



## An opportunity for rural areas or a threat to local hunters?

Finnish hunters' attitudes towards hunting tourism

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# An opportunity for rural areas or a threat to local hunters? Finnish hunters' attitudes towards hunting tourism

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## **Abstract**

Due to a strong population influx to urban areas, Finnish hunting territories and the geographical residence of hunters are today becoming increasingly detached from each other. This has created a demand for hunting tourism services, which in turn necessitates new forms of wildlife management on the local level. However, the introduction of hunting tourism is far from uncontroversial as it is likely to cause conflict between stakeholders. In this paper we analyse Finnish hunters' attitudes towards hunting tourism from a sociological point of view. The aim is two-fold; first, we map hunters' positions on hunting tourism as a tool for revitalising the countryside and as a commercial use of wildlife; second, we analyse the determinants of these attitudes by using multivariate statistical techniques. Empirically, the analysis uses unique national survey data on Finnish hunters and their attitudes to different aspects of hunting (N=1193). The results show that Finnish hunters are ambivalent as to the virtues of hunting tourism. On the one hand it is conceived of as a potential economic remedy for peripheral areas, but on the other hand it challenges stakeholder interests as well as traditional conceptions of hunting and wildlife management. Hence hunting tourism is seen both as an opportunity and a threat to hunters. Whereas the attitudes to hunting tourism as a tool for rural development can be primarily explained by socioeconomic factors, such as age and education, the attitudes to its more specific manifestations are mainly explained by geographical residence and value orientation of hunters.

## **Introduction**

During the post-war period the traditional bulk of economic activities and human capital that once used to be an integral part of rural life in Finland has been increasingly diminished by processes of modernisation and urbanisation. From the 1950s onwards, there has been a steady flow of people moving in to the cities and urban areas of southern and central parts of Finland in search of jobs and education (e.g. Karisto *et al.* 1998). At times, emigration has also been quite intense; this was the case especially in the 1960s and the 1970s as people moved to Sweden in search of jobs (Statistikcentralen 2009). The process of slow but continuous depopulation has been accompanied, and possibly fuelled, by a rapid process of structural transformation as the number of persons employed in agriculture and forestry has diminished and been substituted by jobs in urban industries or services. In 1950, approximately 46 per cent of the Finnish labour force got their livelihood from agriculture; in 2004 this share had diminished to about four per cent (Statistikcentralen 2009; 2004).

These transformations have altered the structure of hunters' societies and changed the terms for hunting as hunting areas and hunters are becoming increasingly detached from each other. Whereas hunting territories are mainly located in the rural, and peripheral, areas of Finland, the majority of the population, including hunters, are being increasingly concentrated to urban areas in the Southern and Western parts of Finland. To the latter group, hunting possibilities have become more restricted due to long distances or lack of suitable hunting areas. This will in turn, all other things being equal, increase the demand for commercial hunting services as



well as new forms of wildlife management (e.g. Haakana 2007; Heino and Holopainen 2003). These hunting-related services and goods, can serve as important tools for revitalising rural areas threatened by depopulation and economic decline. However, the introduction of commercial hunting services in a traditional rural setting is far from an uncontroversial issue as it is likely to cause conflict between different actors and interests, not least among the hunters themselves. Socially and culturally, it challenges the very identity and integrity of local hunting clubs. Economically, it reformulates the idea of land use for hunting purposes. Moreover, hunting tourism, when uncontrolled, can undermine ecological sustainability and even endanger the existence of certain species (cf Morgera and Wingard 2009; Ebner 2007).

This raises a number of questions. First, what kind of role can a commercialisation of hunting, so-called hunting tourism, play for the revitalisation of the Finnish countryside, and more importantly, how do hunters themselves relate to such ideas? Is there a propensity among hunters to accept ideas of hunting tourism as means for reviving the countryside or do they oppose such prospects? Secondly, what are the main determinants of attitudes towards hunting tourism? The *aim of this paper* is to elucidate these questions by scrutinising Finnish hunters' attitudes towards hunting tourism. Two conceptualisations of hunting tourism are employed; on the one hand the significance of hunting tourism is viewed principally, as a means for creating new services and jobs in rural areas. On the other hand it is depicted as an opportunity for hunters and land owners to profit from sale of hunting rights. The paper starts with a short overview of Finnish hunting and proceeds with a conceptual discussion of hunting tourism. Thereafter, we consult earlier research in order to discern fruitful starting points for an empirical inquiry into hunters' attitudes towards hunting tourism. Finally, we report our findings and discuss some implications of these findings for rural development.

## Hunting in Finland

In the dawn of mankind the vast majority of humans in the world were hunters. Hunting was an integral part of the daily search for food, and thus provided an important means for survival (Wolf 1983). Also in Finland, hunting was for centuries an essential part of everyday life of the population, especially among the peasantry in the countryside. Even today, there are persons in Finland to whom hunting is still as a way of earning their livelihood or a way of protecting livestock, for example reindeer herds. However, hunting has lost much of its traditional role as a prerequisite for subsistence in the modern society. Instead it has adopted clear recreational features as it is preferably conceived of as a hobby, a game or a sport (Nygård and Uthardt 2009a; Kalchreuter 1984)<sup>1</sup>. There are today approximately 300,000 persons (app. 6 per cent of a total population of little over 5 million inhabitants) holding the state hunting permit in Finland. This means that the relative number of hunters is very high, if not the highest, in European comparison. Also among women, there is an increasing interest in hunting. Today there are approximately 15,000 female hunters, which total ca 5 per cent of the total number of hunters (Jägarnas centralorganisation 2009).

There is undoubtedly a strong traditional link between agrarian culture and hunting; not only is hunting an undeniable part of rural identity, it also creates a feeling of togetherness and contributes to the local economy. The bond between farmers and hunters is strengthened by the fact that both parts are dependent upon access to land and a sustainable use of nature. In

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<sup>1</sup> According to a recent survey (Nygård and Uthardt 2009a), Finnish hunters bifurcate into two overall clusters as to their overall hunting preferences. The first group is characterised by a stronger accentuation of immaterial values. For this category hunting is primarily conceived as a hobby, something that people do in their free time in order to get physical exercise, finding excitement or to simply enjoying the company of friends. By contrast, the members of the second group tend to view hunting as a 'way of life' to a much higher extent; to them hunting is more connected to questions of livelihood, identity or communal interests. To this category of hunters, hunting is primarily seen as a way of regulating the game population, obtaining game meat or upholding family relations. Both groups tended to share a profound interest in nature and point out the social aspects of hunting.

Finland, hunting rights are linked to land ownership, but in practice the landowners often lease these rights to local hunting clubs that carry out the practical arrangements concerning hunting. The local clubs are also responsible for evaluating the wildlife population, practicing wildlife management (e.g. feeding wildlife, manufacturing nesting boxes etc) and supervising hunting activities. According to the Finnish law on hunting (28.6.1993/615), the highest authorities concerning hunting in Finland is the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MAF) and the Hunters' Central Organisation (HCO). The objective of the former is to secure a sustainable use of game, fish and reindeer resources, whereas the main objective of the latter organisation is game and hunting management. In addition, there are 15 game management districts and 298 local game management associations that are subjected to the control and missions of MAF and HCO and that carry out game and hunting management duties on a regional or local level, for example distributing hunting licences or organising hunter training.

It is estimated that approximately 40-45 per cent of Finnish hunters are landowners (Nygård and Uthardt 2009a; Ermala and Leinonen 1995), of whom the main share reside in the countryside. Hunters without land possessions can only hunt if they are member of a local hunting club or if they purchase a temporary hunting permit ('day card') from a club, a hunting company or from the State. However, not all hunting clubs engage in day card sale and, if they do, these permits often require that the purchaser of the permit is accompanied or guided by a member of the local hunting association in the actual hunt. Hunting clubs around the country also have varying rules for adopting new members; some of them require land-ownership, but most clubs require only that the applicant is resident or has formerly been resident in the local community or municipality. This means that hunters holding a state hunting permit stand a theoretically good chance of getting access to hunting possibilities, even if they lack land of their own.

