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THE GOOD HUNTER: A STUDY OF THE BELIEFS AND MOTIVATIONS OF
APPROPRIATE HUNTING BEHAVIOR BY MONTANA HUNTERS.

by

Chad M. Huddleston

B.A. The University of Colorado, 1996

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

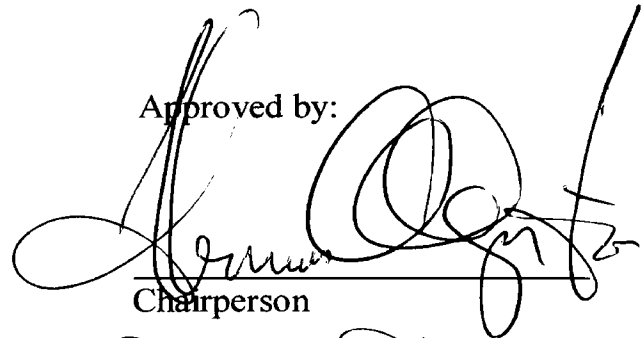
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1999

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The Good Hunter: A Study of the Beliefs and Motivations of Appropriate Hunting Behavior by Montana Hunters (42pp.)

Chairperson: Thomas A. Foor *TAF*

Historically in Anthropology, hunting has been seen as having various degrees of importance on human history. In the field of Conservation, and its applied discipline Wildlife Management, hunting has had a definite importance as a tool for controlling wildlife populations and as the major contributor of funds for conservation projects throughout the United States. The future of hunting in the United States is uncertain. The values of hunters in the field will determine whether society at large will continue to allow hunting as a component of conservation and recreation.

In this study I seek to understand to what extent Montana hunters share a set of beliefs that specifies hunting behaviors “appropriate” or “inappropriate.” I also want to know how these behaviors are influenced by the motives of the Montana hunter. To determine the answers to these questions I conducted interviews with ten Montanans, consisting of 2 females and 8 males, and analyzed articles and first-person narratives to see how the opinions of the interview participants compared to other hunters around the nation. Because of the size of the sample this study cannot be generalized beyond the participants. However, this study can raise questions that can act as a beginning to a larger project.

The hunters in this study hunt to enjoy the experience of hunting, with a secondary focus on using the animal for food. The experience of hunting is defined in the study as being actively engaged in stalking and possibly killing an animal. They expressed a desire to feel a connection to their surroundings through the role of a predator. These hunters set their own personal standards to prolong those experiences and to ensure that hunting will maintain a proper role in society. As long as society accepts hunting, conservation agencies will be able to continue their efforts to protect and restore wild lands that are home to non-game and game species alike. These efforts, which are primarily supported by sportsmen and women through taxes on hunting equipment, also help to satisfy the non-hunting sectors of society by opening opportunities for outdoor recreation and the hunting sectors of society by opening more opportunities for the hunt.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iii
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Question	1
Examples of North American Subsistence Hunting	2
Emergence of the “Sport Hunter”	5
Significance of the Problem to Public Policy	12
Statement of Research Problem	16
Chapter 2: Methods	20
Chapter 3: Results of the Interviews and Readings	24
Chapter 4: Conclusion	33
Bibliography	37

Chapter 1

Introduction to the Question

Humans have been hunting other animals since at least the Middle Paleolithic. Modern anthropologists explain the early human hunter's motivations through ecological ideas that focus on subsistence and nutrition. However, researchers usually characterize the motives of modern American hunters in different terms, focusing on "sport" or "recreation" as principle motivations rather than subsistence.

In general, my thesis compares and contrasts hunting that is motivated by the subsistence pursuit to hunting motivated by recreation or sport. In particular, I will address the following questions:

1. To what extent do Montanan hunters share a set of beliefs that specify hunting behaviors thought to be "right" or "wrong," ethical or unethical, or appropriate or inappropriate.
2. If such a set of behaviors exist, how is it influenced by the motives of the modern hunter (i.e. eating to survive vs. recreation).

My thesis is divided into four chapters. In this introductory chapter I will present the subject by describing past studies of "subsistence hunting" in North America and the worldview (ideas of appropriate or inappropriate behavior) of these hunters. Next, I will describe the emergence of the "sport hunter" and their associated worldview. In this section I will also explain the related development of Wildlife Management and Conservation in the United States. I will then comment on the current public policy situation of hunting in Montana. Fourth, based on the preceding, I will predict the beliefs

and attitudes of Montana hunters.

I describe the methods I used to measure the beliefs and attitudes of Montana hunters in Chapter 2, including brief comments on the potential sources of error in my methods.

Chapter 3 reports the results of my investigation and my interpretations of the results.

Finally, in Chapter 4 I present my conclusions about the motives of modern hunters and why they are related to their ideas of appropriate and inappropriate behavior.

Examples of North American Subsistence Hunting

One example of a North American hunting group is the Koyukon of Alaska. The Koyukon are Athabaskans who that live in a string of boreal forest villages along the Koyukuk River. Richard K. Nelson has lived among these people sporadically for the past thirty years, documenting his first years with the Koyukon in the book *Make Prayers to the Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest*.

The main focus of his study was to record a native-natural history, meaning that Nelson wanted to study how the Koyukon understood and interacted with their world. To accomplish this, Nelson actively participated in the community to try to get an understanding of the economic and intellectual importance that the Koyukon perceived in their landscape. The result was his book reporting the methods of resource exploitation and the rules that determine those methods.

The basic assumption underlying Koyukon belief is that the “natural” and “supernatural” are inseparable. Everything in the environment is sentient. Humans and

non-humans, whether animal, plant, or spirit, are in constant interchange. The Koyukon say that they have to maintain respect through proper behavior for the surrounding world or they will not be able to survive. A Koyukon hunter must treat the animal as a being deserving respect, speaking of it in respectful ways, handling its remains with care, using it thoroughly and avoiding waste, showing appreciation, resisting feelings of arrogance or pride, and, overall, acting with humility and restraint (Nelson 1989).

If a hunter shows disrespect to an animal, by using a dull knife when butchering the animal or not showing the appropriate gratitude when eating the flesh of the animal for example, it is unlikely that he will be able to kill that animal again until he acts to regain the proper respect of that species. The power behind these relations lies outside of the hunter. This lends extra weight to the need of obeying the rules of behavior within the Koyukon worldview. This is especially true when you consider that most Koyukon rely heavily on hunting and trapping as a means of sustenance and that the reciprocal relations between the hunter and the prey are central to acquiring that sustenance. The attentiveness of the Koyukon towards their world translates into the efficiency they show in exploiting their resources. The point that Nelson tries to present is that spiritual restrictions coincide with practical behavior to bring about the efficiency necessary to live in a harsh environment.

