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Blood, Mud, and Money: Place and Public Land Conflicts in the Shawnee Hills

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BLOOD, MUD, AND MONEY: PLACE AND PUBLIC LAND CONFLICTS IN THE SHAWNEE HILLS

by

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A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology
In the Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
December, 2013

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DISSERTATION APPROVAL

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Karen Wolf

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the field of Anthropology

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October 28, 2013

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

KAREN WOLF, for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in ANTHROPOLOGY, Presented on SEPTEMBER 4, 2013, at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

TITLE: BLOOD, MUD, AND MONEY: PUBLIC LAND CONFLICTS IN THE SHAWNEE HILLS

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. David Sutton

This dissertation examines conflicts involving the use of public land for both extractive resources and recreational purposes in Southern Illinois from an anthropological perspective. These conflicts are examined in terms of place, western ideas of nature and culture, and the debate concerning conservation versus preservation. The beginning point for this work was the question of whether or not place building influences conflicts over public land. The conflicts that this work encompasses are logging, hunting, use of off-road vehicles, equestrian, and hydraulic fracturing. My goal was to look at different recreational conflicts of Southern Illinois and determine how issues of place, nature and culture, and conservation versus preservation ethics play into those conflicts. What I found is that all of these factors are inextricably intertwined and that both sides of these conflicts are informed by the identities and place-making of those involved and the perception of those identities and places.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to Chris...

eye on the objective, semper.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many who deserve my thanks for aiding me in this dissertation. First and foremost, to my family, Chris, Olivia and Jill for their extreme patience, support, inspiration, education and place. To my mom and dad for both funding my initial college experience as well as helping both economically and with great patience in all of my many graduate school years. To my committee for encouragement and guidance on issues both great and small, especially David Sutton and Susan Ford. I would like to thank all of those whom I have talked with over the years about Southern Illinois and what makes this space a place for those that live here.

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CHAPTER I

ORIGINS

My research addresses how different groups of people use and conceive of public lands, including flora and fauna, and how these conceptions shape the worldviews, identities and consequently, the actions, of these groups. My primary goal was to look at different recreational conflicts in one area of the world (the Shawnee National Forest of southern Illinois, USA) and determine how issues of place, nature and culture, and conservation versus preservation ethics play into those conflicts. As individuals in different groups use the same space, how does their ideology and identity shape the ways they define meaningful place out of that area and how does this affect their behavior? My goal is to fully understand both how a cultural landscape is formed, and how the interactions of various user groups affect the use, management, policy and conservation of an area.

Many public lands in the United States generally include large areas that represent “nature” in some generic aspect, or a purported natural environment free from significant human alteration (although certainly there are historically significant areas of human activity that are also protected public space). Anthropologists have delved into the realm of human-environment relationships in an attempt to explore both human ideas and ideals of nature and culture. Partly, this has been in an effort to resolve societal conflicts between human overuse of the environment and the simultaneous wish to protect the environment, both implicitly and explicitly (Ingold, 2000 and 2008; Kaika, 2005; Moran, 2006). Most scholars agree that there is no universal opposition of nature and culture; however, investigating possible universal conceptions of nature and culture continue to be relevant in the field of anthropology.

A major component of this study is whether the categories (nature and culture) hold across groups within the same society and within the same small geographic area. What different conceptions of nature and culture do those who make use of public lands have? For example, Ingold (2000) challenges the classical anthropological view that cultural meanings are imposed on a separate and complacent natural world. He suggests that both humans and nonhumans interact in the creation of their relationships, and furthermore that these relationships are achieved through complete engagement: there are *no* passive components. This view reflects no distinction; there is no nature and no culture, regardless of the categories that humans may impose on the world.

While Ingold suggests that there is no real separation between nature and culture, he also proposes that there are differences in how people perceive the environment (Ingold, 2008). A modernized view of the environment, visualized as a globe, is the perception of the environment as separate from ourselves, viewed from afar. The other view is that of a sphere, which places humans within their environment (Ingold, 2008). Carrier (2003) expounds on this idea, as well as the assumption that the more urban a society is the more globe-like, or more disconnected from nature, as opposed less urban, more sphere-like, and more environmentally connected. Carrier (2003) posits that while this assumption has some validity, it does not always hold true and can often make it difficult to identify diversity within societies. This project offers the opportunity to look at this assumption and the human-environmental relationship that it describes, in a single diverse geographic area.

Conflicts over the use of nature and natural resources are not recent phenomenon in the United States. For example, in the antebellum South, the depletion of game due to over-

hunting led to social conflicts between the aristocratic “sporthunters” and the poor subsistence level “pothunters” (Proctor, 2002). More current hunting conflicts have been documented in the North East United States. One illustration, cited by Dizard (2003), involved anti-hunting protesters hiking down popular hunting trails banging pots and pans to scare away game. A variety of people use and hold some stake in public lands across the United States and in Southern Illinois. This project will focus on just one subset of stakeholders, those who utilize public lands for recreational purposes such as: day hikers, backpackers, hunters, rock climbers and equestrians as well as the federal and state employees who mediate and attempt to regulate “nature” experiences. There are many examples of conflicts concerning use of the Shawnee Forest, such as the extent of equestrian use inside the Lusk Creek Wilderness Area, which was in litigation for nearly ten years (DeNeal, 2008). Other examples of local conflicts include trail designation and wilderness area designation (see Shawnee Trail Conservancy et al. v. United States Department of Agriculture et al.) as well as use of all-terrain-vehicles (ATVs). One caveat to understanding these cultural conflicts is the constantly changing and debatable definitions of the terms nature, culture, wilderness, conservation, and environmentalism. For example, what defines wilderness and what should be considered a wilderness area (Nelson, 1998; Nash, 2001)? Is a city park considered nature? Are conservation and environmentalism the same (Rothfels, 2002)?

The prominence of environmentalism in contemporary global discourse has caused many anthropologists to explore the relationship between “natural” landscapes and those who inhabit them, even if this inhabitation is on a part-time basis. The primary foci of this study are the relationship between humans and the environment (ecological anthropology) and the

exploration of the conflict between groups that shapes policy which controls public land, and the role that landscapes play in constructing worldview and identity and vice versa.

The setting of ethnography has always been important to the field of anthropology; like laying the location of a novel, anthropologists mention where in the world they are, whether the environment is forest or rainforest, urban or rural, and so on; background information that assists the reader in understanding the action. However, the study of landscape has become a thing unto itself: many ethnographers have seen that the land on which people live is also the landscape in which they live. "In short, the landscape is the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them" (Ingold, 1993: 156). Engagement and history, even the simple naming of environmental attributes and features can turn a space into a place (Basso, 1996; Darby, 2000). Landscapes can be a means of constructing identities just as humans literally and figuratively construct landscapes through both action and inaction. Not only is landscape important in the construction of individual identities, but also community identity (Davenport and Anderson, 2005). Places are not simply background. The land in which we move is not a painted set, or a snapshot, but rather plays an active role. Landscape is constantly being shaped and reshaped through the action and inaction of all that plays a part of it: people, animals, plants, weather. As anthropologists explore the debates over the relationship of places and identities bringing the ethnographic "setting" from the background into the foreground, problems with the traditional anthropological treatment of place are revealed.

Basso (1996) states that most people tend to take the landscape for granted unless they find themselves out of their own place. He goes on to state that due to the lack of focus

concerning landscapes there is little known about the way in which “diverse peoples are alive to the world around them...” (106). In this project I interviewed long-term local residents, transient student populations, as well as short-term visitors – diverse peoples inhabiting the same landscape, important for identifying issues of use and conflict and conceptions of nature and culture.

Ecology anthropology has been moving in new directions in the last decade, with an increased focus on issues of conservation, control, exploitation and manipulation of the environment (West, 2005; Moran, 2006; Nazarea, 2006). These new directions have led the discipline toward more action-oriented, politically conscious interpretations of environmental conflicts (Milton, 1999; West, 2005; Fairhead and Leach, 2008). For example, West (2005) fears that ecological anthropology has the habit of missing the “aesthetic, poetic, social, and moral” aspects of human relation to the environment (634). This study further explores these new directions within the discipline of ecological anthropology by examining the apparent conflicts between different recreational user-groups and the use and control of wild spaces in Southern Illinois. I also look at attempts within the community to solve these conflicts and the implementation of policy.

In order to understand the conflicts among those who engage with and shape the landscape of Southern Illinois, it is important to consider what the landscape means to them and how their identity is tied to environment and in what ways. How do people who use this land view themselves and the wild landscape in which they move? How invested in the wild places of Southern Illinois are the people who move within it? What influence does the landscape have on them, i.e. does it inform just a small portion of their lives? Not only will

answering these questions add to the knowledge of how people engage with their environment, but may also facilitate dialogue among these groups.

There's No Nature Here

I am originally from a place of concrete and human noise. Sure, in my middle to upper-middle class suburban upbringing there were trees, shrubs, and highly manicured playgrounds; but there were no places that anyone would have remotely been able to call "wild." When I was about eight years old, the storm drain at the end of my family's block was about as wild as it got and my friends and I explored it like a last frontier. We went on family vacations, but neither of my parents were back to nature types and my mother always said that her idea of camping was "from one hotel to the next." As I grew older, I discovered the few "forest preserves" which ring the city of Chicago - most of which could be explored completely in a few short hours. Growing up in my world any tree was any tree; any forest was any forest. There were plants and grass and at times all of it seemed gray. I had seen wilder lands in photographs and on television, but these locations did not enter my world on any more intimate level, except on the level of my curiosity.

Perhaps it was this dearth of raw nature that caused me to become so fascinated with finding it. So fascinated, in fact, that the day after I turned 18, I left my Midwestern, Chicago suburban town and headed west, to where, I was convinced, nature waited. As Jim Morrison

said “The west is the best” and in my mind it had to be so. This was by no means an individual urge. It was a sentiment shared by many who co-habited the suburban “wasteland” and desired escape and adventure. If a person wanted to find “nature” or “wilderness” they would have to at least drive for several days; actually, the farther the better. To get on a plane and venture to a foreign country was even better and would grant the intrepid suburban escapee even more esteem in the eyes of their left-behind peers. With this esteem came a certain amount of pressure for those less traveled. The “coolest” people were the ones who managed to escape and find nature, which of course meant freedom, for good. For all the unlucky ones back in the suburbs knew, these heroes could be living in foreign suburbs. Many would ultimately return, once they needed their parents to baby-sit the new grand kids.

After my initial run for freedom, by which I mean nature, and despite roving around the country for several years and finding a great deal of what I perceived as wild space, I was also reluctantly compelled to come back to the Midwest. Not for babysitting help, but to go to a college I could afford. Ironically, it was in Illinois (a place with a reputation for two types of topography: flat farmland and city) where I really began to explore the concept of nature and nature’s place in modern American society. I was all of twenty-two years old and I was a self-proclaimed environmentalist, an off-and-on vegetarian and avid believer in animal rights. It was still a long time until I understood that many of the ideas I had about these labels that I had placed upon myself were a product of my nature-deprived, urban upbringing and the rudimentary understanding of these concepts that comes from living in such a semi-sterile setting. My identity as an “environmentalist” was assembled in a space devoid of actual interaction with wilderness, my concept of what it was to live with nature was superficial

because I had never actually accomplished it. My transient lifestyle and suburban upbringing afforded me only a shallow look at the personal labels I had taken on as major parts of my identity. Through looking at nature through the eyes of an anthropologist and a resident of my place, I have been able to look more deeply at these concepts and my adherence to them.

There was one crucial difference in where I originally left from, the suburbs, and where I came back to that helped me to both ask and attempt to answer certain questions about my own identity, and consequentially, write my dissertation concerning the identities of others in this area. On a map of the United States the difference does not seem overly large; I arrived 350 miles south of where I had left. Only a five hour drive, but the difference could not be more profound. Culture and climate, people and place, extreme Southern Illinois is nothing like the suburbs of Chicago. One thing was certain: by no stretch of my twenty-two-year-old imagination did I think I would find what I had been looking for in all that time “on the road.” At that stage in my life I would not have believed that I would find my “place” in Illinois, or anywhere near it.

Place and Conflict

The concept of place and the difference between space and place was the starting point of this project. I had traveled a long distance to find my place and once found I realized I had the instinct to guard that place from others who would impose their own identity on the same physical space. Whether it's the peace and quiet of my neighborhood being disrupted by

motocross dirt bikes and four-wheelers, or arriving at the place in the forest where I hunt mushrooms only to find others have been there first and left only beer cans behind, I have experienced small scale conflicts of this region first hand. As my residency in Southern Illinois proceeded, I became aware of several conflicts over the use of public land that were taking place in the region and I began to wonder if attachment to place, or lack of attachment, inform these conflicts for other residents as well. To begin to answer this question, I had to revisit how I began to build place in Southern Illinois and how I came to be aware of these conflicts. This did not happen until I experienced a conflict on a personal, and slightly painful, level.

Horse Muck

In my life, in my place, spring break has meant the beginning of backpacking season. It does not really matter if it is sixty degrees or thirty; this is the time when I begin to live outside again. It was also the time, a few years ago, that the conflict between equestrian users of public land and hikers and backpackers became a personal issue. Before this particular trip, I had my opinions, but they were almost completely academic. Trail erosion was bad, heavy equestrian use was one of the main causes of erosion on trails, and therefore equestrian use should be regulated and limited, but I had also been horseback riding and enjoyed the experience.

I remember I was very excited the first morning of the trip. Everything was ready, my dogs were excited and it looked like the forecast was good. The first part of the hike was

beautiful and peaceful. We stopped for a quick bite at a place we call the Elbow, due to its appearance on a topographic map. In reality, it is a place where a rocky drainage empties into a lake by way of a fifteen foot waterfall. The climate of Southern Illinois is such that the creeks and drainages run during the winter and early spring. Then for the rest of the year, water tends to be less of a sure thing. In particularly wet years there may be running water almost all year. Sometimes, as the summer and fall wear on, there is only standing water, in pools and the deeper places among the rocks. Sometimes, in the driest years, there is nothing but dust or cracked clay, and struggling mosses and lichens. Because this trip was in early spring there was still quite a bit of water in the Elbow drainage, making footing slightly treacherous (figure 1).

We had our snack and were ready to get back on the trail. I strapped on my pack and barreled ahead to cross the drainage. In my excitement I forgot to watch where I put my feet - the number one rule - and stepped on the slickest spot in the creek. Down I went. I remember going backwards and somehow still forward at the same time. Needless to say, that was the end of our hike that day and the end of the backpacking trip. I could not put any weight on my ankle at all. However, we had come in about three miles and I would somehow have to get myself back out those same three miles. The way in had been mostly downhill so the way back would be mostly uphill. We stayed for the night and the next day my partner made two walking sticks that I could use as crude crutches.

As these crutches were mostly just stout walking sticks it was a mostly hopping affair; set the sticks about one foot in front of me, and hop towards and past them. To make matters worse the night before it had begun to rain and continued off and on through the next day, turning the trail that we had easily hiked down the morning before into a mud chute. The trail

was a spur of one of the most used trails in Southern Illinois: the River to River Trail, which also happens to be a great example of a multiple use trail in Southern Illinois (trails where hiking, biking, and equestrian use are all permitted, see figure 2). In places it has been eroded into a V-shaped cleft, which in dry weather simply feels like you are hiking in a mini-tunnel. However, in wet weather the situation changes drastically. When I write about the trails becoming muddy that is not really doing the situation justice. All of the top soil has been stripped away from this type of trail and what is left is a combination of clay and stone: the word quagmire may be more fitting.

I found that every time I placed my “crutches” onto the trail they would sink down into the muck anywhere from three to eight inches. I would hop past the crutches and have to pull them out of the muck from behind me. Needless to say, this was the most exhausting experience of my life. The distance that took us about forty minutes to walk in took about three hours to walk out. Trying to hike with a full pack on through deep, thick mud that is created by a combination of rain water and horse urine, is not a pleasant experience. Many times the mud pits are so wide, and the sides so steep, that there is no way around them and you just have to do your best to stay to the shallower sides, and try not to get stuck. Eventually, we did get back and I found that my ankle was fractured. Although I realized that I was capable of more physical strain than I had previously thought, this experience also brought the equestrian conflict of the Shawnee to a much more personal level.

