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**OJIBWE AND *CANIS LUPUS*: CULTURAL, HISTORICAL, AND POLITICAL
INFLUENCES ON CONTEMPORARY WOLF MANAGEMENT IN THE
GREAT LAKES REGION**

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Honors Project

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INTRODUCTION

In the creation story of the Ojibwe¹, Original Man was created by *Kitche Manitou*, the Great Spirit. Original Man was given the task to walk across the world and name all the living things. While he was completing this task, Original Man noticed that all the other animals were in pairs. When Original Man mentioned this, the Great Spirit created a companion for him. Not a woman, as in the Christian story of creation, but a wolf: *Ma'iingan*, meaning 'brother'. When Original Man and *Ma'iingan* traveled the world together, they became very close and developed a unique brotherhood. After the journey was over, *Kitche Manitou* told them they would be forever linked: "What shall happen to one of you shall also happen to the other. Each of you will be feared, respected, and misunderstood by the people" (Benton-Banai 1988).

The wolf has since been considered a brother to the Ojibwe people. This perception of the wolf continues to exist today in their tribal culture and directly influences Ojibwe wolf policy, which has important implications for state wildlife management policies.

Ojibwe and wolves have coexisted for centuries, and wolves have always been respected in Ojibwe culture, largely because of the role they play in Ojibwe oral histories (Benton-Banai 1988). Additionally, wolves' abilities to hunt efficiently and defend their packs are considered admirable traits among the Ojibwe. Within traditional Ojibwe stories, the wolf was seen as a friendly competitor, whereas in non-Indian culture, wolves were, and still are, often viewed as vermin and ruthless killers (Lopez 1978; Mech & Boitani 2003).

¹ Ojibwe are also referred to as Ojibway, Chippewa, and the name they have for themselves, *Anishinaabe*

The contemporary relationship between the Ojibwe and the wolf is complex, as it draws on a variety of historical, cultural, and political claims that have shaped how the Ojibwe perceive the wolf. This dynamic relationship is constantly being changed by current political and social concepts, yet is still influenced by important cultural values and historical events that have shaped the perspectives of the Ojibwe. Previous research has shown that many Ojibwe prefer more protective management goals for the wolf than do non-tribal members, suggesting that cultural views play a large role in tribal wolf management and to some extent have the ability to influence state wolf management (Shelley 2010).

Ojibwe perception of wolves and consequently, tribal wolf management plans, differs greatly from the views of the non-tribal public. Whereas lethal depredation control, potential wolf harvests², and regulated population goals are all considerations made in state management plans, many Ojibwe prefer more natural management policies, such as limited lethal control of problem wolves, not supporting a wolf harvest, and population management that allows wolves to reach their biological carrying capacity without human regulation.

Now that the wolf has returned to Wisconsin and the other Great Lakes states³ after years of extirpation, the Ojibwe have had to reexamine their relationship with the wolf, in terms of contemporary management issues such as depredation control and population management. Although Ojibwe have the legal right to manage wolf populations on reservations when the wolf is not endangered, Ojibwe tribal governments must cooperate with state agencies regarding wolf management on ceded

² Refers to a regulated hunting season of wolves

³ The Great Lakes states referred to throughout this paper are Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin

territories. Ojibwe ceded territories are areas secured by the United States government for land-use through a series of treaties in the nineteenth century from the Ojibwe, who retained the right to hunt, fish, and gather on the ceded lands (Appendix F). These treaty rights are invaluable because they protect the reserved rights of the Ojibwe people, and also provide a unique opportunity for tribal members to influence the state wolf management that is heavily impacted by the Euro-American perception of wolves (Mech & Boitani 2003).

The differences between Ojibwe and non-tribal perspectives on wolves complicate management plans for the state. These differing cultural values make it problematic to compromise on management objectives such as population goals and depredation control. However, these differences challenge tribal governments to re-evaluate the wolf from both a biological and cultural point of view, and provide the opportunity for the Ojibwe to assert their treaty rights and rights as a sovereign nation, and become involved wildlife managers for the Great Lakes region.

HISTORY AND MANAGEMENT OF WOLVES

Prior to European settlement of North America, wolves were abundant and lived in the same areas as Native American tribes across the Intermountain West, the Central Plains, the Great Lakes region, and the East Coast of the United States (Mech & Boitani 2003). As European settlers began to colonize America, they brought negative views of wolves with them, which resulted in the eventual extirpation of wolves from nearly all of the contiguous United States. The difference in cultural views between European colonists who saw the wolf as a vicious predator, and Native Americans who were able to coexist with the wolf for centuries, has resulted today in differing management strategies between tribal and state agencies for the wolf, which is now returning to its native range within the United States after being actively persecuted since the nineteenth century.

The historic range of the gray wolf (*Canis lupus*) extends throughout the entire northern hemisphere, but following world-wide extirpations that occurred in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, wolves now only live in a portion of their historic range, including Russia, Asia, the Middle East, northern Scandinavia, parts of eastern Europe, Canada, Alaska, and three regions in the contiguous United States. This is the result of centuries of hatred towards wolves that largely resulted from Old World fairy tales and literature, which often characterized the wolf as an evil and ferocious creature. Some of these stories are still familiar today, such as “The Three Little Pigs”, “Little Red Riding Hood”, and the legend of the werewolf.

Researchers suggest these tales developed as a result of isolated cases of wolves feeding on the bodies of those who died from the plague in the fourteenth century, or occasional instances of wolves transmitting rabies and sometimes killing travelers in

Europe (Lopez 1978). In other contexts, the wolf was associated with the devil, perhaps due to its physiological characteristics as a large carnivore. This negative view of the wolf can be seen in folklore and artwork throughout the last few centuries, largely originating from stories in Christianity where the wolf was described as a representation of cunning and deceit, and personified the devil in the real world (Lopez 1978; Mech & Boitani 2003).

The negative connotation of the wolf that developed in Europe spread throughout North America during colonization, along with the utilitarian view many Americans had towards nature and wilderness at the time. The ecological benefits of the wolf, and of other large carnivores, were unknown at the time of Euro-American settlement. As a result, the United States government funded wolf bounties throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to rid the landscape of wolves and other large predators, allowing new American territories to be safely inhabited (Wydeven 2009). Even President Theodore Roosevelt, well known for his wildlife conservation policies, described the wolf as “the beast of waste and desolation” (Lopez 1978). As a result of bounties in nearly every state, combined with extensive prey and habitat loss, there were massive extirpations of wolves throughout North America. It was not until the late twentieth century that these wolf populations began to recover portions of their historic range (Gittleman 1989).

As the western United States became colonized throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, providing expansive rangeland for sheep ranches and other livestock farms, a government program called Predator and Rodent Control (PARC)

developed (Dunlap 1986). PARC provided federal funding for the poison 1080⁴ to remove large predators from the landscape. Although PARC focused on the removal of coyotes, it also impacted other predators, including bears, eagles, and wolves. This program and others like it reflected the attitude of Americans towards predators, especially the wolf. It was not until the mid 1900s that a science-based rationale, and the advent of the modern wildlife conservation movement, which emphasized the critical role that predators played in the function of ecosystems, began to shift this attitude (Mech & Boitani 2003; Meine 2009).

By 1973, when the Endangered Species Act (ESA) was created, the only place where a wolf population still existed in the contiguous United States was a small region in the Superior National Forest of northern Minnesota (Mech & Boitani 2003). From this small population, wolves were able to naturally re-colonize throughout northern and central Minnesota, and across the border to Wisconsin and the upper peninsula of Michigan. When wolves were listed in 1974, they were one of the first animals placed on the endangered species list. As a result, successful natural recoveries and reintroductions of wolves have occurred throughout the United States (Refsnider 2009; Thiel 2001; Wydeven 2009).