Adrian Tanner and Robert A. Brightman also did research among northern hunters. These anthropologists studied the Mistassini and the Rock bands, respectively, of the Cree people. As with the Koyukon, the Cree saw themselves as subject to the will of other beings, but in a different way than the Koyukon. One such difference is the mention among the Cree bands of the many separate 'masters of animals,' who are beings that

regulate the availability of the animal to the hunter. Nelson's study of the Koyukon does not mention any such being or beings. The Mistassini Cree also use scupulmacy, the burning of an animal scapula to divine information before a hunt, whereas the Koyukon do not.

In Brightman's study of the Rock Cree he deduced two models of hunting:

benefactive and adversarial. Tanner used similar models in his study as well. Brightman's (1993:199) models are summarized in the following table:

<u>Scenarios</u>	<u>Benefactive Model</u>	<u>Adversarial Model</u>
Power over hunting	Animal, game ruler	Indeterminate
Status of animal	Benefactor	Opponent
Outcome of hunt	Decided by animal	Determined by force
Successful hunt	Gift/reward	Hunter overcomes animal
Unsuccessful hunt	Punishment	Animal overcomes hunter
Killing and eating	Reciprocity, communion	Exploitation, domination

Brightman demonstrates that the Cree fit into both of these models at different times and in different situations, especially now that non-native game management has been introduced into the Cree subsistence areas. The adversarial model makes humans the active players. But even if this model is true, there are times when the animal overcomes the hunter by escaping or hiding. Animals also have the ability to survive in conditions that humans cannot. According to this model, even as active players humans cannot always predict or overcome an animal. The benefactive model answers these questions by giving active power to the animals and their masters, who decide what kind of success a hunter will have. Brightman (1993:203) says: "One explanation for the co-occurrence of two ideologies of hunting is that the definitions of animals as victims and enemies are morally insupportable."

In the Koyukon and Cree worldview the land is sentient. Humans are just one type of being among many that inhabits the world. In these worldviews the animal or animal master holds control over hunting. Without the proper respect the animal or animal master may refuse the hunter a chance to kill an animal. If the hunter works to follow the rules for appropriate behavior he or she will gain the favor of the animal or animal master and the supply of meat and animal products that result.

As will be shown in the next section these ideas of environmental sentience are quite different than the ideas of the American hunter, which take into account only the human perception of the land.

Emergence of the “Sport Hunter”

Most Americans, including hunters, seem to want some place or places protected from development (Tober 1981). These protected areas, such as national parks, tend to be the spectacular viewpoints around the United States, much like the signs along the highways that tell drivers that a “scenic” view lies ahead. “More than national forests or any other unit within America’s federally managed properties, National Parks were expressions of a deep-set, romantic attachment to Nature”(Warren 1997:127). It is as if all the area surrounding a specific point is dull and replaceable, except this one spot that is the current definition of natural beauty and wonder. “In a sense, the park boundary inscribed on the land an elite, cultural division between the world of people on the outside, and the world of nature on the inside”(Warren 1997:128). This same attitude is seen in the public’s need to see wildlife. “In a way, tourists contributed as much to the *creation* of ‘wild’ landscapes as to their preservation; simply by expecting to see game and making

their wishes known to administrators, tourists initiated a management regime that introduced more and more game to park ecosystems”(Warren 1997:143). When the public goes to Yellowstone National Park they want to see the wildlife that is shown on nature programs. They also expect to see it from their car. Some visitors to wild areas do not seem to understand that wildlife does not prefer to live, if given the choice, in areas that are accessible by car. These opinions help the nation’s conservation agencies when choosing areas to maintain and protect. Federal and state agencies have been set up for years to complete this mission, but this work takes funds, for which federal and state budgets have always been insufficient. This is a major point where hunters and the rest of society intersect (Tober 1981).

Since the passage of the Pittman-Robertson Federal Aid in Wildlife Restoration Act in 1937, sportsmen and women have helped to fund the conservation agencies. This act put a ten percent federal tax on sporting arms and ammunition. This percentage was raised to eleven percent during World War II and now yields over \$100 million a year. In 1998 states will receive about \$155 million in federal funds from the Pittman-Robertson Act (Ducks Unlimited 1998). This act was followed by the Dingell-Hart Bill in 1970 which put a ten percent federal tax on handguns and the Dingell-Goodling Bill in 1972, which put an eleven percent federal tax on archery equipment. These bills together bring in over \$50 million a year. There are also similar federal taxes on fishing equipment that comes to about \$250 million a year. The money from these acts goes for wildlife conservation, restoration, and hunter education. One visible outcome of these funds is the over five million acres that have been purchased throughout different states multi-use state areas (Council for Wildlife Conservation and Education 1996).

This money protects game and non-game species alike through efforts at habitat restoration and protection. It also affects humans because some management occurs in populated areas to decrease numbers of animals in agricultural regions and such problems as vehicle-animal collisions. This type of management becomes more important as human population grows and removes more undeveloped habitat. The importance of hunting as a part of wildlife management also grows as the room for wildlife lessens (Nelson 1997). Wildlife management began as early as 1677 in Connecticut when it prohibited the export of game across its borders. Laws banning the harvest of deer and the use of hounds for hunting deer appeared in the 18th century. In 1878 Iowa started the first bag limits for game animals, ushering in the beginnings of modern wildlife management. By 1900, thirteen states had bag limit laws. Also in 1900, the Lacey Act was passed, outlawing market hunting that had been so detrimental to wildlife populations.

Modern conservation started on a large scale with Gifford Pinchott. In 1910, Pinchott said that it was the duty of humanity to control the earth on which it lives (Pinchott 1968). As first chief of the U.S. Forest Service he laid out the basin principle of conservation: to use, protect, preserve and renew the resources that are available for the common good.

James Tober , in his book *Who owns the Wildlife? The Political Economy of Conservation in Nineteenth-Century America*, discusses this era in conservation history. Throughout the 19th century wildlife alternated between public and private property, depending on the state in which the wildlife was located (Tober 1981:41). As more land was developed and the population more urbanized the status of wildlife became more important. This is especially true for upper class Americans as they gained enough leisure

time to pursue outdoor activities such as hunting. But as they developed more land, which made more money, allowing for more leisure time, the need for protected areas grew, as did the need for strict legislation and ethics (Tober 1981:43). These sportsmen rationalized that it was not the development of land that was causing the decline of wildlife, but the machinations of the market hunters and especially the so-called 'pot-hunters,' or subsistence hunters (Tober 1981:46). The emerging conservationist/sportsmen focused their legislative efforts against these hunters by proclaiming seasons and restricting the methods of hunting and killing game animals. Tober shows that Pinchott's principle of conservation was not necessarily for the good of the community. The principle was used to protect the recreational interests of upper class sportsmen against the lower classes of hunters that needed to hunt for subsistence.

