wolf is not a pest yet, and I do not want to be arguing that we should manage the wolf as a pest. However, as numbers increase, effective ways of managing the wolf will need to be developed. As with all other wildlife management policies, they need to be sensitive to the biology of that species. Now, with ungulates, this means that you take out the younger individuals from a population and you spare the older ones, especially the older females, because they have all the experience of where to move in the winter and so on and so forth. With wolves, this is much more difficult in many ways because of the complex social structure of the wolf pack. In particular, this idea of the leader of a pack, what we call the *Leitwolf* in German, which needs to be spared. Only young wolves are easily identified among wolf packs, making identification of fair game among them much more difficult. Thus, I believe one of the big challenges for the future will be to identify those out of a wolf pack that are fair game and protect the rest.

Laura: The subheading of the conference was 'dynamics and futures' and you have already expressed some of your thoughts about the years to come. Where do you see the wolf management and population control evolving to and what are your expectations regarding communication practices?

Michael: Just for the record, there are nonlethal control mechanisms, including the electric fences, trained guarding dogs and other options. Many of these, including guard dogs, are being reconsidered now as being only partially effective, as those dogs, for instance, often mistake mountain bikers for wolves and attack them.
I want to revert to the idea of three concepts above. One is pests, the other, fair game, and the third, protected species. In the case of the wolves, it evolved from a pest to a protected species, which is curious in its own way. My prediction is that it will further evolve from protected species into fair game.
Once again, the steinbock, *Capra Ibex*, provides a very nice example of the 'career' a previously extinct animal went through, first as a protected species, which, due to conservation efforts and very effective management practices, could eventually be hunted. Note that without the interest in hunting, the steinbock, they would not be here today! Possibly the same thing will happen with the wolf as numbers increase and as communication practices and policies within the general population adapt.

Allow me a brief aside here, given the moribund tenor of this conversation: I believe that the wolf, apart from interrogating our relationship with the wild also interrogates our relationship with death. We have a very interesting relationship with the death of animals. Whether it is a domestic animal which we slaughter or whether it is a wild animal that we kill for food or for other reasons. The wolf, due to its mystical features and appeal and properties, puts our understanding of the death of an animal, of how we deal with the death of an animal, to a critical test, as can be seen in the news when so-called 'problem wolves' get culled.

Laura: As a professor, you are also interested in consumption practices. Would you regard hunting as a form of those practices as well?

Michael: Definitely. It is a form of nature consumption after all, even though it sounds a little bit odd in many ways. Many will of course consume, as in literally eat the meat of the animals they shoot. In the context of the wolf, I think it is a very interesting new field for looking at this academically from a consumption perspective, because it effectively changes our way of consuming nature. Nature is no longer just out there, but the boundaries between wilderness and our cultural landscape are challenged by wolves in many ways, in part, because the wolf – more so than other large mammals – constitutes a cultural icon itself.
There are several implications that arise from this ripple effect throughout other meats that we consume, lamb meat, for example. Looking at what happens with tuna, for instance; happily, we can now choose between regular tuna and tuna which is harvested or fished in a dolphin-friendly way. You could imagine: Here comes the marketing professor now, advertising lamb meat as wolf-friendly, produced in wolf friendly ways. It could be expected that certain sheep farmers actually actively help in wolf conservation.
I would add to this that I am a farmer as well and also breed sheep and chickens. I try to coexist with the current main predator of my sheep, especially of newborn lambs and chickens, which is the fox. But I hunt them when I can. I also try to coexist with birds of prey, which hunt the chickens. But these are protected species, so I try to shoo them away when I seem them hovering over my flock. As a field researcher – in the actual sense of the word 'field' –, I have come to appreciate that these different roles as hunter and farmer definitely help you to connect with key stakeholders. Talking to them as a Professor of Marketing is another thing than talking to other farmers as a colleague.

Laura: You have now mentioned your pro-wolf stance multiple times and it is apparent that the conservation of this species is of great significance to you personally. Would you describe the wolf as indispensable for our cultural landscape? Could you elaborate on why its conservation is necessary?

Michael: If you mean by cultural landscape, the German word *Kulturlandschaft*, I certainly do not think that the wolf is indispensable for our *Kulturlandschaft*. Metaphorically maybe, because it enriches our interaction with an understanding of nature at large, which also includes

the *Kulturlandschaft*. But I do think the story changes when you look at the wild landscape and I think here the wolf, just like other large predators, has a role to play. Take a look at any of the mainstream biology books, at the predator-prey cycle. When the prey population rises, at some stage, the predator population will also rise. We are quite simply at this point at the moment. In this sense, the wolf is important as yet another nonhuman predator against the burden of ungulate populations, which eat away a lot of saplings and small trees. If you talk to forestry people, they will tell you that they are very happy that the wolf has arrived, because it manages individuals in areas that are less accessible to human hunters. Especially in those areas where the forest has an important protection function. In the Alps especially, we have the pine trees at the higher altitudes that are extremely efficient against avalanches. Many of the regions that are most exposed to avalanches cannot be effectively accessed by human hunters. Wolves, of course, are much nimbler and are in the position to protect these woodlands from ungulates. From that perspective, I certainly believe that it is part of nature. The wolf is indispensable in those situations where human ability proves to be insufficient, especially in our modern times.

Laura: Could you summarize what your perspective, coming from marketing and communication, can add to the debate about wolves?

Michael: Communication sciences have a huge role to play in teasing out how the different stakeholders, who characterize this 'wicked problem' with their different perspectives, perceive the problem and how they can perhaps reconsider their stake in the issue. Certainly, communication science is indispensable at this stage of transition of the legal status of the wolf and its management practices.
I believe that it helps to conceptualize wolf management within the poles of protected species and fair game, between culling mechanism and the hunting mechanism, which certainly proves to be a 'wicked' communication problem.
I believe when it comes to the lamb meat production example, a lot can be done by my colleagues in marketing to make the public understand how certain policies in agriculture might be particularly wolf friendly.

Manuela von Arx, Ilona Imoberdorf and Urs Breitenmoser

How to Communicate Wolf?
Communication Between the Authorities and the Population
when Wolves Appear

Abstract
The word "wolf" evokes different images and emotions in people's mind. This is a challenge for communication, especially in areas where wolves reappear and do not behave as many people expect. Sightings of wolves near settlements has led to a nationwide discussion about "unnatural" wolf behavior and the risks such behavior poses to humans. We conducted interviews with the heads of cantonal wildlife agencies, game wardens and municipal authorities in six cantons. We investigated their experience in general and their communication activities in particular concerning the return of wolves. In addition to the interviews, we also analyzed existing cantonal communication material. We realized that cantonal authorities, which are responsible for communication according to the Swiss Wolf Concept, and the municipalities, which are not responsible but, nevertheless, are often asked for information by the local people, differ considerably when it comes to communication on wolves. They differ in their preparedness, knowledge and experience, and the communication measures they apply. We analyzed the current situation and provide recommendations for improvements.

Introduction
Wolves from the Italian and French Alps have been recolonizing Switzerland since 1995 (Taberlet et al. 1996: 3; Valière et al. 2003: 85 – 86), after more than 100 years of absence (Etter 1992: 24) The first wolf pack was established in 2012 in the Calanda massif, Canton of Grisons (AJF Graubünden 2012). Nowadays (autumn 2019), there are 62 wolves genetically identified and eight packs present (KORA 2019).

Since winter 2012/13, members of the Calanda pack have been increasingly observed in the daytime and close to settlements. Some individuals have entered villages and approached or passed humans closely (AJF Graubünden 2013: 4 – 5, 2014: 6, 2016: 12). In recent years, sightings of wolves near settlements have also occurred in other regions of Switzerland (WNA Freiburg 2017; WEUD Bern 2017). Several but not all these observations concerned young wolves. Wolves have not shown any aggressive behavior towards humans in any case to date. However, people have expressed fear and the events in the Calanda area led to a nationwide discussion about wolves "losing their natural fear of humans." Their "unnatural" behavior increased concerns about the risks such wolves may pose to humans. Although such behavior is indeed, as Huber et al. (2016: 1 – 19) showed in a pan-European survey, a widespread and generally unproblematic phenomena, it conflicts with the picture of the "shy and remote" wolf that most people have adopted.

Communication in such situations is a challenge, because people ask for an immediate reaction from authorities, while there is often a lack of detailed knowledge concerning the incident. If the authorities are not able to react and communicate comprehensively and in time, then anti- or pro-wolf lobby groups immediately take over the interpretation and communication of specific events.

According to the "Federal Law on Hunting and the Protection of Wild Mammals and Birds" (in German Bundesgesetz über die Jagd und den Schutz wildlebender Säugetiere und Vögel [JSG]), it is the cantons that have to adequately inform the public on the ecology, needs and protection of wildlife. The "Swiss Wolf Concept" further specifies that the Federal Office for the Environment (FOEN, in German Bundesamt für Umwelt [BAFU]) "provides the cantons with the necessary foundations for dealing with wolves, for informing and educating the general public and specific interest groups," whereas the cantons are responsible for "the involvement and information of local and regional authorities as well as the cantonal representatives of the various stakeholder groups involved (transparency)" and "the implementation of public relations in consultation with the FOEN." (BAFU 2016: 8 – 9)

The collaboration between the FOEN and the cantons follows these principles: "In areas where wolves occur, the cantons and the FOEN inform the public using all appropriate information channels about the wolf presence and the correct behavior when encountering wolves. The cantons and the FOEN coordinate their information policy. They inform factually about the wolf as well as the occurring problems and possible solutions" (BAFU 2016: 10, translated from German). There are, however, no concrete concepts or practical tools available to facilitate the practical implementation of these principles.