Theory and Practice

This particular conflict, equestrian use of the forest, will be discussed more fully in chapter VII. I relate this experience here not to say that one side of this particular conflict is right and another is wrong – as I have stated I do enjoy horseback riding - but to demonstrate two ideas that are crucial to the work that follows. The first is to show how this particular conflict became personal to me. How it was transferred from an academic knowledge to an experiential knowledge, and consequently how I extrapolated this experience to other conflicts in the region. The second is to demonstrate, right from the beginning, that I am not a completely objective observer. There was, and is, a reason why I have chosen to write about this topic. Southern Illinois has become my place and the use of the forest directly affects my place.

My interest stemmed from the above experience but is framed by the academic questions and principles of socio-cultural anthropology (place and identity, nature and culture, etc.). This work encompasses how different groups of people use and conceive of public lands in Southern Illinois and how these conceptions shape the worldviews, identities and consequently the actions of these groups. My goal was to understand both how this cultural landscape is formed, and how the interactions of these user groups affect the use, management, policy, conservation and preservation of this area. Throughout this work I ask the question, does attachment to place inform the conflicts over public land in Southern Illinois? There are many different groups that make use of this landscape, all of which have different goals, agendas, and worldviews, which often appear as conflicting. It is this conflict of identity,

the forced co-occupation of public lands, and the resulting management of the area that is the focus of the following work.

A variety of people use and hold some stake in public lands across the United States and in Southern Illinois, both for corporate and recreational purposes. While this project primarily focuses on one subset of stakeholders, recreationists, I did include two instances of conflict concerning the corporate use of public land in the region (chapters IV and VIII). Recreational users consist of those who utilize public lands for recreational purposes. This includes activities such as day hiking, backpacking, hunting, rock-climbing and equestrian use, among others. I also include, where possible, the federal and state employees who mediate and attempt to regulate these “nature” experiences.

There are many examples of conflicts concerning use of public land in Southern Illinois, such as the above-mentioned equestrian use of the forest. Conflict over public land, of one sort or another, has been constant since the first piece of land became protected and its use regulated. Why should the land be protected and who is it being protected from? What types of activities are permissible and which are not? Who decides? The debate of these questions create flashpoints of conflicts both on an individual scale, (between one user and another) and on a larger scale (in the form of lawsuits, protests and counter-protests). This range of scale is presented in the following chapters, which focus on the major conflicts individually.



Figure 1: The top of the Elbow Drainage.



Figure 2: A section of the River to River Trail where equestrian erosion is apparent.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Data Collection

For this project, I used many different data collection methods including both nonparticipation and participation techniques and formal and informal interviews. I engaged in participant observation, including accompanying sources on a hunt and butchering of a deer. I went on several hiking trips, and rode horses on public land. This allowed for detailed observation of how people interacted with the places and spaces around them. Joining these activities did not only help me to better acquaint myself with these individuals and the communities of which they are a part, but also assisted in clarifying how knowledge, history, and power influence worldviews and informs both sides of the conflicts described in the following chapters.

Considering time and economic constraints my participant observation included a limited pool of participants for formal interviews. I conducted long, formal interviews with ten participants, and informal interviews with an additional thirty participants. I began with a small number of individuals and then applied snowball sampling, or collecting additional contacts from this original small group (Trotter and Schensul 1998). With this broader number of participants I engaged in both structured and unstructured interviews and obtained a broader view of user-group worldviews as well as community conflicts. I began by inquiring into these individuals' personal histories and their engagement with place, the environment and their

interests in the public lands of Southern Illinois. I then moved on to more specific questions concerning their views of nature, their general knowledge of the local environment, current conflicts within the area, and the policies and laws which govern the use of public lands, and their ideas concerning their group's identity and their views on other user-groups within the community. From these interviews and activities I then chose a more limited number of participants that appeared to especially typify the opinions and perspectives of their self-identified groups (such as transient environmentalist, or local ATV rider).

I was met by a certain amount of suspicion and hostility by certain individuals due to past and present conflicts and the suspicion and confrontation that occurred during those conflicts. My affiliation with the University seemed, for some individuals, to place me on a specific side, as many people that I approached automatically placed the University community in the environmentalist/tree-hugger category. For example, when I approached hunters I was asked if I was an "animal rights extremist."

I also collected information from area newsletters and websites, such as the "Friends of Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge Newsletter," (Crab Orchard support group), "Prairie State Outdoors" (hunting and fishing), "The Newsletter of the Shawnee Group Sierra Club" (environmental organization), "Shawnee Trails Conservancy" (equestrian organization) and many others. I also collected data from traditional news media sources such as newspapers both local and national.

In addition to the above techniques I also conducted informal interviews with people that I would meet on public land while participating in their activities. This offered me a

different insight into how those who use Southern Illinois' public lands think and respond to the conflicts of the area, as will be discussed in later chapters.

Backyard Anthropology

The choice of anthropologists to work in the country, or region, in which they live is sometimes referred to as "backyard anthropology" (Creswell, 2003). The reasons that many socio-cultural anthropologists are choosing this methodology are many and as varied as their subject matter. In respect to this project, the advantage of researching conflict within the Shawnee are both the limited size of the forest and the diverse aspects of the community, both of which are discussed below. This type of anthropology is most often associated with applied or practice anthropology which can be defined as the use of anthropology to attempt to solve societal problems or conflicts (Townsend, 2009). In this sense backyard anthropology is attempt to explore and solve problems in one's own community. This can be a tricky approach to anthropological study as it can often lead to bias unless steps are taken to prevent such bias, such as clarifying the researcher's role within the community and subject matter and including voices that counter the main themes when possible (Creswell, 2003). However, some outside the field have this opinion of all anthropology in general: "Anthropology is like the Bible. You can use it to support any claim about humans and Nature you wish" (Foreman, 1998: 401).

Another methodology, autoethnography, can also be used to describe the present work. Autoethnography has been described as both ethnography and autobiography at the same time

(Chang, 2008), so that it is an ethnographic piece that takes the researcher's own experience into consideration.

Like all paradigms in anthropology, the merits and faults of this type of methodology have been debated at length. For example, some have described the methodology as "essentially lazy - literally lazy and also intellectually lazy" (Delamont, 2007:2), as well as the danger of leaning toward solipsism (Anderson, 2006). While the first may be true for some who have utilized this approach, it is unlikely that all should be characterized as "lazy." In fact, I would posit that introspection and true reflection are some of the more challenging aspects to autoethnography. Autoethnography has been associated with turns in both anthropology and sociology towards greater reflexivity and the heightened presence of emotion in ethnography (Anderson, 2006).

In terms of the present project I have two thoughts on the critique of autoethnography. The first is that there are no environmental conflicts that are not highly charged emotionally. Environmental policies and conflicts are reflections of ideology and identity, politics and religion and therefore are emotive at their very center. Living and being connected to Southern Illinois offers me, and consequently the reader, a perspective that comes from a place of passion. It is this passion that allows a deeper insight into the conflicts discussed in this volume. As long as this passion is tempered with both disclosure of my position and the realization of the interrelationships involved, autoethnography should not be dismissed as self-indulgence. I would go further and say that it is recognizable passion that is missing from many works in anthropology. Passion, in a field which studies humanity, is essential for true understanding.

The second point I would make is that while I am connected to Southern Illinois, I am not actively involved in any groups or associations, either at the present time or in the past. Further, I was not actively involved in any of the conflicts, protests or demonstrations that this work depicts. I have had my own nature experiences, which I share as an insider's perspective, but the vast majority of the information that is related in this work was previously unknown to me. So while autoethnography utilizes my own interest and connection to place as a beginning point, it goes beyond my own knowledge and perspective to that of the anthropological other: "Autoethnography is grounded in self-experience but reaches beyond it as well" (Anderson, 2006:386).

To further understand these conflicts and disclose my place within them, I have looked at how user-groups define themselves and the "others" with whom they come into contact: how their worldviews, identities and sense of place are formed and in turn how these concepts help to shape the landscape of Southern Illinois. This study focuses on the central and eastern section of the Shawnee Hills, including a large section of the Shawnee National Forest (265,616 acres total), Giant City (400 acres) and Dixon Springs (801 acres) State Parks, and Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge (43,890 acres). By focusing on this area I have had access to a diverse array of people from several backgrounds that all fall into three loose categories: locals, transplants and transients. Locals are those that have lived in the area from birth and often for many generations. Transplants are those who are originally from elsewhere, but have lived in the area for an extended amount of time. It is this category that I would fall into having lived in the area for over sixteen years. In Southern Illinois transplants are often from the Chicago Metropolitan Area, and many times have at least some experience or connection to Southern

Illinois University Carbondale, the major university in the area. The transient category is mostly comprised of students attending the university and often only reside in the area for a very short time, relatively. These three groups are self-identifying and have very different perspectives on environmental conflicts in the area, which will become apparent in later chapters.

Research and the Shawnee Forest

The Shawnee Forest, along with the other forms of public lands, is one of the smallest areas of national forest in the country. This means that the various groups of people involved in different types of recreation and from different backgrounds often come into frequent contact with each other. This forced co-occupation increases the incidence of both small and large-scale conflicts, as well as provides a manageable scale from which to model conflicts that occur on a more national scale. This diversity of recreational users also speaks to underlying economic, political and urban-rural differences, which has national applications. When I began this project I thought that I would categorize recreational users into groups based on their activity. While some of the interviews I conducted and the activities that I participated in were very simple to categorize, others were not. In the end, these categories were not helpful as most participants identified in other ways. I should also state that there were many people who I wished to interview, but was unable to due to their suspicion of this project. The largest problem came from equestrians as will be explained in chapter VII. When this occurred I used websites and social media to include those experiences and perspectives where possible.

Through choosing to work in Southern Illinois I add to the work of other backyard anthropologists who work within the United States. However, that is not the only goal of this project. By offering a unique view of these conflicts it is my hope that those involved will gain a new perspective when dealing with the “other” side (a truly anthropological goal). These goals make anthropology not only more relevant and tangible, but more accessible to those outside the field.

Finally, environmental conflict is one of the most important issue in today’s global society. There is no part of the world that has not been affected by environmental degradation; however, the United States is in a unique position to influence environmental policy throughout the rest of the world. There is no better way to influence policy than through our own actions, yet all too often, the conflicts between citizens of the United States are not resolved to anyone’s satisfaction. The question then becomes, how can we export sound environmental policy if our own wild places are being contested every day? By working within the United States, I intend to shed light on local conflicts and how they have, or have not, been resolved. By working in my own backyard, I hope to deepen my and my community’s understanding of these conflicts, and how they have helped to shape and solidify my notions of place and identity.

CHAPTER III

THE SPACE AND HISTORY OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

Southern Illinois is an unexpected oasis of topography and climate in a state renowned for its farmland, its windy and cold weather, and its one major city. I did not know that Southern Illinois was any different than Northern or Central Illinois until I began to research all of the colleges in my home state. The first time I visited the area, my two future roommates and I decided to take a short drive. After only about ten minutes outside of town we found ourselves on a forested hillside overlooking a large lake with absolutely no houses, or cabins, or private docks, or visible development of any kind. For someone from the northern end of the state, this was a very odd and welcome sight. Until then, all of the lakes in Illinois in my experience were completely surrounded by vacation homes and people, and the water completely full of boats. The houses that rimmed these lakes were just as close together as they were in the suburbs and there seemed to be just as many people. This isolation, this wildness was something I did not think existed in Illinois. Again, I thought this type of seclusion and escape from development was only to be found in the western part of the country. A body of water that was not crowded, that was surrounded by quiet forest. All the land that I could see was publicly owned; no development would come here. I was happily surprised.

Many who have come to Southern Illinois share in this pleasant surprise; they do not expect a land of forest and hills, a milder climate and a different world. Several of those I interviewed for this project echoed this unexpected difference as part of their reason for settling in this area. Ken is a self-described environmentalist who was an extremely active

member of the local chapter of the Sierra Club. A northern transplant, he explained his move south in the mid-1970's in the following way:

"One February day, up near the Wisconsin line, when it was like 22 degrees below zero, and some friends of mine that I knew were going to school down here asked me to come down and visit. When I got down here it was about 60 degrees. And I went... 'I like this place. I'm commin' down.' And then the first time I came down it was spring. It was really nice out. I said lets go for a ride. We went down Giant City Road, to Giant City Park.

Then we went through the boardwalk downtown Makanda, and then drove over to Cobden. And from Cobden we took Skyline Drive over to Alto Pass and stopped at the little park there, and then went up to Bald Knob. Then we went north on 127, and stopped at the Pamona General Store. Which at that time was just flourishing, and then from there we went up to natural bridge, and then we went back up through and up around and back to Carbondale, and they said 'oh, by the way down that road is Little Grand Canyon, we'll have to take you here next time we come.' When I got home after that I just decided that's it I'm going to school here. It's the furthest south I can get [and still be in Illinois]."

Many transplants to the area are drawn by the landscape and climate. Some come to the area to attend the major university in the area and wind up staying. Residents of the area also speak of the landscape as being what makes Southern Illinois special. Beauty, the unique

rock features, the rolling hills, the region's unique ecology and forest cover, the slower pace of life, and less development than other regions were often mentioned in a study conducted by Welch and Evans (2003). Ed is a local and lifelong resident of Southern Illinois. He grew up hunting, fishing and being outdoors. He explained his feelings toward the area in the following way.

“In the past few years, me and my wife have been on vacation a bit, so I have gotten to see what the rest of the U.S. has got to offer. I don't know exactly what it is about Southern Illinois and this area but it's just home. When you go out on vacation, most of these places are nice and pretty and there's stuff to do that I would probably enjoy, but kinda like a salmon you know, you go back home.”

Water and Stone

Southern Illinois is bounded on three sides by great rivers. To the west is the sprawl of the Mississippi. To the east and then curving down around the southern boundary of the state is the Ohio. Culturally, the northern boundary of the area is disputed. Where does Central Illinois end and Southern Illinois begin? To many route 13, which effectively cuts across the bottom of the state from river to river, is the unofficial boundary; however traveling south you begin to see differences around Mt. Vernon, which places the boundary about forty miles

farther north. There begins to be more forest than farm, and if you are heading south around the change of the seasons, spring comes a little earlier and winter is staved off a little longer.

The terrain of Southern Illinois is a product of its geologic history. The glaciers of the last ice age (about 11,000 years ago) reached just north of the area so that the extreme southern tip of the state escaped the crushing and flattening of the great ice sheets, but benefited from the front edge pushing earthen debris ahead and depositing glacial till (Harris et. al., 1977). The melting of the glaciers and other erosion processes resulted in an abundance of odd sandstone rock formations and confluences of house-sized boulders in unlikely places carried there by the ferocity of all that frigid water. Geologically, the northern border of the area is an asymmetrical ridge of land called a *cuesta* (Harris et al., 1977).

The Shawnee Hills comprise the majority of Southern Illinois. These hills are mostly sandstone with broad ridge-tops that are crosscut with numerous creeks and drainages that lead into deep canyons. The terrain changes at the western edge of the state as the Shawnee hills give way to the Illinois Ozarks. The hills and forests of the west are characterized by tall and steep limestone cliffs with narrow ridge-tops (Harris et al., 1977, see figure 4).

Southern Illinois is classified as predominantly an oak-hickory hardwood deciduous forest; although toward the convergence of the two big rivers the land descends to varying degrees, into cypress swamp and rich agricultural bottom land. The average growing season is two hundred days, which supports the lush plant growth of the area (Mohlenbrock, 1982). What is completely visible in winter becomes completely hidden throughout the rest of the year. There is a high amount of botanical diversity in Southern Illinois including a number of endangered and threatened plant species (Illinois Department of Conservation, 1994).