Whereas both of these groups did take their toll on the wildlife populations of the day, growth and development wrought the greatest changes within the landscape (Tober 1981:57). It was this scarcity of wildlife and wild areas that spurred the conservation movements (Tober 1981:252). As people became more aware of what they were losing, there was a push to save the remaining populations and areas. Tober notes that these are the questions that remain in the present but that the scope has changed. Focus on wildlife issues has shifted from local to state and national to international. The numbers of species that are being conserved, or indeed preserved, are changing day to day as well (Tober 1981:225).

Pinchott's principle shifted slightly with the rise of Ecology. Ecological research suggests that interdependence is a dominant factor in the dynamics of ecosystems and predator/prey relations (Shepard 1996). All things depend on a number of other things to

survive (Nash 1989). This also seems to be the current focus of the Forest Service and other such agencies:

From an ecological perspective, human uses of natural resources should be conducted wisely, to be compatible with the long term well-being of the environment. To remain acceptable to society, such uses should be conducted in a safe, legal, responsible and ethical manner. Such conduct is fundamental to deriving widespread personal and social benefits without jeopardizing the natural resource base that produces and sustains all life (Council for Wildlife Conservation and Education 1996:95).

Conservation and management practices need to be acceptable to society. This is a difficult balance to maintain: satisfy society's needs and wants of materials and recreation, but do so in a way that does not destroy a resource. Instead of controlling the earth, the science of ecology forced conservation to begin working with the webs of relationships of which we are a part.

Aldo Leopold was a conservationist who understood the idea of interdependence. In his most famous philosophical statement, the 'land ethic,' Leopold wanted people to expand their boundaries of community to include animals, plants, waters, air, soils - entire ecosystems - or as he preferred to say: the land (Leopold 1966). His ideas were based on his own early theories concerning biotic communities and his interest in ethics (Leopold 1966). He understood that when people perceived that they were a member of the landscape and not separate from it, they could gain respect and even love for the community as a whole. Leopold, as a hunter, knew that many hunters already understood this as a part of their personal ethics. For hunters, the land ethic would communicate a set of personal restrictions on such things as the use of technology and the type of situations in which prey was killed. These restrictions were more stringent than the laws set by local or federal regulation. Leopold said that only the individual's conscience could judge if a

situation was ethical. In reference to this he wrote: "It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this fact" (Leopold 1966:212).

Although, Leopold thought that the economic motives behind conservation weakened the system because most of the land community had no economic value, he was not against conservation or management as long as it was done responsibly. He said: "In an unmodified ecosystem, as would be found under wilderness conditions, predator and prey coexisted in balance of vital needs" (Nash 1989:147). But since we have disrupted those conditions by destroying habitat, it was necessary to manage areas of wilderness to protect it from further damage. This included using hunting as a tool to manage game populations, in absence of other animal predators.

There are examples of this at work. In 1900, white tail deer were at a population of about 500,000 nationwide, with nearly every state closing its season for deer hunting. Through return of habitat in the eastern United States and the work of conservation the population is now estimated at twenty million. In 1920, pronghorn could not be hunted in the west due to their dwindling numbers. Now there are over one million animals.

A historic example of wildlife management in Montana can be seen in the management of Glacier National Park's elk population. Due to winter feeding, the removal of predators, and restrictions of hunting elk on the Blackfeet Indians, the elk population on the eastern edge of Glacier N.P. was out of control. In 1928 the elk population was estimated at 468. In 1942, fourteen years later, it was over 3000 (Warren 1997). The elk started to range into local ranches, damaging crops and haystacks in search of food. The conservation agencies decided to reinstate hunting rights to the local Blackfeet Indians. Rights to kill the elk had been taken away because the agencies saw the

Blackfeet as a threat to the elk population, on which the park depended to bring tourists. Now that the elk were out of control the opinion toward the use of Blackfeet hunters shifted. With the Blackfeet's ability to hunt year-round on the reservation, the population began to decline. By 1951 the herd no longer posed a threat to its own range or the range of local ranchers. In 1953, the herd increased and park personnel were concerned that the Blackfeet hunters were not killing enough elk. The park authorities began a program of baiting the elk on to the reservation so that the herd could be reduced further. That program continued into the 1960s. Today the Blackfeet have their own management team that works with the park to determine what action needs to be taken to maintain bag limits and season lengths(Warren 1997).

A more recent example from Montana is the Wallace Ranch near Drummond. The ranch did not allow hunting of any sort through its history and by 1984 had an overpopulation of elk that was damaging crops in the area. In the winter of 1984-85 the Montana Fish, Wildlife and Parks State Agency trapped and transplanted 420 elk, leaving approximately 100 animals on the ranch. This population remained stable for only two or three years. Currently, there are 500-600 elk on the ranch. In 1993 the ranch started allowing hunters through the block management program, which pays landowners a fee for each registered hunter they allow on their property. The ranch was divided into two halves, allowing five hunters on each half for antler-less hunting only. They hunt for four days and then there is a three day period before the next hunters are allowed to hunt. About 100 elk are taken annually. This is not reducing the population, but it is having the desired affect of distributing the elk into neighboring public lands. This distribution is resulting in a drop of the amount of crop damage that occurs on the ranch (Firebaugh

1998). This example shows that hunting is a diverse management tool that can be used in ways other than just eliminating numbers of animals.

The type of management and worldview described above is very different from the worldview of the Koyukon and Cree hunters briefly described in the previous section. Instead of being held accountable to the animals or animal masters, American hunters look to federal and state agencies to control and manage animal populations according to how it will further benefit human hunters and non-hunters alike. The American hunter's worldview does not acknowledge that any other species would have an opinion on population management, giving the power of decision to humans. The American hunting community consists only of a hunter's fellow human friends. In the Koyukon and Cree world the animal or animal master has the power of control and, along with the biological community, make the hunting community. A Koyukon or Cree hunter's best friend is the one they eat.