Our project[1] aimed at analyzing the current situation of returning wolves from a communication point of view, to develop a toolbox of different communication means and to provide support for the collaboration between authorities and local people. The main target audience are the cantonal authorities responsible for communicating about wolves.

Methods
Interviews with actors from the two administrative levels, cantons and municipalities, form the basis of our analysis of practical experiences and recommendations. We conducted 21 semi-structured interviews with the heads of cantonal wildlife management agencies (6), game wardens[2] (6) and mayors of municipalities (9) in six cantons. The scope of the project did not allow interacting directly with local people. We assumed that both mayors – who are locally

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2   Game wardens in Switzerland monitor the populations of wild animals and birds. They also monitor their protection and are committed to preserving their habitats. They advise on conflicts between humans and wildlife and do public relations work. They generally look after an area as employees of a cantonal authority. They take on hunting policing tasks and provide the basics for hunting planning. They are organs of the judicial police; available at: www.wildhueterverband.ch/startseite.html [29. 10. 2019].

elected by the inhabitants of the municipality – and game wardens are well informed about the concerns of the local people.

Interviews were carried out according to an interview guide and included questions about (1) their experiences with communication measures, (2) the handling of wolf situations and assessment of incidents, (3) roles and tasks of the individual actors, (4) cooperation between the actors, and (5) whether and how the authorities ensured information sovereignty after wolf sightings. Communication contents, the means of communication used and the communication channels were also inquired about. Furthermore, we asked the interviewees how they perceive the information needs of the people.

While the interviews with the heads of cantonal wildlife authorities and mayors of municipalities took place in their respective offices, interviews with game wardens were conducted in restaurants or at their homes. Interviews lasted from 0.5 to 3.5 hours. They were transcribed using "f4transkript" software[3] and, while doing so, translated from the Swiss dialects and French into German. The transcripts were coded and analyzed using "f4analyse" software.

The findings from the interviews were supplemented by a content analysis of cantonal communication products, such as concepts, websites, reports and leaflets. To date, 13 cantons[4] have developed specific guidance regarding the return of wolves (so-called "wolf concepts," which are based on the Swiss Wolf Concept, see BAFU 2016).

In the following part we describe the results of the research and make an analysis of the current situation. We have broken down the most important statements and findings according to the subchapters *Who* communicates to *Whom, When, How, and What*? Verbatim quotations from interviewees are labelled (cantonal agency), (game warden) or (local authority).

Who Communicates?

The *heads of the cantonal wildlife management agencies* are mainly responsible for communication and the contact person for the media. Communication is often coordinated with the related departments (e.g. agriculture) and the cantonal communication office. As our interviewees stated, they are committed to an objective attitude and the implementation of the laws. They lead and support their game wardens and are themselves usually supported by their superior, an elected cantonal councillor. In some situations, diverging opinions about wolves between the head of the cantonal wildlife management agency and his political superior hampered communication considerably. In public, wildlife management authorities are often asked to justify the resources spent on the wolf tasks. The exchange with neighboring cantons was considered important; not only to have the relevant information at hand, but also to learn from

others' experiences. Direct exchange between the heads of the cantonal wildlife management agencies and the municipal authorities rarely takes place, as we were told.

The *game wardens* are responsible for the monitoring of wolf presence. They verify all reported sightings and signs and investigate cases of human-wildlife conflicts. They are the direct contact person for local people and municipality authorities and, therefore, have an extremely important role as an interface between the local residents and the canton. They are the "antennae" who perceive what people are concerned about: "[…] the game warden is one of us, he lives here, he knows everyone, he speaks our dialect," as a mayor said. Their go-between role is often challenging, as demands of the local people are often beyond the legal possibilities (i.e. that they should solve the "problem" by shooting the wolf) or if decisions of the cantonal or federal authorities are unaccepted locally. Game wardens often serve as scapegoats, who immediately experience the frustration of and even pressure or threats from local people: "I had a colleague, he was close to resigning, back then. He said that if he had known, he would never have started. We have a very nice job. But then such pressure has come" (game warden). The workload of the wolf tasks can be immense, as many game wardens told us.

The *local authorities* (municipalities) are, according to the Swiss Wolf Concept, to be included and informed by the cantons (see Introduction). Their role, however, is not clearly defined either in the national or in the cantonal wolf concepts. However, when there is a wolf "event" in the municipality, mayors face many requests, both from the residents and from the media. Their reactions differ: Some refer directly to the canton; others try to give their own answer and, again, others communicate in consultation and exchange with the canton (mainly with the game warden). What is common, however, is that they are often unprepared for communicating about such a situation. Many of the mayors we have talked to wanted to receive more information and expressed their willingness to accept more responsibility concerning communication.

Many interviewees commented critically regarding the role of *groups holding pronounced pro- or anti-wolf positions*. The tenor was that these groups complicate the communication work of the authorities considerably. They are very well organized, networked and informed, and publish wolf incidents, for example, via social media channels, often earlier than the authorities. Events are interpreted according to the groups' agendas and used to pass their messages. There was no consensus on how to deal with such interventions. Most follow this approach: "You just have to cold-shoulder them. On both sides! There is no point in arguing with these people […]. All energy is wasted to enlighten anyone. You cannot collaborate with them. It is not working" (game warden).

To Whom?

Communication is treated very vaguely or not mentioned at all in the 13 existing cantonal wolf concepts (see Methods). Some of the concepts are solely dedicated to the topic of livestock damage (e.g. procedures, compensation, prevention). The cantons usually distinguish between internal and external communication. Internal communication takes place within the cantonal institutions, with neighboring cantons, the FOEN, and with specifically mandated organiza-

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3 Available at www.audiotranskription.de/f4 [29. 10. 2019].
4 Abteilung Fischerei und Jagd Kanton Luzern (2009), Amt für Forst und Jagd Kanton Uri (2008), Amt für Justiz Kanton Nidwalden (2009), Amt für Landschaft und Natur Kanton Zürich (2014), Amt für Wald und Raumentwicklung Kanton Obwalden (2009), Amt für Wald und Wild Kanton Zug (2017), Amt für Wald, Wild und Fischerei Staat Freiburg (2010), Departement Bau, Verkehr und Umwelt Kanton Aargau 2019, Departement Volkswirtschaft und Inneres Kanton Glarus (2018), Kanton Schwyz (2010), Kantonale Arbeitsgruppe "Grossraubtiere" (1999), Volkswirtschaftsdepartement Kanton St. Gallen (2013), Volkswirtschaftsdirektion Kanton Bern (2010).

tions. External communication goes to the broad public, the people and groups affected – for example, small livestock farmers – and to cantonal farmers, hunters and nature conservation associations. Municipal authorities are explicitly mentioned in five cantonal concepts as recipients of information; two of them state that municipalities should be informed prior to the media. None of the cantonal concepts refers explicitly to local people; they seem to be included in the general public.

When?

Many of the interviewees expressed the opinion that, based on their experience, preventive information, i.e. informing about wolves and their return to an area before wolves are actually present, is not useful. They say it only reaches people interested in the topic usually in favor of wolves. However, the demand for information from the local people and, hence, the need for communication erupts as soon as wolves show up, especially with wolf sightings near settlements. The authorities have to respond to such events immediately and communicate proactively to prevent rumors, fake news and intentional misinterpretation from taking over: "Suddenly there are a 1000 stories floating around and everyone becomes a wolf specialist" (cantonal agency). As they have to inform objectively, authorities generally wait for confirmed information (e.g. results from genetic analyses) before they communicate. Such a delay, nevertheless, opens the door to misinformation and mistrust towards the authorities.

How?

Only a few methods of communication are mentioned in the cantonal concepts and they are not explained further in detail. The most popular tool for cantons to communicate information is the press release. However, many of the heads of the cantonal wildlife management agencies expressed their frustrations with the media due to diverging expectations: While the authorities are mainly interested in conveying factual information, journalists prefer emotional "storytelling." The interviewees stressed the challenge not to be pushed into statements that could be misunderstood.

We found further communication tools during our research that are applied by the cantons. We developed a factsheet for each tool with a general description, when it can be applied for which target audience and with what potential communication contents. We also indicate its pros and cons and make recommendations (von Arx and Imoberdorf 2019). The factsheets are based on information gathered during the interviews and through additional literature review.

Table: Communication tools applied by the cantons, ordered by the degree of interaction (from low to high) and type of recipients (public, group, individual): While the number of people that can be reached by these tools decreases from top to bottom, the level of participation increases: A press release reaches the masses but is a one-way form of communication, while a face-to-face communication is a direct interaction but only reaches individuals. There are several options in between that allow the communication to reach a specific group of people, while the level of participation is moderate.