However, due to the strong population influx from remote areas to cities and urban areas in the southern and central parts of Finland, the country side, and especially remote areas in the northern and eastern Finland, have become increasingly depopulated during the last four, five decades, whereas an increasing part of the population – including an increasing share of hunters – today live in cities. For example, in 2007 the regions of *Pirkanmaa* and *Uusimaa* had the biggest migration gains, with 2350 and 2300 persons respectively, whereas *Etelä-Savo*, *Kainuu* and Lapland had the biggest migration losses (Statistics, Finland 2007). This means that an increasing proportion of hunters will not have direct access to hunting or lack opportunities to hunt near their place of residence (Rutanen *et al.* 2007; Mikkola 2007).

Another problem that could have a negative impact on the chances for ‘landless’ hunters to obtain hunting club membership is the greying of local hunters’ societies. The average age of all Finnish hunters is today over 50 years, but the average age of local hunters is far higher (Nygård and Uthardt 2009a, Selby *et al.* 2005; Svensberg and Vikberg 2007). In some clubs, especially where the recruitment of new hunters is weak, the greying of members can endanger the continuation of organised hunting activities. The inflow of new inhabitants through counter-urbanisation can reverse or slow down this development, but it could also aggravate the problem by increasing conflicts between the original hunters to whom rural identity is salient, and new hunters to whom individualistic and recreational values dominate over questions of rural identity and traditional values on wildlife (cf O’Brien 2005; Milbourne 2003; Stedman and Heberlein 2001). A third possible problem is changing landowning structures in the countryside. Due to increased migration and counter-urbanisation the possession of local land is becoming increasingly fragmented. This makes it increasingly difficult for many local hunting clubs to obtain the land areas required for an optimal hunting

organisation, for example in the case of moose hunting. Thus, as land access is becoming more restricted and the local social structure is becoming more diversified, the co-operation and goodwill needed for a functioning hunting tourism will also easily become undermined.

### **What is hunting tourism?**

Defining the concept of hunting tourism is not a straightforward matter. First, it is not always clear what we mean by ‘hunting’; does it contain only activities that involve killing game or do we also include other activities that are not aimed at killing, such as photographing wildlife, taking guided wildlife ‘safari’ tours or doing sport fishing? Second, and to complicate matters, it is not always clear what constitutes a ‘tourist’ in this context. Is the touristic element represented by activities taking place *outside* the hunter’s own normal hunting territories and/or place of residence, which, by implication, suggests that travelling is involved? Should there be some kind of economic transaction involved in order for a hunting activity to become touristic, e.g. a hunter buying the right to hunt a certain amount of wildlife furnished by a local hunting club or a specialised hunting enterprise?

In the international literature, hunting tourism is normally seen as a part of the broader concept of *wildlife tourism*. This concept includes two kinds of main activities: ‘non-consumptive’ wildlife tourism and ‘consumptive’ wildlife tourism. The former includes viewing, photography, feeding and interacting with wildlife in various ways (for example bird or bear watching, safaris etc.), the latter generally involves killing game by hunting, shooting or fishing (Lovelock, 2007). The various aspects of consumptive wildlife tourism are displayed in table 1. Lovelock defines ‘consumptive’ wildlife tourism as ‘a form of leisure travel undertaken for the purpose of hunting or shooting game animals, or fishing for sports

fish, either in natural sites or in areas created for these purposes' (Lovelock 2007: 4). In this paper, we use the concept hunting tourism as a synonym to consumptive wildlife tourism. This means that we do not consider 'non-consumptive' elements of wildlife tourism, although they constitute interesting and lucrative alternatives to Finnish hunting tourism entrepreneurs (e.g. Mänty 2008). Furthermore, we do not include fishing tourism in our study, since this would make the scope of the analysis too wide.

*Table 1. Consumptive wildlife tourism activities (source: Bauer and Herr 2004, cited in Lovelock 2007: 4)*

### Consumptive wildlife tourism

Hunting tourism			Fishing tourism	
Big game/trophy	Small game	Skill hunting	Marine	Fresh water
Game ranching	Duck	Bow hunting	Coastal/estuary	Coarse
Big game	Game birds	Black powder	Charter boat	Fly
Safari	Rodents	Falconry	Spear	Adventure
Group	Small predators	Trapping	Big game	Indigenous
Indigenous	Ferretting	Songbirds	Indigenous	

In Finland, the most common form of commercial hunting consists of a hunter or a hunter party purchasing temporary hunting permits (so-called day cards) which offer possibilities to hunt a special kind of game species, either on land that is owned by the State, specialised hunting companies or local hunting clubs (Mikkola 2007). Since this kind of activity involves a commercial transaction between two parts, the seller of hunting permits and a buyer, it could technically be considered a form of 'hunting tourism'.<sup>2</sup> But as noted earlier, the concept

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the actual hunting, hunting tourism in Finland often involves also other complementary services such as accommodation, catering services, excursions, lectures, nature experiences or other kinds of services (Rutanen *et al.* 2007).

'tourist' is problematic since it is by no means clear what constitutes a tourist. The World Tourist Organisation defines tourism as 'activities related to persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment' (Lovelock 2007: 6). On the basis of this distinction, commercial hunting would become hunting tourism only if travelling and accommodation (possibly also including meals and other services) are included in the agreement. For the purpose of this paper, though, we will employ a slightly wider (and more practical) definition; consequently we define hunting tourism as an activity aimed at *hunting and shooting/killing game in a region (or country) other than one's own normal hunting territory*.

Hunting tourism is a rather new phenomenon in Finland. There are today few purely commercial actors that offer this kind of service. According to Rutanen *et al.* (2007), it can be estimated that there are only approximately 10-20 professional hunting tourism companies in Finland that engage in active marketing directed both to foreign and domestic customers. As a way of stimulating rural economies, hunting tourism can therefore be seen as an underexploited resource. As an example, hunting tourism can be seen as a new paradigm of multi-functionality within traditional agriculture by, for instance, encouraging farmers to develop new hunting services and goods parallel to their traditional forms of livelihoods (ct. Douwe van der Ploeg 2008; Andersson 2007; Lundmark 2006). This could contribute to new models of agricultural entrepreneurship and make a valuable economic input for rural areas, provided that there are sufficient guarantees for social, economical and economic sustainability (ct. Morgera and Wingard 2009; Ebner 2007; Hall and Boyd 2005; Sharpley 2002; Newsome *et al.* 2002).

## Hunting tourism in the light of modernisation theory

Hunting, as well as hunting tourism, has received relatively scant interest from social scientists. The research conducted so far has mainly been dominated by natural scientists, such as biologists and environmentalists (Manfredo 2008), although some of these studies have admittedly focused on human dimensions of wildlife management (e.g. Newsome *et al.* 2002; Zinn *et al.* 1998; Kellert 1996; Decker *et al.* 1996; Fulton *et al.* 1996; Purdy and Decker 1989). Moreover, the scholarly interest in hunting and wildlife has been characterised by an empirical dominance rather than a predilection for theoretical approaches. This means that researchers have collected data on hunters and hunting upon which *post hoc* explanations have been developed for the patterns found. According to Manfredo (2008), the first real empirical study of hunting from a social scientific angle was Kellert's (1978) study on human attitudes to wildlife.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of the scholarly unconcern of late, there are today a growing number of studies that have concentrated on hunting tourism (e.g. Willbrand 2009; Lovelock 2007; Tsachalidis and

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<sup>3</sup> According to Kellert (1996), hunters can be divided into three main categories with respect to the experience they seek. The first group, the *meat hunters* was characterised by a strong utilitarian accentuation of nature that entailed an exploitation of wildlife for economic reasons or for maintaining subsistence (e.g. meat hunting, regulating wildlife damages on crops etc.). The second group, the *sport hunters*, by contrast, was dominated by 'dominionistic' attitudes that put emphasis on (e.g. physical exercise and durance, vigilance, weapon control etc.). The third group, the *nature hunters*, was characterised by naturalistic attitudes that emphasised the consumption of nature experiences (e.g. enjoying scenery, observing wildlife etc.). The typology has become influential for social research regarding hunting and has been used in a number of subsequent studies on wildlife and hunters (e.g. Hunter & Brehm 2004; Heberlein & Willebrand 1998; Ericsson & Heberlein 2002). However, albeit being innovative and influential, the typology fails to provide an overall theoretical model that would help us to fully understand the socioeconomic determinants of hunting. As to the case of Finnish hunters, a number of studies (Ermala and Leinonen 1995; Petäjistö *et al.* 2004; Nygård and Uthardt 2009a) show (partial) support for Kellert's typology, although naturalistic values and the sense of hunting as a way of 'the traditional way of life' tend to have a stronger cross-cutting significance in the Finnish case. Moreover, among Finnish hunters the actual hunting event is seen as a 'social event', a community-creating activity, to a higher extent, especially older hunters are concerned (Nygård and Uthardt 2009a).