Concealed canyons and steep hills fall down into rocky creeks whose flow depends on the season. Late fall through late spring these waterways are typically running briskly from the off and on torrential rainfall. Late summer through early fall the rain clouds dry up as they travel across the Mississippi and the rain all but stops in most years. The average yearly rainfall is 49 inches; however, in 2012 Southern Illinois experienced an extreme drought, while just the year before was one of the wettest years on record with over 74 inches of precipitation (National Climactic Data Center, NOAA). The temperature can be just as changing and extreme. A common saying in the area states “if you don’t like the weather, wait twenty minutes”. Mohlenbrock (1982) states that this is due to low pressure weather systems which “bring frequent short changes in temperature, cloudiness, air pressure, and wind direction” (347).

This land is by no means “pristine.” Humans have interacted to shape the environment of Southern Illinois in many ways for many years. Native Americans built cities and massive mounds, and intricate “stone-fort” structures, then deserted them. Much of the forest in the Shawnee Hills section of the state was cleared by European Americans to make room to grow crops and raise livestock. People come and go. Walking through what is now National Forest in early spring you are bound to see places where clumps of daffodils flourish beneath the tall trees. These are old homeplaces and if you look around the daffodils you will find old rock walls, cisterns, and other evidence of earlier residents. Some of these ruins date to the founding of the state and some are more recent.

Many of the canyons have been flooded by the building of dams and made into lakes. A few of these act as reservoirs, but most are for recreational use. While many residents appreciate and utilize the lakes for fishing and swimming in the torturously hot summers, I

often think about the size and depth of those canyons and what it must have been like to walk in those shadows. I have met a few people who remember and lament the loss of the canyons. One life-long resident, Dave, of the Devil's Kitchen area described to me the depth of the canyon before it was flooded. The Devil's Kitchen Lake project began in 1940 as a part of the Works Progress Administration, but was then put on hold due to WWII. It was not completed until 1959 by the Army Corps of Engineers and did not fill fully until the mid-sixties (Mohlenbrock, 1962). Dave also mentioned the numerous snakes, mostly copperheads, which could always be found sunning among the rocks; those he did not remember fondly. He told me that pre-flooding those canyons were the territory of moonshiners, which due to their smoky fires built with greenwood were the name sake of the canyon, although there are other stories of the area's naming. The Devil's Kitchen Lake project is exemplary of the land-use history of the area. When the land failed to produce enough to be profitable, it was re-commissioned for recreational purposes (see figure 3).

History of Land Use

"Making a living in Southern Illinois has often been a matter of making do - barely getting by."

(Horrell et al., 1973:64)

The history of the statehood and consequent development of Southern Illinois is extremely relevant to why so much of this area has been designated as public land. In a way the story of the land in Southern Illinois is one of cycles: from forest, to cleared agricultural and

extractive economies, back to forest, and back to clearing; or at least the threat of clearing. Awareness of the past problems of deforestation cycles could have informed stakeholders in contemporary recreational conflicts in Southern Illinois, but due to a number of factors that will be discussed in later chapters, the history of the state did not seem to factor into these conflicts.

The earliest European settlers to the area were the French, who established Fort Massac in the very southernmost part of the area (Horell et al., 1973). The area also took turn under the control of Spain and England until 1796 when the region became a part of the United States as a territory (Welch and Evans, 2003). Throughout the early 1800's most settlers arrived in the Illinois territory from the Appalachian Hills and from the northeastern part of the country (see Horrell et al. 1973 and Adams, 1994). Illinois became a state in 1818 and soon became known as "Egypt" in part for its broad, seasonally flooding bottomlands. Many flocked to the area in pursuance of this fine agricultural land, but they did not come exclusively to the bottomlands. They branched out into the hills to the east and north of the rivers and began to cut down the forests. By 1840, nine out of ten people in the region made their livelihood through agriculture and sixty-one percent of the land was being put toward agricultural use (Ganning and Gasteyer, 2007). At this time, Illinois was still very much the frontier and many of the people that came to the region exemplified the frontier spirit. As Horrell et al. states, "One way of identifying the values and point of view of a given region or community is to examine its public figures and popular heroes. The qualities that the earliest settlers of Southern Illinois admired,...were those that helped in subduing the wilderness-physical prowess, stamina, courage and self-reliance"

(1973:32). Daniel Boone and Davey Crockett, even though they hailed from Kentucky, were heroes in Illinois.

During this period, (from 1807-1844) the United States General Land Office was conducting surveys of Illinois. This was fortuitous as this data allows comparison of long-term landscape change. In 1820, there were 13.8 million acres of forested land in Southern Illinois. By 1920, there was only 3.02 million acres of forest remaining (Illinois Department of Conservation, 1994). The peak of agriculture in the region was in 1900 and then began to fall as the land became less productive as more and more acres were cleared (Ganning and Gasteyer, 2007).

The main reason for this decline is that much of the landscape in Southern Illinois is unsuitable for agriculture. There are different reasons for this in different areas as the region is very diverse in topography and geology. The west section of the state was never cleared and farmed as extensively as the east due to the steepness of the Ozark Hills. Within the Shawnee Hills area a substantial portion of the land was cleared for agriculture despite the poor quality of the soil. As a result, erosion and declining soil productivity became significant problems for Southern Illinois farmers (Soady, 1965; Harris et al., 1977; Ganning and Gaesteyer, 2007). As Iverson (1988) points out, the soil type associate with Southern Illinois and sloping landscape tends to inhibit agriculture.

Due to the large amount of agricultural conversion, by 1930, the citizens of Illinois were starting to show concern over what was then being labeled the “wastelands” of Illinois. Homesteads were being abandoned as the soils gave out. The idea of reforesting Southern Illinois was being discussed and by 1933 the first stage of land purchasing had begun (Soady,

1965). Citizens of the area were beginning to realize that agriculture was ill-suited to the ecological landscape of Southern Illinois. “We could have done a better job of matching our land uses to the appropriate landscapes. We... could have done much better in preserving natural habitats for future generations” (Iverson, 1988: 60). This is what the establishment of public lands in Southern Illinois meant to accomplish.

Forest Again

The Shawnee National Forest, while being one of the smallest national forests in the country is the largest designation of public land in Southern Illinois. Land for the proposed forest was purchased in two sections, east and west. (Hendee and Flint, 2007). In the early planning each tract had different names. The western tract was called the “Illini” and was composed of large tracts of land (sold up to five thousand acres at a time) which retained some forest cover. The eastern section was purchased in much smaller amounts and was characterized by abandoned holdings and de-forested land. This section was known as the “Shawnee” (Soady, 1965). Although the two sections remained isolated geographically, in 1935, the two names were dropped and the land purchase became known by its present name: the Shawnee. Land purchasing began in 1933, however; the Shawnee area was not designated a national forest by President Roosevelt until September, 1939 (Welch and Evans, 2003), at that time the purchase area comprised 183,446 acres, both east and west (Soady, 1965).

As with many national forests throughout the country at the time, the forest provided work that so many urgently needed. Unemployment rates in the region had reached 60% during the depression (Soady, 1965). Reforesting this land turned out to be a laborious, long-term project. From 1933 to 1941 the Civil Conservation Corps, the Emergency Relief Administration, the National Youth Administration, and the Civil Works Administration planted hundreds of thousands of trees (Soady, 1965). While these groups planted many species of native trees, they also planted many non-native pines to hold the troubled and eroded soil in place.

These groups did not only plant trees. The CCCs were especially active in the area and their work remains widely known and appreciated by the population. It is possible to see evidence of their work in any number of areas within the forest and other public lands in the area. Retaining walls and staircases made of local sandstone can be found in Bell Smith Springs Natural Area, Trail of Tears State Forest and Giant City State Park, among other areas. Giant City Lodge was built by the CCCs in the 1930's and is still in use today (see figure 5).

There was a second period of land purchasing for the Shawnee National Forest from 1947 to 1954, but the forest still remained fragmented into the eastern and western halves. There was renewed interest in 1961 in connecting these two halves into one contiguous tract. An additional 124,874 acres were added to the purchase area (Soady, 1965).

The Forest Today

Today the Shawnee National Forest is comprised of 277,506 acres and contains seven congressionally designated wilderness areas¹ and numerous other natural areas (Shawnee National Forest, 2013). Along with the Shawnee National Forest, today there are many different types of public land in Southern Illinois, both federal and state owned. These include Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge, 44,000 acres including 9,000 acres of open water (Crab Orchard, 2013); Giant City State Park, 4,000 acres (Giant City, 2013); Ferne Clyffe State Park, 2,430 acres (Ferne Clyffe, 2013); and Trail of Tears State Forest, 5,000 acres (Trail of Tears, 2013) to name some of the largest. Even though the number of forested acres has grown since the “wasteland” period, in 1980 Illinois contained 4.26 million acres of forest, or just over thirty percent of its original forest cover (Illinois Department of Conservation, 1994). This places the state 49th in the country in terms of original land coverage. An extremely high percentage of this forest is second growth (Illinois Department of Conservation, 1994).

These publicly owned lands are administered by three separate agencies: Shawnee National Forest by the National Forest Service, which falls under the umbrella of the Department of Agriculture; Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge (CONWR) by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, under the Department of the Interior; and the state parks and forests by the Illinois Department of Natural Resources (IDNR). All three of these organizations have different missions and objectives concerning the management of the land that they administer.

¹ These wilderness areas were contested as is discussed in later chapters. There is also a substantial amount of literature available on the Cache River Bottoms and Cypress Creek National Wildlife Refuge, see Adams et al, 2005.

The National Forest Service stated mission is to “sustain the health, diversity, and productivity of the Nation’s forests and grasslands to meet the needs of present and future generations” (US Forest Service, 2013). CONWR cites four main areas of purpose: wildlife conservation, promotion of agriculture and industry, and finally, recreation (Crab Orchard, 2013). The Illinois Department of Natural Resources states their mission is “To manage, conserve and protect Illinois' natural, recreational and cultural resources, further the public's understanding and appreciation of those resources, and promote the education, science and public safety of Illinois' natural resources for present and future generations” (2013). Often in these mission statements there are concepts that can run counter to each other. For example, forest health and productivity, in the minds of some, can be mutually exclusive. These differing missions often result in differing regulations and reflect different mindsets which can and often does lead to conflict, both among different recreation groups and between groups and the administering entities.

The Economy Today

The economy of Illinois remains tenuous at best. Those who helped to establish a national forest in the southern region of the state had hoped that forest based recreation would help boost the 1930’s depression economy that had previously been focused on harvesting finite natural resources and brought ecological ruin to the area. Beginning immediately after the height of the agricultural period (post 1920’s) and continuing through to

the present there has been a steady decline in population and a rise in poverty (Ganning and Gasteyer, 2007). The area also has suffered economic losses in export industries, such as agriculture, mining and manufacture. These industries have been replaced with retail trades, education, and health services. By 1990 these service industries were the top three for the region. The main economic issue with these trends is that none are export industries, “[they] all recycle money within the economy or draw on state or Federal support” (Ganning and Gasteyer, 2007:5). In some areas within the Southern Illinois region there is also a high reliance on local and state governments in the form of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale in Jackson County, and the extensive prison system in Johnson County (Welch and Evans, 2003).

The one exception, within the realm of the service industry, can be outdoor recreation. Nationally, the outdoor recreation industry is a substantial sector of the economy creating 6.1 million jobs and 646 billion dollars spent on outdoor recreation activities (Outdoor Industry Association, 2012). Undoubtedly, it has become an important sector in the Southern Illinois economy, although there is no good economic data that is able to shed light on what exactly the impact is and how it breaks down from one type of outdoor recreation to another and how much of that spending goes to national chains. For example, some residents believe that hunting and horseback riding are recreational activities that add the most to the economy (Welch and Evans, 2003). Others believe that hiking, camping and scenic tourism play the most important role. Whatever the numbers, recreation and the dollars attached to it, is extremely important to the economy of Southern Illinois.

Southern Illinois today is once again forested. Yet, as stated above, it remains economically depressed with high rates of poverty. This is one of the reasons that conflict arises

over the use and direction of the Shawnee National Forest and other publicly owned lands in the region. For the most part, residents do want to conserve the forest and they appreciate the landscape for its ecological attributes, but they also desire to make a living. At times the poor economy of the area is exploited when conflict arises. In the following chapters some of these conflicts will be explored in depth.



Figure 3: Devil's Kitchen Lake



Figure 4a: Left – Sandstone boulder. Figure 4b: Right - “Honeycombing” due to resistant concentrations of iron oxide around poorly cemented rock.



Figure 5a: An overlook at Bell Smith Springs built by the CCCs.

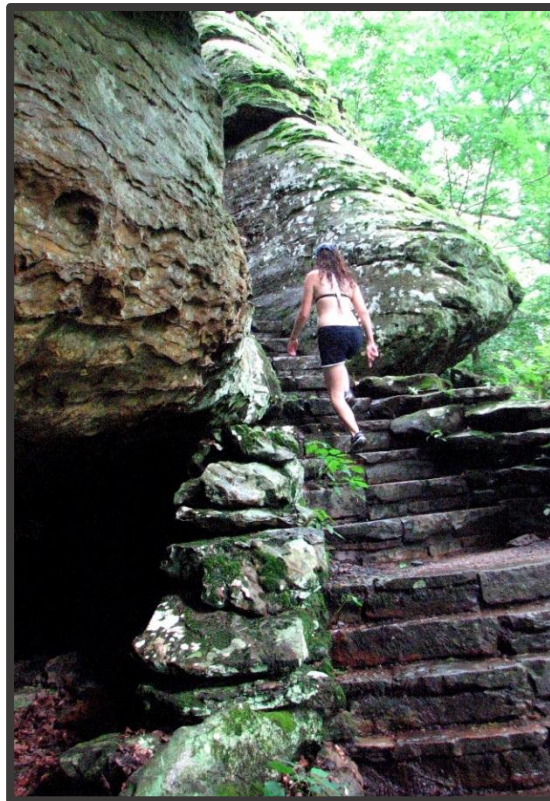


Figure 5b: A stone staircase in Bell Smith Springs.

CHAPTER IV

ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY – A WALK IN THE WOODS

All academic research begins with questions. This work was no exception and this chapter raised questions that were challenging in their own right. How to make anthropological theory engaging? How does one make it relatable? Personal? Finally, and most importantly: interesting? Anthropology deals with huge and important concepts. This point can become obscured to those outside the field when they hear that someone has spent years and years concentrating on minute aspects of hominoid dentition, or the role that food plays in creating kinship bonds. Many times even those asking the questions can forget that they are adding to a greater pool of knowledge that is attempting to answer huge and important questions concerning humanity: past, present and future. Sometimes, we get so overwhelmed with trying to fill the pool, we forget to go for a swim.

When I used to go hiking in the woods, I did not often think about anthropology, certainly not anthropological theory. I did not think about overwhelming questions regarding humanity's place in the world, or our part in nature, or nature's in us. If I was lucky, I only thought about the sound and rhythm of my shoes on the trail, or the pine needles, or the oak leaves. I thought about the hawk or vulture that I saw drafting in slow circles overhead. I thought about putting one foot in front of the other (figure 6). However, beginning with my "Horse Muck" adventure, my simple hiking in the woods became harder and harder. Thoughtlessness became impossible. I began to think more about the public land conflicts in Southern Illinois and how culture had influenced and informed them. Were these conflicts a question of connection to place or identity? Were they the result of different ideas concerning

culture and nature? Was it differing assumptions about the role of the forest; resources or pleasure? Certainly facilitating conflict resolution is the most important act of conservation. The broader anthropological theories and possible local applications of these theories became more prominent in my experience in nature and more relative to my *place*.