Significance of the Problem to Public Policy

The current focus on hunting policy in Montana is on the Hunter Behavioral Advisory Council (HBAC). The Council was organized in February 1998 by FWP Director Pat Graham in Helena, MT. This was done at the request of hunters, landowners, FWP wardens, biologists, and an FWP internal discussion group. HBAC consists of sixteen citizens from different geographical locations in Montana. Each was chosen according to recommendations made to FWP by the public.

HBAC(1998a:2) has four specific charges:

- Identify specific unethical behaviors that are most troublesome in Montana.

- Determine how hunter behavior affects private- and public-land access.
- Provide the hunting community – by December 1998 and through FWP – with recommendations for teaching and advocating ethical hunting in Montana to enable hunters to maintain public support for hunting by practicing and publicly advocating responsible hunting activities and behaviors.
- Recommend ways to improve identified hunter behavior problems in the least regulatory way possible.

Through meetings, speakers, and public response, in the forms of community meetings and questionnaires, the Council has discovered a number of hunter behavior problems in Montana. HBAC's (1998b:1) final recommendations note the top five behavior problems as:

1. Trespassing.
2. Lack of respect for landowner. (tie)
3. Improper vehicle use/road hunting. (tie)
4. Lack of respect for game and/or resources.
5. Damaging and littering others' property.

Trespassing, Lack of respect for landowner and Damaging and littering others' property speak directly to problems between landowners and hunters. FWP hunters and landowners have known about these problems for a number of years. FWP has worked to change the situation by instituting the Block Management Program in 1985, with enhancements allocated in 1996. The Block Management Program is an incentive program for landowners that keep their land open to hunters. FWP polices and manages the hunters that use the system. The kind of contact between a hunter and the landowner

on a Block Management ranch is up to the landowner. Some landowners register hunters themselves, while others have FWP staff control the process. The incentives a rancher can receive from FWP range from monetary payments and free licenses to liability insurance on the hunters that choose to hunt on the managed area (Charles 1997). In 1997, Block Management areas accounted for about 7.5 million acres of land (FWP 1997). Although the program has opened up large areas for hunting, the responses from HBAC's inquiries point to continuing problems between landowners and hunters.

HBAC has drafted four goals in answer to the many problems that were raised. The first goal is to: "Reinforce the significance of our hunting heritage, the diverse values associated with it and the general hunting experience"(HBAC 1998a:7). The rationale behind this goal is that the general focus of hunting in Montana is not on the experience but on the size or number of game a hunter can kill. An aspect that compounds this is that some hunters will cross ethical, and sometimes legal, boundaries to fulfill this unrealistic expectation. This type of behavior causes society to look down on hunting and thus diminishes hunting opportunities. The Council recommends that a combination of educational opportunities and changes in the media will help to alter the way hunters and society view the kill.

The second goal is: "Building on Montana's existing hunter education program, develop and implement continuing educational programs for adult hunters and for resource managers and landowners associated with the hunting environment"(HBAC 1998a:8). Following from the first goal, listed above, the Council recommends continual education for hunters and those that deal with hunters and the hunting environment. "By developing a program of continuing education for hunters, Montana can help adult hunters

acquire greater enjoyment from their outdoor experiences, gain greater appreciation for their hunting heritage and strengthen the public's understanding and support of hunting as an important recreational and cultural activity"(HBAC 1998a:8). Educational programs that could be available would be more focused on ethics, history and 'how-to' topics, rather than the basic information that is required in Beginning Hunting Education.

The third goal is directed to the topic of respect. HBAC recommends: "Increase the level of respect and appreciation among the hunting community for private and public landowners who provide habitat for wildlife and access for hunters"(HBAC 1998a:9). Again, this goal points to education, but this goal specifies education for the "hunting community." It is only through the problems that landowners have had, such as trespassing and damage to their property, that a rift has occurred between hunters and landowners. This rift is a direct result of unethical and/or illegal behavior. HBAC's recommendations for this goal work toward building relationships between the landowner and hunters. By helping each group to see the benefits provided by the other, HBAC thinks that attitudes can change enough so that a real conservation-based community can be created.

The fourth goal is to: "Create a hunting environment in which hunters are willing to accept their legal obligations to know, understand and observe regulations, and, while participating in hunting activities, behave in a socially responsible manner that honors hunting"(HBAC 1998a:10). This goal is simply asking hunters to have an ethical attitude of respect. HBAC's recommendation here is that FWP create a handbook that would define all of the necessary responsibilities of the Montana hunter. It also calls for a simplified set of regulations and enforced mandatory sentencing for violations of those

regulations. This goal follows the others in calling for continuous educational opportunities for hunters and the communities in which they live. These goals and recommendations are made with the knowledge that unethical or illegal behavior depicts a negative image of the hunter in society. By alleviating these problems, through the proposed education and awareness programs, the Council hopes to ensure the future of hunting in Montana. It is the hope of FWP and HBAC that these recommendations will be practical enough to be implemented without creating new regulations. It will be up the FWP to decide which of these recommendations can be put to use and how to do so with the maximum response from hunters and non-hunters alike. The programs that will result from these recommendations, and the response to those programs, will likely begin a change in hunting in Montana. Whether that change will be positive, negative, or have any effect at all for the hunting community will unfold in the next several years.

Statement of Research Problem

The sport hunting population has grown tremendously since the beginning of this century. As individuals have more obligations their time for recreation lessens, especially for recreational pastimes such as hunting that generally takes lengthy preparations. The restriction of recreation time places additional pressure on the time that is spent outdoors, creating a 'mandatory-fun' type of attitude that forces people to experience an activity as quickly as possible so as to move on to the next activity. One common example of this attitude in the Rocky Mountain region is the idea of "bagging fourteeners." Bagging fourteeners is the practice of climbing as many mountains as possible that have an elevation of fourteen thousand or more feet of elevation. In hunting, this attitude may

take the form in an emphasis on making a kill as quickly as possible. For some hunters, making a quick kill may include using unethical or even illegal, yet very effective, methods.

As stated earlier, Americans want to see wildlife when they go outdoors. The fact that some people want to go outdoors specifically to hunt and kill that very same wildlife is acceptable to most of society as long as it is done in an ethical manner (Swan 1995). Most people, including hunters, do not want to see a deer tied to someone's car hood, nor do they want hunters to have unfair advantages, such as night-vision goggles or the use of aircraft to spot game. Whereas the technological advantages would be a help to a person who wanted or needed to kill animals for utilitarian purposes, these technologies do not constitute what many consider sport or recreational hunting.