However, wolves continue to be a controversial species, especially among those who live in rural areas, own livestock, or hunt (Shelley 2010). Today, some people continue to view wolves as ruthless killers—a danger to children, livestock, and pets (Mech & Boitani 2003). This is a remnant of the Old World view of wolves as evil creatures, and although this view is often over-exaggerated and not usually a

⁴ Compound 1080, or sodium fluoroacetate, was a commonly-used poison that was often laced in animal carcasses for use as a rodenticide and mammalian predator pesticide (predacide) until predacide use on federal lands was banned in 1972. The poison is still illegally used today to kill predators.

biologically-accurate assumption, it continues to impact human tolerance of wolves. Attitudinal surveys have revealed that the United States is nearly evenly split between positive and negative views of wolves (Kellert 1996). Many people have strong emotions regarding the wolf, often based on cultural values, which complicates wolf policy at the state level. Wolf management is unique in that it extends beyond biological and ecological principles, and must also consider varying degrees of social acceptance of wolves in order to be successful.

Today, there are three distinct subpopulations of the gray wolf within the United States. Wolves in the Western Great Lakes Distinct Population Segment (DPS) (*Canis lupus nubilus*) live throughout Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Wolves in the Northern Rocky Mountain DPS (*C. lupus irremotus*) live throughout Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and parts of eastern Oregon and Washington. The Mexican gray wolf (*C. lupus baileyi*) is part of the Southwest DPS, and lives in parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and northern Mexico.

Each of these subpopulations of the wolf, which are all subspecies of *C. lupus*, are protected separately by United States Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS), the branch of federal government responsible for protecting and monitoring endangered species. While wolves are listed as endangered or threatened under ESA, they remain under oversight of the FWS. Although FWS maintains jurisdiction while a species is listed as endangered, each state's wildlife agencies are required to implement the necessary management activities, such as population monitoring and depredation control. The primary benefit of ESA protection is the prevention of a 'take', which broadly means to harass or kill an animal. This protection under federal law allows endangered species populations to recover without risk of human interference (Refsnider 2009).

While the wolf is listed as endangered, states may petition to delist or downlist the wolf, provided it has successfully met criteria for delisting, which typically requires a minimum population size within a state for a certain number of years, in addition to federal approval of a state management plan (Refsnider 2009; Wydeven, personal communication). The removal of a species from ESA means that it has fully recovered and there is a viable population that can thrive on the landscape. Once the wolf is delisted from ESA, states will have jurisdiction over wolf management, rather than the federal government. The states then have control over wolf management, which is made up of elements of wildlife management and conservation including population goals, wolf harvests, and depredation control policies, among other management activities.

Wolf management plans can vary based on the political and social climates of each state. For example, many of the western states tend to have lower social tolerance levels of wolves, largely because there is more farmland out west, and thus there are more ranchers who risk economic losses from wolves. These states have wolf management plans with lower wolf population goals than states in the Great Lakes region, where human-wolf tolerance tends to be higher (Nie 2003).

The constant debate between politicians, biologists, ranchers, hunters, and other stakeholders has resulted in the listing status of the three wolf subpopulations being changed multiple times in the past two decades. In Wisconsin alone in the past decade, wolves have been downlisted, delisted, and relisted six times (Appendix C). As recently as 15 April 2011, FWS announced a pending period for the reinstatement of the 2009 delisting of the Northern Rocky Mountain DPS, which would return management to state authorities in that area. FWS additionally announced the proposal to delist the

Western Great Lakes DPS (Appendix C; FWS 2011). The constant flux in the listing status of these wolf populations demonstrates the importance of the issue to wolf stakeholders, and has important implications for each wolf population. As the wolf population continues to grow exponentially due to federal protection, there are increasing numbers of depredations and other human-wolf conflicts (Appendix D; Wydeven 2010). Federal delisting will allow more flexible management for states, and measures will likely be taken to more intensively control wolf populations in attempt to reduce these conflicts (Wydeven, personal communication).

WOLVES IN WISCONSIN

Wildlife management is a field that combines public policy with principles of conservation biology, and depending on the animal and the extent that it affects human communities, there is often difficulty in creating a management plan that is supported by all stakeholders.

Despite listing status, management duties are implemented by each state's governing natural resource body—in the case of Wisconsin, the Department of Natural Resources (DNR). The Wolf Science Committee, a group within the DNR Bureau of Endangered Resources, leads Wisconsin wolf management by developing the state wolf management plan and overseeing all management activities. The Wolf Science Committee is made up of various wildlife biologists and managers from state, federal, tribal, and other natural resource agencies that have interest in providing biological input to the state's wolf management plan.

Creating a wolf management plan has been described as “a political balancing act rather than a biological puzzle” (Treves 2010). The wolf has historically been misunderstood and persecuted, and thus creating a state management plan that appeases both the “pro-wolf” and “anti-wolf” public, and everyone in between, is nearly impossible. There are many groups of people affected by wolf management policies. These include farmers and ranchers who have livestock at risk of depredation, citizens who fear the safety of their pets and children, activists in groups like Defenders of Wildlife, PETA, and the Humane Society, and hunters who see wolves as a competitor for deer or elk, among many other groups of people. It is the responsibility of state natural resource agencies to create a management plan that appeases the majority of stakeholders, while maintaining sound biological and ecological conditions for the wolf.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, wolves spread naturally throughout the remainder of Minnesota, into Wisconsin and the upper peninsula of Michigan from the isolated population in the Superior National Forest (Thiel 1994; Wydeven 2009). Prior to 1978, wolves had not been documented in Wisconsin since the 1950s, due to the effective state bounty system (Thiel 2001). In Wisconsin, bounties ran from 1839 to 1957 and “wolfers” used both traps and poison to kill wolves on state and private lands. While no records were kept that showed the distinction between wolf and coyote bounties, the combined bounties in the state for all canids ranged from 1,000 to over 4,000 animals per year (Thiel 1993; 2001). A recovery plan for Wisconsin was developed in 1989, and the first Wisconsin Wolf Management Plan was approved in 1999. Although there were fewer than ten wolves in Wisconsin when wolves began to re-colonize the state and a recovery plan was initiated, the population has recovered so successfully that there are currently over 800 individuals in the state, well over the anticipated biological carrying capacity (Appendix D; Wydeven 2010).

In the 1999 Wisconsin Wolf Management Plan, fourteen strategies were developed for the management of the state’s wolves. These strategies cover all necessary management activities regarding wolf biology and human tolerance, including monitoring wolf populations and wolf health, managing wolf habitat, providing public education about wolves, controlling nuisance wolves, reimbursing landowners for wolf-caused depredations, regulating wolf-dog hybrids and captive wolves, and protocol for handling specimens (DNR 1999).

Management activities of the state’s wolf population include radio telemetry tracking, wolf howl surveys, and track surveys that provide information on pack dynamics, territoriality, and population size. Habitat management for wolves includes

management of vegetation, habitat corridor protection, and den and rendezvous site protection, which are all important tools for maintaining viable wolf populations.