Hadjisterkotis 2008; Gunnarsdottson 2005) and trophy hunting<sup>4</sup> (e.g. Radder 2005; Stahl 1979). Despite this, many questions still remain unanswered as to the current scope, future prospects and determinants of this particular field. Lovelock (2007) suggests that the weak scholarly interest in hunting tourism is related to the lack of visibility of this particular sector and to the fact that hunting is not a widely accepted activity among the public. He argues that ‘as a field of research the topic falls between the uncomfortable (guns, firearms) and the unforgiveable (‘killing Bambi’)’ (Lovelock 2007, 3).

In his study of Swedish hunters, Willebrand (2008) argues that hunting tourism is fairly uncommon in northern Sweden, and that the attempts to establish hunting tourism have so far been met with strong scepticism among local hunters and other stakeholders. He lists a number of factors that have a detrimental effect on attempts to introduce hunting tourism in the countryside. Among other things, there is a fear that hunting tourism will lead to the exclusion of local hunters, higher tenancies for land, overharvesting of wildlife populations and that traditional values will be superseded by ‘unhealthy’ commercial values. The factors that speak in favour of hunting tourism, by contrast, are the allegedly positive effects on employment and rural economy. Furthermore, hunting tourism is seen as a way meeting the wants and needs of an increasing (urban) hunter population with no access to land or hunting possibilities. In his study, Willebrand showed that the attitudes to hunting tourism among hunters in Sweden were primarily linked to whether selling hunting could be considered ethical or not, and to the fear that increased hunting tourism would create social tension and

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<sup>4</sup> Hunting tourism is closely linked to trophy hunting. This phenomenon was known already in the Stone Ages and was inherited by subsequent generations of hunters. The habit of collecting trophies became more common among the nobility during the 15th century as antlers from red deer, chamois and ibex was used as ways of ornamenting the walls of castles and mansions. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century the economic value of trophies started to grow rapidly. Today, they are valued goods that are recognised, measured and displayed at a number of exhibitions (Stahl, 1979). Records of measured trophies are regularly published by various hunting agencies, such as the *International Council for Game and Wildlife Conservation*, the *Safari Club International* and the *Rowland Ward*.

conflicts. Moreover, it was believed that hunting quality and wildlife abundance would decrease as a result of increased hunting tourism although the explanatory effect of this was not strong. The results also revealed that young hunters are generally more positive to hunting tourism than are older.

In Finland, the research interest in hunting tourism has thus far mainly come from researchers that study this phenomenon from a touristic angle, as a means for revitalising rural areas in economic and demographic decline (e.g. Mänty 2008; Haakana 2007; Rutanen *et al.* 2007; Langi and Techam 2005; Ahonen 2005; Matilainen and Puota-Pohjosaho 2003; Saarinen 2003; Muuttola 2003; Heino and Holopainen 2003; Lämsä and Hietala 1996). The vast majority of these studies argue that a growth of the demand for hunting tourism services is imminent due to changing migration and socioeconomic patterns and that these changes can serve as important inputs for rural economies. The fact that many hunters, especially those residing in urban areas of Southern Finland, lack direct access to hunting is put forward as a strong argument for a further development of hunting tourism services. Many of the studies also advocate a more intense marketing of the Finnish countryside and wildlife to the foreign hunting society, such as the German speaking areas in particular. However, it is also pointed out that a successful expansion of hunting tourism needs to tackle a number of problems that concern, among other things, risks for overharvesting game populations, problems regarding sufficient economic profitability and possible tensions between different stakeholders. The last aspect is of particular interest for this study, which focuses on the hunters' attitudes to hunting tourism. Both international and domestic research suggests that hunters are divided into different fractions as to how they relate to touristic elements within hunting, both as presumptive producers of such services and as consumers (ct. Manfredo 2008; Willebrand 2008; Kellert 1996; Nygård and Uthardt 2009b; Heino and Holopainen 2003). In Finland, the

hunters' attitudes to hunting tourism tends to be quite controversial and structured by variables such as overall values concerning wildlife and hunting, socioeconomic status and geographical domicile.

On the basis of the above mentioned we propose a theoretical model for hunters' opinions on hunting tourism that not only helps us to understand the phenomenon and but also facilitates some expectations as to the findings of our study. This model argues that Finnish hunters' opinions on hunting tourism can, somewhat simplistically, be understood as a function of two different factors: the overall *value orientation* and the *geographical residence* of the hunter. First, it seems conceivable that hunters' opinions on hunting tourism are connected with their overall *value orientation*, that is, their hunting motives, values and identities. As shown in earlier sections, hunting tourism can be seen as controversial since it tend to challenge the principles of traditional hunting (e.g. Nygård and Uthardt 2009b; Willebrand 2008; Rutanen et al. 2007; O'Brien 2005; Milbourne 2003; Stedman and Heberlein 2001). Basically, the very idea of hunting tourism implicates a re-articulation of the traditional notions of hunting, since it suggests that local actors (hunting clubs, individual actors and companies) can profit economically from of wildlife stocks and land possession, that is, resources that often are seen as natural parts of rurally and collectively shared socioeconomic practices.<sup>5</sup> Hence, we can expect hunters that embrace a traditional value orientation to be more sceptical to hunting tourism than are 'modern' hunters. Traditional hunters, to whom material and social aspects of hunting are salient, are consequently more likely to resist the idea of commercialisation of hunting, whereas modern hunters, to whom hunting is first and foremost a leisure activity, are

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<sup>5</sup> This does not however mean that non-commercial hunting activities lack economic dimensions. Rather it implicates that, on a local level, economic profit are subordinated to collective and communal interests. For example, in the yearly moose hunt in Finland the costs for obtaining hunting licences are mostly shared between the participants, the same goes with sharing the game meat between hunters and landowners after having terminated the hunt.

more susceptible to such ideas (ct Nygård and Uthardt 2009a; Ermala and Leinonen 1995; Petäjistö *et al.* 2004).

To ‘traditional’ hunters, collective forms of wildlife management and cooperation with landowners are also salient as these practices incarnate a kind of mutual trust, or complexity reduction (ct. Luhmann 2005), that join local stakeholders together against the outside world. ‘Modern’ hunters, on the other hand, are normally estranged from traditional (or rural) comprehensions of hunting due to their residence, life styles, livelihood or value orientations. To this category, hunting is primarily a form of recreational activity, an expression of individualistic preferences that has little to do with traditional notions of hunting or hunting as a (rural) communal event (ct. Nygård and Uthardt 2009b; Manfredo 2008; Kalchreuter 1984). Consequently, the idea of hunting tourism is not likely to be so controversial to ‘modern’ hunters as it is to ‘traditional’ hunters. Although this dichotomisation is deliberately exaggerated, it can help us to understand opinions on hunting tourism as a reflection of the overall modernisation of society and the growing individualisation among hunters (ct. Giddens 2006; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2006; Hall 2005; Beck 2005; Beck and Lau 2005).