These issues have brought me to this study. Why do hunters continue to hunt? How are ethics used to limit a hunter's behavior? In fast-paced contemporary life, these individuals continue to take time to venture into the outdoors to stalk and kill an animal. Do they do so for the food? Is it an activity they participate in with friends and/or family? Or is it just another reason to be out in the woods? Do individuals set personal limits that go beyond the laws set by wildlife officials? If so, what are these ethics and why do people set them?

It is my contention that the hunters in this study hunt primarily for the experience of hunting, with a secondary focus on using the animal for food if they kill an animal. By experience of hunting I mean to say that the hunter is looking to be actively engaged, with all of their senses, in stalking and possibly killing an animal. I also contend that these hunters do set their own ethical standards beyond that of law. These personal ethics focus on issues of respect and behavioral restrictions that prolong the hunter's time spent in the

woods, allowing them to further satisfy their primary goal. These personal restrictions also satisfy society's standards of how a hunter should act when hunting, which helps to accomplish the hunter's goals by keeping the opportunity of the hunt open.

As long as hunters follow the laws and ethical rules sanctioned by society, hunting will be able to continue and all of society will reap the benefits. Benefits to society take the form of protected areas in which to recreate and to maintain populations of a variety of animal, plant and insect species, and the ecosystems in which they live. If hunters are perceived to be unethical or unlawful then society's attitude about hunting may change. If this change took place a new system would be required to find ways to control animal populations in a way that is economically efficient with minimal impact on the environment. State and Federal conservation agencies would also have to find new sources of funding to maintain the management system and its projects.

To help guide these questions I will use two definitions of an ethical hunter. Jim Posewitz is co-founder of Orion – The Hunter's Institute in Helena, MT. Orion strives to teach ethical behavior to hunters through workshops, presentations and courses offered at Montana State University. Posewitz (1994:16) defines an ethical hunter as "a person who knows and respects the animals hunted, follows the law, and behaves in a way that will satisfy what society expects of him or her as a hunter." Montana's Department of Fish, Wildlife and Park's (FWP) *Hunter Education Handbook* adds to Posewitz's definition. The *Hunter Education Handbook*, used for the hunter education courses, repeatedly tells the reader how a "good hunter" behaves and thinks about hunting. A good hunter is ethical and responsible. The *Handbook* (1996:16) defines ethical as "a good sense of right and wrong" and responsibility is defined as "obeying the law and answering for your

actions.” According to the *Handbook*, good hunters:

- see good hunting as “an attitude and a way of life . . .that includes the feeling that you are a part of nature” (p.6).
“don’t just take from the land; they also give something back by helping to improve conditions for wildlife” (p.4).
- get outdoors often, year-round, to watch wildlife (p.5)
“never judge their success against other hunters” (p.12).
- obey the law (p.14) and only take what is allowed (p.22).
enjoys the total experience, but only when they know that everything was done right (p.16).
- never stops learning (p.16).
“has respect for the land, firearms, wildlife, other people and the law” (p.16).
- “think about what effects their actions might have on the land” (p.31).
- when they take an animal “[show] appreciation for the wildlife, for the land that sustained it, and for the opportunity to participate in the natural world through hunting” (p.36).
- “never pulls a trigger until absolutely sure that the target is a legal animal” (p.47).
- “prepares themselves mentally and physically” (p.89).
- “make[s] quick, clean kills (p.89).
can track a wounded animal (p.89).
can field dress their animal (p.89).
- knows that good hunting is work (p.89).
- “makes sure that no edible part of the animal is wasted. The animal is a gift from nature, but it also represents everything that hunters and conservationists have done to conserve animals and their habitats, and to preserve hunting. By showing respect for the animal, you are showing respect for wildlife and your hunting heritage” (p.107).

By giving information in this format FWP is trying to influence the behavior of hunters

beyond that set by law by telling how a ‘good hunter’ thinks and acts. These examples are the same types of comments that I will be searching for in this study.

In the next chapter I will describe the methods I used to conduct this study.

Chapter 2

Method

The data for this study is of two types: written documentation and recorded interviews. The written data comes from two sources: magazine articles and first person narrative stories. The articles came from *Field and Stream* and *The Bugle* in the years of 1992-1996. *Field and Stream* was chosen because it is the oldest hunting magazine in America, beginning in 1873, and has a wide distribution, allowing for a nationally informed opinion. *The Bugle* was chosen because it is a fairly new magazine, started in 1984, and is published in Montana by the Rocky Mountain Elk Foundation. The magazine gives a smaller scope of opinion, which will be focused on the northwestern United States and Montana itself. The available collection of magazines was incomplete. The following issues were missing: *Field and Stream* August 1996; *Bugle* Fall 1994; *Bugle* 1995.

The narratives came from a collection of essays on hunting by David Peterson. The essays that I used were all published prior to Peterson's collection in other journals or collections. These narratives are helpful because beliefs are notoriously difficult to describe, yet these authors, because of their chosen profession, are able to articulate their thoughts on hunting ethics. The authors express themselves and their opinions clearly through their work, allowing me to maintain their thoughts and attitudes about hunting.

The interview process consisted of the participant completing a questionnaire of forty questions and an interview. The questionnaire and interview questions were approved by the University of Montana's Institutional Review Board. This approval is required for all projects that use human subjects.

The questionnaire was administered by mail after I made initial contact with the participant by telephone. The questionnaire serves two purposes. First, to inform the participant about the research. Because of the difficulty of describing one's own beliefs, the survey allows the participant to begin thinking about how they might communicate their particular beliefs in a way that could be understood by another. Second, the survey will act to inform me about the participant. Time was a considerable constraint in this study. Because I started my research in the fall, I did not have an adequate amount of time to form a relationship with the participants prior to the opening of the fall hunting season. For this reason, direct observation was not possible. Therefore, I used the survey to inform myself about the participant's thoughts and attitudes concerning hunting and the outdoors.

The questionnaire was followed by a semi-structured interview of prepared questions. Interviews were conducted in the fall and winter of 1997 and spring of 1998. The semi-structured interviews were conducted in Montana with two women and eight men. All were of non-indigenous ancestry and over the age of 18. Each interview was scheduled by telephone after I received the questionnaire. I met the participants one time at either their home, business, or at a cafe. Each interview lasted from 35 – 50 minutes and was recorded on tape.