Wolves live throughout the northern and central forested parts of Wisconsin, ranging from Lake Superior south to the Marathon County border region, while an isolated population lives in the central forested region in the Necedah Wildlife Refuge (Appendix E). Wolves have certain ecological requirements that must be met in order to successfully inhabit a region. Models of wolf occupancy suggest wolves require several spatial factors in order to survive, including low road density, low agricultural land density, and high-density of forested areas (Mladenoff 2009). The first two factors correlate directly with anthropogenic factors—wolves are more likely to be hit by cars on roads, and killed in open, agricultural areas. In Wisconsin in 2010, 59 wolves were killed as a result of human-related activities, making up 82% of total wolf deaths in the state (Wydeven 2010). Although wolves are habitat generalists, their need for a high density of forested areas is attributed to their reliance on their major prey base, which is primarily ungulates including deer, elk, and moose which typically require forested areas (Fuller 1995).

Mladenoff's model suggests habitat suitability factors have limited the potential for range expansion throughout the remainder of Wisconsin. However, as unfragmented key habitat in northern Wisconsin becomes occupied, there have been several instances of wolves living in less ideal regions of the state, such as near human communities or in largely agricultural areas. Although landscape variance does not directly affect populations, human density and distribution are the two main factors that continue to influence wolf population dynamics (Van Deelen 2009). Therefore, wolves'

ability to coexist near human communities, and even more so, the ability for humans to live near wolf territory is key to maintaining a successful wolf population in the state.

Wisconsin is divided into wolf management zones, which is a recommended management strategy for wolf recovery because it helps ensure success of viable populations in suitable habitat. Zones provide a gradient for management based on wolf occupancy, and range from key wolf habitat areas to areas where wolves are least likely to inhabit (DNR 1999).

The long-term management goal for the state that was developed in the 1999 Wisconsin Wolf Management Plan is 350 individuals outside of Indian reservations. This number includes ceded territories, but not Indian reservations, because states do not have jurisdiction over reservation lands. The population goal of 350 was determined as the Maximum Sustained Yield (MSY) based on habitat mapping conducted in the 1990s, which takes into account biological and ecological factors that may influence the distribution and size of the wolf population for the state. Although the carrying capacity of Wisconsin estimated at that time was 500 wolves, the social carrying capacity, referring to the expected degree of human tolerance of wolves, played a large role in creating the 350 management goal that was deemed suitable for the state (DNR 1999; Wydeven, personal communication).

The Wolf Science Committee is currently revising the state management plan, and members are debating changing the management goal of 350 individuals (Wydeven, personal communication). Some biologists argue that such a low population goal could potentially cause the wolf population to crash or inhibit the wolves' ability to fulfill their ecological role in the state. Wolves are a keystone species, which means they are critically important to the ecosystem they live in, largely by causing trophic cascades

that naturally regulate the entire food chain, all the way down to rodent, bird, and plant species (Smith 2005).

Recent research has been conducted on habitat suitability and carrying capacities for wolf populations in Wisconsin, which has updated the figures estimated based on modeling done in the 1990s (Van Deelen 2009). One option for the wolf population goal for the new management plan would require a minimum threshold for the population, rather than managing for a specific number of wolves. An alternative option would be to manage for a goal of 500 wolves, which is approximately half of the state's current biological carrying capacity, and would allow for a sustainable population level if the state plans a long-term wolf harvest.

One of the most contentious issues of wolf management is depredation control. Currently, farmers with depredated livestock are reimbursed fully for the cost of the animal, once an investigation has been conducted by either DNR or USDA—Wildlife Services officials, and there is sufficient evidence to prove the depredation was by a wolf. In 2010, there were 54 depredations within the state, which included cattle, cows, sheep, hounds, pet dogs, colts, and donkeys (Wydeven 2010). The state management plan would reduce depredations by allowing lethal control of problem wolves by state officials, or by landowners who apply for a permit to kill wolves in the act of attacking pets or livestock (DNR 1999).

Wolf management impacts many people, whether they are livestock owners fearful of losing their calves to wolves, or environmentalists who are avid wolf lovers. However, one of the groups of people that is not often considered in state management policies are the native communities that have coexisted with the wolf for centuries, and with whom many have a significant cultural relationship.

From the Pacific Northwest tribes to the Algonquin tribes on the east coast, wolves have played a crucial role in the heritage of many Native American tribes across the United States. However, the cultural beliefs that link these people to the wolf are often disregarded or overlooked in state wolf policy, primarily because their cultural beliefs are significantly different from the majority of the non-tribal public (Czech 1995; David 2009).

As the Wisconsin wolf population continues to grow, the need to address management issues that influence wolf population dynamics and impact human tolerance of wolves becomes more relevant and critical. This provides the opportunity for tribal communities to become involved with state wolf management by both influencing management policies and becoming directly involved with wolf management activities, which increases cultural awareness among non-tribal groups, and enhances contemporary cultural significance among tribal communities.

OJIBWE HISTORY

The Ojibwe people live throughout the Great Lakes region of the Midwest, including Wisconsin, the upper peninsula of Michigan, Eastern Minnesota, and Southern Canada (Johnston 1976; Pfaff 1993). The Ojibwe migrated from the East Coast in the 1400s following a vision from the Great Spirit, to find the place where food grows on water (Whaley 1994). This vision led them to the freshwater lakes that grow wild rice in the Northern Midwest (Pfaff 1993). Currently, the Ojibwe nation is over 250,000 people, making the Ojibwe the largest tribal nation with the largest range in North America (Satz 1999; Whaley 1994).

There are currently six Ojibwe reservations in Wisconsin: Bad River, Lac Courte Oreilles, Lac du Flambeau, Mole Lake, Red Cliff, and St. Croix. Red Cliff, Bad River, Lac Courte Oreilles, and Lac de Flambeau were established in the late nineteenth century, following the 1854 Treaty, and two more reservations were created in the mid twentieth century, establishing Mole Lake and St. Croix (Pfaff 1993). There are other Ojibwe reservations throughout northern Minnesota, the upper peninsula of Michigan, and in southern Canada. All of the reservations in Wisconsin overlap with current wolf pack territory (Appendix C).

Traditionally, Ojibwe were hunter-gatherers who relied on hunting large game in addition to cultivating crops—corns, beans, squash— and wild rice, and they played a significant role in the fur trade in the eighteenth century (Pfaff 1993). The lifestyle of the Ojibwe revolves around the importance of a connection with nature. This idea, called *minobimaatisiwin*, translates as “the good life”. *Minobimaatisiwin* emphasizes sustainable living and accountability by natural law, and is important in contemporary

Ojibwe society and culture (Leoso, personal communication; Smith, personal communication; Whaley 1994).

Beginning in the mid nineteenth century, as natural resources like timber were being quickly used up along the eastern seaboard, demands by settlers for land acquisition in western territories and access to natural resources increased. This demand instigated the “Treaty Era”, which included the U.S. government signing treaties with the Ojibwe to gain rights for Americans to use natural resources in Ojibwe territory.

As a result, the Treaties of 1837, 1842 and 1854 between the United States government and the Ojibwe established ceded territory that secured lands for Americans to be used for timber, mining, and agricultural purposes (Appendix F). In the 1837 Treaty alone, America gained timber rights to over nine million acres of Ojibwe forested lands, while later treaties achieved comparable goals (Satz 1991). In these treaties, the Ojibwe allowed Americans to use the land, yet they reserved the right to hunt, fish, and gather on the ceded lands. Documents from the treaties suggest how important retaining these hunting and fishing rights were to the Ojibwe (Satz 1991; Zappfe 1994).

In the proceedings of the 1837 Treaty, an Ojibwe war chief chosen to speak to the governor of the Territory of Wisconsin said his people would grant the United States government permission to use the lands. However, he asked for the following in return:

My Father, Your Children are willing to let you have their lands, but they wish to reserve the privilege of making sugar from the trees, and getting their living from the lakes and rivers as they have done heretofore, and of remaining in this country. It is hard to give up the lands (Satz 1991).