Communicat. tool	Description
Press release	Usually written by the head of the cantonal wildlife management agency or the communications department of the canton and released in new situations, for example, sightings of wolves, killed livestock or killed wolves, or evidence of reproduction, or used to reassure people after close wolf encounters. News about wolves is usually covered very well by the media.
Website Canton	Generally informs the public about the wolf situation in the canton and what to do when encountering a wolf or finding wolf evidence such as a kill, including contact details. Fact sheets, concepts and reports are provided as PDFs. Links to other information and institutions.
Annual report	The cantonal wildlife management agency informs the public and interest groups via an annual report. Wolves are usually a chapter of the report; there are annual reports only addressing wolves in a few cantons (Grisons since 2006, Ticino since 2018). Contains information on the development and evaluation of the wolf population, sightings of and incidents with certain wolf individuals, results of genetic analyses, working time invested in the topic, etc.
Regular circulars (emails)	Cantonal wildlife management agency uses e-mails to inform certain groups, such as local authorities, working groups, farmers, at different times about, for example, actual sightings or incidents, changes of administrative processes or legal frames, and release of (annual) reports.
Flyer / leaflet poster	Short written document with information on the wolf (most important features, presence), code of behavior towards wolves or livestock guarding dogs, and what to do if a kill is discovered. Addresses the broad public or specific groups (such as livestock owners or hunters). Easy distribution at all levels (e.g. face-to-face, municipality halls, tourist information center, as PDF on website). Can be combined with other communication methods (e.g. information event, excursion, exhibition).
Exhibition / fair	Exhibitions are usually developed by museums in collaboration with researchers and authorities. Hunting or agriculture fairs with a stall of the hunting authorities (game warden) on wildlife / wolf / large carnivores. Shows a lot of demonstration material (e.g. posters, photos, videos, skulls, fur, plaster casts, stuffed animals). Both can reach a broad audience but are time-consuming and rather expensive.

SMS service	Livestock holders receive an SMS on their mobile phone in case of a wolf presence nearby. An SMS is normally only released after verified evidence. The chain of communication is usually either game warden → hunting inspector → person responsible for livestock protection → livestock holders or game warden → agriculture agency → livestock holders. Content of an SMS: Usually time, place and observation type (livestock kill, wildlife kill, sighting).
Information meeting	Can be either for the public (local population) or for certain target groups. Public invitation to a regional information meeting, usually after first sightings, incidents or killed livestock. Organized by cantonal wildlife management agency or local authorities. Authorities and experts present their knowledge and data and relate to the respective situation. Allows discussion. Authorities are present and demonstrate sense of responsibility. Needs an experienced moderator and speakers. External experts are often considered a plus.
Excursion / site inspection	Half-daily or daily excursions into wolf habitat with stops where certain features are explained. Variety of organizers, presence of a game warden is favored. Land tenure system and behavior of wolves or challenges in the implementation of livestock prevention measures can be vividly explained in place.
Working group / Round table	A few cantons have established a "wolf working group" consisting of representatives of, for example, authorities, livestock holders, farmers, hunters, nature conservationists and tourism representatives. Meet once or twice a year. An excursion is included in one canton (Bern). Discussion on the current wolf situation, planning of the pasture season (livestock prevention measures), special topics related to wolf biology. Helps to improve relationships, potential for dialogue! However, there is also the danger that they turn into mere information exchange groups, which is better than nothing but not using the potential this tool has (e.g. Hovardas and Marsden 2018: 323 – 325).
Face-to-face communication	Authorities – often game wardens – get in personal contact with local people to inform them or mediate in case of conflicts, for example, killed livestock. Individual, private communication may be very effective as it proves authorities do care for the people. Further information can be provided, such as providing leaflets or factsheets. Usually takes place spontaneously. Important in the case of difficult situations. Communication may be difficult if people are emotional or authorities are not confident.

It is interesting to note that television, radio and social media were not mentioned at all in most cases and if so, then only very marginally, during the interviews. Reports about wolves on television or the radio are usually initiated by the respective channels and often as a reaction to wolf events and respective press releases issued by the canton. Communication through social media is very labor-intensive as it requires a constant updating of content and interaction with users who expect a rapid response (AK Bern 2016: 13; Schmidbauer and Jorzik 2017: 395). Authorities, for example, the FOEN (Stark and Zinke 2018: 35), have only recently started to use social media smoothly for their communication. A majority of Swiss citizens, however, inform themselves primarily online (AK Kanton Bern 2016: 19; Eisenegger 2018: 22). Therefore, the importance of such communication tools might increase in the future.

In the light of this, cantonal websites are, in theory, a very important source of information. However, our review revealed that information about the wolf differs greatly in accuracy, actuality and accessibility on the websites. Information is not very often intuitively findable but only via a search function. The information presented in some cantons is, furthermore, completely outdated (relating back to 2012 in the most extreme case).

What?

According to the cantonal authorities, the aim is to inform the people about the (regional) status of the wolves, what developments can be expected and how to respond. It is considered crucial to communicate "neutral" *facts* and not to make any subjective assessments. As a general rule, only verified records, such as wolf mortalities, observations verified by means of photos, captured animals, genetic analyses, records of livestock killed, wild prey remains, tracks and scats confirmed by trained staff, are communicated. It is considered important to distinguish between verified and not (yet) verified records, thus, to mention that the information is based on the current state of knowledge. The most difficult challenge hereby is, according to the cantonal wildlife managers, dealing with *uncertainties*, hence, telling the difference between facts and assumptions. Speculation has to be avoided because it is immediately rendered as a fact and subsequent rectification is difficult.

Cantons prefer to communicate the following *wolf image*: The wolf is neither a pet animal nor threatened with extinction nor a dangerous beast that must be eradicated so that agriculture can continue to exist, but a highly intelligent wild animal which eats meat. At the same time, however, they also communicate that they do not want wolves to linger in settlements. Such animals are considered to have a "conspicuous behavior" or to be a "problem wolf."

Interviewees at all levels were very often confronted with serious concerns about the safety of humans or domestic animals in the presence of wolves. The *fear of wolves* is persistent: "[T]here are people who I never expected to be afraid" (local authority). This is not just a Swiss phenomenon but prevails in many European countries where wolves have returned (e.g. Hiedanpää et al. 2016: 10 – 12; Johansson and Karlsson 2011: 21 – 23). In the case of the wolf, the subjective perception of threat does not coincide at all with the risk (e.g. Linnell et al. 2002; Penteriani et al. 2016: 6). Nevertheless, responsible authorities have to respond sensibly to such security concerns: "If the local population feels threatened and has the impression the

authorities do not act, this is fatal" (cantonal agency). However, communication about the risk of wolf attacks is tricky. Formulations indicating that wolves are "generally" or "normally" not dangerous are commonly used, because authorities restrain from absolute "promises" that there will be no attack: "For neither bear nor wolf we communicate that the animal is not dangerous but point to the possibility that once an attack could occur. However, it also needs to be mentioned how seldom these cases are, isn't it?! We've never had a case, neither with bear nor with wolf. We are yet far away from it" (cantonal agency). Comparison with other risks and reference to the experience with wolf attacks in European countries with autochthonous wolf populations (e.g. Linnell et al. 2002) are usually made. Instructions on how to behave when encountering a wolf are considered crucial, because "the first question people ask is always 'What should I do?'" (game warden). Appropriate instructions are published on websites, flyers and leaflets, sometimes also in press releases, and are given in direct communications. However, as one of the mayors pointed out, this can be perceived as an admission that there is a real danger: "If you tell people how they have to behave in case of an encounter, you implicitly admit that you are actually afraid of a wolf attack." As human behavior (e.g. wildlife feeding, luring), however, can trigger unwanted animal behavior (LCIE 2018: 2, 2019: 2−3), the communication of codes of conduct makes sense. In addition, the responsible authorities are under strong pressure: "We cannot allow something to happen" (cantonal agency). However, one mayor said: "If you react hysterically yourself and make a fuss about each speculation, then you achieve the contrary: Instead of communicating security you communicate insecurity."

Discussion and Recommendations

All interviewees agreed that good communication is essential when wolves return, but that it is time-consuming and often stressful, especially in an "acute" start time, i.e. immediately after the first sightings or kills, or if there are special events, i.e. sightings of wolves near settlements. It is very important to accompany the process communicatively from the beginning.

The respective heads of the cantonal wildlife management agencies are responsible for communication. As the topic of the wolf is emotionally sensitive, the effectiveness of communication depends not least on the communicator's credibility. It is, therefore, extremely important that the respective authorities remain objective based on verified facts (see below) and keep the *communication initiative* to avoid others stepping in and providing their interpretation of an event.

In the case of wolf presence, local people often address their concerns or questions to the game warden in the first place. As game wardens have to be able to answer people's questions as well as respond to their frustrations and fears, they should be trained in *communication and mediation skills* and must be supported by their superior body. As the interviews revealed, the municipal authorities are more relevant in the communication with the local inhabitants than expected. They could play an important role in the communication of wolf events, but, in practice, this depends on the structure of the municipality and even more on the personal commitment of the mayor. One of the mayors interviewed was not even aware that there were wolves present on the municipality's land. Most of those interviewed, however, expressed

their desire to contribute more but often lack the competency and capacity to do so. This is a potential to be explored further as *local authorities have direct access to the local people and could support cantonal institutions* in communication. Practical recommendations on communication methods, rules, and cooperation between cantonal and municipal institutions should be developed. Empowering the municipalities to communicate on wolf events implies that they are informed with priority by the cantonal institutions.