Place I

Much of this work hinges on the concept of place and the difference between space and place. The making of places, or giving places meaning, is universal (Basso, 1996; Cassey, 1996). Place is a framework that humans build their identity around. Place defines us, both individually and collectively in an ever-tightening circle of attitudes, perceptions and world view. I am American, geographically because I live in America, but being American entails much more than geography. I also live in the Midwest – another set of realities and perceptions is added. I grew up on a suburban area, but now I live in a rural area of the Midwest; I live surrounded by national forest and national wildlife refuge: public lands. Each of these circles adds to whom I am and how I experience my place, how I relate to the natural environment and to other people. However, while these circles can overlay another person's when drawn on a map, the same space can mean different things to different people who inhabit it. In other words, the physical space may be the same, but the place, that which we truly inhabit can be quite different; like a parallel universe that we often reach through to interact with those on the other side. Sometimes, the differences between these places create turbulence and conflict

among those who dwell within them. These differences in cultural landscapes become very clear in Southern Illinois when the space being considered is public land.

The setting, or space, of an ethnographic study has always been important to the field of anthropology. Like laying the location of a novel, anthropologists mention where in the world they are, whether the environment is forest, savannah or rainforest, urban or rural, and so on; background information that assists the reader in understanding the action: much like chapter I of this text (maybe with a little more fact and a little less impression). As anthropologists explore the debates over the relationship of places and identities, bringing the ethnographic “setting” from the background into the foreground, the importance of place versus space is revealed.

More recently, in anthropology as well as other disciplines, the study of place, or landscape, has become a subject given greater primacy: many ethnographers have seen that the land *on* which people live is also the landscape *in* which they live. “In short, the landscape is the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them” (Ingold, 1993: 156). Engagement and history, even the simple naming of environmental attributes and features, can turn a space (a generic area, a circle drawn on a map) into a place (a landscape that is reflective of cultures, identity and history) (Basso, 1996; Darby, 2000). While space is infinite, timeless and objective, place is finite, defined and subjective (Cassey, 1996). Because of these qualities of place, it is best studied through a phenomenological approach (Cassey, 1996; Ingold, 1993). Place is created and experienced through the mind *and* body, intellectually and sensually.

As stated above, the same space can be a different place to different individuals or groups. Places are constructed and layered with identity just as humans literally and figuratively construct physical landscapes through both action and inaction. In CONWR, a landscape was once built around Devil's Kitchen Lake through what is called the "loops" or "lines." These are a series of roads that allow public access to the lake. Over time, some of these roads have been closed. The Fish and Wildlife Service made earthen barriers which denied vehicle access. For a while after these closings the roads continue to be closed to traffic but serve as short hiking trails, but they are not maintained and it does not take long for them to become grown over and impassable. The physical landscape was changed through action and then changed again through inaction. However, it was not just the physical landscape that changed. The *place* changed for those experiencing it. Many who have driven down one line will experience the place in a different way.

Basso (1996) states that most people tend to take the landscape for granted unless they find themselves out of their own place. He goes on to state that due to the lack of focus concerning landscapes there is little known about the way in which "diverse peoples are alive to the world around them..." (106). Through looking at the differences between what is space and what is place among different people in Southern Illinois the following chapters contribute to the anthropological understanding of how a person, or a group of people, both perceive place and how conflict arises from different places converging on the same geographic space. Undoubtedly, place-based conflicts can and do arise in many different spheres of society; economy, politics, class, ethnicity, and many more categories. It is also presumable that all of these factors can and do converge and result in conflict within society. For example, one has no

farther to look than the current political factionalism in the United States, and the struggle to define America to understand how complex place conflicts can be.

Places are not simply background. The land in which we move is not a painted set, or a snapshot, but rather plays an active role. As stated above, place is constantly being shaped and reshaped through the action and inaction of all that play a part of it. Not only people but animals, plants, weather, etc. “The land is not static; dynamic earth processes change with the seasons and after a few years (or a single great storm) cause significant alterations” (Harris et al., 1977).

Place II: Here Today, Gone Tomorrow

Place conflicts are complex and they undoubtedly contribute to conflict over the use of public land, especially because place can be so tenuous. It can only take a season or even a few short hours to make a place unrecognizable and the experience of that place completely different. In the winter of 2012 my small rural neighborhood experienced a tornado that was not predicted and arrived in the middle of the night. No one was hurt, but there was some property damage. Only a week later and after the county came through and cleared the downed trees from the roads, the neighborhood itself was recognizable again. Different, but familiar. The forest, however, was not.

This neighborhood is bordered on all four sides by CONWR public land. It is a small island of houses in the middle of hundreds of acres of forest. On the north side of the

neighborhood was a path that I often used for quick walks into the woods, especially during mushroom season. This area was known to those in the neighborhood as the North Woods, not only because it exists to the geographical north of our home, but because it *feels* like the North Woods, small hills covered in pines and cedars leading down into a small creek. Early spring is morel mushroom season and is a very special time in this region for many of the inhabitants. These delicious mushrooms only grow for a few weeks in the spring each year and are highly coveted. When those who hunt mushrooms find a good spot they guard that knowledge from others, and sharing a good mushroom spot is a sign of friendship. After the storm, this part of my place is now impassable. The tornado completely changed not just the topography, the actual shape of the land, but the experience; the interface between me and that part of the forest is completely changed. It has become unfamiliar ground. There are no discernable paths; it seems that even the deer have chosen easier ground to travel. If there are mushrooms in that section of woods, they are impossible to locate through the rubble of downed trees and the tangle of invasive vines, that are prolific throughout the area, that have now capitalized on their fine, new, tornado-made trellises. It is no longer part of my place in the same way (see figure 7).

Place III

Despite the relative newness of place as a subject considered suitable for anthropological study, it has been applied to a number of research projects. Place is key in the creation of identity and the naming of spaces is important to the process of converting that

space into a place (Basso, 1996; Darby, 2000). Basso (1996) explores the Apache meaning of places and demonstrates how place names convey a great deal of cultural knowledge. For example, place names are attached to stories of the past and usually convey a moral lesson. The name brings together the place and its history. When an Apache is in trouble or involved in a conflict, they often seek advice from others. This advice is given in terms of place. The story of the place is told and the listener learns how to resolve their conflict or deal with their problem. The Apache utilize landscape to connect with their history through story telling; however, Basso (1996) also points out that place is key for the Apache in creating group identity and coping with culture change. The Apache believe that it is their connection to the land that helps them to retain their cultural heritage. When young people lose that connection they get into trouble. Stories of the land can help them to resolve the conflict within themselves and learn what it means to be Apache (Basso, 1996).

Of course, many spaces in the Shawnee Hills have official names that anyone can locate on a map of the area without any deep sense of place necessary. Despite these official names, many outdoor recreationists often give their favorite places new names or give smaller places within these spaces names. This creates a place through a connection between the user and the space. For example, rock climbers not only name the areas in which they climb, (Opie's Kitchen, Jackson Falls, and The Holy Boulders) they name the different boulders and cliffs (Girlfriend Rock, Mushroom Rock, and Sound Garden Wall) and the different routes (or paths) they climb, (Group Therapy, Ritual, Eyeball Deep, and Stigmata). These names have deeper meaning beyond conveying where a person has been climbing but express relationships between climbers, level of climbing expertise, and the experience of climbing itself. One avid hiker and

backpacker explained to me the importance of naming the places he hikes into. These names are not just a way to represent space on a map, as his names are not known to others outside his group of family and friends. So trying to give directions with these names would be useless. Among this group of people that share close familial bonds, these names are connected to specific memories and experiences, in which the named place is a crucial and active participant.

Places build not only individual identity but group identity. Davenport and Anderson (2005) found that residents around a scenic river in Nebraska thought that the beauty of the river strengthened their sense of community and fostered a feeling of stewardship towards the river environment. The relationship of these local residents also changed through time. The authors found that an alternative to the dichotomous categories of development existed; people were not simply pro-development or anti-development. They fell somewhere in between and desired to find a middle ground that balanced conservation and economic demands. The identity of many user-groups in Southern Illinois has also been based around the landscape of the region, and many also believe that there is a middle ground between preservation and development, between use and over-use.

Selywn (1995) shows how identity and place can be used to ideological ends, in this case, towards the “construction and formation of national identity” (114). Selywn studied group identity tied to landscape in Israel and found that landscape was a tool used by the government to create a sense of nationalism and solidarity. This was accomplished through mandatory nature tours which prioritized the improvement of the landscape, or the greening of the desert. These nature tours, that take place in the country side, create a connection between the youth of Israel with the place of Israel, even if they are from urban areas. In turn,

this creates distinction and separation between the “good” Israeli stewards of the land and the Bedouins, Turks and Arabs, the others, who are bad stewards. “To a significant degree, defending nature is an inseparable part of defending the State: a case of defending a metaphor with an army” (Selywn, 1995: 131). While conflict among recreational user-groups in Southern Illinois is by few means comparable to the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, there are ideological aspects at play in all conflict, whether large or small, concerning preservation.

Human Environment Interface: Ecological Anthropology

With the never-ceasing expansion of the human species, wild places become more and more threatened and rare. Human populations have begun to realize that the Earth itself is a finite resource. Having not yet accomplished interstellar travel, this planet is all we have. Over-population, climate change, species extinctions: news concerning the environment is seldom good. Conservation and environmentalism have become common terms. While the world has become more in touch with our impact on the planet and its ecological systems, the struggle remains between what is right for the environment and what people need, or think they need, to survive. For example, it would be best for the environment to reduce to the point of insignificance the use of fossil fuels, but economics and politics dictate that this is an unrealistic goal.

The ideas of preservation and environmentalism and the enjoyment of and in nature may be a relatively new to the human species; however, it is safe to assume that humans have

been contemplating our part in nature for much of our history on this planet. Many historians begin any account of human thought on the subject with the philosophers of Greece. While this is an admittedly Western bias, it is appropriate for this study. There are many scholars who have written extensive theses on this topic; below I have summarized Moran's history of anthropological thought on this relationship.

Moran (2008) describes three major periods of Western thought concerning nature. The first period is predominated by ideas of environmental determinism, which is the belief that the environment determines the shape and possibilities of any given culture. This idea of possibilism was an early form of environmental determinism (Milton, 1997). This thinking states that the environment determines what is possible for the culture and there are limited choices that can be made within these possibilities. For example, it was believed that a tropical climate fostered idleness and thus, industry was not possible for those that inhabited tropical climates. This period began with the Greek, Roman and Arab philosophies and continued through the 18th and 19th centuries and was used to legitimize political and ethnic oppression.

There are several major problems with the idea of environmental determinism and possibilism in particular, not the least of which is that its adherents gave no credit to human imagination and the human ability to adapt. The framework can only ask and consequently, answer general questions and can offer no insight into understanding the relationships between the environment and culture (Milton, 1996). Moran describes the second period, cultural determinism, as mostly a reaction to these fallacies inherent in environmental determinism. Culture took the active role and the environment became the passive force that culture imposed meaning upon.

However, it may be that neither of these two categories, environmental or cultural determinism, really captured how the majority of the western world viewed human – environment relationships during these periods. Argyrou (2005) describes the history of Western thinking on nature as being comprised of three stages, which he labels “First Change,” “Second Change” and “No Change”. Argyrou states that the Greeks thought of the Earth as a living organism. The first change occurred when, during the Renaissance, humans began to see the Earth through the lens of domination. This occurred, according to Argyrou, with the rise of science and technology and resulted in many long-lasting cultural effects. During this period, mastering nature was considered civilized, and “civilization” was superior in all ways to the savagery of those less than civilized. Civilization equaled humanity: savagery was less than human. The height of civilization was the ability to control both the outer bestial nature as well as the inner bestial nature.

Argyrou’s second change occurred post World War II and entailed the reverse of the first change: from thinking of the Earth as something to be dominated to viewing the Earth as a living organism that was to be respected and cared for. The human species were to be as stewards of the natural environment. The categories of civilized and uncivilized were altered to reflect this change, to developed and undeveloped. It was during this period that the United Nations first expressed concern over the environment, but believed the problem could be solved through the application of science and technology: thus the push towards development of the “undeveloped” countries (Argyrou, 2005). Argyrou is undoubtedly correct that at some point this change did occur; however, it can be argued that this period began earlier, at least in the United States. With the publication of such authors as Emerson and Thoreau, as well as the

first congressional actions setting lands aside for preservation with the Yosemite Bill of 1864 and the Yellowstone Act of 1872, the people of the United States began to make clear their wish to preserve nature. Both of these areas were set aside chiefly for the recreation and enjoyment of people (National Park Service, 2013).

Argyrou (2005) argues that although this second change is visible in human thinking it really resulted in no change at all. Nature is still seen as the “other” and our actual relationship to the Earth remains unchanged because of this perception. In this point, I would agree with Argyrou. I have met many people who are more afraid of the woods at night than they are of a city street, even though the street can arguably be considered the more dangerous of the two. The woods, however, are inherently uncivilized and chaotic, cities are not.

While Moran (2008) states that the first two stages of anthropological thought concerning human – environment relationships were characterized by one force (alternatively the environment or the culture) being static and the other being active, the last period is characterized by the “dynamic interaction of people and environment” (27). Moran’s last stage occurred post 1950 with the discovery of DNA and other advances in biological research. He describes this most current stage as human adaptation and evolution and states that these theories have helped humanity to overcome the limits of the first two stages. Moran’s summation of anthropology’s present thinking of nature – environment relationships is more positive than that of Argyrou’s more general summation, but it is perhaps less realistic. Within the anthropological history that Moran lays out, early research that focused on the relationship of humans to the environment demonstrates the struggle between the two schools of thought: environmental and cultural determinism. This earliest work focused on sacrifice and religion

and includes the beginnings of questions concerning the triadic relationship of humans, animals and the spiritual. One early example is Hubert and Mauss' (1964 [1898]) work concerning animal sacrifice. While this work focuses on religion and ideas of the sacred and the profane, it is also concerned with the relationships between humans and the animals involved. The authors describe in detail the preparation of animal victims and the perceived behavior of the animal spirit both before and after the sacrifice. The authors' discussion of Hindu sacrifice demonstrates a contradictory pattern concerning animal sacrifice. On one hand, the victim of the sacrifice is a substitute for the human that wishes to communicate something to the gods. This implies that the animal's life is less valuable than that of the human in that the animal is expendable and the human is not. On the other hand, the sacrifice is seen as a crime and the humans weep and ask for forgiveness, which implies some responsibility or caring for non-humans.

Other early works, such as Durkheim (1915) and Boas (1916) focus on the study of totemism. Neither of these early works focused exclusively on the connection of totemic groups and nature; however, they do discuss their thinking concerning the reasons that plants, animals and other natural forces were chosen as totems and both agree that totemic religions come from a human desire to classify and organize things in their world. Radcliffe-Browne (1952) was the first to overtly discuss the role of the relationship between nature and totemic systems, and to comment on the environment's influence on culture. He states that totemic peoples incorporate the environment into the society as "an essential part of it" (131).

The 20th century saw the rise of what is now called ecological anthropology or environmental anthropology, which parallels both Moran's (2008) and Argyrou's (2005) third

stages. Many researchers review this history (see Orlove, 1980; Milton, 1997; Kottak, 1999 and Moran, 2008) and most agree that Julian Steward (2006 [1955]) was the most influential in creating the field of ecological anthropology through his theory of “cultural ecology.” He believed that understanding subsistence procurement was the most important aspect to understanding any culture. He concluded that subsistence behaviors made up the “culture core” and that every other aspect of the culture would be external rings around the culture core. So religion, ritual, kinship etc. would all be secondary to the culture core, which included all activities and behaviors that directly related to subsistence. Of course, this thinking was also considered environmental determinism as Steward believed that the environment determined what subsistence methods were possible.

Contemporary to Steward, Leslie White (2000 [1943]) is considered a neo-evolutionist for his work and the importance that he placed on energy and cultural advancement. As the technology of a culture advances, so too does the culture. For example, the domestication of plants and animals caused an increase in social complexity. This advance, according to White is often followed by stasis White believed that energy was really all that mattered, and the more energy a culture could harness more efficiently, the more advanced the culture. It is clear to see from White’s mathematical equations for measuring a culture’s energy output and efficiency that he believed that the study of culture was a science and should therefore, follow the rules of science. White paid little to no attention to the experience and thoughts of the people he studied.