At the end of each interview I asked for recommendations for further participants. Some participants made recommendations and some chose to decline. This may have limited the type of responses that I received and certainly restricted the amount of area I covered. An improvement would have been to use a random sample of individuals that bought hunting licenses in the area. A further improvement, given time and resources,

would be to use a random sample of individuals that bought hunting licenses throughout the state, and to travel to different areas in Montana to collect a larger amount of data

The semi-structured interview is a guided discussion of a topic. This type of interview allows the interviewee to not only answer questions, but to expand the conversation in such a way that helps the interviewer to understand the situation and how the interviewee understands the situation (Rubin and Rubin 1995). Because I only conducted one interview with each participant, using a semi-structured interview strategy could limit my data. This approach is more effective if there are multiple conversations on each subject. For this study, a structured interview may have been better suited to getting detailed information. Even so, I chose to use the semi-structured interview because I wanted the participant to guide the conversation into topics that she or he felt were important.

One criticism of the semi-structured approach is that semi-structured interviews produce data that can result in subjective interpretations. The answer to this criticism is clarity. If the problem is clearly defined, interpretation should not be a problem. If multiple interpretations come from a clearly defined question, then the interpretations would enrich the final analysis as long as they did not contradict one another (Kvale 1996). Another criticism is that the researcher interviews too few individuals to generalize conclusively. This criticism depends on the project. In a project such as this generalization is a problem. This study cannot be generalized beyond the participants within the study, but it can raise questions and act as a beginning to a larger project from which generalizations about a larger population could be made.

Each magazine article and narrative was read and coded as if it was an interview

transcript. Each was read for data concerning why the author hunted and what the author considered appropriate or inappropriate behavior. I chose only statements that were direct in their focus. Each comment stated a direct thought of the author or how the author thought a hunter should behave. For example: “We hunt for the experience of hunting”(McCafferty 1996:87) and “Tracking game can be a demanding, tedious job, but persistence on the trail is an essential part of being a good hunter”(Van Zwoll 1992:74). Each interview was coded in the same manner.

Chapter 3

Results of the Interviews and Readings

The results of the interviews and readings focused on two main topics. The first topic was the participant's primary reason for hunting – experience. Experience of the hunt, as defined earlier, is the active engagement of the hunter's senses while stalking and possibly killing an animal. By having experience as their primary motive in hunting, the hunter can broaden their expectations of what it means to hunt. A female hunter, originally from the East Coast, said:

The thrill of getting close is greater by far than killing something. Nothing more exciting than having a bull elk scream at you from ten yards away. To me, that's what it's all about.

It is unnecessary to make a kill on a day's hunt to be successful. It is not the act of killing an animal that is important, it is the 'thrill' of getting close to it. Success can be the simple act of getting out of town and hiking several miles through the local national forest.

A local biologist/photographer said:

Right now, I think the object of hunting for me has to lean more to getting out there and enjoying hiking, and looking for animals and trying to get close to animals.

For others it may be more complicated. Success would depend on seeing an animal, or a variety of wildlife, or scenery, such as the turning of the larches or aspens to their golden fall colors. A male Montanan, originally from the Wisconsin, said:

I love gettin' 'em, but I love huntin' 'em. The amount of time I can spend, especially in September. That's a special time. I'd like to spend the whole damn month out there, if I can.

For this hunter getting close to an animal was important enough to dictated his

choice of tools:

That's why I like hunting with a bow. I have to get close. A lot of things have to go right to get 'em. I get a chance to see a lot of game, without getting a shot . . . What it comes down to is that I didn't just shoot it to fill a tag, but I was generally happy with it. If I was not happy I wouldn't have taken the shot.

For him seeing the animals is more important than ensuring that he will make a kill. By choosing a bow he is limiting his range to about thirty yards instead of the four hundred or more yards that a rifle allows. He said: "A lot of things have to go right to get 'em." This hunter knows that to get close enough to the animal he must stay quiet, stay out of the wind, and make sure he has a clean shot at the target. If any one thing alerts the animal he will not get a shot. It is this act of stalking the animal that is part of the experience that these hunters are trying to achieve. A male hunter, born and raised in northern Montana restated this when he said, "I've always said that the hunt is better than the kill."

To kill is the end of the hunt and, for most hunters, the end of the season. If an individual had minimal time to hunt, one weekend a year for example, it would be beneficial for that individual to have a wide range of goals to achieve, instead of the one focused goal of making a kill. This way, whereas not killing an animal may lead to some disappointment, being outdoors and enjoying that experience for its own sake gives the hunter a sense of satisfaction.

To deepen that sense of experience some of the participants saw themselves as a part of their surroundings, especially when in the field acting the role of a predator. A native, northern Montanan said, "It's fun to act out what I think is almost a primordial sense of being a predator." Taking the role of the predator, and not just the hunter,

equates the individual with other predators, such as wolves, mountain lions, eagles and hawks, giving a greater sense of connection and closeness with their surroundings.

Hunting is one of few activities that allows an individual to participate directly in the life and death cycles on which all natural systems depend. The skilled hunter's ecological knowledge is holistic and realistic; his or her awareness involves all the senses. Whereas ecologists study systems from without, examining and analyzing from a perspective necessarily distanced from their subjects, dedicated hunters live and learn from within, knowing parts of nature as only a parent or child can know his or her family(Causey 1996:85).

This ecological awareness is reflected in a quote from a Montanan originally from Wisconsin:

What you see too, not just what you experience with a gun or bow in your hands, but what you see. You find the bones or you see where other animals have been preyed upon by lions, or coyotes, or a bear, or whatever. You see that and it's a strong feeling. When you're out there you're constantly aware of that.

The awareness of the hunter's place in the life and death cycles in the outdoors gives these hunters a greater sense of satisfaction in being outdoors. This sense of awareness also shows the hunter that they are indeed a part of their surroundings and not separate from the world of nature, as mentioned by an older male hunter from Anaconda when he said, "I guess you're really just a part of it."

For some this awareness leads to feelings of spiritual connection to the outdoors. A Montanan originally from Wisconsin said, "I feel a strong bond, spiritually, with the outdoors. I think it's a sacred place." Hunting is a way that these hunters can get in touch with and participate in those profound feelings. At the same time, the outdoors may offer an escape from the 'civilized' world. The outdoors allow the individual to be separated from the human world and situated in the 'natural' world where they feel "free," to use the word of one female participant, a Montanan originally from the East Coast,

“It’s a free feeling, being out there and losing contact with reality and the human world.”

One participant, a local naturalist, expressed the same sentiment clearly when he said:

It feels very real to me that when I’m out doing this, and especially when I make a kill on an animal with a bow, that I’m doing something that ties me back into something that nature, or that spiritual aspect of nature. It brings me to that point where I am now doing what I as a biological organism would do here.