"Preventive enlightenment" of the local inhabitants is largely ineffective and reaches only a small part of the population. However, we recommend providing *basic information* on wolves, their present status, and conservation and management approaches, for example, on the cantonal website, in order to inform interested people. Most people develop a demand for information only when wolves are reported close enough that they feel concerned (e.g. regarding security). Sudden events, such as wolves showing up in settlements, can require urgent and time-consuming communication with local people and triggers a considerable interest from the media. The authorities in charge, hence, need to find the right balance of communication (what, how, when). On the one hand, they should avoid communication based on insufficient evidence but, on the other hand, delayed communication fosters the spreading of rumors and fake news and causes mistrust towards authorities. Therefore, cantons should *communicate immediately*, even if they need to admit some uncertainty. To be credible, however, it is important to communicate *only facts* and to disclose what information is robust and which is not. Exemplarily: There is a sighting of a "wolf" or a sheep has been killed. The question wildlife managers and game wardens are immediately confronted with is: "Was it a wolf?" The following answers should be avoided: "It is possible" or "It could have been a wolf." These are interpreted by the public being a wolf or wolf attack, respectively, and also distributed as such by the media. If further investigation proves that it was not wolf, then a rectification is difficult and could be perceived as an attempt to hide something. The answer should be: "We do not know (and will make further investigations)."

In addition to communicating *proactively* on topical or special events, we recommend that cantons report *regularly* on the presence of wolves in their canton. We created factsheets (von Arx and Imoberdorf 2019) on communication tools describing their advantages and disadvantages that can help them to choose the appropriate means in a given situation. A *coordinated communication* across multiple channels is considered as the most effective (Eisenegger 2018: 24; Schmidbauer and Jorzik 2017: 347). However, as described in the table above, the communication tools of choice depend on whether the target audience is the broad public, a certain interest group or local inhabitants.

The content (topics, messages) is considered more important than the means of communication (Schmidbauer and Jorzik 2017: 292). Until now, most "wolf news" has had a negative connotation, for example, referring to attacks on livestock or situations where people felt threatened. Reporting on wolves is dominated by "conflicts" and the wolf is presented as a "problem" which is anchored accordingly in people's perceptions. Rational communication on wolves is hampered by the fact that pronounced pro- or anti-wolf lobby groups immediately step in and deliver their own interpretation of an event, and that each wolf story sells and is

presented accordingly by the media. There are many examples where *per se* correct articles were emotionalized by adding a lurid photo or a sensational title such as: "Wolf-alarm not far from the city of Bern" (Der Bund 2017) or "Bold wolves threaten villages" (Ziegler 2014). Headlines and photos stick in people's minds much more than a rational report. While we acknowledge that one should not whitewash anything and mention negative events related to wolves, we feel that there is a *lack of building on "normal" experiences* with the species. There is, furthermore, the *need for constructive messages* on wolf-human coexistence and of coexistence between people holding different "wolf images."

Neither the wolf population nor communication is static but continue to evolve. New experiences and trends must, therefore, be constantly taken into account. We realized that an *evaluation of communication measures* has never actually taken place and experiences about their effects are largely missing. We, therefore, urge for an evaluation of measures by including the target group of communication – usually the local people affected.

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WOLVES SHEEP PEOPLE SCHÄFER KILL
SORNJE LANDSCAPE WALD PASTWA
DROHA VALLEY JÄGER PACK SCHWEIZ
WILDSCHWEINE HEULEN MOON SCHEU
DEUTSCHLAND TRUPPENÜBUNGSPLATZ

KNOWLEDGE SICHERHEIT VERGRÄMEN
EMOTION HERDENSCHUTZ HÜTEHUND
ENVIRONMENT ZÄUNE DANGER WUT
HABITAT TRACH WARNING ABSCHUSS
FLATTERLAND

SOCIETY MANAGEMENT PARLAMENT
DISKURS WILDNIS CONSERVATION
GESETZ CUT-OFF LOBBY PROBLEMWOLF
LETALE ENTNAHME WANDEL POLITIK
AUSROTTUNG MEDIATION RESPECT

9

Sebastian Ehret

Understanding the Return of Wolves
An Educational Scheme for Discussing a Multidimensional Phenomenon

Introduction

The return of wolves is without doubt one of today's most controversial phenomena in human-environment relations.* Since wolves re-established themselves on German territory nearly twenty years ago, their return has sparked widespread attention in society, politics and science. Looking at the way the debates on the topic are held, it becomes obvious how controversial, complex and multifaceted the relations between humans and wolves actually are. This observation coincides with results of a wide range of interdisciplinary and international studies investigating human-wolf relations within the broader framework of Human-Animal Studies (e.g. Buller 2008; Skogen et al. 2017). As Williams Lynn states fittingly: "To appreciate the wide variety of views on wolves, we must attend to the scientific, social, and ethical discourses that frame our understanding of wolves themselves, as well as their relationships with people and the natural world" (Lynn 2010: 75). It is precisely these complexities that are often inadequately addressed and dealt with in public and political debates. The inherently multidimensional character of human-wolf relations is neglected, as the focus is oftentimes on easy solutions or the opinions and experiences of individual stakeholders.

Having an academic background in cultural geography and education, I argue in this paper that such oversimplified representations of human-wolf relations should be countered by introducing perspectives and insights from Human-Animal Studies into the debate. In doing so, I follow Henry Buller's plea for a critically engaged understanding of social science. As scholars in the field of Human-Animal Studies, we do not examine the complexities and entanglements of human-animal relations to then communicate them exclusively to an academic audience. Instead, we should contribute to the creation of "a more radical politics that might accommodate all of this complexity" (Buller 2014a: 312). In my view, these politics are not yet in place. They should result from a general debate on how we want to coexist with human and non-human others instead of being generated by means of a technocratic approach, in which experts and scholars develop solutions to be implemented into society. Furthermore, I am convinced that paying greater attention to Human-Animal Studies' perspectives would stimulate this broader debate. While highly theoretical and philosophical frameworks, such as new materialism, posthumanism, the Anthropocene or environmental ethics, are well-perceived and commonly applied in an academic context with human-animal relations (DeMello 2012), the main ideas of these frameworks have not yet spread beyond the boundaries of academia. Therefore, we have to make our Human-Animal Studies' perspectives more accessible and address a wider, general audience by finding appropriate translations, images, metaphors, experiences and other didactical tools.

Fortunately, several attempts have already been made to foster this endeavor. The Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK) in Hamburg, for instance, explicitly used results from anthropological and literary research on human-wolf relations in their exhibition "Von Wölfen & Menschen" (Ertener and Schmelz 2019). Similar efforts have been made for the Swiss exhibition "Der Wolf ist da. Eine Menschenausstellung" (Alpines Museum der Schweiz and Universität Zürich – ISEK 2017). Moreover, there are some among the wide range of nonfictional books on wolves explicitly addressing a wide audience whilst referring to debates in Human-Animal Studies (Ahne 2016; Marvin 2012).

These attempts encourage me to propose a heuristic scheme on how to structure and discuss the return of wolves for and with a general audience. The scheme does not suggest a particular position on the return of wolves. On the contrary, its main goal is to convey the complexity of the topic and show how multilayered it is. The scheme's didactical purpose is, thus, to provide the audience with a sound overview of different positions and, thereby, empower them to create their own informed opinion.

Before presenting the scheme in more detail in the main part of this paper, I will briefly discuss some general characteristics of the debate around the return of wolves to illustrate its aforementioned lack of complexity. Furthermore, I am going to examine recent developments in the field of environmental education. Regarding the scheme, I will elaborate on its main attributes, educational goals and explanatory value. Whilst the general structure of the scheme might be applicable to different national and international contexts, it was developed for and tested in a series of public presentations for a German audience. Hence, I will illustrate it with specific examples from the German debate about the return of wolves to exemplify better how it is applied in practice.

Debating the Return of Wolves

There are many explanations for the current absence of complex and multidimensional narratives in public and political debates about the return of wolves. In the context of this paper, the following two seem particularly relevant.

Firstly, metaphorically speaking, the debates about the return of wolves could be described as a polyphonic and loud choir. This choir is polyphonic because a huge variety of voices can be heard, such as politicians, livestock owners, hunters, environmentalists, inhabitants of wolf regions and scientists mainly from the fields of biology and ecology. All these voices do not only derive from different backgrounds, they also occur loudly, since they advocate strong opinions and express them in an emotional manner. The form of communication interest groups choose tends to be exaggerated and appears foreshortened.

These observations align well with Michel Foucault's thoughts on the nexus of knowledge, discourse and power, as they have been discussed in great depth in social and cultural science over the last few years (Angermuller et al. 2014). From this conceptual perspective, debating the return of wolves is not merely an exchange of different ideas but a discursive battle about different interpretations of reality. These debates are inherently power-laden. Moreover, a Foucauldian perspective rejects the idea of neutral and innocent knowledge. The controversy

around the return of wolves, hence, does not arise simply from a clash of different ideas and opinions. It is the arena in which contested bodies of knowledge come into conflict (Buller 2008; Lynn 2010). Narratives about the complexity and multidimensionality of human-wolf relations, which avoid prioritizing one particular truth over another, struggle to be heard in such a confrontational communicative context.