Although treaty rights have been in place since the mid 1800s, beginning in the early twentieth century these rights became frequently disregarded by state authorities in Wisconsin. The state encroached upon the Ojibwe's off-reservation rights by arresting Ojibwe who attempted to spearfish, hunt, or use any resources on ceded lands. The Ojibwe prosecuted this criminalization of treaty rights in 1974, by filing a lawsuit between the Lac Courte Oreilles tribal government and Lester Voigt, then the head of the Wisconsin DNR. The tribe argued that the Ojibwe were entitled to the rights affirmed for their predecessors, as they were heirs to the rights and to the territories. The case was brought before U.S. District Judge James Doyle, who in 1978 concluded that the establishment of reservations in the Treaty of 1854 had extinguished off-reservation gathering rights. However, in 1983, the U.S. Court of Appeals for Seventh Circuit reversed the ruling, saying the earlier treaties did have standing in law (Whaley 1994).

Known as the Voigt Decision, this case was the culmination of the struggle for Ojibwe treaty rights, and clarified the extent to which Ojibwe can use their rights on ceded territories. As a result of the ruling, Ojibwe are now entitled to up to 50% of the allowable harvest of all the resources in ceded areas, excluding timber. Today, many Ojibwe utilize these rights—over 75% of Ojibwe who live on reservations harvest one or more deer annually on ceded territory, while 65% harvest ducks, geese or small game, 45% harvest wild rice, berries, or medicines, and 35% harvest more than 25 fish annually (Whaley 1994).

In order to retain the treaty rights reaffirmed in the Voigt Decision, the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission (GLIFWC) was formed as an agency with 11 member tribes in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, to assist tribal governments

with conservation and management of tribal resources on the ceded territories in the Great Lakes region. GLIFWC works for the shared off-reservation interest of its member tribes, to protect the resources in ceded territories so tribal members can continue to use their treaty rights (Appendix F).

The extent that the Ojibwe utilize their treaty rights moves beyond using them for hunting and gathering for individual purposes, to supporting wildlife conservation efforts by influencing state management policy. Treaty rights act as a powerful tool for Ojibwe to protect off-reservation territory distinctly from state governments. Although Ojibwe are unable to exclusively determine the wildlife or land management policies for ceded areas, they are able to provide input to the state policymakers that make those decisions. As a result of the treaties, Ojibwe were granted the right to provide input to wolf management in ceded areas, specifically through a GLIFWC representative on the Wisconsin Wolf Science Committee, who relays the wishes of the tribes to the non-tribal public.

Additionally, GLIFWC participates in the annual Wisconsin Wolf Stakeholders Meeting, and they offered tribal perspective during the round-table meetings that helped develop the state wolf management plans for both Minnesota and Wisconsin (David, personal communication). Theoretically, Ojibwe have claim to up to half of the allowable harvest of wolves in ceded territories, should a wolf hunting season be put in place under state management policy following delisting. Because the Ojibwe have such a large political claim to a wolf harvest, they have the opportunity to heavily shape the management decisions for the state regarding a harvest. In an interview with James St. Arnold, the program director of GLIFWC, he emphasized the importance of using

treaty rights to provide habitat protection: “With the right to harvest comes the responsibility to protect” (St. Arnold, personal communication).

Although Ojibwe tribes are allowed to use the resources within ceded territory and thus have the ability to hunt and fish on said lands, the management of those territories ends there. However, according to GLIFWC officials, the tribes are interested in using their treaty rights to protect wolves in ceded areas, by pushing more protective management goals than what the state’s current management plan would allow (David, personal communication; DNR 1999).

Despite the input that GLIFWC provides to DNR, it is arguable that state officials do not truly take into consideration the different cultural values that influence Ojibwe wolf management policies compared to the goals of the non-tribal public. “[GLIFWC] has one vote on the Wolf Science Committee, but obviously that’s not enough to carry or sway that committee by itself,” said Peter David, a GLIFWC wildlife biologist (David, personal communication). Even if the Wolf Science Committee does come to a consensus regarding wolf management, those decisions often are vetoed or altered by the Natural Resources Board (NRB), a group of citizens appointed by the state governor, which has the authority to set DNR policy and is often heavily influenced by the political atmosphere of the state rather than biological considerations.

The differences in cultural values between Ojibwe and non-tribal public are a small part of all the conflicting interests that play a role in developing wolf management plans. According to scholar Martin Nie, who has examined the implications of wolf recoveries and reintroductions across the United States, there are many complex drivers that affect wolf policy. Some of these factors are influenced by cultural, economic, political, and social values that designate a policy or conflict as being “wicked by

design”. By this, Nie suggests that issues related to wolf recovery are often of a personal nature to the many stakeholders, and these personal values often “go beyond scientific, economic, and techno-rational analyses and methods of problem solving” (Nie, “Drivers of natural resource-based political conflict” 2003).

Additionally, Stephen Kellert, a professor at the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, has conducted attitudinal research on drivers of environmental policy. Kellert has categorized people’s values of the natural world into nine basic categories, which include the following values: aesthetic, dominionistic, ecological-scientific, humanistic, moralistic, naturalistic, negativistic, symbolic, and utilitarian (Appendix H; Kellert 1997). The intensity of the driving factors that determine wolf policy make it a very complex issue, because of the large number of stakeholders, all of whom have different value-based perceptions of the wolf.

Ojibwe and non-Indians often have different values regarding wolf management; whereas Ojibwe tend to have what Kellert would deem a moralistic view of the wolf, many non-Indians have negativistic views. Research has suggested the values between the two cultural groups are significantly different, and that wolf policy as a “wicked” conflict can complicate management decisions (Kellert 1997; Shelley 2010).

Although the consideration of the significance of the wolf in Ojibwe culture is arguably a right the Ojibwe people have, there are many other stakeholders that place different yet equally important values on wolves, and who also have input in state management policies. State policies cannot accommodate all of the management suggestions these stakeholders have, and must attempt to balance solid scientific principles that will allow a viable wolf population to thrive on the landscape while attempting to appease the stakeholders that represent many personal values.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WOLF IN OJIBWE CULTURE

For the Ojibwe, the return of the wolf to Wisconsin is very significant because wolves are so highly respected in Ojibwe culture primarily because of their role in traditional stories. It is understood by the Ojibwe that the fate of the wolf and the fate of the Ojibwe are linked, as suggested in the Ojibwe story of creation. Peter David works on behalf of the Ojibwe as a wildlife biologist for GLIFWC. In an interview, David said:

It is understood that the fate of the Ojibwe and the fate of *Ma'iingan* are intertwined. As the wolf goes, so go themselves. I think there's a lot of evidence to suggest that's exactly what has happened. Some of the times wolves were most persecuted were the same times that tribal members were most persecuted. And the rebirth of tribal culture through the reaffirmation of the off-reservation treaty rights has seen a rebirth in wolf populations at the same time and in the same geographic area (David, personal communication).

The creation story is the essence of wolf significance in Ojibwe culture. Yet there are other spiritual roles the wolf has had that make it very important to the Ojibwe—one is its role as a clan animal. The establishment of the clan system is an important part of Ojibwe culture, because it acts as a marriage and family regulator, and creates a unique bond between clan members. Originally there were five clans that represented five facets of Ojibwe society: defense, leadership, learning, medicine, and sustenance. Different woodland animals represented distinct parts of tribal society. The wolf, along with the bear and lynx, made up the defense section of Ojibwe society, acting as warriors for the tribe. Young Ojibwe men were often the warriors in traditional Ojibwe society, and they would emulate the wolf to show bravery when defending their community from attacks (Johnston 1976).