The work of both Harris and Rappaport was significant in the field of anthropology as they viewed humans as *part* of the ecosystems in which they lived and attempted to explain

cultural behaviors, mostly related to food, in terms of the larger ecology. They both describe human-environment relationships in terms of moving toward equilibrium through functionalism. Harris and Rappaport recognized that the environment often created certain constraints for cultures, which in turn caused cultural behaviors that were adaptive. These cultures developed functions and belief systems to deal with and overcome these environmental constraints.

Harris studied both pork taboos in the Middle East (1974), as well as the sacred cattle in India (1992 [1966]). In both of these studies Harris explains the ecological logic behind these taboos and treatments of animals. When Harris studied the sacred cattle issue, Indianist thought was that the practice of *ahimsa* (Hindu belief in the unity of life) was an irrational belief that was uneconomical and did not make economic sense. The majority thinking was that if Indians would slaughter and eat their sacred cattle they would be more prosperous. Harris believed this missed the point by not looking at the ecosystem in which both people and cattle shared. Once this wider view was taken into consideration it became apparent to Harris that the relationship between cattle and humans was symbiotic and beef eating taboos more likely had arose from selective pressures rather than blind belief in *ahimsa* (Harris, 1992 [1966]). Harris' work on pork taboos in the Middle East ran along the same lines of thought; viewing the cultural practice of not eating pork in terms of ecosystem relationships and ecosystem history revealed that there were many more reasons for the people of the Middle East to not eat pork than the benefits that they would incur if they did eat pork. Harris points out that previously the environment of the Middle East was well suited to pigs, but population growth and deforestation altered the environment significantly and thus caused a decline in available pig

habitat. This created competition between pigs and people, as the diet preferred by pigs was similar to that of people (Harris, 1974).

In “Pigs for the Ancestors” Rappaport (1967) looks at the ritual cycle of a New Guinea people and explains why pig slaughtering is cyclical using ecological arguments. In this environment, pigs can be very useful to help maintain garden plots. However, there can be too many pigs. Too many pigs do not maintain garden plots but begin to damage them. The people do not slaughter them except at certain times in an attempt to keep the proportion of pigs and people at a beneficial level. Rappaport makes the case that pig slaughtering rituals occur in times of stress when humans need more protein and the pig population has outgrown usefulness.

Milton (1997) and Moran (2008) briefly describe two other periods in ecological anthropology. The first being the ecosystem approach in where the anthropologist researches human culture as an ecologist might. This approach was also popular in the 1960s and 1970s. Moran (2008) states that its downfall is the inability to look at large communities or global influences on a culture. The other approach is ethnoecology which privileges the culture’s own perception of nature. This technique is comprised mostly of listing names for certain ecological features (plants or animals etc.). While the above academics all studied different aspects of humanity’s relationship to nature, they were all asking similar questions. Whether they were asking what are the possibilities and realities of culture and adaptation, or why in one culture something is taboo, while another it is not? Does humanity conform to the world or does the world conform to us? What is the environment’s role in shaping culture and what is culture’s role in shaping the environment?

Current human – environment interface research involves more of an incorporation of many different approaches. Many researchers have realized that the forces that shape culture are not exclusively driven by either the environment or the minds of humans. For example, Ingold (2000) brings a phenomenological viewpoint to this topic and reminds us that nature is not just experienced with our minds, but also our bodies and all of our senses. Political Ecology and other applied aspects are also popular in today's ecological anthropology (Moran 2008). For example, Lowe (2006) studies the environmental relationships of a South East Asian society and looks in depth into how traditional conservation techniques (though they are not thought of as such) conflict with global conservation methods.

The goals and concerns of ecological anthropologists have changed along the same lines as the general thinking of human-environment interface. From questions of environmental and cultural determinism (from the late 1800's to the 1960's), in the form of possibilism, cultural ecology, functionalism, cultural materialism, and structuralism (Orlove, 1980; Milton, 1997; Kottak, 1999; Moran, 2006b, 2008) to more current issues, such as questions concerning presence or absence of any cultural universals (Descola, 1996; Ingold et al., 1996) and issues of conservation, control, exploitation and manipulation of the environment (West, 2005; Moran, 2006a; Nazarea, 2006) and human evolution and adaptation (Moran, 2006b, 2008). These new directions have led the discipline toward more action-oriented, politically conscious interpretations of environmental conflicts (Milton, 1997; West, 2005; Fairhead and Leach, 2008). For example, West (2005) fears that in the past, ecological anthropology had the habit of missing "aesthetic, poetic, social, and moral" aspects of human relation to the environment

(634). Ecological anthropologists are now beginning to emphasize the importance of the senses and the mutual experiences between humans and nature.

This said the most basic questions have remained constant throughout the history of ecological anthropology: what is humanity's place in this world? What is the relationship between human culture and the environmental problems of today? Will technology save us from these environmental problems, or must we look to changing certain aspects of our culture? Are humans a part of nature, fundamentally different from it, or somewhere in-between?

Human Environment Interface: Nature and Culture

“In modern thought we are accustomed to draw a distinction between the social order and the natural order...From another and very important point of view the natural order enters into and becomes part of the social order” (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952: 129-130).

Anthropology has struggled against becoming a field of “either – or” divisions. Anthropology is either science or art. Either an anthropologist is a universalist or a particularist, a cultural constructivist or a socio-biologist. Point of view is either etic or emic. It is no wonder and seems only natural that anthropologists attempted to identify cultural universals based around certain dichotomous distinctions. Nature as opposed to culture.

Levi-Strauss (1962) first proposed this universal distinction between nature and culture, as well as many other dichotomies that he perceived within cultures; the individual opposed to the collective (from Durkheim) and the domestic opposed to the wild to name a few, in an attempt to identify underlying cultural universals. This thinking of oppositions also came to place one concept as being dominant over the other. For example, it was assumed that culture was dominant to nature as domestic over wild. However, these proposed cultural universals have proven elusive. Many cultures, or perhaps even the majority, do not see an automatic opposition between cultural and natural realms. Although this may seem obvious in today's anthropology, this has not always been the case. Cultural anthropologists have long argued over the relative importance of cultural universals versus historical particularism as theories of understanding cultural knowledge. With the debate regarding the cross-cultural relevance of nature opposed to culture, this argument has come to an impasse. It has become clear that a division between nature and culture is primarily a Western cultural phenomenon, and yet there are some generalities in the way that humans view the environment, and animals specifically.

Descola (1996) discusses the problem of universalist versus particularist theories, and states that while complete relativism is not a suitable answer to the problem of describing the relationship between humans and the environment, the question becomes where to look for generalities. Ethnobiological taxonomies are not enough to generalize these relationships, but also cosmology and ontology of non-humans must be considered. I would add conflict over environmental resources, including the resource of space, to the list. One constant of the contemporary human – environment interface is conflict over the use of space, whether the conflict is over the designation and regulation of public lands or who has the right to participate

in land-use and enforcement. The scope and parameters of these conflicts can offer insight into humanity's relationship to the environment.

Many anthropologists are attempting to bring together the study of the natural and the cultural. Ingold (2000) states that it is precisely this separation between these fields of research that perpetuates the accepted view of culture and nature in diametric opposition. "This division between the naturalistic and the culturalogical account is unfortunate in that it takes for granted precisely the separation, of the naturally real from the culturally imagined..." (Ingold, 2000:9). For example, Ingold describes reindeer hunting, thereby illuminating the separation that exists between the study of nature and the study of culture. In this case, a biologist views the behavior of a reindeer's reaction to a predator as a genetic prey response, while the cultural anthropologist would investigate the hunter's interpretation of the hunt. However, both these researchers automatically miss half of the picture.

How humans interpret the realms of nature and culture has direct consequences for conservation. Half of the picture has proven insufficient to motivate humanity to sustain ecosystem health. Rothfels (2002) makes an important distinction between "conservation" and "environmentalism." It is not a distinction that is commonly recognized by many anthropologists, but it is meaningful as we address the ultimate goal of ecosystem survival in that belief in one view or the other is a part of the worldview of stakeholders of public land. Conservationists seek to preserve nature in order for it to be further exploited by humans for their own ends. On the other hand, environmentalists look to nature for the salvation of humanity (Rothfels, 2002: 56). In an environmentalist view, humans adjust to nature and do not adjust nature to fit their own needs. Conservationists look to preserve nature ultimately for the

direct benefit of humanity. This distinction is important when comparing worldviews concerning nature and culture as well as the management of the world's remaining wild spaces. The two opposing views must be reconciled in order to minimize conflict and achieve true preservation. Humans require resources like all other organisms; however, unlike other species, human overuse of these resources endangers not only nonhuman species and systems but ourselves as well. The difference between conservationism and environmentalism is the fundamental difference in the wilderness debate. This distinction transfers to identity and identities affect how Americans believe their national forests and remaining wild places should be utilized or preserved.

The Wilderness Debate

As a country, The United States has been on the forefront of the environmental movement. We have and continue to export this ethic, both knowingly and unknowingly. United States-based non-government organizations (NGOs) with environmental foci are active all over the world in environmental projects. Although the United States exports our ideals concerning environmentalism, in reality there remains conflict within the country over the preservation of public lands, what these lands should be used for and to what extent they should be used. These conflicts have been typified in the debate over wilderness. The debate over what wilderness is and whether or not to preserve it is, and has always been, fueled by differences between socio-cultural, economic and political views. In order to understand the evolution of

this debate and its influences it is important to understand the history of the wilderness debate within the United States.

Emerson and Thoreau were two of the earliest authors who wrote about wilderness beginning in the 1850's. Their writing stressed the spiritual aspects of the outdoors and their experiences in "the wild." Thoreau especially thought of the wilderness as a testing ground for masculinity (Callicott, 1998; National Park Service, 2013). In the late 1800s to early 1900s John Muir began his campaign to save the wilderness of the Sierra Nevada. Muir viewed this battle as a moral fight, which he continued until his death in 1914 (Callicott, 1998 [1991]). Muir was not interested in the potential economic benefits of the forests, or what the forests could do for man beyond spiritual benefits. Muir helped to create a coalition of scientists and citizens intent on advocating for nature. This advocacy led to the establishment of the National Park System, which spread throughout the world (Tsing, 2005).

Gifford Pinchot was a contemporary of Muir and at first a friend, but as his career progressed he began to believe that both preservation and resource extraction could be accomplished within wilderness. In the late 1930's it was suggested that the control of the National Forests be taken from the Department of Agriculture. Pinchot argued vehemently against this move saying, "Why the Department of Agriculture? Because the forest is a crop" (Pinchot, 1937:435). Pinchot believed that these lands should be "used and managed like a crop, not preserved like a temple" (The Last Refuge). The administration agreed and appointed Pinchot the United States' "chief forester" (The Last Refuge). However, many of Pinchot's contemporaries, including John Muir, and those who came after vehemently disagreed and believed that this type of thinking would be the downfall of wilderness within the United States

(Callicott, 1998 [1991]). Muir saw nature in a spiritual light and as a “focus of religious devotion” (Tsing, 2005: 97). The forest was not just another crop to be felled for quick profit.

Along with John Muir, Aldo Leopold was probably the most influence proponent of wilderness protection throughout the history of the debate. Leopold feared that if wilderness was not protected that it would vanish (Leopold, 1998 [1925]). He stated that because humans had received economic gain from resource extraction and the development of wilderness that logically people would believe that complete development (and thus complete destruction) of the wilderness would translate into ultimate economic gain. His goal was to convince both the American government and the public that wilderness was worth protecting for cultural, physical and spiritual health primarily and economic benefits secondarily (Leopold, 1998 [1925]; Callicott, 1998 [1991]).

Leopold’s definition of wilderness was centered on the concept that wilderness should be “primitive.” There should be no permanent human habitation and no roads. This definition is key to further debates and policy concerning wilderness areas. Marshall (1998 [1930]) agreed with Leopold’s definition and added that these areas should be large enough that a person could not cross them in a day and that no form of mechanized equipment should be permitted. While large size is no longer a requirement, there is still no use of any mechanized equipment allowed in wilderness areas. Marshall believed that wilderness should be preserved for both its benefits to physical and mental health as well as its aesthetic value (Marshall, 1998 [1930]).

The 1960’s saw the rise of the modern environmental movement and the popularization of wilderness preservation, as well as the backlash to these movements. Several publications that focused on the issue of wilderness preservation found a large public audience. Rachel

Carlson's "Silent Spring" (1962) was enormously popular and led to not only a rise in public awareness of pesticide use and environmentalism, but also served to unite industry (timber, mining, and other extractive industries) against preservation and the environmental movement. Chemical manufacturing companies attempted to block its publication and spent an enormous amount of money trying to counter its effect on public awareness (Glotfelty, 2000). It was also during this period that the Wilderness Act was passed. In 1964 President Lyndon Johnson signed this act which allowed for federal protection of wilderness areas and allowed Congress to designate new areas as they saw fit. These areas would have more regulations than National Forests. The Wilderness Act followed the lead of Leopold and Marshall and defined wilderness as an area that is "untrammelled by man" (Congress, 1964).

Most of the arguments for the preservation of wilderness until this point (possibly excluding Muir) had been anthropocentric, only taking what was best for humans into account. Throughout the next twenty years people would begin to state that wilderness and natural areas should be preserved for their own rights. These more eco-centric arguments culminated in the Gaia hypothesis which views the Earth as a living organism with its own right to life (Jelinski, 2005). While this view retains many adherents, the economic impetus for conservation is more often employed and usually has a better chance of success. Nelson (1998) reviews thirty arguments for the preservation of wilderness, most of which are anthropocentric. This makes sense due to the fact that people need to be convinced that preservation of land will benefit them in some way - whether it is through tourism dollars or watershed health or resource extraction - especially if those people are being denied direct economic benefits of resource extraction.

While the debate between preservation (environmentalism) and conservation continues, other factors have been raised to muddy the water further. One debate concerns the “received wilderness” concept. This debate is centered on the idea that the entire concept of wilderness is a social construct. If the idea and definition of wilderness is called into question is it still helpful to preservation? According to Plumwood (1998) there are two main conceptions of wilderness that we have received from past generations. The first is the archaic definition that defines wilderness as the evil, chaotic “other” of Christian history and the second is that defined in the Wilderness Act (Congress, 1964), untrammelled by man.

Callicott (1998 [1991]) offers a three pronged critique of the received concept of wilderness. The first criticism is that this concept maintains the nature - culture dichotomy. Whether the Earth is seen as something to be dominated or a victim, this separation is not good for the preservation of wilderness. His second point of critique is that the received wilderness concept is ethnocentric in that it does not account for native impact and therefore portrays a myth of a “pristine” ecosystem – whatever that is. The third point that Callicott makes is that the concept is timeless, it does not allow for natural ecosystem change.

Foreman (1998) responds to these points and others in his reply to Callicott’s article. Foreman submits that doing away with the Western separation between nature and culture is dangerous because to view humans as just another part of nature would give people an excuse to degrade the environment and not protect wilderness. Foreman also states that the wilderness concept has never *not* acknowledged the fact that native peoples impacted their environments (in fact Marshall addresses this in 1930) but that it is a question of scale. Moran (2006b, 2008) states that ecological anthropologists now accept that humans have always

altered their environment to one degree or another: there is no pristine landscape. There is also some debate as to how much a part of “nature” humans are. For example, Callicot (1998 [1991]) states that like beavers or elephants, humans “naturally” degrade their environment. However, the idea of viewing humans as just another part of nature is controversial and can be used as an excuse for environmental damage (see Foreman, 1998; and Snyder, 1998 [1995]). What would the Earth be like if there were over six billion elephants? This scenario would never happen due to certain ecological principles that no longer apply to humans (see also Hardin, 1968: 1246, “Freedom to Breed is Intolerable”).