Secondly, the current lack of complexity-sensitive narratives is greatly influenced by the long-established connection between scientifically produced knowledge in environmental science and traditional approaches to environmental education. Environmental education used to be characterized by the premise that knowledge of biological and ecological facts and processes will inevitably lead to a more conscious and considerate attitude towards the environment (Rost 2002). Environmental education dealing with the return of wolves is still too often based on the assumption that spreading biologically, statistically and ecologically 'true' knowledge about wolves and their behavior is the best way to increase the acceptance of wolves in society (e.g. SMUL 2014: 40). However, I want to allude to exceptions to this general pattern, such as the aforementioned exhibitions in Germany and Switzerland.

Scholars have criticized these forms of environmental education, especially regarding education for sustainable development. Moreover, they came up with new educational concepts that are more suitable in dealing with multiple perspectives, open-endedness and complexity (Wals et al. 2015). According to Vale and Scott (2007), education for sustainable development should be regarded as a twofold endeavor: Firstly, it should concentrate on building the capacity to think and reflect critically on the underlying ideas, dilemmas and contradictions inherent in our current situation. Secondly, it should comprise practice-based approaches, promoting new ways of informed and skilled behavior and focusing on solutions for current challenges.

I take this twofold understanding of education as an orientation and inspiration for the educational scheme developed in this paper and, thereby, transfer it into the realm of human-wolf relations. The scheme's main purpose is to introduce a complexity-sensitive narrative on the return of wolves to a general audience. Therefore, it fosters the audience's capacity to think and reflect critically on current human-wolf relations and, thereby, fulfils Vale and Scott's first demand on a complexity-sensitive education. As mentioned in the introduction, I am convinced that new politics and practice-based solutions in current human-wolf relations should not be developed by scholars or professionals alone but, instead, be based on a complexity-sensitive, societal debate. Therefore, the educational scheme cannot fulfil Vale and Scott's second demand directly. Nevertheless, it contributes to this debate's success by empowering members of the public to establish their own informed position.

An Educational Scheme for Discussing the Return of Wolves

I present a heuristic scheme in the following which allows the discussion of the return of wolves in an educational context without reducing the complexity and multifacetedness of the phenomenon. This scheme consists of two main steps. In a first step, it organizes and structures the multitude of knowledge, experiences and opinions expressed in the public debate into different dimensions. I suggest the following seven dimensions: Biology and environmental

science, law and administration, practical husbandry, ethics, the public and politics, cultural history, and psychology and emotions. In a second step, it explores the interrelations and overlappings of these dimensions.

This two-stepped approach is loosely inspired by the way Niklas Luhmann analyses the functional differentiation of modern societies by means of several more or less independent subsystems (Luhmann 1984). He analyses each of these subsystems individually before investigating the ways they are interrelated. By loosely drawing on Luhmann I do not intend to fully ground my explanations in the framework of system theory. However, some of his general ideas are quite useful for understanding and analysing the debate around the return of wolves.

Such an approach has several implications: To begin with the dimensions are contingent and heuristic. Similar to other typologies the particular categories are the result of an active ordering and allocating. This is by no means a flaw of the typology itself, especially not in an educational context, where deliberately adjusting the subject matter to an audience is a necessary precondition for learning. In addition, the dimensions' interrelation is horizontal rather than hierarchical; none of them is inherently more significant than others. Finally, the production and evaluation of knowledge in each of these dimensions follows a particular logic. According to Luhmann, this logic can be understood as the subsystem's code and is an important mechanism to distinguish elements belonging to the system from those that do not (Rosa et al. 2007: 186).

The Scheme's First Step: Thinking in Seven Dimensions

Two different time scales pervade each of the dimensions in this typology: At first glance, the return of wolves appears as a contemporary phenomenon. Pressing questions in this present time scale might be: How many wolves are there right now? What is the spatial pattern of their territorial expansion? What is the current impact of wolves on different stakeholders? Many institutions provide statistics and updated evidence on these questions, both on a national (DBBW 2018) and European level (Linnell and Cretois 2018). Additionally, the return of wolves appears as a historical phenomenon. The term 'return of wolves' itself implies its historical time scale. Until wolves' systematic eradication by humans started in the Middle Ages, most parts of Europe were comprehensively covered by wolf territories (Boitani 2003: 318 f.). The interrelation of these two time scales not only provides a deeper understanding of wolf populations' spatial and temporal dynamics but is also evident in each of the seven dimensions further described in the following.

When presenting the typology hereafter, I follow a twofold procedure: Firstly, I outline the dimensions' basic logic. This can be achieved for a general audience by presenting the main question these dimensions are trying to find an answer to. Secondly, I provide generic insights into the actual knowledge that is produced in each of them.

1. Biology and environmental science

A basic understanding of wolves' social behavior, diet and territorial expansion is vital for an informed engagement with their return. Like other forms of scientific knowledge, these biolo-

gical and environmental insights on wolves are subject to contestation and denial. Doubt and dissent are important driving forces for scientific progress and innovation within the scientific community. However, members of the public and stakeholder groups also contest biological knowledge, especially when this knowledge builds the dominant narrative used by politicians, officials, non-governmental organizations and scientists. In these cases, doubting biological knowledge can be seen as a form of resistance against the hegemonic power structures this knowledge is embedded in (Skogen et al. 2008: 126). Both forms of dissent, the academic and the non-academic, base their contestation on the binary assessment categories 'true' or 'false.' Hence, the guiding logic of this first dimension can be expressed best by the question: *What scientific facts are true and what are false?*

It is deemed to be common sense within biology and environmental science that wolves live alone and collaboratively in packs, depending on their current stage of life. A wolf pack typically consists of a breeding pair and their offspring of the current and the previous year (Mech and Boitani 2003). When pups reach sexual maturity after 10 to 22 months, they usually leave the pack. They wander around alone in search of a mate and suitable territory. That is the basic process of wolves' spatial expansion in a territory without an established wolf population – as has been observed in Germany over the past twenty years (DBBW 2018: 18).

No other animal preys on wolves as they are apex predators. As encounters between different packs – motivated by food competition or territorial rivalry – can result in fatal conflicts, "killing by other wolves is one of the commonest causes of natural wolf mortality" (Mech and Boitani 2003: 27). However, in the shared environments wolves and humans inhabit in Europe, wolves' number one enemy is traffic. Recent statistics in Germany show that nearly 70 percent of the statistically registered wolf deaths are caused by traffic accidents (DBBW 2018: 19). Although official statistics include the wolf population's mortality and list its reproduction rate quite accurately (DBBW 2018: 13), estimating the exact number of wolves living in a particular area at a given moment is very difficult. That has several reasons: While the pack lives stationary in the first months after the pups' birth, a close monitoring by means of personal observation or wild cameras is possible. This situation changes when pups grow older and can follow other pack members on hunts and forays through their territory (Mech and Boitani 2003: 32). Wolves' extensive wandering, which occurs after they leave their original pack, complicates monitoring even more. Fresh DNA samples are amongst the most accurate sources for wolf monitoring but difficult to get (Reinhardt et al. 2015: 19).

An adult wolf in central Europe needs an average of 2–3 kg of meat per day but is capable of ingesting considerably larger amounts of meat after a successful hunt. Findings of wolf scat analysis show that the wolves in Germany prey overwhelmingly on roe deer, red deer and wild boars – and rarely on livestock (DBBW 2017). However, when they attack livestock, wolves sometimes kill more animals than they actually eat. Biologists refer to this phenomenon as 'surplus killing' and mention several reasons for it (Mech and Peterson 2003: 139 f.): As hunting is a dangerous endeavor for wolves, they hunt opportunistically and generally prefer easy catches to difficult and risky ones. Additionally, domestication and fenced enclosures reduce livestock animals' capabilities to flee or defend themselves properly against wolves. Therefore,

easy prey keeps on being available during a hunt and wolves keep on preying on them. Regarding surplus killing, Mech and Peterson conclude that wolves "respond normally to a situation that is drastically different than usual" (Mech and Peterson 2003: 145).

2. Law and administration

Regarding law and administration, it becomes obvious that assessments based on 'true' and 'false' are not always eligible. Decisions and actions here are evaluated on their accordance to the law. Therefore, the crucial question is: *What is legal and how can we act legally?*

Juridical frameworks regarding the coexistence of wolves and humans operate on different levels, namely international, European, national and federal. Looking at how the conservation status of wolves is implemented legally illustrates how these levels are linked. Internationally, a major step towards the wolves' current conservation status was the signing of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES) in 1973. For the first time, the international community of states agreed on collaborative efforts in wolf conservation. In a European context, this general agreement was reinforced by the Berne Convention on the Conservation of European Wildlife and Natural Habitats in 1979 and finally, included in the European Union (EU) legislation by adopting the Habitats Directive in 1992. As of annex IV of the latter, wolves are classified as "species in need of strict protection" (European commission 1992). The EU member states are obliged to implement EU directives into their national law. Germany fulfilled this obligation on a national level in the course of the Federal Nature Conservation Act's revision in 1998. Since nature conservation is a federal matter in Germany, the sixteen states each have their own legislation on nature conservation. A recent example at this federal level is the 'wolf decree' in the state of Brandenburg that specifies how to deal with wolves that show so-called "suspicious behavior" (Brandenburgische Wolfsverordnung 2018). The European commission 1992 overall goal of these efforts is to stabilize wolf populations further until they reach a favorable conservation status (European commission 1992). It falls within the scope of the state authorities to put these legislations into practice and to inform the public. Furthermore, state-funded wolf management advises stakeholders on herd protection and it facilitates compensation, in cases with clear evidence that livestock losses were caused by wolves.