Secondly, we can expect the attitudes to hunting tourism to be structured also by *geographical residence*. As pointed out earlier in this paper, an increasing share of Finnish hunters are today residing in urban parts of the country with restricted or no access to land and hunting possibilities (ct. Rutanen *et al.* 2007). This has created a demand for hunting tourism services that is likely to grow in the future as hunters and hunting territories become more detached from each other. To the hunters residing in the countryside, by contrast, hunting territories have traditionally been more accessible due to the traditional and intimate link between agriculture and hunting, although changing landowner structures and

diminishing numbers of hunters today threaten to complicate the effective organising of land use, as well as hunting and wildlife management (ct. Svensberg and Vikberg 2007).<sup>6</sup> On the basis of this, it seems plausible that attitudes towards hunting tourism are linked also to the geographical residence of hunters, i.e. whether they live the densely populated regions of Southern, Central and Western Finland with no or little access to hunting areas, or in peripheral regions (such as the Northern or Eastern Finland) with higher access to hunting possibilities. Whereas the former category is likely to be more in favour of hunting tourism as a way of expanding the supply of hunting activities available, the latter category is likely to view such alternatives in a more suspicious way, as a threat to the control over local hunting territories and to the hunting possibilities of local hunters.

When combined, these two dimensions (value orientation and geographical residence) give rise to four possible attitudinal constellations (see figure 1). Whereas a traditional value orientation combined with rural domicile is most likely to produce a negative stand on hunting tourism (a), a modern value orientation combined with rural domicile can, at best, produce an innovative position (b). This is the case, for example, when a local hunting clubs synchronise the idea of selling hunting rights to outside hunters with traditional tasks. The most fruitful constellation would be a modern value orientation combined with urban residence (d), whereas a traditional value orientation among urban hunters is likely to bring with it an ambivalent attitude (c). This ambivalent constellation originates from the combination of two seemingly incompatible positions: a demand for commercial hunting services and an emphasis of traditional motives, values and preferences.

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<sup>6</sup> The organising of effective hunting, as well as sustainable hunting tourism, requires access to sufficient hunting areas, stable wildlife populations and infrastructures. It also necessitates goodwill among the general public as to the potentials of hunting tourism. As a growing hunting tourism is likely to bring with it new ideas on wildlife management and utilisation of game animal populations, the need for clear ethical guidance will be warranted in order to maintain an ecologically, socially and politically sustainable hunting (ct Morgera and Winegard 2009) and to meet the critique that has been presented by, for example, animal protection groups (ct. Ilvesviita 2005).

*Figure 1. Different attitudinal constellations regarding Finnish hunters and hunting tourism (in a general sense)*

		VALUE ORIENTATION	
		Traditional	Modern
GEOGRAPHICAL RESIDENCE	Rural	Negative (a)	Innovative (b)
	Urban	Ambivalent (c)	Positive (d)

To sum up, hunters' opinions on hunting tourism are expected to be associated with both value orientation and geographical residence. If our presumptions are correct, the most negative hunters are to be found among 'traditional' hunters residing in the countryside (square a) while the most positive hunters are most likely to be found among 'modern' hunters in towns or population centres (square d). However, it is also plausible that the attitudes to hunting tourism are linked primarily to socio-economic factors, such as age and education, instead of being structured by the abovementioned dimensions. For instance, it seems plausible to expect more positive attitudes to hunting tourism among younger hunters than among elderly hunters. Likewise, it is probable that higher education, higher income, landowning and labour-market status will affect the attitudes to hunting tourism (cf Willebrand 2008). Therefore the following empirical study serves not only as an instrument for answering the two research questions mentioned in the introduction, it also provides a test of the theoretical model discussed above. We believe, however, that this model has a higher explanative value when it comes to concrete issues, or consequences, of wildlife-management innovations, such as the question of local land control, the sustainability and abundance of wildlife as well as the distribution of sale profits. By contrast, in principal matters, such as economic virtues of hunting tourism on a general level, this relevance will easily become overshadowed by socioeconomic variables.

## Data and methods

The aim of this study is to map Finnish hunters' positions on different aspects of hunting tourism, and to analyse the determinants of these attitudes by using multivariate statistical techniques. In order to test the hypotheses derived in the previous section, we used data from the national survey on Finnish hunters that was conducted in 2007-2008 by the authors in cooperation with the Hunters' Central Organisation (*Metsästäjien keskusjärjestö*). The main objective of the above mentioned survey was to investigate the motives, knowledge and values of Finnish hunters (ct. Nygård and Uthardt 2009a).

In the fall of 2007, a questionnaire consisting of 70 items was sent to a total sample of 3100 persons holding the state hunting licence. The sample was conducted both strategically and systematically, which means that, initially, a quota of Finnish speaking and Swedish speaking hunters were determined for every of the 15 hunting districts in Finland (The Åland Islands not included). Thereafter, a systematic sample was drawn from all strata in order to achieve a representative sample that also had probabilistic characteristics.<sup>7</sup> The questionnaire was answered by a total of 1193 persons (c 38.5 per cent). An analysis of the respondent response (not reported here) showed that the returning of questionnaires was not biased in any significant way and that the questionnaire dropout was evenly distributed among the variables of the study.

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<sup>7</sup> In practice, a sample of 200 hunters from every hunting district was drawn by randomly selecting a starting point and thereafter selecting every person in a certain interval (e.g. every fifth or tenth person). In order to counteract the problem of statistical underrepresentation of the Swedish-speaking minority, a larger sample (250) was drawn from the districts with a large number of Swedish speakers. Although this procedure does not provide a probabilistic sample in the strict sense of the word, it can basically be regarded as having the same characteristics as a probabilistic sample (Hellevik 1984).

Two conceptual dimensions of hunting tourism were used; the first being more principal and the second more specific. The idea was to assess the overall attitude to hunting tourism as a means for developing rural areas, but also to discern what attitudes hunters have on relating – and more specific – aspects such as the sale of hunting rights in the form of day cards and the opening of hunting on local territories for other than local hunters. Therefore, three different dependent variables were used (see table 2).

*Table 2. The variables of the study*

	Mean	St.dev	Max	Min
<b>Dependent variables:</b>				
<u>Continuous (dichotomised)</u>				
Attitude to hunting tourism as development (DV1)	2.84	1.279	5	1
Small-scale sale of hunting rights, day-cards (DV2)	2.07	1.038	5	1
Opening of hunting rights for outsiders (DV3)	2.93	1.331	5	1
<b>Independent variables:</b>				
Age (1 < 30 years, 2 30-39 years, 3 40-49 years, 4 50-59 years, 6 > 70 years)				
Sex (1 man, 2 woman)				
Mother tongue (1 Finnish, 2 Swedish)				
Civil status (1 Unmarried, 2 Married, 3 Cohabiting, 4 Divorced, 5 Widow/widower)				
Education (1 Primary, 2 Upper secondary, 3 Vocational, 4 Higher vocational, 5 University, 6 Other)				
Labour market status (1 Student, 2 Working, 3 Entrepreneur, 4 Farmer, 5 Jobless, 6 Retired, 7 Other)				
Income/€ per month (1 Under 1000 €, 2 1000-2500 €, 3 2501-4000 €, 4 4001-5500 €, 5 > 5500 €)				
Place of residence (1 Town, 2 Countryside)				
Region (1 Southern/Western Finland, 2 Eastern Finland, 3 Northern Finland)				
Years of hunting license (1 0-10, 2 11-20, 3 21-30, 4 > 30)				
Landownership (0 No, 1 Yes)				
Main hunting form (1 Small game, 2 Moose and/or deer, 3 Other species, 4 Not active hunter)				
Wildlife conservation activities (0 No, 1 Yes)				
Value orientation (1 Traditional, 2 Modern)				

The first dependent variable, DV1, operated on a more principal level while assessing Finnish hunters' attitudes to hunting tourism as a way of improving employment in the countryside. By contrast, the second and the third dependent variables operated on a more specific level. DV2 considered hunters' attitudes to hunting tourism as a small-scale commercial activity, the sale of so-called day-cards, while the third variable, DV3, measured attitudes to opening up local hunting territories and hunting rights to other persons than local hunters (and members of local hunting clubs), without specifying the actual meaning of the term



‘opening’.<sup>8</sup> According to the theoretical discussion above, the variation of the first variable, DV1 is most likely to be explained by socioeconomic variables such as age or education. By contrast, ‘modern’ hunters residing in urban areas of Finland are likely to be more in favour of day-card sale (DV2) and a freer access to local hunting domains (DV3) than are ‘traditional’ hunters in rural areas.