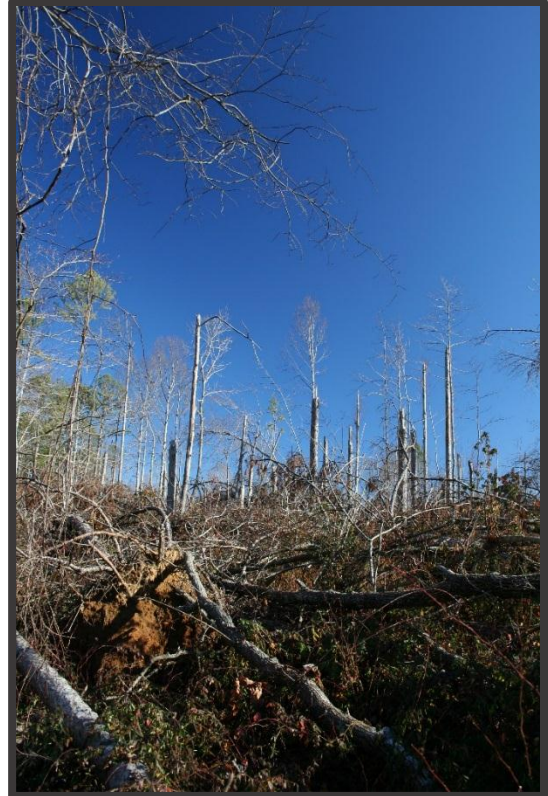
The question of preservation of wilderness has remained a contentious issue. Even if there were no economic potential involved, there are usually conflicts of interest and definition among those who use wilderness areas for outdoor recreation purposes. I began by stating that wilderness areas and natural areas are among the most contentious in the Shawnee Hills. One example is the lawsuit filed by the “Shawnee Trails Conservancy” v. National Forest Service (2000), which attempted to shift control of old, abandoned road beds in wilderness and natural areas from the jurisdiction of the forest service to the counties so that equestrians could ride horses and all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) would be allowed on those roads, which otherwise they are not. This particular court case failed but it demonstrates how wilderness is still being negotiated and contested among outdoor recreation users in the Shawnee.

Rough Terrain

It seems that my walks in the woods grow more complicated by the moment. It has become a hike over the rough terrain of ideology and identity. If my place is different than your place, and that place occupies the same space how do we reach agreement on the use of our place? If nature is in opposition to culture and culture is dominant over nature, what is the point of preservation in the first place? Or, if there is no distinction, does this give humanity license to degrade the environment further? If nature exists exclusively to serve and benefit humanity, either through resource extraction or as a spiritual refuge, then whose use takes precedence? Conflict over nature and how and what nature means, and how and what nature is used for is at the forefront of the environmentalist movement. These conflicts can only be resolved and the many questions can only be answered by incorporating all lines of research concerning the issue. So, now I walk through the woods and I often think about culture, identity, and place. After all, our preservation and conservation ethics will only be worthy of exportation once there are mechanisms of conflict resolution that solve our own environmental conflicts.



Figure 6: Rocky Bluff Trail, Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge



Figures 7a and b: The North Woods before (left, Figure 7a) and after (right, Figure 7b) the tornado.



Figure 8: River to River Trail litter.

CHAPTER V

RECREATION AND CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

“Most people want to avoid conflict, but in some cases avoiding confrontation...all it does is empower the person that's doing something illegal. And that is something that I definitely learned 'cause there were times that even at public meetings when the press was there, when congressional representatives were there, you know. There was one in Golconda where there were two [congressional] representatives there, one from Indiana and Glenn Poshard from here and I was the only environmentalist there to counter some of the comments made by the pro-horse, pro-ATV, pro-motorcycle, pro-logging crowd. As soon as it was officially over I found myself completely surrounded by gentlemen, o.k. I'm 6 feet and weigh just about 180lbs. and these guys were freakin' giants, no necks and you know, bibs and the whole nine yards. And these guys are standing, towering over me and basically goin' you're not getting' out of this room. And if it wasn't for a congressman coming over and saying Ken, I want to talk to you about something, there was a very real possibility that I could've been physically hurt. In a public meeting! There was a another public meeting over the wilderness issue that was at the Vienna courthouse and when the meeting was over, for some reason I had on a bright red sweater, and when I left

the building there was a clump of the pro-people. And when I started going through, you know, I started to go excuse me, and I had someone mumble, I'm gonna kill me a red bird tonight. And then when I got into my truck to go home, as I am goin' around the square two other pick-up trucks pull out and came in behind me and followed me half-way back, they followed me all the way heading up towards Draper's Bluff."

- Ken

Introduction: Cycles of Conflict

Conflict surrounding the environment is unavoidable. While human population continues to grow exponentially, space is always in high demand. As the old saying goes, land is the only thing nobody is making more of. When that space becomes place conflicts become more intense and more personal. Many of the conflicts that will be discussed in this second section run concurrently, and many of the participants are the same. Each conflict is over a specific activity taking place on public land and all reflect different ideas concerning what is best for the environment of Southern Illinois and/or the people of Southern Illinois.

Each chapter of this work examines a specific recreational conflict that has erupted in Southern Illinois over the last thirty years. Chapter V explores the unique conflicts over hunting in the area, while chapters VI and VII delve into the conflicts surrounding the use of all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) and equestrian use of the forest, respectively. In each chapter, I also examine the concepts of place and possible links to nature – culture dichotomies that may inform these

conflicts. My original plan for this work was to limit the focus to recreational conflicts; however, I quickly realized that it is impossible to separate non-recreational conflicts. In the minds of the participants all conflict over the use of public space, whether over recreational use or commercial use, are related and inseparable. Due to connection of the experience between recreational and extractive conflicts, I have included a brief introductory section on the logging conflict that occurred in the region during the late 1980's through the 1990's.

Forest Again?

Conflicts over the use of public land in Southern Illinois have not always been based on recreation. Long after the clearing of Southern Illinois and the establishment of the Shawnee National Forest and long after the Civil Conservation Corps and other groups were disbanded, timber extraction again became a point of conflict between different groups of stakeholders in the region. The circumstances were a bit different, but conflict over trees was beginning again. In the early 1900's the loss of too much forest to agriculture was the major issue of the region. In the 1980's and 1990's the conflict became over whether to harvest any trees at all from public land. The region was no longer considered the "wasteland" of Illinois. Some wanted to renew logging and, by their thinking, all of the economic benefits that went along with commercial extraction of timber. Others did not want the forest to be logged at all.

When I used to think of environmental conflict over commercial extraction of timber I had a very clear picture in my mind. I thought of the Pacific Northwest, because that is where my experience with environmental conflict had been. I thought of long, high hills that looked

like some giant had shaved off the top and left rings of trees around the bottom, like male-pattern baldness. I thought of the plight of the spotted owl and old growth forests. I thought about flannel-clad loggers on one side, and pony-tailed environmentalists on the other. I did not think of Southern Illinois. Even years after I had moved here I did not realize that there had been any sort of commercial timber extraction or surrounding controversy. I moved to the area after a court ordered injunction on resource extraction had gone into effect. And so I resided in blissful ignorance of the conflict that had begun in the 1980's and, for the most part, ended the year before I had arrived in 1997.

Much of this controversy can be traced back to the original controversy of the wilderness debate discussed in chapter III. It revolved around the question of humanity's chief motivation for the designation of public forests in the first place: preservation or conservation. Do we protect the land so that it will benefit us in a spiritual sense (preservation) or a commercial sense (conservation)? The National Forest Service's stated mission is to "sustain the health, diversity, and productivity of the Nation's forests and grasslands to meet the needs of present and future generations" (US Forest Service, 2013). This statement clearly implies that commercial lumber extraction would fall under the umbrella of productivity and continue Pichot's emphasis on multiple-use conservation. This philosophy creates conflict when the people's stated "need" is the preservation of the forest. This underlying contradiction in the mission of the Forest Service has been played out many times in the past forty years. And many citizens around the Shawnee began to ask who reaps the benefits of this productivity and at whose expense?

Cutting and Conflict

Once the forests of Southern Illinois had been re-established, logging and selective logging began again to become a point of dispute among stakeholders. Much of the contention surrounding logging stemmed from the practice of clear-cutting, or the felling and removal of all trees in a certain area. Controversy over the practice of clear-cutting dates back to the early 1900's, even within the Forest Service (Williams, 2007). Throughout this period the Forest Service went back and forth in policy over whether or not clear-cutting was an acceptable logging procedure and there were several controversies involving the public and logging companies (see Williams, 2007). After World War II, the demand for lumber products increased dramatically and the method of clear-cutting once again became the dominant form of logging on public land throughout the country (De La Garza, 1989).

The Forest Service authorized 160 clear-cuts in the Shawnee National Forest between 1980 and 1990 with two major objectives. The first was the potential income based on the sale of the timber itself and the second was returning these areas to their native condition of predominantly oak/hickory forest. Throughout the country the Forest Service sells the right to cut trees on public land for both the Service's and commercial profit. However, the Shawnee National Forest had lost money on all logging concessions. Year after year the Forest Service, and consequently, tax payers wound up losing money on the investment of their public land. In 1987 the Forest Service sold a record 12 million board feet of timber and lost \$798,000 in the process. The loss in 1989 was \$728,000 (Smith, 1990). The loss in 1992 was \$805,440 (Getting a Better Deal, 1994). Most of this loss comes from building roads and bridges for loggers to

access timber (Smith, 1990). The Shawnee Forest Service has also stated that costs incurred through policing logging sites have also added to the incurred losses.

Clear-cutting opens the canopy to the sunlight and theoretically allows moderate shade-tolerant and shade intolerant species (such as oak) more opportunity for growth (Long and Groninger, 2010). The Forest Service has asserted that “Clearcuts... emulate natural disasters such as fires, [and] allow sunshine to saturate the forest, enhancing growth” (De La Garza, 1998). However, while the regeneration of any plant life after a clear-cut is dependent on several factors, many studies have shown that oaks are not the dominant species post clear-cut (Groninger and Long, 2008; Jenkins and Parker, 1998; Long and Groninger, 2010). While the above mentioned research shows that clear-cutting is not necessarily conducive to the regeneration of oak/hickory forest, there is also the matter of the scenery and experience of logging on public lands.

Most people who have been to a clear-cut area of any forest have a visceral reaction to it. Even the Forest Service concedes the aesthetic issue. In 1993, John Schultz, then the head ranger for the Elizabethtown district of the Shawnee National Forest stated “Aesthetically and socially it may not work. But biologically it does” (Fisher, 1993:15). Regardless of whether clear-cutting “works” or not, on a national level the Forest Service was also admitting to the ugly landscapes that clear-cutting resulted in. F. Dale Robertson was the chief of the Forest Service from 1987 to 1993, and stated that clear-cutting “looked like abuse of the land” (Williams, 2007). One reporter who was brought to a Southern Illinois clear-cut site at Whoopie Cat Lake remarked that “it looked as if a hurricane hit it...” (Fisher, 1993:15). However, some do not have this reaction. One lumber agency spokesman was quoted as stating that clear-cutting was just

like harvesting a field of corn, it was no different to him. The obvious difference is that a field of corn will grow back to height in one season, while many tree species have grown hundreds of years to achieve maturity. In 1988, the Shawnee Forest Service partially relented and banned clear-cutting on large-scale tracts, but smaller cuts continued (De La Garza, 1989).

The Lines Are Drawn

Within the Shawnee National Forest during this time, there were two clearly defined factions involved in the logging conflict. On one side was a conglomeration of environmentalist and preservationist groups such as The Regional Association of Concerned Environmentalists (RACE), Sierra Club, Earth First! as well as others. Overwhelmingly, these groups were opposed to logging of any sort. The other side was chiefly made up of employees of the logging industry, industry groups (such as the Illinois Wood Products Association) and commercial logging companies, whose chief argument for logging public land was the possibility of profit and bringing economic opportunity to an admittedly economically depressed area.

The National Forest Service's stated goal was to mediate between these two sides. However, once the timber was sold, the Forest Service was clearly on the side of the lumber companies that wanted to claim what they had paid for and the Forest Service had sold them. An ex-Forest Service employee with whom I spoke told me that he was actually told by a 25 year veteran of the Forest Service that the protesters and environmental activists were the "enemy." It has been shown that forest managers tend to be more in line with industry due to socialization (Twight and Lyden, 1989). Ken, an environmentalist who was active in issues

concerning the Shawnee for many years, explained to me that in the 1986 Forest Plan, the Shawnee was opened to almost all logging.

“It [1986 plan] gave them free reign to cut any frickin’ thing they wanted and the Forest Service was supposed to do an environmental assessment for timber sales and they were doing it with a one-page environmental assessment that was basically identical for every sale.”

There are many examples of direct conflict between these groups at logging sites in the Shawnee Forest during this period. One of the earliest and most covered by local media took place over several months at Fairview Woods, in the southwestern part of the forest. A large-scale, prolonged protest over the Fairview timber sale was initiated by members of RACE. The plan was to camp a short distance from where the loggers would be entering the tract. Protesters from RACE and Earth First! camped at this location for more than three months while the loggers attempted to work, and there were many instances of conflict between the two groups.

Environmentalists employed non-violent civil disobedience tactics that are common to this type of protest. The first and most important goal was to make it difficult for the loggers to gain entry into the site and therefore more difficult to do their jobs. Some common ways in which this is accomplished is to block access to the site with the bodies of protesters or to chain one’s self to a piece of equipment. Both were practiced at Fairview, as well as a few interesting

ways to achieve the same goal. One morning when the media, the Forest Service and the logging company employees arrived at the site they found that overnight the protesters had located and half-buried a junked out car in the main access road to the site (Earth First!, 1990). Digging a large enough hole to even half-buried a vehicle must have been an enormous amount of labor. The Forest Service response (in addition to removing the car) was to state that it was odd that the environmentalists had taken to littering (Earth First!, 1990).

One year later there were still protests at Fairview, even though the encampment was no longer there. In August of 1991, 17 people were arrested for blocking the logging road on charges that ranged from violation of a closure order to resisting arrest (Sign Protest, 1991). Many of these people were released after they signed statements that they would not return to Fairview until after the cut had ended.

Most of the media coverage of the Fairview timber sale report variations of these same tactics; however, with the presence of the environmentalist group Earth First! there were also rumors of what one environmentalist I interviewed referred to as "direct action." Earth First! is an organization that specialized in this type of direct action, also known as monkey wrenching, and was memorialized in the fictional works of Edward Abbey (*The Monkey Wrench Gang*, 1975 and *Hayduke Lives*, 1990). Earth First! was described to me, by Chino, in the following way:

"The thing about Earth First! is that it is a leaderless movement but it's not the same [as other leaderless movements]. They wanted it for security because they were much more interested in direct action, tree-spiking, sabotage of machinery,

they call it monkey wrenching. They published a book that told you how to do it, they published a journal for years. The people who started Earth First! were very, very, different than the people who set up the Fairview encampment. But the idea was that anyone can use the moniker. It was giving the people the benefit of the doubt, assuming that if they were going to use the name and fly the flag that they were going to share the same principles, but it was a different generation, just different people and different perspectives. So what we had then was the Fairview crowd flying an Earth First! flag, quite literally and saying they were part of Earth First!”

Rumors of tree spiking and other direct action were common within the community and denied by many environmentalists. Tree spiking is an action supported by Earth First! for many years. Metal, ceramic or plastic spikes are hammered into trees so that the tree is unusable for either the production of lumber or making into pulp for paper products. There is also some amount of theoretical danger to the logger when the tree is being cut down and then again at the mill, when the tree is being made into either lumber or pulp. There is disagreement as to whether or not this tactic was employed at Fairview and other logging sites in the Shawnee during this time. One former member of the Sierra Club assured me that no one spiked trees in the Shawnee; however, the local media and other activists told a somewhat different story. “More ominously. Forest Service officials said Tuesday they found 29 spikes on Friday that the protesters allegedly had pounded into trees. If a logger’s chainsaw hits one of the hidden spikes, it could recoil, endangering arms, legs and lives” (Dellius, 1991).

Although there is always the chance of hitting alien material inside a tree when logging, most often the material is not put there by environmentalists. It is also contentious as to whether spiked trees actually pose any threat to loggers or mill workers. Part of this tactic includes warning loggers and the general public is alerted to the presence of the spikes. The goal is to prevent the trees from being cut down, not to cause injury to loggers or mill workers. One person I interviewed told me that during the Shawnee cuts, the press reported that communiques were sent to local media outlets stating that certain stands of trees had been spiked. Other methods of alerting loggers are signs posted around the site and specific trees marked. Below is an example of such a sign from Oxford City, England alerting loggers to a spiking operation (see figure 9).