All these different juridical levels are interlinked in complex and quite specific ways. Consequently, there are big differences in the organizational structures of wolf managements, and it is sometimes difficult to see into functional responsibilities. This might result in discontent for affected members of the public and the impression of being left in the lurch. Therefore, talking about these complexities openly might foster a mutual understanding.

3. Practical husbandry

Regarding the return of wolves, the main interest of livestock farmers is to protect their flocks effectively. Herd protection and policy decisions in the realm of practical husbandry, thus, follow yet another logic. Assessments here are based on the question: *Is the proposed measure practical and (cost-)effective?*

Two prevention measures are currently common: Electrified fencing and livestock guardian dogs. The federal wolf management in Germany subsidizes both these measures (DBBW 2019: 7 f.). The main protective mechanism behind electrified fencing is not the physical barrier these fences provide but its psychological effect. When wolves or other animals approach livestock animals, an electric shock hits them. According to the underlying psychological premises of conditioning and avoidance behavior, wolves connect these electronic shocks, after several attempts, to the presence of the livestock animals and exclude them from their regular diet (BFN 2019: 8). Preventive use of livestock guardian dogs works differently. These dogs grow up in flocks alongside livestock animals and regard them as their pack. Due to their strongly developed territoriality, they defend their flock's current pastures against intruders and outsiders.

Where wolves and livestock animals share the same environment, the federal wolf management recommends a combination of electrified fencing and livestock guardian dogs (BFN 2019: 7 f.). Although both these measures increase the overall protection considerably, wolf attacks cannot be prevented completely. During my field research, herdsmen report cases in which fences were broken and pulled over by panicking livestock animals or by falling branches. In other cases, wolves overpowered young and inexperienced livestock guardian dogs. These reports might be rare cases, but they happened. Despite the state's subsidies for these prevention measures, it is important to recognize and acknowledge the additional amount of time, money and effort required from herdsmen.

4. Ethics

As mentioned above, the debate about the return of wolves is not only polyphonic, but also loud in the sense that opinions are expressed strongly and emotionally. A major reason for this is the debate's ethical dimension. In ethics, we as society search for answers to the questions: *What is right and what is wrong?* And we try to act accordingly.

Sometimes, putting the wolves' conservation status into practice contradicts stakeholders' interests. In these cases, ethical judgements must be considered. However, ethical beliefs vary strongly in society (Buller 2016; Ott et al. 2016). Are the wolves part of our moral community and, therefore, included in our ethical considerations? Moreover, do humans' interests outweigh wolves' interests if they contradict each other? Ethical conflicts around the return of wolves also occur amongst humans. Should we place more value on the interests of a herdsman, whose livelihood is directly affected by the co-presence of wolves, or on the interests of an environmental activist, who regards the century-old eradication of wolves as an unacceptable human ignorance towards nature and securing wolves' recent recovery as a long overdue redemption? Interestingly, ethical conflicts might arise within the realm of nature conservation. Both the return of wolves and extensive, ecological forms of animal husbandry are celebrated for their positive impact on biodiversity. How should we decide, if they were seen as mutually exclusive in a particular spatial context (Buller 2008)?

5. The public and politics

There are various actors that try to have their voice heard in public and political debates on the return of wolves. Aligning well with the Foucauldian nexus of knowledge and power, the main logic and question in the dimension of the public and politics is: *How do I assert my interests against others?*

There are and have been plenty of interest groups and lobby organizations which have been involved in the debate on the return of wolves in Germany over the past twenty years, including associations of farmers, hunters, herdsmen, and for nature conservation and, more particularly, for wolf preservation. Like political parties, many of these associations are organized nationally but also have branches on a state, regional or local level. All major political parties have included the return of wolves in their manifestos. They, furthermore, take part in local activities, such as local information events or street campaigning. In addition to these players, there is the press and social media constantly reproducing and reinforcing all these different opinions.

Two additional observations are worthy of attention in this discursive struggle for asserting one's interests. Firstly, these voices explicitly connect statements with other issues which are not wolf-related to increase the legitimacy of certain positions and opinions concerning human-wolf relations. Critical voices regarding the co-presence of wolves, for example, might play off wolf-related policies against those of regional development or educational planning. These voices establish a causal connection between two completely different political domains by claiming, for instance, that the government is paying for wolf monitoring instead of maintaining the local kindergarten. These inter-discursive lines of reasoning can be observed in many controversies over public services (Ehret and Reda 2018).

Secondly, different positions and opinions are often woven into spatial orderings, such as the following paradigmatic statement made by an interviewee during my field research illustrates: "These balcony-biologists in the cities vouch for wolf protection, but we in the countryside have to live side by side with wolves on a daily basis." Spatial distance and proximity to wolf territories are used to legitimize or delegitimize certain positions in the debate around the return of wolves. Scholars in animal geographies, in particular, have emphasized entanglements between human-wolf relations and space (Buller 2014b; Ojalammi and Blomley 2015), as the discipline's main goal is "to better understand the social world of humans and animals as they exist side by side, co-producing spaces" (Fletcher and Platt 2018: 216).

6. Cultural history

Humans have incorporated wolves into their cultures ever since they began living in shared environments. Wolves appear as myths, figures in fables and fairy tales, symbols or metaphors in different ways and with various meanings throughout our cultural histories. The ways we culturally frame wolves affect the ways we organize our coexistence with them. Be it through *Little Red Riding Hood* or *Game of Thrones*, in a German context, different cultural depictions of wolves are passed on through socialization and cultural production. Hence, the main question in this dimension is: *What are the cultural images and narratives of wolves and how do they*

influence our current coexistence with wolves?

A glimpse into this vast field helps us to understand some of its key correlations. An influential moment in cultural history, for instance, was the way wolves were included into Christian symbolism. They were used as metaphors for evil and for false prophets. This metaphor marks a crucial shift: "Wolves become perceived and represented as creatures of dangerous and wicked intention because humans need an image for their own wickedness and wrongdoing" (Marvin 2012: 45). Medieval natural philosophy regarded all natural phenomena as an expression of the Word of God. As God's crown of creation, it was humans' duty to maintain God's creation on earth (Descola 2013: 112 f.). Clearly, a creature that was depicted as evil and malevolent as the wolf could not have been deliberately included in this creation. Consequently, killing real wolves was seen as godly, praised and an act of worshipping. Killing real wolves meant getting rid of creation's mistake.

The image of wolves as threatening outsiders morphed and lost its divine foundation during the Early Modern Ages. Thomas Hobbes, for instance, used the Latin proverb *homo homini lupus (Man is a wolf to man; Der Mensch ist des Menschen Wolf)* as a key motif in his theory of the state. The supposedly wolfish part of human nature gained the upper hand, especially during the Thirty Years' War, and Europe descended into social and political chaos. Wolf attacks on humans increased in times of war because the populations of wolves' usual prey declined due to over-hunting (Linnell et al. 2002: 5). Hence, after the Thirty Years' War ended, state-driven eradication of real wolves served a double purpose: Reestablishing the state's monopoly on the use of force and facilitating the predominance of civilization over humans' wolfish nature (Kling 2019: 13).

Nevertheless, wolves have not always been feared. It was the she-wolf, for instance, that according to Roman mythology, raised Romulus and Remus, which later resulted in the foundation of Rome. Until today, this she-wolf represents protection and noblesse, and even decorates the emblem of Rome's biggest football club. Furthermore, there has been a long tradition of wolf warriors in Europe "both in the sense of warriors being likened to a ferocious pack of wolves when in battle and in warrior self-identification with wolves" (Marvin 2012: 73).

Whilst more positive meanings have been around from the beginning of human-wolf relations, they remained unheard and invisible for a long time, at least in a European context. This started to change by the late nineteenth century, when the writing of Jack London or Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* became popular. This different depiction of wolves went hand in hand with new ways of engaging with wolves scientifically. Aldo Leopold's writings on wolves, for example, had a profound impact on the developments of ecology as an academic discipline and the environmental movement (Leopold 1968 [1949]). These shifts in the cultural narratives and imaginaries of wolves were clearly crucial turning points towards the decision to preserve wolves internationally in the second half of the twentieth century.