There have been a total of 21-recorded Ojibwe clans, each led by an animal spirit that teaches its clan members how to behave (Warren 1984). Each Ojibwe tribal

member is born into his or her father's clan, which becomes a preeminent part of his or her identity. Each clan member has a certain role to fulfill in his or her community based on the defining characteristics of each clan animal. For example, the Wolf Clan members are charged with protecting the tribe. Today, the clan system is still a very important part of Ojibwe culture, and although the wolf is an important animal for all Ojibwe, to Wolf Clan members, the wolf is the most sacred animal.

According to St. Arnold, who is a Wolf Clan member from the Bad River band, the wolf represents protection and guardianship. These qualities are valuable ones that are often respected and emulated by the Ojibwe. From *Kitche Manitou*, the Creator, the wolf was given fidelity. Thus, the wolf is often depicted as a symbol of perseverance and guardianship (Johnston 1976). Many Ojibwe admire wolves' reliability on each other as a family unit. Wolves have complex social structures that utilize each pack member, and they often function as a group rather than individually (Mech 1970). St. Arnold said the following about being in the Wolf Clan: "I was taught to watch [the wolves], because it would teach me the proper way to raise my family. I was taught to emulate them because it will teach me the things I need to know as I grow older, and they will teach me to fit within the circle of life" (St. Arnold, personal communication).

The wolf appears throughout Ojibwe oral histories, which are the main form of passing on stories and information of tribal culture. Some Ojibwe stories about wolves are also portrayed on birch bark scrolls and pictographs that date back centuries (Dewdney 1975). Oral histories are a critical part of Ojibwe history and culture, as they were the sole means of relaying the past until the Ojibwe syllabary and written language were developed in the eighteenth century. The wolf serves as a central figure in many Ojibwe legends and stories in different capacities, sometimes represented as a

companion of man, and sometimes as the guardian of the underworld (Barnouw 1977; Benton-Banai 1988; Dewdney 1975).

The wolf's place in stories and art continues to be important in Ojibwe culture. Contemporary Ojibwe art and writing reflects this traditional view of the wolf. Norval Morrisseau, a well-known Woodlands-Style Ojibwe artist, depicted traditional stories of his people, and included the wolf in some of his paintings. By including the wolf in his artwork, Morrisseau emphasizes the importance of the wolf in traditional Ojibwe culture (Appendix G).

The cultural perception of the wolf as a guardian and protector contrasts the traditional Euro-American view of the wolf, which often has a negative connotation because the wolf is seen as a threat to livestock and people, and even to humanity and civilization (Lopez 1978; Mech & Boitani 2003). Even today the wolf is perceived by many ranchers as worse than a pest, but a vicious killer of livestock, while some people continue to view wolves as a highly dangerous animal (Lopez 1978). These opposing cultural values and perceptions regarding the wolf have resulted in different management goals between Ojibwe and state agencies. The mere presence of the wolf on the landscape is very important to the Ojibwe, because it is such an important cultural symbol to them. But even more than that, the recognition of that significance reflects the close connection between the Ojibwe and the wolf—they believe that if *Ma'iingan* goes, the Ojibwe themselves go.

TRIBAL WOLF MANAGEMENT

Ojibwe involvement in Wisconsin wolf management lies primarily in the influence of government policy through the use of treaty rights. These rights allow the Ojibwe to take up to half of the wolf harvest when wolves are delisted if the state management plan includes a wolf harvest. Ojibwe also provide input to the state via the GLIFWC chair on the Wolf Science Committee. This opportunity informs state officials of the management suggestions by the Ojibwe tribal governments and tribal members. Ojibwe have fought for wolf policy in the non-Indian community by demanding higher population goals and narrow use of lethal depredation control. Many Ojibwe do not support the state population goal of 350, and instead prefer to see wolves reach their natural biological carrying capacity (David, personal communication).

However, according to David, “the states’ management has probably usurped the tribes in [ceded territory wolf policy] in that the state management plan is really what is controlling management in ceded territory,” suggesting the state has not taken Ojibwe management suggestions into consideration for the revision of the Wisconsin Wolf Management Plan (David, personal communication).

Another way Ojibwe influence wolf recovery in Wisconsin is through tribal wolf management. Tribal wolf management plans, which are developed by individual reservations, provide Ojibwe the opportunity to manage wolves on their reservation lands separately from state government, because they do not have jurisdiction over reservation lands. This allows the cultural values of the wolf to be the prerogative goal, without being impacted by the values or beliefs of non-tribal members. Tribal wildlife management policies tend to support higher wolf populations and use lethal control only in extreme situations, because of the cultural importance of the wolf.

To some extent, Ojibwe are directly involved with state wolf management. There are several factors that demonstrate the degree of tribal involvement with the DNR regarding wolf policy. For example, it is both DNR and USDA-Wildlife Services policy to offer co-investigation with tribal authorities when a wolf depredation is reported within six miles of a reservation. Additionally, the biological and natural resources departments of several Ojibwe and other Wisconsin tribal nations assist in trapping and radio-collaring efforts of the wolf population and information from radio-collared animals is shared between and among state and tribal agencies (DNR 1999; Wydeven, personal communication).

Other tribal nations in Wisconsin and across the United States have been involved, in varying capacities, with state wolf recovery. The wolf is perceived with similar respect and cultural significance in other Native American tribes of Wisconsin, including the Ho Chunk, Potawatomie, Oneida, Mohican, and Menominee. All of these tribes assist with funding for wolf management in the state and several of these tribes have tribal wolf management plans for their reservations, or are currently developing their own.

In Idaho, the Nez Perce tribe has set a precedent for tribal involvement with wolf recovery, in that they assumed the role in wolf management that would normally have been taken by the state. Negative views of wolves by the non-tribal public and state government were so strong during the early stages of the Northern Rocky Mountain Recovery Plan, that the state natural resources department refused to be involved with wolf recovery. The Nez Perce not only helped fund the wolf recovery project in the Northern Rockies, but they also exclusively released wolves and monitored the wolf population for the first few years of recovery (Impero 1999; Mech &

Boitani 2003). Although the Nez Perce nation's involvement in wolf recovery is an extreme case of tribal involvement, because Idaho did not want to assume the responsibility for wolf recovery, other tribal nations throughout the United States have the ability and right to invest in wolf management as the Nez Perce have done.

The wolf population across North America, and specifically in Wisconsin, is growing exponentially after centuries of extermination, and now provides the opportunity for Ojibwe to use their sovereign and treaty rights to manage the wolf on both reservation lands and ceded territories (Appendix D). These rights allow Ojibwe to provide input to the state that demonstrates their cultural beliefs, and offers a unique perspective compared to the beliefs many Americans hold towards the wolf.

While Euro-American perceptions of the wolf stem from what Kellert would categorize as utilitarian, dominionistic, and negativistic values, many Ojibwe have a moralistic view of the wolf, because they consider it a brother, and symbolic for their people. Thus, DNR has a challenge to uphold the values that different groups of stakeholders have regarding wolf management, and the Ojibwe have the opportunity to provide an alternative methodology for wolf management on ceded lands.

The Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians (LTBB) live throughout northern Lower Michigan, and belong to the Anishinaabeg group related to Ojibwe. LTBB have developed their own wolf management plan for their reservation, which specifically states:

The opportunity to see a wolf is very important [to Tribal members]. Without a viable population of wolves, it is unlikely that Tribal members would be able to have this experience. To facilitate these important encounters, LTBB will seek to manage wolves in a sustainable manner. (LTBB 2009)

The Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa is referring to the LTBB plan as an example of a tribal wolf management plan while the Bad River wildlife biologists

develop their own plan for the reservation lands. Additionally, Lac du Flambeau and Lac Courte Oreilles are currently developing their own wolf management plans for on those reservations (Christel; Hill; Warowonowicz, personal communication).