Whereas DV1 frames hunting touristic innovations instrumentally, as a way of improving employment and economy of declining regions, the other two variables concern issues that are closely linked to central tenets of hunting; the commercial use of hunting rights (day cards) and local hunting clubs’ control of hunting territory. This means that the determinants of attitudes in the former case are likely to be related to (general) socioeconomic characteristics such as education or labour-market status, and not so much with hunting-related variables. By contrast, since DV2 and DV3 address issues that are closely linked to hunters’ interests we can expect to find the main determinants among hunting-related variables, not so much among (general) socioeconomic variables.

As independent variables we used seven (categorical) variables assessing general background characteristics (e.g. age, sex, income, labour-market status etc.), two variables measuring the residence of hunters (town/countryside and hunting district) and five variables illuminating the profile of hunters (e.g. type of hunting, landownership, wildlife conservation activity etc.). In order to test our assumptions about the role of value orientation, we used an aggregate variable measuring the overall value patterns of hunters (‘modern’ vs. ‘traditional’ hunting values). This variable was constructed by performing two-step cluster analyses of the 25 items

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<sup>8</sup> The questions were: ‘I think that so-called commercial hunting or hunting tourism is beneficial to employment in the countryside’ (DV1), ‘A fruitful way of pursuing small-scale commercial hunting or hunting tourism is the selling of day cards’ (DV2) and ‘Hunting on territories leased by local hunting clubs should be made more available to other hunters than own members’ (DV3).

in the questionnaire measuring hunting motives, hunting preferences and basic hunting values.<sup>9</sup> By using these (sets of) variables we could test the impact of different (theoretically derived) factors on the attitudes to different aspects of hunting tourism.

In the actual analysis of the data, we used both descriptive and multivariate statistics. Initially we used cross tabulations (and  $\chi^2$ -statistics) in order to get an overall and preliminary understanding of the distributions of the three dependent variables as well as binary relationships to independent variables. Thereafter we used logistic regression for estimating the multivariate effect of the independent variables on the three dependent variables. Since the independent variables were categorical, the use of ordinary-least-square (OLS) estimation was ruled out. Instead we used a logistic regression model (likelihood ratio model) for estimating the effects of the independent variables on the three (continuous) dependent variables after having first dichotomised them.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, logistic regression was viewed as a more suitable technique as its results are not so dependent upon whether variables are normally distributed or not (cf. Tabachnik and Fidell 2001; Cramer 2003). In the following section the findings of the study are presented.

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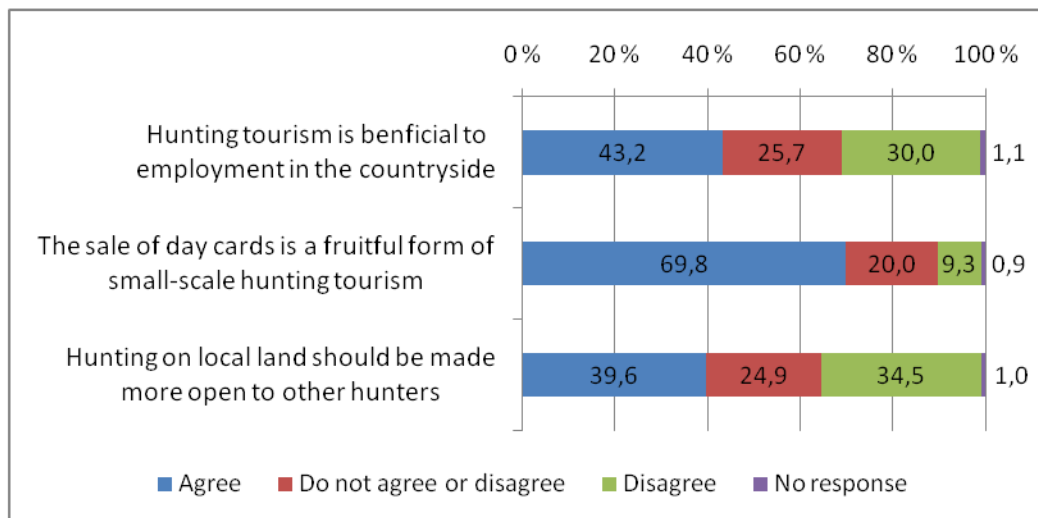
<sup>9</sup> The cluster analysis, which employed a log-likelihood distance measuring method and Akaike's information criterion (AIC) as clustering criterion, produced *two* major value clusters. The first cluster representing '*modern*' *hunting values* accentuated hunting as a leisure activity or a way of experiencing nature, ecological values, anti-materialistic hunting motives, solitary hunting or hunting in small groups. The second cluster representing '*traditional*' *hunting values*, on the other hand accentuated material aspects of hunting, hunting as a rural tradition, the reproduction/ rejuvenation of the hunters' society, social aspects of hunting etc.

<sup>10</sup> The dichotomisation was carried out by assigning the original values 1 and 2 (1= 'I totally agree', 2= 'I somewhat agree') the new value 1 (presence) and by assigning the original values 3-5 (3= 'I do not agree nor disagree', 4 = 'I somewhat disagree' and 5 = 'I totally disagree') the new value 0 (non-presence).

## Findings

How do hunters relate to the idea of hunting tourism as a way of improving employment in the countryside? And what are they positions on small-scale hunting tourism (day-card sale) and a widening of the access to local hunting areas for outside hunters? As shown in figure 2, approximately 43 per cent of the respondents were positive to hunting tourism as a principal remedy for rural areas in economic decline, whereas 30 per cent opposed this idea. 25.7 per cent reported a neutral stand and 1.1 percent of the hunters chose not to answer this question.

*Figure 2. Finnish hunters' opinions on three statements on hunting tourism (N=1193)*



As to the question of small-scale sale of hunting tourism in terms of so-called day card sale, the respondents reported a much more widespread positivism. A total of approx. 70 per cent of the hunters approved of this idea, whereas only 9.3 per cent opposed such thoughts. The number of neutral respondents was also somewhat smaller (20 per cent). Regarding the question of opening local territories to outside hunters, finally, the results showed a level of acceptance that felled far below the levels of other questions; only 39.6 per cent of the hunters

supported this alternative whereas 34.5 per cent reported a negative attitude and approximately 25 per cent were neutral. On the basis of these results we can conclude that the idea of hunting tourism is controversial to Finnish hunters and that a vast majority of hunters tend to approve of hunting tourism in terms of day-card sale, whereas the position on hunting tourism as a (principal) socioeconomic tool for revitalising rural areas are more ambivalent. A plausible reason for this discrepancy is the different nature of the two questions asked; while the first question is more imprecise and refers to the economic benefits of increased commercialisation of hunting on a general level, the second refers to a familiar subject and expresses the meaning of hunting tourism in a more concrete form. With reference to the third question, it is interesting to note that hunters ambivalence to hunting tourism tend to increase the closer one gets to core interests of hunters, such as the issue of land access and land control. Although hunters approve of day card sale, they tend to be more reluctant to widening the access to local hunting territories for outside hunters.

How then can these attitudinal patterns be explained? We proceed by first offering some bivariate explanations and then by conducting a multivariate analysis. In order to describe the bivariate statistical relationships between the dependent and the (categorical) independent variables we therefore initially performed cross tabulations with  $\chi^2$ -tests. As shown in table 3, the analysis of hunters' attitudes to hunting tourism as a way of developing rural areas (DV1) produced findings that tend to support the idea of hunting tourism (here conceived of as a remedy for rural areas in decline) as being related mainly to socioeconomic variables rather than hunting preferences.