Further, there have been very few reports of injuries due to tree spiking and no deaths. I was only able to find one report of a serious spiking related injury from 1987 when a mill worker was injured when a blade broke when it contacted a metal spike buried in a tree that was being processed (Lumber Mill Worker, 1987). Even in this case, the exact cause is suspect due to reports of shoddy equipment being used at the particular mill. There remains a great deal of controversy as to whether or not this tactic is at all effective as many timber companies will still cut the trees even if they know they are spiked, and then not process them (Williams, 1988).

Despite some activists' denials, it appears that this sort of direct action was undertaken in the Shawnee during the height of the logging conflict; however, the vast majority of the protests were a practice in non-violent civil disobedience. Below is how one local activist, Maynard, summed up the situation.

“There was some media hype that a wave of direct action was going to sweep the country, including this area. But there was a certain amount of conflict that was extra-legal, that was beyond the non-violent civil disobedience. There was a certain amount of direct action, it was reported in the paper. Its funny, environmental activists say that it was a hoax designed to make our community look bad. I don’t believe that. Some people just didn’t want to lose that fight. They didn’t care how much they were on the news, or how cool they looked, they just didn’t want to lose. That’s my guess. There was a certain amount of direct action, but I think it was extremely limited and the reporting of it was limited. The nature of the conflict with the ATV riders, not that many years later, that conflict came way out of the courtrooms, came onto the trails.”

Conflicts Between Environmental Groups

“1989 was a year of momentum and expectations. I thought that because of what I perceived as a shift in momentum in the movement, that these issues stood to get resolved... because reading in the paper and watching on TV you got the feeling everybody was getting on the right page and finally starting to see these things from an eco-centric point of view.”

- Chino

One theme that seems to run through many of the environmental conflicts in the Southern Illinois area is the conflict within sides of the conflicts, especially conflicts between environmental groups. As stated above, in this particular case there were two major sides to this conflict; pro-logging and anti-logging. However, within the anti-logging, “environmentalist” side there were many conflicts and varying opinions. Some wanted logging banned entirely from the forest, some thought that clear-cutting was the major evil and other types of harvesting might be acceptable. While these differing viewpoints were important, possibly the most damaging to their cause was the difference in opinion over what tactics would work the best for the desired results, and how these differences reflected differences in ideology, worldview and social class.

Many environmentalists that I interviewed for this project cited differences between the group that they were a member of and other environmental groups in the area; however, very few of them wanted to go on record to air those grievances. While RACE and Sierra Club have worked together on many issues in Southern Illinois there are undercurrents of conflict between the two groups. Chino, who was not a member of either of the aforementioned groups, visited the encampment several times and explained the experience and the difference in identities in the following way:

KW: “So you were at the Fairview encampment, is that what everybody called it?

An encampment?”

C: "Yeah, the organizers [RACE] called it an encampment. They were there for the better part of 90 days, I guess, before they were forcible ejected by the State Police and Forest Service law enforcement."

KW: "And how did you hear about it?"

C: "Local media. I had just moved to Carbondale [from elsewhere in the region] and I was aware of the activist community and I read the paper. I wanted to go out there for some weeks. I think they had been there for 30 days and they were gonna hold a workshop on non-violent civil disobedience and it was going to be held by Earth First! which is an organization that I had heard a little bit about. I didn't go out there and camp. I wasn't there for all the action. I didn't chain myself to anything, or bury myself up to my neck in the middle of the logging road. I went and visited them, just twice.

I got there and I had all these expectations. It was almost like a kid, where you had time to think about a situation before going into it and you expected it to be a certain way. And I gotta say it was exactly the opposite of what I thought, period. Of what I was looking for. I thought it was gonna be people that were extremely dedicated to this local forest. And granted there were a few of them there that were locals, that are still here...even if they had moved here from someplace else, they have been here a long, long time. But mostly, it was a scene, that's what they were doing, they were making the scene. I can't really fault them for trying to have fun while you're camping in the woods, but it was a party, big

time. And I got the impression immediately, and it was validated again and again throughout my experience with them, that it could have been almost any cause. That these were primarily students, kids that were going to be here and gone in about four or five years, [it was a] whole experience for them. It was the prominent scene if you wanted to be involved in activism in the area. It was the one, it was on the front page of the papers. It was on the news. Even the workshop I attended was covered heavily by the local media.”

It is interesting in the previous statement that Chino categorizes the demonstrators into different groups based on their term of residency in the area. He also correlates residency to the seriousness of the protester. Locals and long term transplants fall into one group for Chino, and that group was more serious and determined to protect the local forest and dedicated to local issues. To Chino, students were just there to be part of a certain “scene” and did not have the devotion to the Shawnee Forest that locals and long-term transplants did. He goes on to explain below why he perceived that the transient student population was less serious, and therefore less likely to impact the conflict.

KW: “What was it about the people that led you to believe that they weren’t really serious?”

C: “The first thing, I mean this is dead honest and I always feel sort of classist talking about it, but the first thing was that they didn’t have their shit together.

And I don't just mean their cause, I mean their camp. It was a mess. They were a mess. In a nice clearing and that, but they didn't run a tight camp. Immediately it spoke to me about their personalities. I expected a certain amount of discipline. People are gonna go live across the logging road they are gonna lay their bodies on the line to stop a timber sale I expected a certain amount of discipline and again what I found was people that were just looking for some action, something to do while they were going to school or while they were winding up to go to a better place than this, or cooler place than this. [At one time] I had NO resentment of outsiders. That's what I have to call them, people who come here just to go to college even like the, you know the hunters, the tourists. I had very little to no resentment of these people. It's funny cause the Fairview thing may have been the start of it, cause they were just passing through. It may have colored my thinking of it because I was thrown by it. I don't know, but these people were putting on this shit like it was a Halloween costume. Their "activist" clothes and their "activist" face and their "activist" shit that they talked and it was shit, it was bullshit. The first thing after the workshop starts and its two young women kickin' back in lounge chairs and they start babbling, there is no focus, they have no notes, they've probably discussed for about three minutes what they are gonna talk about and got sidetracked doing that. It was ridiculous and one of the first things they mentioned was that more important than environmental issues were women's issues...they were eco-feminists. And I just thought there's a prescription for fragmentation right there. It was endemic in

that crowd, it wasn't just them. It was everybody there was talking the same kinda shit. If it wasn't eco-feminism, it was the rights of oppressed people here, there, everywhere...everywhere but Fairview woods."

KW: "So, it was a lack of focus on the issue at hand?"

C: "Big time, big time. They were a lot more focused on making beer runs. And I don't disparage 'em, especially the ones who stayed for when the police came, but there was a tremendous lack of focus. Sort of a lack of seriousness. [It was an] ad hoc deal and I think that's the trend with the hippie thing, I don't even know what to call it anymore...there's this trend to have no leaders, no plan. I just resent that. It was very important to me, even though I didn't have a personal connection to Fairview woods, the Shawnee Forest has been my life, honestly. From my first steps, it has been my life. If I was away from it I dreamed about coming back to it, when I'm here I live as close to it as I can get, closer than anybody you'll meet. I resented it. I thought well I hope you guys are having fun and you're simultaneously branding the movement at the same time, for everybody to see. What you do here is gonna be the face of it. Some of those people that were there in the years since have done so much to affect the image of the activist community, negatively."

Above, Chino struggles to give credit to those that stayed at the site, while at the same time holding them accountable for branding the environmentalist movement as a less than

serious way for people to rebel. He states his resentment again and again when he talks about transients focusing on issues other than the Fairview cut. He states his resentment towards transients again when he compares their lack of local focus to his own history with the Shawnee and the importance of the forest in his own life. Chino felt like the “silliness” of the protesters was appropriating his place. He believed that to the transients at the encampment the Shawnee forest was just space, and that they would soon enough move on to the next space. To Chino, they were not concerned with the long-term health of the place. To Chino, locals and transplants are insiders and transients have placed themselves on the outside.

KW: “Do you empathize with the pro-logging, pro-equestrian in as far as ‘well look at these people opposing these things’?”

C: “I think empathy is probably too strong a word, but understanding it, I understand where the lines are drawn. I understand how the personalities are depicted. It’s the whole reason that, the way I see it, what you would call the environmental activist community...we are steadily losing ground, even if we win certain things, like ATV bans or whatever, enforcement is going to fall off or is misdirected. I can sympathize with the equestrians, (I don’t call them that, I call them cowboys), I can sympathize with the loggers, especially the guys with the really small family outfits, the locals that have been here four or five generations, because they have only seen the silliest face of this, on the news or on the protest lines.

They've seen the dude who's buried up to his neck in the logging road and they had to make special arrangements for his beard because it was so long. They've seen that o.k. and he's a freak show, he might as well be Willie Wonka to them. They've seen the chick who dresses like the Indiana bat everywhere she goes and does interpretive dances to educate people on the importance of the forest and I'm sorry it don't fly, this is Southern Illinois, no matter how much anybody wants it to be someplace else. It's unique [Southern Illinois] and freak shows dressed as bats... winning and losing didn't matter to her, the joy was in the action and the attention. It wasn't about results. I think the silliest thing the activist community has done has really been to have no leaders, no communication, no discipline, no strategy. People have stepped up to be the face of it and they are almost repellent. I'm a very alternative person, not a young republican type but I'm freaked out by these people, and so what do you think that a bunch of forest research students and loggers are gonna do? Who have been brainwashed since day one that they need to log or do whatever the hell they want to on the forest, what are they gonna think? They are gonna hate us even more, they are gonna hate anyone that's against the heavy-handed policy of the forest. They are gonna lump them into that group of a bunch of weirdoes, again I can attest they are. Not to a person, not by a long shot. There are some people who have done some real serious work, but the ones that you'll see on TV, the ones you'll read about in the paper, it's just narcissism period."

KW: "Was Sierra Club there?"

C: "If they were it was only to visit and then wash their hands as quick as possible. Sierra Club is a bunch of yuppies and a bunch of misguided upper middle class people. Again, I am sure there are exceptions. I had a lot of respect for a guy who headed up the Sierra Club around here. Come on, Sierra Club is such an institution. It attracts a certain class of people. In the Forest Service I worked with a group of Sierra Club volunteers and they were people who had never done any serious physical work. I mean they were great, they worked hard, injured themselves left and right trying but they were not a go-out-in-the-woods-and-do-trail-work crowd, it was more a recycling kinda thing. Or adopt a goat in another country. It's a classist thing with me. Its personality. Sierra Club wants to work at a higher level, at a lobbying level. It's a big money operation. The presidents they pick now are all from the business community. It's just a whole different style. Then you got RACE down here and these people want to run naked in the woods in the rain. Sierra Club has always been opposed to direct action and always been opposed to Earth First! Openly. Because they feel it hurts the image. Some people don't care about the image...they just want to win the fight."

Chino demonstrates the fractious quality of the environmental community. He describes the different personalities of the two major environmental groups in the area, RACE and Sierra Club, and how these two groups are perceived to be on different sides of a class divide. Chino does not seem to identify with either of these groups, he seems to describe them as two groups

with polar objectives, neither of which is appropriate for him. To Chino, RACE should care more about the image of the environmental movement, so that they are taken more seriously. Sierra Club is overly conscience of image to the point where only legal action is viable in protecting the environment, even if it does not “win the fight.”

Chino is not only making a point about social class differences but also about the difference in the two groups’ relationship with nature. He gives credit to those at the RACE encampment, disordered as it may have been, for actually camping out in the woods for approximately three months. This extended stay showed a closer relationship to nature than his perception of the Sierra Club members, who, to Chino, are more superficial, or more academic than practical.

Another interview with Ken, an ex-member and leader of the local chapter of the Sierra Club, demonstrates a different perspective. Ken was aware that members of other environmental groups perceived his group as being less motivated than themselves due to their lack of action outside the courts and outside of the forest.

“All the Earth Firsters! Came out of the woodwork for that [Fairview]. Sierra Club people weren’t allowed to go up there and bury ourselves in the freakin’ road. We couldn’t do stuff like that, we would’ve been thrown out. If you join Sierra Club that’s the thing. We were looked at like a bunch of wusses because we weren’t gonna go out there and put spikes in trees, and shoot loggers.”

These interviews show the importance of image to the environmentalist movement and how that image is co-opted by different groups within the movement. What Chino saw and experienced at the Fairview encampment colored how he thought of these groups during other conflicts over the Shawnee Forest in the future, just as the Sierra Club had an image that they felt was important to portray. It is also clear that, to Chino, connection to place has a great deal to do with the success or failure of the movement. The idea that the protesters did not have as much invested in *that* place that they were supposedly there to protect, was evident to Chino in their lack of focus and their tendency to draw the conflict into more philosophical areas, such as eco-feminism. This tendency, to Chino, further removed focus from the duty of saving the specific and meaningful place. Many of the Southern Illinois locals that I interviewed shared this perception of this protest, and others throughout the region, as being the idea of and mostly comprised of outsiders - those transient residents drawn to Southern Illinois by the major university, that would leave for the next place and the next issue soon enough. For example, Hendee and Flint (2007) found that short-term residents were more concerned about environmental issues while long-term residents were more concerned about the economy, and that these environmentally conscious, short-term residents were creating conflicts within the Shawnee.

One other thing that is important to note in this interview is the difference in opinion based on whether the logging company was a small local company or a large corporate entity. While Chino, and others I spoke to, believed that Shawnee National Forest is too small to permit any extractive use, their feelings were slightly different if the extraction was done by small-scale, local outfits.

Conflict of Another Color

In 1996 judge Phil Gilbert placed an injunction on both timber and mineral extraction in the Shawnee National Forest (Shawnee Logging, 1997). The Forest Service was allowed to follow through with the final cut at Bell Smith Springs in 1997 (Westvaco Begins, 1997); however, since that cut there has been no logging on the Shawnee National Forest. While the environmentalist community applauded Judge Gilbert's decision and felt that they had won a battle for the forest, many others opined the loss of perceived opportunity that came with logging. Some stakeholders in a 2007 survey viewed harvesting positively and wanted more logging to occur on public lands (Hendee et al., 2007), while others believed that the forest should be left alone (Hendee and Flint, 2007).

The end of the logging controversy did not end environmental conflict in Southern Illinois. Attention of environmentalists, and the public in general, was instead directed to other controversies including hunting, ATV use and equestrian use of the forest. While the focus changed to these other issues, many of the players and groups were the same as those in the logging conflict. Those who were pro-logging tended to be pro-ATV and pro-equestrian. The following chapters follow this change from conflicts based on extractive use of public land to recreational use. However, as I write this the area is once again on the road to conflict over resource extraction, and the cycle continues.

WARNING! WARNING!
This tree has been
SPIKED
...with ceramic, non-ferous and / or
brass spikes to save it from felling.
A white 'S' marks each spiked tree.
These spikes do not harm the tree.
Thirty trees are now spiked so far.
**DO NOT USE A CHAINSAW
ON THIS TREE OR YOU RISK
BREAKING THE CHAINSAW!**
For more information see:-
<http://saveextrees.wordpress.com>

Figure 9: Sign that was placed on trees during a campaign to prevent the logging in Oxford City, England (Save Oxford Trees, 2013).

CHAPTER VI BLOOD

Headless Deer and Dead Coyote

There are a few times a year when a walk in the woods is not the safe and simple experience one would expect. The worst time to go on a hike or backpacking trip is during deer hunting season, commonly referred to as “deer season.” Technically, there are many “deer seasons,” with some of them overlapping in duration. Each year beginning on October first, bow hunters are allowed to hunt from sunrise to sunset, seven days a week until late winter. There are also short seasons for hunters using black powder-type firearms, specific pistols, and shotguns. Shotgun deer season occurs during two weekends in the fall, usually right before and right after Thanksgiving. Sometimes I even feel vulnerable driving down the roads: there are lines of trucks parked along the sides of the roads and one never knows how far these hunters go into the woods before setting up to hunt, or how much knowledge they may, or may not have, about the woods in general. Did they get turned around? Are they perhaps pointing their shotguns right at the road without knowing? My vehicle is roughly the color of a deer. The dealer called it gold, but it’s more fawn.