According to the tribal wildlife biologists at the Bad River and Lac Courte Oreilles reservations, the wolf management plans for the tribes will be developed primarily by the consensus of tribal members in a survey, and by consulting with the tribal councils. In fact, some Ojibwe believe that only the very knowledgeable tribal elders who intimately know the intricacies of Ojibwe culture should make such important decisions regarding tribal wolf policy, because wolves are so significant to the Ojibwe people (David 2009).

Not only does tribal wolf management provide the opportunity for Ojibwe to express their spiritual and cultural beliefs regarding wolves, but it also allows them to defend their sovereignty. “If you don’t exert jurisdiction, you’re eroding away sovereignty,” said Larry Warowonowicz, Natural Resource Director at the Lac Du Flambeau reservation, regarding the development of a tribal wolf management plan. “That’s the perspective of any kind of management plan or code or ordinance, an expression of sovereignty, which is very important to Indian nations because everybody is trying to take that away” (Warowonowicz, personal communication). Ojibwe bands have the legal right to assist with some aspects of state management, but they require the acknowledgment and recognition from state authorities, and the desire to express their cultural beliefs to non-tribal agencies, in order to successfully influence state management.

CONCLUSION

Ojibwe involvement in Wisconsin wolf management is an important opportunity to provide the state with non-traditional suggestions for wolf management, as well as demonstrate respect for indigenous cultures. The use of treaty rights for wildlife management and conservation is an important step in the extension of those rights for the Ojibwe, and an important implication for the wolf population that is continuing to thrive in the Great Lakes region.

A shared-interest management plan that encompasses cultural and political perspectives from both groups may satisfy both non-Indian and Ojibwe communities, and will prove beneficial for the security of Wisconsin's growing population of wolves. Additionally, facilitating an exchange of information on wolf ecology on tribal and state lands, as well as sharing cultural values among different groups of people, is a major step that state and tribal agencies can take to create a more successful wolf management plan, for both wolves and humans, and to reduce the degree to which wolf policy is a contentious "wicked" conflict.

The wolf is a species that plays an important role in the culture of the Ojibwe, but impacts non-Indian communities as well. Thus, there are negative implications for both groups if state government agencies do not work closely with tribal authorities and cooperative agencies in order to manage wolves successfully on Wisconsin's tribal and state lands. The risks of handling an issue such as wolf recovery and management which is largely influenced by biased value-based emotions and beliefs includes making management decisions that will not benefit the long-term biological success of a population, and that overlooks cultural beliefs that are important in defining Ojibwe society. Beyond the ecological benefits that wolves have on the landscape, it is arguable

that wolf recovery has provided deep emotional and cultural benefits to those who are spiritually connected to wolves, and thus recovery can enhance cultural awareness and even enhance quality of human life (Kellert 1996).

As Wisconsin approaches the delisting of wolves in the state within the next couple of years, and DNR officials are developing a revised wolf management plan for the state, the ability to incorporate important tribal beliefs into state policy is as important and timely as ever (Wydeven, personal communication). Wisconsin DNR has the opportunity to consider the tribal perceptions of the wolf and find common ideologies between Ojibwe and non-Indians that will allow the development and implementation of a wolf management policy that could potentially have the support of both Ojibwe and non-tribal communities that are both invested in the return of the wolf.

Appendix A: Glossary

Carrying capacity (k)—the maximum population size of an animal species that can survive within a given area

Ceded territory—refers to the off-reservation sites that are in partial jurisdiction of the states and Ojibwe tribes following the treaties of 1837, 1842, and 1854 between the Ojibwe and the United States federal government

Endangered Species Act (ESA)—Legislation passed in 1973 that federally protects critically endangered animal species from extinction

Extirpation—local extermination of a species

Department of Natural Resources (DNR)—refers to the Wisconsin state agency that manages wildlife and other natural resources in conjunction with the federal government

Depredation—a predatory act; damage or loss. Refers to the killing of another animal, usually domestic animals, by a wolf

Distinct Population Segment (DPS)—referring to the genetically distinct subpopulations of the gray wolf, *Canis lupus*; used by FWS for management purposes

Maximum Sustained Yield (MSY)—smallest population that can survive

Minimum Viable Population (MVP)—the smallest amount of wolves in a population for it to be viable

Predatory Animal and Rodent Control (PARC)—a subdivision of the federal agency Bureau of Biological Survey (now FWS) that used poison to eliminate predators and rodents from the landscape

United States Department of Agriculture—Wildlife Services (USDA—Wildlife Services)—the federal agency that assists with enforcing management policies of wolves, especially with depredation management

United States Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS)—the federal agency that manages endangered resources and dictates the Endangered Species List

Appendix B: Institutional Review Board Materials

TO: Human Participants Committee
FROM: Caitlin Williamson '11
DATE: 8 February 2011
SUBJECT: IRB consent of "Ojibwe Treaty Rights" interviews

Human Participants Petition

Participants and Recruitment

As a part of my independent study on Ojibwe Treaty Rights, I am specifically interested in the relationship between the Ojibwe and the gray wolf in terms of historical, political, and cultural aspects. I am conducting research with various biological managers, including the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, as well as the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission, and individual Ojibwe natural resource departments. However, a critical part of my research will require interviews with random tribal members, to gain insight on how typical Ojibwe citizens perceive the wolf.

The participants for this study will be tribal members over the age of 18 from the following bands of Ojibwe (also known as Chippewa) in Wisconsin and Minnesota: Lac du Flambeau, Bad River, Mille Lacs, Red Lake, Lac Courte Oreilles, and White Earth. Other than tribal membership, there is no inclusion or exclusion requirements for participating in the interview. They will be recruited by suggestions from tribal natural resource directors of each reservation, and by random open recruitment sessions held at community centers on the reservations. Ideal interview candidates will have an interest in wildlife management and policy. They will be not offered any monetary compensation for the study, but will receive a Lawrence University mug as a gift for taking the time to complete the interview. Participants will be told the full scope of the study, including the purpose of the study, and details about how long the interview will take.

Informed Consent and Deception

Participants will be asked to sign an informed consent form that discusses the purpose of the study, the content of the study, and information on how long the interview will take and its procedure, the anonymity of the interview, and the freedom to withdraw from the interview. Additionally, they will be told the extent of risks and benefits from the study, and contact information of both the interviewer and advisor for the study (Prof. Rico), in case they have the need to report potentially unethical behavior by the interviewer (See attachment).

Procedure, Deception, Risk, Freedom to Withdraw

The procedure of the interview is as follows: Following recruitment of the tribal member for the interview, I will conduct the interview in a comfortable setting—a public place, likely the community center at each respective reservation. I will have him or her read through the informed consent form and sign it. Then I will ask them a set of questions on Ojibwe and the wolf, and record the interview on a tape recorder (see attachment). The participant will be free to not answer any question they do not wish

to answer, and free to withdraw from the interview at any point. The interviews I will be conducting do not have independent or dependent variables; this is not a study for quantifiable data, but rather content from oral interviews to gain insight on Ojibwe culture. There is no physical or psychological risk involved for any of the participants. Although the questions are not likely to be private for participants, they are able to not answer questions if they are uncomfortable with them.