He went on to say:

My spiritualism is tied to nature. That’s where I get recharged. A lot of my spiritualism comes from a sense of peace from being out there, sort of settling myself back down to that level of peace that comes from a sort of an honest condition that exists out there. Things go around killing other things. But it’s not anything the white tail deer or the meadow vole or something like that doesn’t expect. That’s part of their life. And so, it’s not like people going around and being dishonest. It’s a system where things may be harsh and may to some extent be unfair, if you want to try those judgements, but everything is pretty much honest and laid out. When I feel [social laws] are inappropriate, I can go to a world where things are as they should be, pretty straight forward. I get a sense of fairness, even though that fairness may include starvation and I may be one of the creatures starving. That’s just a matter of fact.

This hunter equates the biological cycles of life and death with honesty, fairness, and reality. When he is in the woods he “settles himself back down” to the biological level of being a predator, a spiritual experience of things-as-they-should-be. The woods allow him to escape the pretense of social laws that separate the hunter from the “real” world of the hunter and the hunted. One writer stated these feelings well when he wrote:

Something deep inside of me is more full now, having been to the mountain and back, but it will drain away, too, much too quickly with each passing week in the office, with each headline in the morning paper, with each telephone salesperson who invades the privacy of my home at night, gets me up from the supper table, and asks me how I’m doing(Taylor 1995:34).

These hunters are fulfilling their need to be a part of the land through hunting. By taking on the role of a predator the hunters are able to integrate into their surroundings

and actively engage in stalking and possibly killing an animal. These experiences allow the hunter to shift the meaning of a successful hunt from making a kill to the act of hunting itself. For some hunters the experience of hunting led to feelings of spiritual connection. One writer commented: "Such emotion can only result from the respect that grows from experience and reflection"(Madson 1996:135). Respect is the second topic that resulted from the collected data. The participant's comments can be separated into three types.

The first type is respect for the community, including the landowner. Respect for the community relies on those issues presented in the previous chapter, such as trespassing, disturbing property, and littering. Displaying your kill also falls under this type of respect. A male hunter employed by FWP said:

Displaying my kill in a tactful manner or not displaying it at all. In other words, if I'm bringing an animal home from the hunt I'm not going to drape it over the front hood with blood running all over the side of the vehicle. I'm going to have it in the vehicle.

A female Montanan originally from the East Coast said:

We just don't go into stores or anything wearing camo or hunter orange. It's just a . . . I don't know, sometimes it's an insecurity because you're embarrassed because you're in that clothing, but that's just something we don't practice. The people who care about the sport will be more respectful towards it.

These hunters are conscious of the fact that there are people in their communities that may be offended by an animal tied to the hood of a vehicle or blood on the sleeves of their hunting jacket. By maintaining respect with the surrounding community these individuals will help to put hunters in a favorable light which in turn will help to ensure the future of hunting in the area.

The second type of respect is for the animal. One way to respect the animal was through minimizing suffering. Making a clean, killing shot was a point that was stressed.

If the animal was wounded by the shot, then tracking it was a necessity. A hunter from the Bitterroot Valley said, "I would never shoot something and let it ride. Even if I couldn't find it, it would be after a very long and intensive search in looking for it." Another feature of respect for the animal was shown by the use of the remains. A native, northern Montanan said:

Although we kill a lot of stuff, it was never glorified. I was always taught since I was little that if you're going out to hunt something specific, just because you've had a long day and haven't seen anything and been able to shoot at anything, doesn't mean that you should shoot a squirrel. A lot of people do that. They just want to shoot their gun, so they shoot a squirrel. You never kill stuff just to kill them." And "Don't waste anything, any part of the animal.

Killing an animal must serve a purpose beyond the experience of the hunt. Hunting is not an excuse for taking a walk so that you can shoot a gun. A hunter native to the Bitterroot Valley said:

One of the better parts, and one of the best end results of it is that when you're hungry and you open the freezer, there's something there that you can actually afford, you know. It's a lot different paying \$9 for a deer, basically, than it is paying \$9 for a steak, or a couple of steaks for a family of five.

Every hunter that participated in this study ate what they killed. Eating the animal was a way to further the experience of being a predator.

Respect for other hunters, the third type of respect, was focused on the amount of work a hunter did while hunting. A native northern Montanan said, "I respect someone who is not afraid to go out there and really work hard for it. . .suffer." Easy kills are looked down upon. A hunter originally from Wisconsin said, "You go in there, but there's no guarantee that you will harvest an animal. . .good hunters don't look for the easiest way, but for the harder way it seems like." A hunter should work for what they kill – hiking, tracking, and spending time trying to get close to the animals. This is another

emphasis on the importance of time spent and experience had while outdoors. The harder the hunt, the greater the experience. Exertion multiplied by time equals success. A local biologist/photographer said:

Not having a guarantee out there in any way, makes it good. I often get doe tags, or B-tags, but I don't want to get just the easiest doe. I still want to do a hunt for them, even if it's a short stalk or something. I like having to work for what you get. I think you have to earn it or deserve it a little bit.

By spending time and physical strength and abilities on the hunt, the hunter achieves the right to kill an animal. If a hunter does not work, according to these participants, she or he does not truly deserve to kill an animal. One writer noted:

There are no easy kills. That idea itself was abhorrent. My father taught me that when a man engages in the natural struggle of predator and prey, he owes nature a special respect. No three-wheelers. No snow machines. No riding around in riverboats waiting for foolish moose to wander out onto riverbanks. No snagging or clubbing salmon in streams. No spring shooting of ducks on their nests or fall airboat chases to gun the birds down on the water. These common methods of Alaska killing are a violation of the soul of the hunt (Medred 1996:59).

This 'easy' type of hunting would not satisfy the need of the hunting experience for the hunters in this study.

Individuals with the characteristics described above were considered 'good hunters' by the participants in this study. Those hunters that follow the law and had respect for their community, wildlife, and other hunters are ethical hunters. Being ethical is what makes a good hunter. A FWP employee said:

Two classifications of 'good.' One type of good, a person achieves what he tries to do. He's technically proficient at getting that trophy or putting meat on the table every year. There's also the good hunter that may be crappy at shooting an animal, but he does everything right out in the field – ethically and responsibly. He's not breaking any laws. He's not shooting at signs. He's not leaving his litter out there. He's not leaving the gate open on the landowner's personal property. He's not tearing up fence. He's not, a . . . driving off-road where he's not supposed to be. That person, to me, is more important in the scheme of things,

because, you know, in this country 80% of the population that neither hunt, nor are against hunting and those good hunters that do everything right out in the field propel the image of hunting in a proper, correct fashion, so that attitudes remain favorable towards it.