7. Psychology and emotions

Rationally placing one's current reaction in its cultural context is close to impossible in actual encounters with wolves or after wolf attacks on livestock animals. These encounters usually evoke a variety of emotions, such as fury, sorrow, grief, empathy, care or affection. These emotions cannot always be accessed rationally or even expressed verbally. Questioning the legitimacy of emotions towards wolves disregards the significant effect emotions have on our life. Therefore, the guiding question in the realm of psychology and emotions is: *How do emotions influence our coexistence with wolves?*

The way emotions shape our understandings and actions has been well-studied in social science and psychology (Turner 2009). With special regard to the relations between humans and wolves, Jürgens and Hackett (2017), have, among others, connected the development of the 'Big Bad Wolf' stereotype to general archetypal ideas of fear and danger. Fear is of particular relevance in the debates about the return of wolves. "The existence of this fear has ensured that public debates about wolf management and conservation have become highly emotional" (Linnell et al. 2002: 7). Linnell and colleagues take this observation as a key motivation for their comprehensive and historical overview on 'proven' wolf attacks on humans in North America, Europe and some parts of Asia. I emphasize a different take on the fear of wolves within the scope of this educational scheme. Instead of reacting to fear with attempts to prove its illegitimacy, accepting fear as an influential emotion and describing its specifics seems more appropriate.

My empirical research with humans living in Eastern Germany's wolf territories indicates that two aspects are particularly relevant for the fear of wolves: Firstly, most humans do not connect their fear of wolves to personal experiences with them. Direct encounters between humans and wild wolves are relatively rare even in densely populated wolf territories. If they happen, they are usually accidental, brief and distant. As animal geographers Sanna Ojalammi and Nicholas Blomley state: "It is not the existence of the wolf that is deemed problematic […], but its relative location. Anxiety is spatially mediated" (2015: 55). The absence of personal experiences with wolves and the spatially mediated character of wolf-related anxiety increases the influence of cultural imageries and symbols in legitimizing one's fear. Secondly, the rare possibility of direct encounter seems to increase the difficulties in handling one's fear of wolves. In contrast to other fears, a deliberate exposure and the gradual process of getting used to one's feelings and reactions is not possible. The fear of wolves is, thus, usually a fear of the unknown.

The Scheme's Second Step: Analyzing the Dimensions' Interrelations and Contradictions

Structuring the return of wolves according to this typology of seven dimensions displays its multifacetedness and complexity to a general audience. In summary, two characteristics of this first step seem particularly important. Firstly, even though knowledge production and evaluation in each of these dimensions follows a common logic, this does not indicate that knowledge production is per se an uncontroversial endeavor. On the contrary, these logics reify the basic assumptions knowledge can be challenged with. Secondly, the principally non-hierarchical character of the dimensions' relation is assured by presenting the dimensions in juxtaposition with each other.

When following the debate around the return of wolves closely, one realizes that these

dimensions are far from being as nicely separated as they appear in this typology. We detect strong linkages and argumentative interweaving of two or several dimensions. Again, a Foucauldian perspective on discourses, knowledge and power offers a conceptual explanation for this observation (Angermuller et al. 2014). Successfully linking knowledge from different dimensions increases the discursive legitimacy of a specific position within the debates around the return of wolves. Two examples illustrate this point.

When it comes to assessments of wolves' conservation status, there is a strong linkage between the dimension of biology and environmental science and the one of law and administration. Maintaining the wolves' conservation status legally is tied to a certain size of their population, due to the EU's Habitat Directive. Biological knowledge is a necessary precondition for this legislation's validity. Furthermore, this linkage is enhanced by the fact that the biological knowledge referenced is provided by state-funded wolf management or on behalf of it (Reinhardt et al. 2015: 9). This nexus of biological knowledge production and legislative power has clearly put the state's wolf management into a hegemonic position. In a Norwegian context, Skogen and colleagues point out that expert knowledge on wolves "is challenged through an active cultivation of lay, practical knowledge with solid roots in social groups who do not belong to, nor feel at home in, the segments that control the hegemonic environmental discourse" (Skogen et al. 2017: 133). As mentioned above, similar tendencies can be observed in a German context.

Another example of illustrating the interrelatedness of the dimensions is the connection between that of psychology and emotion and the one of ethics. Since ethics are concerned with questions of good and righteous behavior, conflicts around different ethical beliefs tend to be highly emotional (Ott et al. 2016). As mentioned above, ethical conflicts not only encompass the relations between humans and wolves but also arise between humans, for instance, between a herdsman and an animal welfarist. For argument's sake, let us use the simplified assumption that both follow different ethical beliefs. Coming from an anthropocentric point of view, the herdsman may be convinced that the conservation of wolves should not jeopardize the livelihood of herdsmen and their stock. For the herdsman, letting wolves prey on livestock is unjust. Coming from a more sentientistic point of view, the animal welfarist may be convinced that wolves should be granted ethical rights, since they can feel and suffer. For the animal welfarist, killing wolves because they threaten herdsmen's economic livelihood is unjust. Being treated unjustly usually evokes strong emotions. As a result, it is likely that the herdsman and the animal welfarist become active in the realm of public and politics, join an interest group and vouch for their beliefs publicly.

Looking at the interrelations among dimensions fosters a deeper understanding of hegemonic positioning in the debates. Another notable strength of this second step is its additional explanation of conflicts in human-wolf relations. Conflicts can arise either within a dimension, as indicated above by the paradigmatic dispute between the herdsman and the animal welfarist in the realm of ethics, or by scientific disputes in the realm of biology and environmental science. However, conflicts may also occur in conversations in which people talk about the same phenomenon but are argumentatively grounded in different dimensions.

In these cases, they assess their counterpart's position with respectively different logics. There are two examples illustrating this point.

As indicated above, logics in biology and environmental science might contradict those in psychology and emotions – especially with regard to the fear of wolves. Statistical evidence indicating how rarely and historically specific wolf attacks on humans are (Linnell et al. 2002) does not necessarily reduce one's fear of wolves. Fear and statistics follow fundamentally different logics. Therefore, attempts to delegitimize the fear of wolves by pointing to its statistical improbability are very likely to result in a mutual feeling of being misunderstood and later to a general controversy.

An often-witnessed conflict in recent human-wolf relations originates from different logics in the dimension of law and administration, on the one hand, and the dimension of practical husbandry, on the other. The following situation is paradigmatic for wolf-related information. Representatives of public authorities often explain the legally recommended prevention measures, possibilities of public subsidies and preconditions for compensation payments if wolves attack livestock animals. Livestock owners often react to these elaborations by emphasizing that the measures recommended are not efficient enough and too time-consuming. They point out that public subsidies are too difficult to get and still leave them with an additional financial burden, and that some of the preconditions for compensation payments are difficult to meet. According to this scheme, both sides are deeply grounded in their dimension and bound to the respective logic. A mutual understanding is, thus, very difficult to achieve.

Conclusion

In this paper, I propose an educational scheme for discussing the return of wolves for a general audience, which aims explicitly to convey the complexity and multidimensionality of current human-wolf relations. This endeavor was encouraged by the predominant lack of complexity-sensitive narratives in public debates and many educational contexts regarding the return of wolves. This educational scheme follows a two-step approach: Firstly, it organizes and structures the multitude of knowledge, experiences and opinions expressed in the public debate into the following seven dimensions: biology and environmental science, law and administration, practical husbandry, ethics, the public and politics, cultural history, and psychology and emotions. The production of knowledge in each of these dimensions follows a particular logic, which acts as the basic reference for evaluating knowledge in this dimension. Secondly, it explores the interrelations and contradictions of these dimensions and their respective logics in order to explain conflicts and powerful positions in this field.

I acknowledge Henry Buller's call to scholars dealing with complex human-animal relations to contribute actively to the development of new politics and approaches for the coexistence of humans and nonhuman others (Buller 2014a: 312). Most importantly, I am convinced that scholars and experts should not develop these new politics and approaches alone. I am also in full agreement with Vale and Scott's statement that a challenge such as this needs to be based on "a learning process – it certainly will not be about 'rolling out' a set of pre-determined behaviours" (Vale and Scott 2007: 192).

Consequently, the education scheme developed in this paper does not propose better trajectories for future human-wolf relations. It, instead, enables members of the public to form a well-founded opinion and to develop an understanding for other opinions by providing insights into a variety of positions and entanglements in human-wolf relations. These well-founded opinions and a mutual understanding are essential starting points for a general debate on future trajectories in the coexistence of humans and wolves. Hence, this paper seeks to provide enriching supplements to the other contributions of the conference *Encounters with Wolves: Dynamics and Futures* in June 2018.

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Fig. 17 **Conference poster** Design Ralf Reimann, Büro für Gestaltung, Bautzen, DIN A2, 2018

Contributors

Irina Arnold studied German Philology and Cultural Anthropology/European Ethnology at the University of Göttingen and finished her Master of Arts in 2014 with her thesis "Dogs on their way through EUrope – ethnographic insights into animal protection between Spain and Germany," supervised by Prof. Dr. Michaela Fenske. Her current research interests are Human-Animal Studies, multispecies ethnography and critical migration studies. She also worked as a teacher for German as a Foreign Language in India, Denmark and Germany. She is currently a PhD student in the research project "The Return of Wolves: Cultural-anthropological studies dealing with the process of wolf-management in the Federal Republic of Germany," funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), conducted by Prof. Dr. Michaela Fenske at the University of Würzburg.

Urs Breitenmoser is a senior researcher at the University of Bern, Director of the Foundation KORA and Co-chair of the IUCN/SSC Cat Specialist Group. He has been involved in research projects on carnivore ecology for 40 years and supervised many master and doctoral theses in the frame of the Swiss carnivore projects. His main field of activity is the reintroduction of the Eurasian lynx and the reintegration of large carnivores into human-dominated landscapes. He is integrated in many research and conservation programs worldwide.