Confidentiality

All of the responses from participants will be completely confidential. Interviews will be conducted apart from other individuals. The only personal information I will ask of participants is their name and age. The participant will be given the option to have their name used in any published information from the study if they wish. The interview will be taped, but once transcribed, the content will be erased. The quotes from the interview will potentially be used in an academic paper, but the names of individuals will not be given, or associated at all with the individuals.

Debriefing

Following the interview, participants will be debriefed once again on the purpose and scope of the study. Participants will be given the opportunity to ask the interviewer any questions regarding the study. Once the research is completed, I will share my findings with cultural sources at each of the reservations, such as *Mazina'igan*, a semi-annual newspaper of the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission—the governing body for Ojibwe ceded territories.

Informed Consent Form

Examining the relationship between Ojibwe and *Ma'iingan*—historical, political, and cultural influences on contemporary wolf management

You are invited to be in a research study about how Ojibwe view the gray wolf. You were selected as a possible participant because you are a tribal member of an Ojibwe reservations. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study. The study will be conducted by an undergraduate student from Lawrence University for an independent study course on the relationship between Ojibwe and the wolf.

If you agree to participate in the study, the interview will last no longer than 30 minutes. The interview will feel like a conversation, where you will be asked some questions, and then encouraged to talk for as long as you like. The interview will be recorded on a tape recorder. Other tribal members from other bands of Ojibwe will be asked to participate in this study.

You may feel some of the questions are personal. If so, you are free to not answer any question. You do not have to talk unless you want to, and you may stop the interview at any time.

The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of published report, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify any individuals unless you wish your name to be published. The transcripts of interviews will be used to help researchers better understand the experiences of Ojibwe with respect to wolves.

Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect relations with Lawrence University or its affiliated students or research.

I have listened to the above information. If I had any questions, I asked them and received answers to them. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature _____ Date _____

Signature of Investigator _____ Date _____

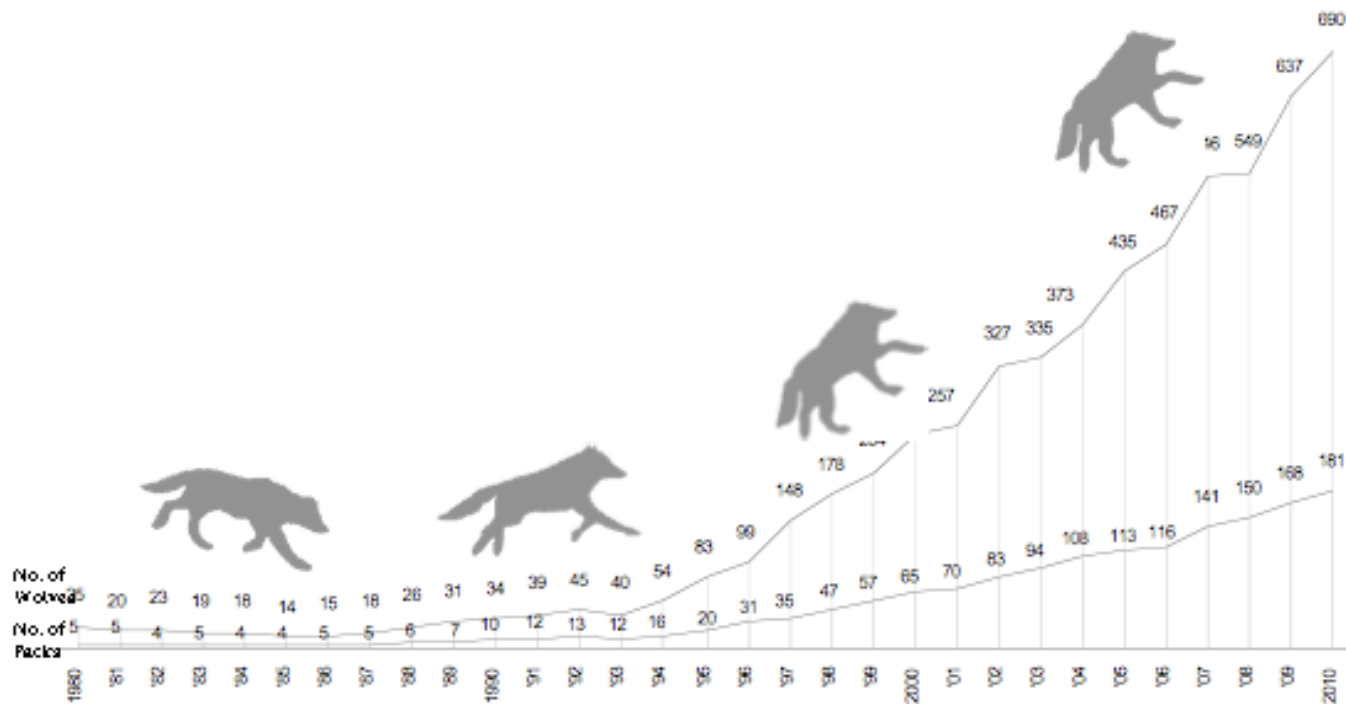
The researcher directing this study:
Caitlin Williamson '11
willliaca@lawrence.edu

The advisor directing this study:
Monica Rico
Associate Professor of History
Lawrence University
monica.rico@lawrence.edu

Appendix C: Timeline of Wisconsin Wolf Management

1839-1957:	Bounty system for wolves in place in Wisconsin
1967:	Wolves listed by WI state agencies (DNR) as endangered
1973:	Endangered Species Act created
1974-2003:	Wolves listed under Endangered Species Act as endangered
1989:	DNR Wolf Recovery Plan created
1999:	DNR Wolf Management Plan created; DNR downlists wolves from endangered to threatened
2003:	FWS downlists wolves from endangered to threatened
2004:	DNR delists wolves from threatened; classifies wolves as “protected wild animals”, a term reserved for non-game animals that are neither endangered nor threatened
2005:	FWS relists wolves as endangered following lawsuits by environmental and animal welfare groups
2007:	FWS delists wolves from endangered species list and management authority goes to the state
2009:	Wolves relisted as endangered (except in MN, listed as threatened) following lawsuits by animal welfare groups
2011:	FWS announces proposal to delist Western Great Lakes DPS