Table 3. Hunters' attitudes to hunting tourism as a way of creating jobs in rural areas

<b>Age of hunter</b> ( $\chi^2=78.665$ , $df=10$ , $p<.000$ )	<b>N</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>+/-</b>	<b>-</b>
< 30 years	180	50.0	28.3	21.7
30-39 years	175	54.3	25.7	20.0
40-49 years	235	51.1	28.1	20.9
50-59 years	290	43.8	23.4	32.8
60-69 years	205	29.3	28.3	42.4
70- years	95	24.2	20.0	55.8
<b>Education</b> ( $\chi^2=70.039$ , $df=10$ , $p<.000$ )				
Primary education	328	31.1	26.8	42.1
Upper secondary education	70	40.0	30.0	30.0
Vocational education	435	43.9	28.5	27.6
Polytechnic/institute-level education	210	55.7	23.8	20.5
University education	110	64.5	17.3	18.2
Other	24	25.0	20.8	54.2
<b>Labour-market status</b> ( $\chi^2=74.382$ , $df=12$ , $p<.000$ )				
Student	88	50.0	33.0	17.0
Salaried employee	589	48.7	27.0	24.3
Entrepreneur	95	55.8	14.7	29.5
Farmer	56	33.9	32.1	33.9
Unemployed	41	56.1	22.0	22.0
Retired	290	29.3	24.5	46.2
Other	20	20.0	30.0	50.0
<b>Monthly gross income</b> ( $\chi^2=32.647$ , $df=8$ , $p<.000$ )				
< 1000 €	119	40.3	21.8	37.8
1000-2500 €	578	39.3	27.3	33.4
2501-4000 €	231	51.9	24.7	23.4
4001-5500 €	56	69.6	16.1	14.3
5501 € or more	36	55.6	22.2	22.2
<b>Place of residence</b> ( $\chi^2=23.740$ , $df=2$ , $p<.000$ )				
Town/population centre	588	49.0	27.0	24.0
Country side/peripheral area	592	38.3	25.0	36.7
<b>Duration of hunting license</b> ( $\chi^2=57,351$ , $df=6$ , $p<.000$ )				
1-10 years	243	49.4	27.2	23.5
11-20 years	208	57.2	22.1	20.7
21-30 years	240	49.6	24.6	25.8
31 years or more	486	31.9	28.0	40.1
<b>Landownership</b> ( $\chi^2=7.821$ , $df=2$ , $p<.020$ )				
No	652	47.1	25.3	27.6
Yes	528	39.4	26.9	33.7
<b>Wildlife conservation activity</b> ( $\chi^2=9.982$ , $df=2$ , $p<.007$ )				
No	476	48.9	24.8	26.3
Yes	704	40.1	26.8	33.1

Note: N is the number of respondents (valid cases) in each row category. The attitudinal distribution is displayed as percentages within each row. Only significant bivariate relationships (at least on the .90-level) are reported. Attitudes: + = positive, +/- = neutral, - = negative.

The positivity to this notion of hunting tourism was significantly stronger among younger, better educated and well-paid hunters than among those with higher age, lower education, and lower incomes. Also labour-market status had an effect on the attitudes of hunters;

unemployed, entrepreneurs, students and salaried employees reported a more positive view on this item whereas the negative stand was most visible among hunters with 'other' labour-market position, retired hunters and farmers. In accordance with our theoretical discussion, hunters with urban domicile and no land possessions were significantly more positive to the idea of hunting tourism as a way of revitalising rural areas, whereas rural hunters supported this idea to a much lower extent. Also the number of years as a licensed hunter and wildlife conservation activity had an influence on the attitudes; long standing license-holders were less keen on supporting the idea of hunting tourism than new hunters whereas active wildlife conservators were more sceptical to hunting tourism than were non-active persons. This can partly be explained by the fact that more experienced hunters are more aware of the pros and cons of hunting tourism, for example the problem of social and ecological sustainability, than are new and more inexperienced licensees. Another interpretation is that hunters that have devoted time and energy to conserving wildlife (such as game feeding, manufacturing of nesting boxes, and hunting of small predators) are more reluctant to sharing these wildlife resources with others through commercial channels. It is interesting, however, to note that there was no significant relationship between this depend variable and value orientation.

As expected, the role of socioeconomic variables was somewhat less prominent in the case of 'day card' sale (see table 4), but so was also the role of geographical residence, value orientation as well as hunter-related variables in general. Contrary to what we had expected, we could not find any significant connection between the attitude to day cards and geographical residence of hunters, except from the clear influence of region. Nor could we find any correlation with the value orientation of hunters; both 'modern' and 'traditional' hunters tended to support/oppose the sale of day cards in more or less the same way. It is true that the discovered associations between hunters' attitudes to day cards and education, labour-

market status and income point in the same direction as the results from the previous table, but they were not highly significant. Instead we found a significant correlation between gender and language-group affiliation on the one hand and the view on day cards on the other.

*Table 4. Hunters' attitudes to sale of day-cards*

<b>Sex</b> ( $\chi^2=9.369$ , $df=2$ , $p<.009$ )	<b>N</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>+/-</b>	<b>-</b>
Male	1102	70.7	20.6	8.7
Female	80	66.3	15.0	18.8
<b>Mother tongue</b> ( $\chi^2=18.995$ , $df=4$ , $p<.001$ )				
Finnish	1061	71.4	20.3	8.3
Swedish	119	62.2	19.3	18.5
<b>Education</b> ( $\chi^2=17.926$ , $df=10$ , $p<.056$ )				
Primary education	327	67.9	20.2	11.9
Upper secondary education	70	74.3	12.9	12.9
Vocational education	436	71.1	20.4	8.5
Polytechnic/institute-level education	211	68.7	22.3	9.0
University education	111	79.3	15.3	5.4
Other	24	54.2	41.7	4.2
<b>Labour-market status</b> ( $\chi^2=20.642$ , $df=12$ , $p<.056$ )				
Student	87	63.2	21.8	14.9
Salaried employee	591	72.1	21.0	6.9
Entrepreneur	96	77.1	14.6	8.3
Farmer	56	76.8	16.1	7.1
Unemployed	41	70.7	19.5	9.8
Retired	290	66.2	21.4	12.4
Other	20	60.0	15.0	25.0
<b>Income</b> ( $\chi^2=20.126$ , $df=8$ , $p<.010$ )				
< 1000 €	119	67.2	14.3	18.5
1000-2500 €	580	70.3	20.7	9.0
2501-4000 €	232	74.6	19.8	5.6
4001-5500 €	56	76.8	12.5	10.7
5501 € or more	36	77.8	11.1	11.1
<b>Region</b> ( $\chi^2=20.322$ , $df=4$ , $p<.000$ )				
Southern/Western Finland	688	73.3	18.6	8.1
Eastern Finland	291	72.5	18.9	8.6
Northern Finland	202	57.4	27.7	14.9

Note: N is the number of respondents (valid cases) in each row category. The attitudinal distribution is displayed as percentages within each row. Only significant (at least on the .90-level) bivariate relationships are reported. Attitudes: + = positive, +/- = neutral, - = negative.

According to table 4, Swedish-speaking hunters as well as female hunters were more negative to day cards than their Finnish-speaking hunting comrades and male hunters respectively. The strong scepticism among Swedish-speaking hunters to day cards can perhaps be explained by the fact that a major share of the Swedish speakers in the survey resided in the countryside

along the Finnish South-western coastline, which could make them more prone to conserving rural traditions and safeguarding local hunting territories against outside interests. Another conceivable explanation is that hunting territories are more fragmented in these regions, especially in the archipelago, and that the question of land access for local hunters can easily be compromised by an extensive sale of day cards. The strong correlation between day cards and region tend to partly support the hypothesis that hunters residing in densely populated areas of Finland are keener on the idea of day cards, whereas hunters in other regions are more sceptical to this kind of commercialisation of hunting. Allegedly, hunters in urban areas do not have the same access to hunting as rural hunters, therefore they are more interested in the possibility to purchase day cards that grant them hunting rights on someone else's land.

Another plausible explanation, however, is related to the special landowner structures in Northern Finland. It is fully conceivable that the stronger opposition among hunters from Northern Finland to day cards can be explained by the fact that a vast share of the land and water areas as well as hunting territories (over 30 Million acres) in Northern Finland are owned by the Finnish state and that the access to hunting on these areas have traditionally been granted and supervised by the governmental *Forest and Park Service* (Fin. Metsähallitus) and its daughter company, *The Wild North* (Fin. VilliPohjola). To hunters residing in the Northern hunting districts, the question of a further commercialisation of hunting rights in terms of day cards can therefore easily be interpreted as a potential threat, or a harmful competition, to these existing state-controlled hunting possibilities and other services that are attached to hunting, such as recreation, accommodation and wildlife conservation.