Laura Duchet is a student at the Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg and studies English Language and Literature, as well as European Ethnology. She will be obtaining her Bachelor of Arts degree in 2020, with her thesis on dystopias and climate fiction in English literature. She is also a student assistant at the Institute for European Ethnology, where she supports the research project "The Return of Wolves: Cultural-anthropological studies dealing with the process of wolf-management in the Federal Republic of Germany," funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

Sebastian Ehret studied in Kiel and holds a Master of Education in Geography and German as well as a Master of Science in Urban and Regional Development. He has engaged with the intersection of linguistics and geography, discourse analysis and rural development in the past. His current research project is located in the field of animal geographies and dedicated to the encounters of wolves, dogs and humans in the region of Lusatia, Germany. He also holds a teaching position at Kiel University with a special focus on human geography, political ecology and didactics.

Elisa Frank studied Cultural Anthropology/European Ethnology and History at the Universities of Basel and Grenoble. She finished her Master of Arts in 2015 with the thesis "Cultural Practice 'Spatial Planning.' An Actor-centred investigation in the Urner Talboden." Since 2016 she has been a PhD student in the research project "Wolves: Knowledge and Practice. Ethnographies on the return of wolves in Switzerland," funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF), conducted by Prof. Dr. Bernhard Tschofen at the Department of Social Anthropology and Popular Cultural Studies, Zürich University. She is interested in human-environment relationships, alpine regions and historical anthropology. In 2017, she participated in developing the exhibition "Der Wolf ist da. Eine Menschenausstellung" ("The Wolf Is Here. An Exhibition about People"), which was shown in the Swiss Alpine Museum and is now on tour through Switzerland.

Michael Gibbert is Professor of Marketing in the Communication Science Faculty of Universita della Svizzera Italiana in Lugano. He is interested in innovation management, qualitative research methodology and the human dimension in wildlife management.

Thorsten Gieser, PhD (University of Aberdeen/UK), is Lecturer in Anthropology at the Department of Cultural Studies, University of Koblenz-Landau. He specializes in human-animal relationships, having conducted ethnographic fieldwork on human-wolf conflicts in Mongolia (MA project, University of Heidelberg, 2004), human-wildlife relationships in contemporary hunting in Germany (ongoing since 2015, see the research blog hunter-anthropologist.de) and on the return of the wolf to Germany (2019–2020, funded by the Volkswagen-Foundation research initiative 'Originalitätsverdacht').

Marlis Heyer studied European Ethnology and Slavistics at the Humboldt-University of Berlin as well as in Poznań and Warsaw, Poland. After conducting research on food and alimentation topics, such as dumpster diving and self-sufficiency in the center and peripheries of Europe, she focused on multispecies relationships. She dedicated her master's thesis to encounters of honeybees and children in Berlin, asking how these multispecies experiences are influenced and channeled by pop-cultural images of honeybees. Now, she has exchanged bees for wolves, following the narrative paths of these animals through the Lusatia region. She is working on her doctoral thesis in the research project "The Return of Wolves: Cultural-anthropological studies dealing with the process of wolf-management in the Federal Republic of Germany," funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), conducted by Prof. Dr. Michaela Fenske at the University of Würzburg.

Susanne Hose is a senior researcher at the Department of Cultural Studies at the Sorbian Institute in Bautzen and Cottbus. She specializes in studies on narrative culture of minorities, especially of the Sorbian people in Lusatia in the east of Germany. Her current research project deals with hero and victim narratives in Sorbian historiography and with other questions concerning collective memory culture, including the current wolf discourse.

Ilona Imoberdorf studied Political Geography at the University of Zurich and Human Environment Relationships at ETH Zurich. She did her master thesis on conflicting understandings of wolves in a mountain region (Wallis) in Switzerland. She lived in Denmark for two years when the first wolves showed up. Ilona Imoberdorf joined KORA for the "Communication Project Wolf," in close professional exchange with the members of the project "Wolves: Knowledge and practice," Prof. Dr. Bernhard Tschofen, Elisa Frank and Niko Heinzer at the University of Zurich. She currently works for the "Communication Project Wolf" with Manuela von Arx on the development of wolf communication guidelines for regional authorities, funded by the Federal Office for the Environment and a private foundation.

Heta Lähdesmäki studied Cultural History in the University of Turku and finished her Master of Arts in 2011. Lähdesmäki's MA thesis dealt with the power relationship between humans and wolves in the late 20th century Finland. Her current research interests are Human-Animal Studies, posthumanism and more-than-human history. During her PhD studies she has taught and coordinated several Human-Animal Studies courses as well as seminars on Cultural History in the University of Turku. Lähdesmäki is finalizing her PhD dissertation in the University of Turku in the department of Cultural History. In her thesis, Lähdesmäki studies the wolf's place in the Finnish natureculture during the 20th century. Lähdesmäki is interested in the cultural and social status of wolves but also in the physical places wolves have occupied in Finland.

Robert Lorenz was born in 1977 in Bautzen/Budyšin. From 1997–2004 he studied European Anthropology, Bohemian Studies and Psychology in Berlin, Prague and Brno (Czech republic). He obtained his PhD in European Anthropology in 2016 on identity discourses in the city of Görlitz after the year 1990. From 2016 to 2019, he was a research fellow at the TU Dresden, and since autumn 2018 he has been a research fellow at the Sorbian Institute in Bautzen/Budyšin. Since 2012, Robert Lorenz has also worked as a freelance author and curator for museums. His fields of scientific interest cover discourses of identity, visual anthropology and minority studies with a main focus on the history of Sorbian-German relations. He lives with his family in Wuischke/Wuježk near Bautzen. Impressions of his work as a photographer can be found on: www.brotlos.weebly.com.

Emilia Mielaniuk is a PhD student in the Institute of Cultural Studies, Department of Theory and History of Culture, University of Silesia, in the field of religion folklore, religion in popular culture and sociology of religion. She is interested in modern folklore and the biological background of culture. She studied Culture Studies and Sociology in Inter-Faculty Individual Studies in Humanities, at the University of Silesia (graduated in 2009). She is the co-author and editor of the monographs: Wolves and humans: a small compendium (2014); Laboratory of culture: Marcel Mauss (2017); co-works in the journal Teksty z Ulicy. Zeszyt Memetyczny (Texts from the Street. Memetic Papers). She works in the University of Silesia College of Interdisciplinary Individual Studies.

Manuela von Arx studied Zoology at the University of Bern and joined KORA in 2001 where she is engaged in large carnivore projects (mainly lynx) on a national and international level. She is a member of the IUCN/SSC Large Carnivore Initiative for Europe and committee member of the Swiss Society of Wildlife Biology. In 2013, she obtained a MAS in Transcultural Communication & Management with a thesis on the "Communication and relationship between hunters and conservationists regarding large carnivore management in Switzerland." She is particularly interested in the human dimensions of large carnivore conservation and management. Her current projects are the "Communication Project Wolf" and "Balkan Lynx Recovery Programme."
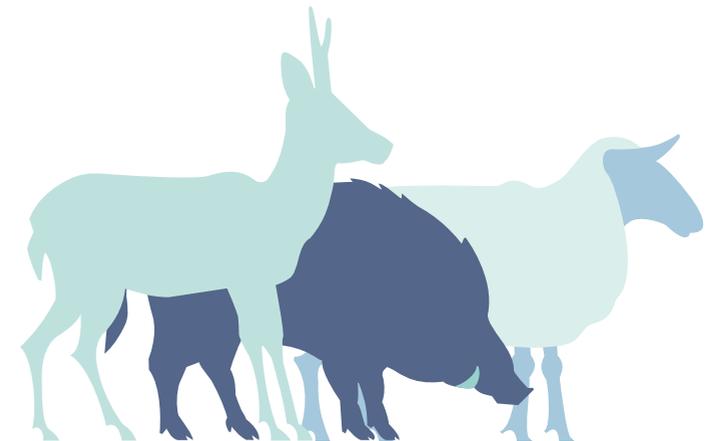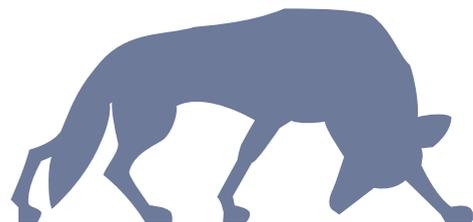
What happens when wolves return to areas that humans inhabit and define as cultural landscapes? Since the 1990s, wolves have been settling again in middle and central Europe. Manifold societal discussions and negotiations accompany their return. As wolf numbers increase, dynamics accelerate. How can different scientific fields contribute to a better understanding of the diverse processes that encounters with wolves entail?

This volume of *Mały rjad* grew out of the conference "Encounters with Wolves: Dynamics and Futures," which took place in Bautzen in June 2018. It collects contributions from international scientists of various disciplines such as European ethnology, history, zoology, and communication sciences. Political, social, cultural, historical, educational and folkloristic approaches offer a broad variety of insights into the shared pasts, the recent developments and possible futures of human and non-human relations. Based on these perspectives, this volume intends to move beyond the narratives of conflict. It aims at opening spaces for discussions on whether and how coexistence is possible.

Encounters with Wolves: Dynamics and Futures

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