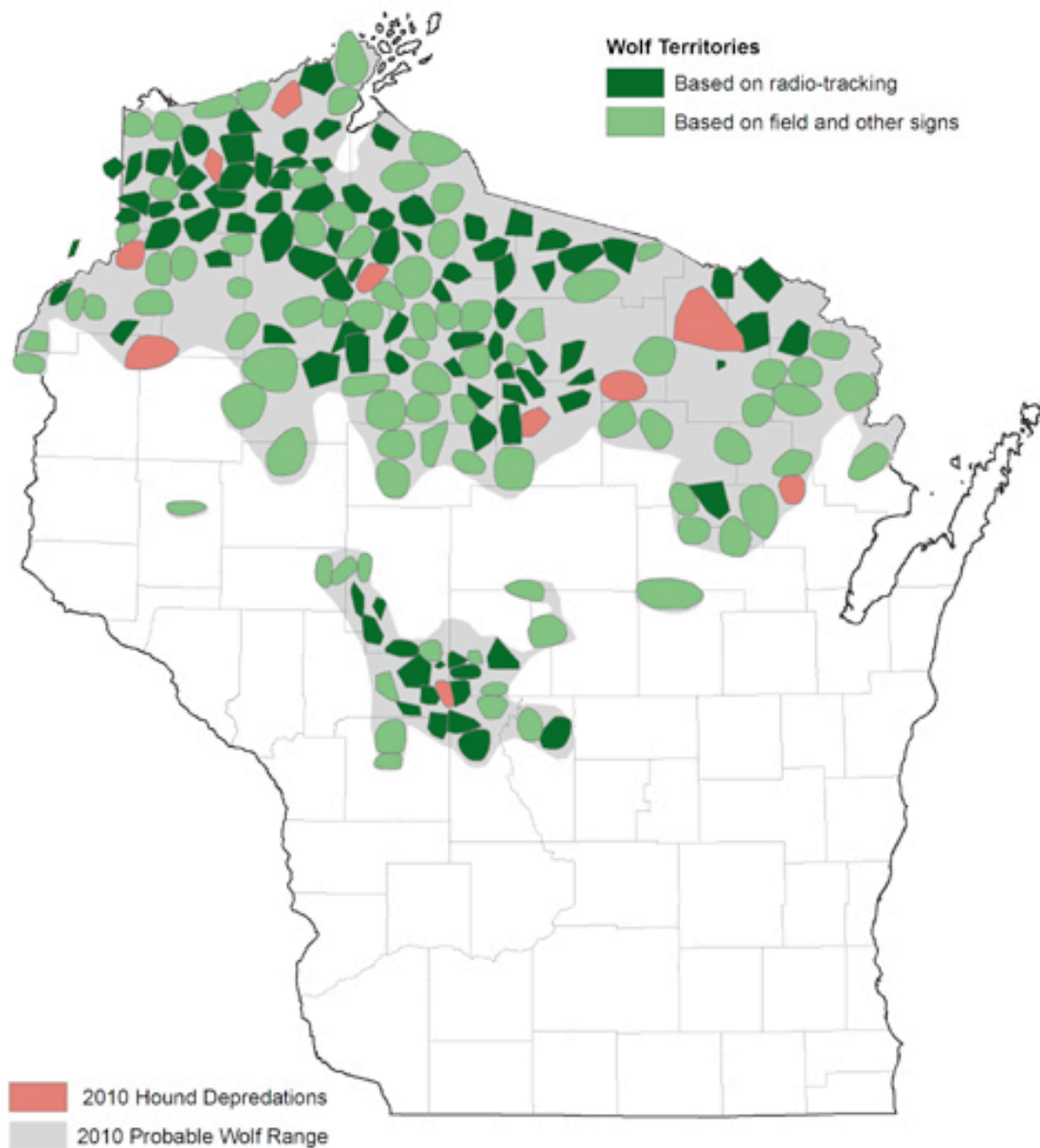
Appendix D: Wisconsin Wolf Populations 1980–2010



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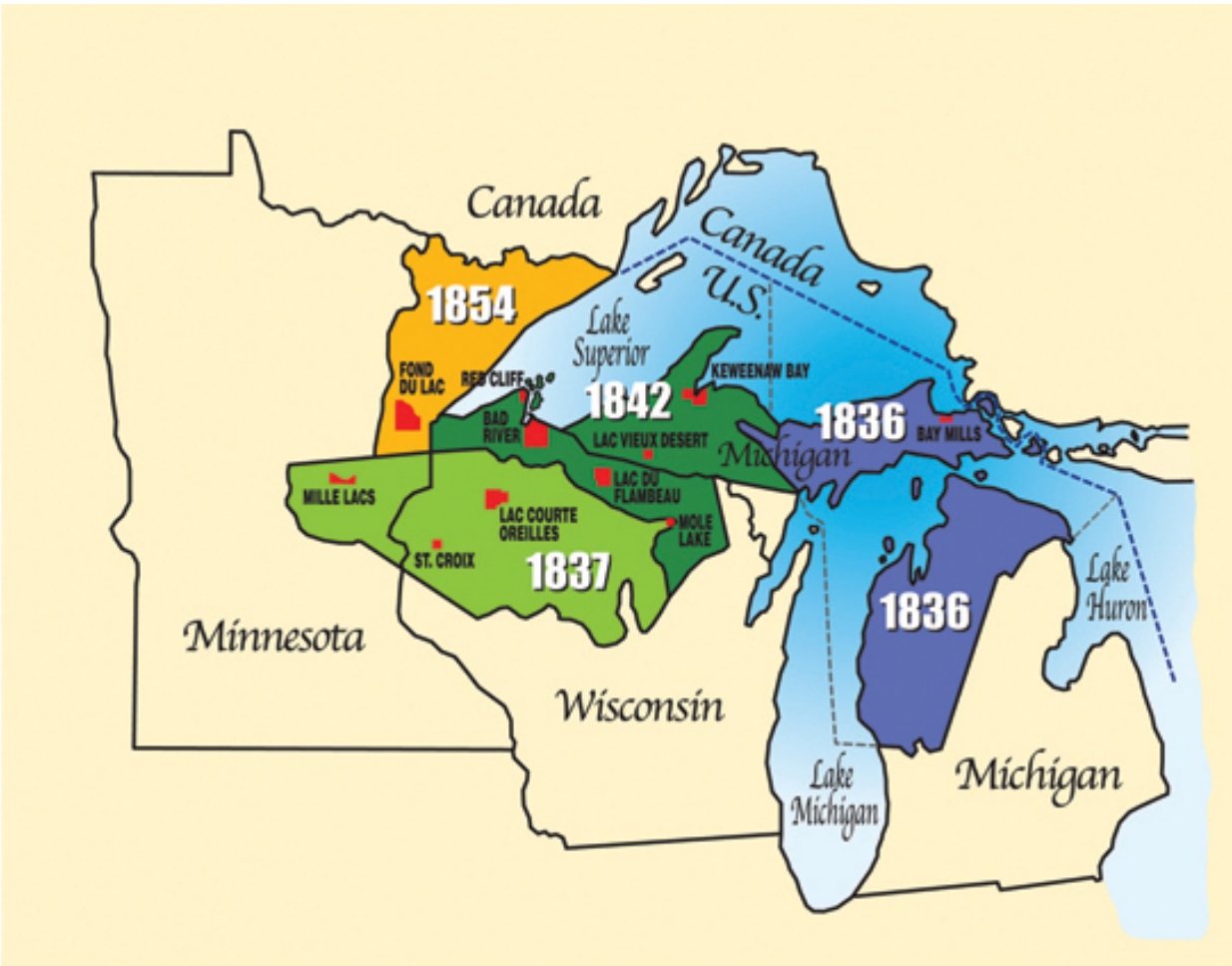
Appendix E: Wisconsin Wolf Territories in 2010

2010 Wolf Territories



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Appendix F: Ojibwe Ceded Territory in the Upper Midwest



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Appendix G: Norval Morrisseau, “Reclusive Wolf Spirit”



Norval Morrisseau, Reclusive Wolf Spirit. Koyman Galleries: Ottawa, CA.

Appendix H: Measureable Values Towards Wildlife as Defined

by Stephen Kellert in Kinship to Mastery

1. **Aesthetic:** feelings of intense pleasure, even awe, at the physical splendor of the natural world
2. **Dominionistic:** interest in the mastery, control, and dominance of the animals
3. **Ecological-Scientific:** interest in the ecological value of the species, and its relationship to the environment
4. **Humanistic:** strong emotional attachment to aspects of nature
5. **Moralistic:** ethical concern for the proper treatment of nature
6. **Naturalistic:** satisfaction obtained from the experience of nature and wildlife
7. **Negativistic:** fear, dislike, or indifference toward the species
8. **Symbolic:** human tendency to use nature for communication and thought
9. **Utilitarian:** interest in practical utilization of the species or subordination of their habitat

Copyright: Stephen Kellert Kinship to Mastery: Biophilia in Human Evolution and Development. Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1997.

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