The question as to whether local hunting land should be made more accessible for other hunters than local hunters represents an important aspect of the sustainability of hunting tourism. This item is closely linked to the core values of hunting in a rural setting, such as land access, management of wildlife populations and cooperation between stakeholders, and can therefore be seen as more sensitive to the two basic theoretical dimensions of determinants that were discussed in an earlier section (cf. Rutanen et al. 2007).

Quite expectedly, the question of access to local hunting lands tended to be closely associated with the two dimensions geographical residence and value orientation, but also with preferences of the hunters (see table 5). Older and more experienced hunters, hunters residing in the countryside, landowners, hunters that hunt moose/deer or other species (such as bear and wild boar), hunters that are active wildlife conservators as well as hunters that embrace 'traditional' hunting values were less prone to support the idea of opening up local hunting grounds to outside hunters than were other categories of hunters. It is also interesting to note that Swedish-speaking hunters also in this case showed a stronger scepticism than their Finnish-speaking comrades. This suggests that the prerequisites for introducing hunting tourism differ between regions, and that cultural aspects of sustainability can matter a great deal for the success of hunting touristic prospects. Another conclusion that can be derived from table 5 is that our presuppositions about the role of geographical residence and value orientation seem to receive support. Hunters, to whom traditional hunting values are salient, who are predominantly located in the countryside, for example moose hunters, tend to display a more discouraging and rejecting attitude towards the idea of granting 'other' hunters access to their hunting territories than do other hunters. This is also likely to reflect upon their openness to new ideas like hunting touristic projects. Hunters detached from the rural arena and traditional hunting values, on the other hand, tend to foster a more positive view on the

need for openness in terms of hunting rights. What we see here can perhaps be interpreted as an interesting division in values and geographical residence that has arisen as a consequence of modernisation and continuous migration of hunters.

*Table 5. Hunters' attitudes to widening outside hunters' access to local hunting land*

<b>Age of hunter</b> ( $\chi^2=16.312$ , $df=10$ , $p<.091$ )	<b>N</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>+/-</b>	<b>-</b>
< 30 years	179	43.0	27.9	29.1
30-39 years	175	45.1	24.0	30.9
40-49 years	236	42.4	23.7	33.9
50-59 years	292	35.3	28.8	36.0
60-69 years	204	34.3	23.5	42.2
70- years	95	45.3	17.9	36.8
<b>Mother tongue</b> ( $\chi^2=16.185$ , $df=4$ , $p<.003$ )				
Finnish	1060	41.7	25.0	33.3
Swedish	119	24.4	26.9	48.7
<b>Place of residence</b> ( $\chi^2=39.066$ , $df=2$ , $p<.000$ )				
Town/population centre	588	47.1	26.4	26.5
Country side/peripheral area	593	32.9	23.9	43.2
<b>Duration of hunting license</b> ( $\chi^2=36.717$ , $df=6$ , $p<.000$ )				
1-10 years	243	40.7	28.8	30.5
11-20 years	208	53.8	20.7	25.5
21-30 years	240	42.9	25.4	31.7
31 years or more	487	32.2	25.1	42.7
<b>Landownership</b> ( $\chi^2=23.781$ , $df=2$ , $p<.000$ )				
No	651	45.5	25.2	29.3
Yes	530	33.2	25.1	41.7
<b>Main hunting form</b> ( $\chi^2=99.000$ , $df=6$ , $p<.000$ )				
Small game	496	51.8	23.6	24.6
Moose or/and deer game	517	26.5	25.9	47.6
Other species	22	13.6	31.8	54.5
Not active hunter	146	51.4	26.7	21.9
<b>Wildlife conservation activity</b> ( $\chi^2=14.636$ , $df=2$ , $p<.001$ )				
No	478	45.8	25.1	29.1
Yes	703	36.0	25.2	38.8
<b>Value orientation</b> ( $\chi^2=14.739$ , $df=2$ , $p<.001$ )				
Modern	509	45.0	24.8	30.3
Traditional	453	33.8	25.3	40.4

Note: N is the number of respondents (valid cases) in each row category. The attitudinal distribution is displayed as percentages within each row. Only significant (at least on the .90-level) bivariate relationships are reported. Attitudes: + = positive, +/- = neutral, - = negative.

Hunters, to whom hunting possibilities are part of a rural setting and traditions are salient, tend to protect their resources against conceivable outside interests that want to commercialise and exploit these resources for their own (individual) purposes. By contrast, hunters to whom hunting possibilities are scarce tend to be positive to more liberal interpretations of entitlement rules regarding hunting on the lands of local clubs (ct Willebrand 2008).

We have thus far inspected only the bivariate relationships between our three dependent variables and the independent variables. In order to test the relative significance of each set of independent variables we conducted a multivariate regression analysis.<sup>11</sup> The results are shown in table 6.

As we can see from the table, the variables education, labour-market status, geographical residence and hunting experience all had effects on the attitudes to hunting tourism as a way of developing the countryside (DV1). Moreover, the odds for being positive were somewhat higher among entrepreneurs and unemployed, and lower among farmers and workers, as compared to students. As anticipated, socio-economic variables generally scored higher than ‘theoretically’ derived variables such as value orientation, although the analysis showed that geographical residence – as expected – also influenced the attitudes to hunting tourism on this general level.

As to the question of hunters’ attitudes to day cards as a form of small-scale hunting tourism (DV2), the regression model was not very successful in discriminating visible effects as we found only two variables with a visible effect: the mother tongue of the hunter and hunting region. Accordingly, the odds for being positive to day cards were significantly lower for Swedish-speaking hunters than compared to Finnish-speaking hunters. Likewise, the odds were also significantly lower among hunters residing in the Northern region of Finland (*Lapland, Oulu and Kainuu*) than among hunters residing in the Southern/Western region.

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<sup>11</sup> The regression model was constructed as a likelihood ratio model, which means that different constellations of variables were continuously iterated until the most optimal model in terms of stability and relevance occurred. Therefore the regression model only produced coefficients for the variables that effectively contributed to the model while omitting all other variables.

Table 6. Multivariate logistic regression analysis of Finnish hunters' attitudes to three different aspects of hunting tourism (likelihood ratio models)

<b>Independent variables:</b>	<b>DV1</b>	<b>DV2</b>	<b>DV3</b>
<b>Mother tongue</b> (Finnish=ref.)			
Swedish		-0.712 (.254)**	-0.693 (.288)*
<b>Education</b> (primary education=ref.)			
Upper secondary education	.310 (.347)		
Vocational education	.286 (.204)		
Polytechnic/institute-level education	.787 (.234)***		
University education	1.137 (.311)***		
Other	-0.267 (.699)		
<b>Labour-market status</b> (student=ref.)			
Salaried employee	-0.347 (.395)		
Entrepreneur	.486 (.471)		
Farmer	-0.246 (.518)		
Unemployed	.167 (.534)		
Retired	-0.693 (.442)		
Other	-1.588 (.769)*		
<b>Place of residence</b> (town/pop. centre=ref.)			
Country side/peripheral area	-0.366 (.158)*		-0.657 (.155)***
<b>Region</b> (Southern/Western Finland=ref.)			
Eastern Finland		-0.103 (.202)	
Northern Finland		-0.767 (.211)***	
<b>Duration of hunting license</b> (1-10 years=ref.)			
11-20 years	.393 (.249)		.484 (.243)*
21-30 years	.171 (.238)		.150 (.230)
31 years or more	-0.367 (.240)		-0.201 (.216)
<b>Main hunting form</b> (small game=ref.)			
Moose or/and deer game			-1.074 (.164)***
Other species			-2.107 (.773)**
Not active hunter			-0.191 (.252)
<b>Value orientation</b> (modern=ref.)			
Traditional			-0.178 (.084)*
<b>Constant</b>	-0.032 (.401)	1.240 (.116)***	.409 (.194)*
-2 Log likelihood	1062.558	955.843	1014.101
Cox & Snell R Square	.101	.024	.128
Nagelkerke R Square	.135	.035	.172
N	834	837	837

Note: coefficients are given as non-exponential regression coefficients  $\beta$ . The standard errors of the estimates are given in parentheses. Levels of significance: \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ , \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ , \* =  $p < 0.05$ . DV1=Hunting tourism is beneficial for employment on the countryside, DV2=day-card sale is a good way of pursuing small-scale hunting tourism, DV3=Hunting lands of local clubs should be opened to other hunters than local members.