This participant's description of the second type of good hunter fits the criteria of the ethical hunter given above. As a hunter, this is the type of individual with which he wants to share the field. A hunter originally from the East Coast said:

A good hunter is someone that is ethical. Bottom line. I'd rather see someone not take a shot, then possibly take a shot and wound an animal. It's not one that harvests a lot of animals.

Again, one hunter, native to northern Montanan said:

To me a good hunter is not a road hunter. To me, a good hunter is willing to go where other people won't go. That's when I really consider myself hunting, when you go beyond the last tracks. It's also where you find the game [laughs].

These hunters are stressing the importance of the hunt and how hunters and non-hunters perceive that experience. A good hunter is not, as one hunter said, a person that harvests a lot of animals, but a person that acts appropriately towards their surroundings. A native Anacondan summed hunting ethics when he said, "Think before you do, is what is ethical."

The hunters in this study concern themselves with their image and the amount of respect that they maintain towards various entities because they realize that it does have an effect on hunting. Commenting on this, a local photographer said, "There's a lot of satisfaction over a long period of time of having done it right and having done things legally."

The results of the interviews and readings focused on two topics. The first topic

was the experience of the hunt. To engage and enhance their time in the outdoors these hunters took on the role of a predator, which allowed the participants a place in the biological community where they hunted. For some of the hunters this role and the experience of awareness that resulted took on a spiritual quality.

The second topic was respect, which was divided into three types: respect for the community, for animals, and for other hunters. Respect for the community consisted of keeping good relations by obeying the law and not displaying animals while returning from the hunt. Respect for the animal was shown through minimizing suffering and by using what was killed. The last type of respect was for other hunters. These individuals respected other hunters who worked for what they killed. An easy kill was unacceptable. A hunter needed to earn the animal she or he killed. Working for the animal allowed the hunter to satisfy their desire for the experience of hunting.

If the hunter maintained the proper respect she or he could achieve the honor of being considered a good hunter, meaning that the individual knew how to act appropriately while in the outdoors. It is these individuals who help to ensure the future of hunting.

In the next chapter I will present my conclusions.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

The differences between hunting motivated by the subsistence pursuit and hunting motivated by “recreation” or “sport” are significant. To the Koyukon and Cree hunters the land is sentient and has control over the outcome of the hunt. Their world views give hunters rules of behavior that help to ensure an efficient death for the prey. If the hunter acts appropriately, saying the right prayers and treating the animals remains with respect, for example, then the animal or animal master will grant the hunter an animal to kill. The key is to kill an animal in an efficient manner to obtain food.

The world view of the Montanan sport hunter is quite different. Animals are not sentient beings and do not control the outcome of the hunt. Animals are a natural resource to be responsibly exploited for purposes of recreation and ecosystem management. Whereas the animals these hunters pursued were thought to be intelligent and deserving of respect, they were not necessarily the focus of the hunt. The focus was on the type of experience the hunters gained while hunting. The Montana hunters that participated in this study consider hunting a very personal, and even spiritual, experience. These hunters are thoughtful about their place, and their attitude toward that place, in their surroundings. By taking on the role of the predator and experiencing profound feelings, the hunters are able to form a strong bond with the places that they hunt. This attitude point's back to Aldo Leopold's 'land ethic.' The hunters in this study are fostering the belief that they are a part of their surroundings. They are maintaining a level of respect and connection to their surrounding biological community that is mirrored in

Leopold's philosophy.

The participants were looking to actively engage their environment while stalking and possibly killing an animal. This experience is limited by rules of behavior that are based on three types of respect. The first type of respect is for the community. Respect for the community is shown by such actions as not displaying your kill after the hunt, picking up litter while in the field, and not disturbing private property. This type of respect forces hunters to be responsible for their behavior so that people in their community, both hunters and non-hunters, are not offended. By showing respect for their community, hunters will help to ensure the future of hunting in their areas.

The second type of respect is for animals. The focus of respect here is to minimize suffering when killing the animal by making sure you have a clear shot and that your shot is in the vital area so that the animal will die quickly. Another aspect of respect for the animal was through using the remains of what the hunter killed. By eating the animal the hunter further enhanced his or her experience and continued acting the role of the predator after the hunting season was over.

The last type of respect was for other hunters. The participants commented that it is important to work for what you kill. An easy kill is looked down on. By working for the animal, the hunter was able to prolong their time in the woods.

The participants in this study agreed to a large extent on what types of behaviors were considered appropriate or inappropriate, but the boundaries were loosely organized as opposed to the very rigid rules of the Koyukon or Cree hunters. This difference is due to the type of communities in which the hunters live. The Koyukon and Cree hunters have been living a hunting lifeway for many generations. The Montana hunters in this study are

not in a single community and for the most part hunt alone. The behavior rules they follow are personal decisions that have resulted from their hunting experiences. These behaviors are strongly focused on the desire to prolong the amount of time that each hunter can spend in the woods experiencing the hunt.

The Hunter Behavior Advisory Council (HBAC) took on the job of turning these types of personal ethics into a form that could be accepted by the general hunting population. It will take a sustained and determined effort to change the hunting culture in Montana. Opening educational opportunities to the hunting and non-hunting community alike could help assuage misunderstandings between the two groups. It will be up to the Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife, and Parks to determine the best ways to follow the recommendations of the Council. If FWP can implement the recommendations without adding to the already confusing regulations, I think the effort could be successful. The coming years will be telling of the future of hunters in Montana.

It is in Montana's best interests for hunting to continue. Hunting brings in funds for conservation efforts that help to protect game and non-game species. Protecting these areas for wildlife opens up space for recreation for the general public. Hunting also helps the conservation effort by playing a role in data collection and population control. As more land is developed and the need for wildlife management grows, hunting will become more important to hunters like those in this study. Not only does hunting allow them to help in the conservation and management of the areas and animals they love, but it helps to satisfy their need for wildness and connects them to those they hunt and the paths of life and death.

There are still problems with hunters and ethics. That is why debate is occurring.

Some groups such as the anti-hunters will never concede hunting a place in this society because they consider killing animals to be morally wrong. Most of American society is not against hunting if it is done respectfully and ethically (Swan 1995). They are against unethical hunters, most of which would fall under the category of criminal. As more discussions and regulations come about concerning ethical or unethical behavior, it will be possible to see how society's standards are changing for hunters. These discussions will set the stage for the future of hunting.

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