Also in the case of 'outside' hunters' rights to hunt on local hunting land (DV3), we found limited number of visible effects. Quite expectedly, however, we found that the odds for being positive to DV3 significantly decrease if the hunter resides in the countryside as opposed to urban hunters. It was also interesting to note that the odds for positivity was significantly lower if the respondent hunted moose/deer or 'other' species (e.g. bear, wild

boar etc.) and if he was orientated towards traditional hunting values. Also the number of years that a hunter has held hunting license tends to have a detrimental, but not significant, effect on the positivity towards the idea of opening up hunting on local lands. The analysis thus provides evidence that support the hypothesis of the role of geographical residence and value orientation on attitudes to hunting tourism. However, these effects become visible only on a concrete level, not when hunting tourism as a principal idea is discussed. The 'real' controversy of hunting tourism thus reveals itself first when we address practical implications of the phenomenon. Whereas the attitude towards DV1 and DV2 seemed rather universal and accepting, the results indicate that hunters tend to differ among themselves when it comes to making the necessary practical changes in order to facilitate hunting tourism, either on a principal level or in the form of small-scale day card sale.

### **Conclusions and discussion**

The aim of this paper was to investigate Finnish hunters' attitudes towards hunting tourism, both as a principal tool for revitalising rural areas in decline and specifically as sale of day cards or expanding outside hunters' rights to hunt on land belonging to local hunting clubs. On the basis of modernisation theory and earlier research we anticipated that hunters' attitudes to hunting tourism were likely to be divided between those supporting and those opposing these ideas, and that these attitudinal patterns were to be explained by a combination of geographical residence and value orientation.

The results of the study largely confirm the first hypothesis, whereas the latter receive only partly support. Accordingly, two main conclusions can be drawn from the study. Firstly, it points at a widespread ambivalence among Finnish hunters towards the virtues of hunting

tourism. The attitudes and to this particular phenomenon vary depending on which kind of aspect of hunting tourism one refers to and to whom the questions are put. Hunting tourism is thus seen *both as an opportunity and a threat* to hunters. A vast majority of the respondents in the study were positive to day-card sale, whereas the ideas of hunting tourism as a general remedy for rural areas as well as widening outside hunters access to local hunting land were met with greater scepticism.

Accordingly, to some hunters (predominantly well-off, younger ones residing in populations centres) hunting tourism is conceived of as a potentially fruitful economic remedy for peripheral areas as it is likely to improve employment and increase the economic turnover of both commercial (hunting tourism) enterprises and local hunting communities. However, to other hunters the idea of an intensified hunting tourism is likely to trigger fears that traditional hunting values, local traditions and local hunters will be crowded out by profit interest and outside hunters with fat wallets. This is believed to not only endanger the sustainability of the wildlife population but also to undermine the social community and cooperation between local stakeholders. This becomes especially tangible when the question of land access is addressed; a significant number of hunters opposed the idea of increased land access for outside hunters by implicitly arguing that this would decrease hunting possibilities of local hunters and bring with it strange elements to hunting, as an example foreign ideas of trophy hunting or an instrumental attitude towards nature and wildlife. The results thus far support the findings reported in previous research both on an international (e.g. Willebrand 2008; Manfredo 2008; Radder 2005; Milbourne 2003; Stedman and Heberlein 2001; Heberlein and Willebrand 1998; Kellert 1996; Decker et al. 1996) and national arena (Rutanen et al. 2007; Heino and Holopainen 2003). According to these earlier studies hunting tourism can be very

controversial, not only to the hunters themselves but also to stakeholder such as landowners, wildlife conservators, environmentalists and the general public.

Secondly, we found that the explanations to hunters' opinions on hunting tourism tend to differ depending on which notion of hunting tourism we employ. The attitudes to hunting tourism as a principal tool for rural development (DV1) could primarily be explained by socioeconomic factors, such as age, education, labour-market status or income (ct Willebrand 2008). Consequently, younger and better educated hunters with higher incomes as well as students, entrepreneurs and unemployed were significantly more positive to hunting tourism in this sense than other hunters. The bivariate analysis also indicated correlations between this variable and hunting experience and preferences, geographical residence and landownership but these relationships vanished when we controlled for the effect of other variables. As to the second dependent variable, the view on day card sale (DV2), the regression model failed to produce significant explanations with relevance to our theoretical framework, save the strong influence of language-group affiliation and region. It is true that the bivariate analysis produced a number of medium or highly significant correlations between this actual dependent variable and mostly socioeconomic variables (education, labour-market status and income) that points in the same direction as in the case of DV1, but these relations failed to materialise in the multivariate regression analysis. Interestingly though, we found that Swedish-speaking hunters and hunters from Northern Finland were more negative to day card sale as a small-scale hunting tourism than other hunters. The only dependent variable that succeeded in producing correlations with relevance to our theoretical presuppositions about the influence of geographical residence and value orientation was the third variable: the attitude to widening access to local hunting land for outside hunters (DV3). According to the findings, hunters resident on the countryside and to whom a so-called traditional value

orientation is salient are significantly more negative to widening the land access for outside hunters than urban hunters embracing a so-called modern value orientation (ct Rutanen et al. 2007; Heino and Holopainen 2003). The study also showed that younger hunters and small-game hunters, as an example, are more positive to this issue than are more experienced hunters and moose hunters. We can therefore conclude that hunters' attitudes to hunting tourism are linked to place of residence and value orientation, although these relationships only materialise when more concrete issues with close relevance to hunters come in to question. But it also seems evident that geographical residence and value orientation are not the sole determinants here, since the influence of socioeconomic factors also is important (ct Willebrand 2008; Stedman and Heberlein 2001).

In this study we have tried to capture some of the problems concerning hunting tourism and especially the legitimacy that this phenomenon enjoys in the eyes of Finnish hunters. It seems clear that the fate of every existing or future form of commercial use of wildlife is closely linked to whether a sufficient degree of sustainability (in every meaning of the word) can be achieved and upheld (ct Morgera and Wingard 2009; Ebner 2007). This study shows that hunters' attitudes to this phenomenon are divided and related to socioeconomic factors, geographical residence of hunters as well as their value orientation. On the basis of this kind of knowledge the introduction of hunting tourism can be facilitated at the same time as sustainability can be achieved, for example by taking the different opinions into consideration when planning, evaluation or marketing different forms of hunting tourism prospects. The present study can thus be seen as a pioneering inquiry into Finnish hunting sociology in general and the legitimacy of hunting tourism among hunters in particular insofar as it is the first quantitative survey on a national basis that addresses the topic of hunting tourism. Moreover, it is, to our knowledge, the first study that seeks to elaborate on the deeper



theoretical patterns with relevance to the legitimacy of hunting tourism in a Finnish context. There remain, however, many unanswered questions here as well as needs for further research; the present study is insofar only a 'scratch on the surface'. Most importantly, we need to increase the bulk of comparative data in order to make cross-country comparisons possible and to develop refined tools for assessing the legitimacy of hunting tourism that are congruent with respect to different countries. As far as the Finnish case is concerned, more thorough inquiries into the role of cultural and value-related factors as well as their effect on the legitimacy of hunting tourism are warranted. Why, as an example, did the present study report a significantly stronger negativism to day card sale among Swedish-speaking hunters than among other hunters? We also need to work out more sophisticated tools for assessing the impact of value orientation. A fruitful prospect in this sense would perhaps be to cross-fertilise the findings from quantitative studies with findings from qualitative studies, such as interviews with hunters from different cultural, geographical, social and economic contexts.

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