Everyone who lives in my neighborhood is either a hunter or at least has some knowledge concerning the subject. You might be very hard pressed to find someone who is “against” hunting. You can ask me, a vegetarian, animal-loving environmentalist, about hunting and I would give you two explanations concerning why I am pro-hunting. The first is an ecological reason: there are too many deer and not enough big predators. Southern Illinois’

deer population is huge as a consequence. I would rather the deer be shot (preferably shot well) than suffer from starvation or disease. The second reason would be personal: in the height of summer, when the deer are raiding my garden every night, I wish there were less of them. Plain and simple selfishness; it is my garden and there is plenty of food for them in the woods.

When I began asking local hunters if they would be interested in talking to me about hunting one common concern stuck out... "Are you one of those animal rights extremist?" This question was asked with eyes crunched down into slits, on the look-out for deception hidden within my answer. Maybe I would use the interview to make hunters look bad. I always said no and meant it. I do think that hunting is beneficial to this region in many ways; however, there are a few things that I have found personally disturbing about hunting in the Shawnee National Forest, and probably all public lands on which hunting is allowed throughout the country. It is not uncommon to come across poached deer. I have seen a literal pile of headless deer dumped at a parking area adjacent to Crab Orchard Lake, which is one of the most popular hunting sites for out of town hunters in the region. Their bodies stacked one on top of the other, flies busy. After the most recent deer season, one of the locals told me about another young doe's body. He had been out for a hike and noticed her right at the parking area of the trail head. I went to look and discovered two bodies. One was headless and the doe to which he had referred, had a rope around her neck and was partially skinned. It did not look like any of the meat had been taken (see figure 10). Most hunters themselves abhor this behavior. For example, a hunter that I talked with frequently for this project, Ed, explained it to me in the following way.

“I have physically seen them with their heads cut off...dumped. Big bodied deer and their head cut off and it's a sickening sight. That's not a trophy hunter there, that's somebody who's raping the country. Not right at all.”

Deer are not the only animals hunted in this region. There are turkey, squirrel, rabbit, duck and goose seasons as well. Some animals are always in season, like coyotes. One morning I woke up to the thickest fog I had ever seen. I had been waiting for a day like this to go and take pictures at a certain part of Devil's Kitchen Lake. It was perfectly still as I drove the loop road and down to the boat ramp. I walked out to where the land drops off abruptly. From there it is only a few feet to the edge of the water. It was completely silent and the fog made everything feel incredibly close and deadened. It was very eerie but aesthetically perfect and I began to take pictures out over the lake of what were once the crowns of trees at the top of the canyon, but were now skeletons frozen in time with their reflections making them completely suspended.

When I had taken several shots I looked down to see if I could get closer to the lake and realized that the whole time I had been standing about four feet above a dead coyote, its body twisted (see figure 11). Who knows really what this animal had died from, it could have been anything. Gunshot, poison, or some other more natural cause. There was no immediately apparent gunshot trauma and I have to admit, I did not want to look more carefully, but having worked for a veterinarian for five years I knew that some land owners put out anti-freeze in order to kill coyotes (usually neighborhood dogs wind up ingesting the poison as well) and I have heard many stories of people shooting them for sport. Coyotes are considered “varmint”

and there is no permission needed to kill them. There are many reasons why local people would not like or want coyotes on their property. They will hunt chickens and even small dogs, but predators are most often killed just because they are predators. For example, the following conversation is taken from an internet forum entitled "Predator Masters" (Predator Masters, 2009).

"I mainly call coyotes and a few fox from time to time. Bobcats arent legal yet and i wish they were ive called in 2 and i couldnt shoot them..."

"I'm with you Savage, I can't wait till they put bobcats on the menu, I've seen plenty of them around."

From the above description of my own experiences it should be clear that while I am not against hunting in general, there are some aspects of hunting and hunting season that I do not appreciate, some of which fall along the lines of "animal rights" arguments. When I began this project I did not know if there was any controversy surrounding hunting in this area. I knew that nationally, there was a history of anti-hunting movements, mostly based on animal rights issues. This is the basis of any conflict I expected to find surrounding hunting in Southern Illinois. I was wrong.

The Long History of Pot and Sport

“He [the buffalo] is truly a grand and noble beast, and his loss from our prairies and forests is as keenly regretted by the lover of nature and of wild life as by the hunter”

-Theodore Roosevelt (1998 [1897]:71).

Hunting has the longest history of any recreational environmental conflict in the United States; however, this conflict has changed through time from who gets to hunt and when and where to whether hunting is just morally wrong in all forms. Since the discovery and colonization of the United States hunting has been about power. In Europe hunting was the privilege of the elite, and only those who were rich enough to own land were allowed to hunt (Proctor, 2002). The poor associated the ability to hunt with freedom and rebellion, hence the tales of Robin Hood (Cartmill, 1995). Due to the abundance of both land and game, when European colonists began to arrive in the New World hunting was no longer for the rich; anyone could hunt (Proctor, 2002). No matter the original abundance of game and land, this arrangement did not last long.

By 1700, upper class colonists began to complain about game scarcity and to influence policy in order to restrict hunting for the lower classes. “This concern, whether justified or not, meant that...those hunters with political and social power tried to control the access of other, less powerful hunters to the best animals” (Proctor, 2002:5). The conflict between hunters of different social classes illustrates a division among hunters that persists today: those that hunt chiefly for sport and those that hunt for sustenance, or to fill the pot, i.e. pot hunters. The

result of the efforts of sport hunters was that deer seasons were somewhat enforced (for poorer hunters) in some regions, which hampered pot hunters that needed game all year round to support themselves and their families. It should also be noted that during this period sport hunters did consume much of the meat that they hunted. If there was too much for their own families they would give the meat to friends, neighbors, and sometimes slaves. Trophies of hunts were the parts of the animal that could not be consumed: the antlers and sometimes the hides. Proctor (2002) notes that this practice crossed class lines and the taking of trophies came to symbolize masculinity.

The sportsman thought less of the pothunters because they didn't abide by the rules of good sportsmanship, but of course the sportsman did not need to hunt to survive. For example, it was considered un-sportsmanlike to shoot sitting ducks, but admirable to shoot ducks in flight, or on the wing. There were also other methods of hunting that were considered un-sportsmanlike such as baiting and trapping. These methods were used by pot hunters and frontiersmen who hunted to make their living (Proctor, 2002). The difference between rich sport hunters and poor pot hunter was subjective. As Proctor states "Most hunters simply blazed away at any targets that presented themselves, just as they routinely slaughtered more game than they could carry or use" (2002:27), at times killing thousands of animals in a single hunting excursion.

Hunting in this period was integral to the identity of white males in general, and elite white males in particular. The outdoors was considered masculine and so designated for masculine pursuits. Very few women hunted during this period and for those who did it was considered a phase that young women should and would eventually grow out of; certainly by

the time they were ready to be married and begin their own families. For the most part the role of women in hunting was to witness their husbands' prowess in the field. Proctor (2002) also discusses the role of violence in this period as a means of maintaining social control. He details the role of slaves during hunts and states that slaves were not allowed to have guns at all. The main role of slaves on the hunt was to go ahead of the hunters and flush out game, often placing them in the precarious position of being in between their masters and their masters' prey.

Extinction and Re-introduction

By the end of the nineteenth century many species of game animals were rare to regionally extinct throughout the United States. Teddy Roosevelt lamented the loss of the buffalo and extolled the virtue of wilderness in his 1897 essay "The American Wilderness: Wilderness Hunters and Wilderness Game" which was a common theme of frontiersman of that day. In many different regions game animals were becoming scarce. In Illinois, white tailed deer, the largest game animal in the state were virtually extinct due to over-hunting and lack of regulation (History of Deer Management in Illinois, 2013). By 1910 wild turkeys had become extinct in Illinois, despite efforts to retain the few remaining populations (IDNR: Turkey Hunting, 2013). Hunting in America had become a perfect example of the Tragedy of the Commons (Hardin, 1968); every citizen looking out for their own interests had brought near-ruin onto the resource at issue, in this case game animals. America was also on the precipice of

a revolution from agriculture and rural living to manufacturing and the growth of urban centers. Drastic changes in the methods and technology of agriculture and animal husbandry were also occurring. Hunting and the killing and processing of animals was on its way to becoming something that Americans never had to participate in and rarely had to contemplate.

From the late nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth century white tailed deer and turkey, the two most popular game species in Southern Illinois continued to be quite rare. It may be difficult for anyone who has come to live in this area more recently to imagine a Southern Illinois where white tailed deer are so rare that spotting one would elicit excited conversation. Or where wild turkey only exist in memory. Now, when I drive the twelve miles from my home to the closest town I may see five, ten or thirty deer, and during certain times of year, I will most probably see at least one family of wild turkey, but more like two or three. This resurgence in population was due to many things including the re-forestation and designation of the Shawnee National Forest, and other public lands, as well as reintroduction efforts by the Illinois Department of Natural Resources and the United States Forest Service.

From 1950 to the 1970's white tailed deer were slowly being re-introduced throughout the state. A partially re-forested Southern Illinois proved especially good habitat for them. Deer thrive in edge habitat, and Southern Illinois with its patchwork of public and private forested land and agricultural land proved a good fit. So much so that by the 1990's Illinois deer seasons were being extended in all categories, including the addition of seasons that stressed the culling of antlerless, or female deer (History of Deer Management in Illinois, 2013). Roughly the same program followed for the re-introduction of turkeys. In 1959, turkeys began to be wild trapped in other regions with healthy populations and transported to areas in the south and west of

Illinois. Once these populations were stable, turkeys were trapped and brought to still other areas in the state with suitable habitat through 2003 (IDNR: Turkey Hunting, 2013).

Contemporary Hunting and Controversy

While the species hunted in Southern Illinois today are not in any danger of their numbers being depleted, nationally hunting remains a contentious issue. There seems to be two predominant images of modern hunters. The first is the age-old image of the quintessential outdoorsman. The epic specimen of masculinity who was born in the wrong age. This image and identity is a readily apparent theme on many hunting forums found on the internet (see Predator Master, 2013: "I was born 250 years too late!" reads one tag line). Dizard (2003) paints this picture of hunters and agrees that often hunters talk about being born in the wrong time and their desire to be self-sufficient. He goes on to state that many hunters are avid gardeners as part of this pursuit of self-sufficiency. Part of this view seems to be influenced by the idea of the hunter as the ultimate conservationist.

The second predominant image sees hunters in a much more negative light. Cartmil (1995) states that the Western view of hunting is becoming more and more negative and that most Americans believe that all hunting, except that for need, is wrong and should be illegal. This view can be seen in his definition of hunting as "...an armed confrontation..." (Cartmil, 1995:238), calling up images of human warfare. He goes on to state that hunting is not just the killing of an animal, but killing a special animal in a special way: the animal has to be free and

wild or hostile to people, the animal has to be killed on purpose and with violence, and finally the hunter can use no traps or baits (road-kill is not acceptable). Cartmil's views concerning hunting are very obvious and he even uses the term "barbaric" more than once to describe hunting and hunters.

Dizard (2003) objects to this view of hunters and complains that hunters are seen by the rest of the American public as being "stupid, low-lives who enjoy killing" (36). He states that the reason why hunting has gone out of favor is the distance that Americans place between ourselves and death. "...a person who finds pleasure, indeed, deep satisfaction, in killing a living thing must be different, somehow less decent or refined and, conceivably more dangerous, than those who avert their eyes or otherwise ignore where their food, clothing, and shelter came from" (39). He states that eco-feminists, in particular, connect hunting to murder, rape and other violent crime. One example of writing in this tone is Emel's (1998) study in which she equates cruelty to animals (a category in which she includes hunting) to cruelty to humans. She compares two episodes of violence. One details a scene of violence towards a trapped wolf that is beaten to death with a wrench and driven around on the hood of a car. The other involves a Native American who was abducted by a group of white males. He was beaten and driven around in the trunk of a car, stopping at various roadhouses for display. While the wolf was killed and the man was not, both of the bodies were later dumped on the side of a road.

While the above examples are both very clearly acts of violence towards animals and violence towards humans and are remarkably similar in style, I do not make the same connections that Emel makes; that all hunters are natural born killers that may senselessly turn on the rest of humanity at any time. I also do not think that most hunters are idyllic throwbacks

to a previous time, or that all hunters are stewards of nature. The answer is undoubtedly somewhere in between.

While Cartmil (1995) and Dizard (2003) disagree fundamentally in their views on hunters and hunting they do agree on a few points. One of which is the fact that hunters reside in a liminal state between nature and culture when participating in this activity. Dizard (2003) states that hunters draw a clear line between living in normal society and entering the world of nature when they are hunting. Cartmil (1995) contends that this is the reason why there is so much about hunting in myths cross culturally. The second part of his definition of hunting describes this aspect: "...an armed confrontation between the human world and the untamed wilderness, between culture and nature" (Cartmil, 1995:238). This theme held true in my own research. Many of those I interviewed for this project talked about hunting as an escape from the stress of living in everyday society. A way to bridge the western imposed gap between nature and culture. Ed, a lifelong hunter that I interviewed for this project, described it to me in the following way:

"I used to just LOVE to hunt and fish, I mean, just if I had any issues, anything on my mind, I could just go huntin' or fishin' and just escape anything but what I was doing at the time. And it was really nice. It was a nice release for me to go and do something like that."

There are some demographic realities that can be said to describe *most* modern hunters. They are predominantly male and white. They are mostly blue-collar, lower class to

lower-middle class. They are predominantly rural and more conservative politically (Dizard, 2003). These claims, while not always true, are generally in line with my own research, although I did meet quite a few women who are avid hunters. All but one described themselves as being socially conservative at one time, although a few had changed their political views. One other point that I found with hunters in Southern Illinois that was mentioned in many other studies on hunting was the importance of enculturation to the continuity of hunting. Hunting is learned and passed down through families. It is quite rare to meet a hunter that has no family history of hunting and or gun ownership. Rural people, especially through rural socialization, are more committed to hunting than are urban residents (Stedman et al, 2008).

Who Hunts and Where?

Hunters in Southern Illinois appear to fall into two commonly recognized categories by those hunters that I interviewed: local hunters and out of town hunters. The most important difference between these two groups is where they hunt. Local hunters tend to prefer and have access to more private land. Those who travel to Southern Illinois to hunt spend more time hunting on public land. However, as one local hunter explained to me, with the commodification of private deer hunting land this trend is changing. Ed is 40 years old, was raised in Southern Illinois and has been a hunter his whole life. He first went hunting with his paternal grandfather when he was very young and continues to hunt with his family, both with his young sons and his father-in-law.

Like most local hunters that grew up hunting in this area, Ed prefers to hunt on private land. He explains why in the following exchange:

KW: "Do you hunt public or private land?"

Ed: "Both. The lease that I've been a part of is expensive, and since I am struggling, I can't really do that. The group of people that have that lease, it was ten but now it's twelve, because the lease has gotten more expensive. They still will let me come in and hunt, my father-in-law is one of 'em, and a friend of mine, at my wedding...so it's a pretty tight knit group of guys so I still get the benefits of being able to hunt the private ground, but I don't feel - I was always raised to pull my own weight and now I can't do that so I don't want to take advantage of it. I mean I get asked to, you know my father in law, he's getting' older, retired now and he's all the time "come on out here and help me" he's just wantin' work out of me. Which is good for him but I feel like I might be shortin' the other part of the group. So, I will go on occasion but not too much anymore."

When Ed describes above is a common complaint of hunters who have been hunting in Southern Illinois for a substantial period of time. Another hunter, Chuck, explained to me how this system of private land leasing works. Land owners in the region found that they could lease their land to hunters for a high value. Most of these land owners target out-of-town hunters, but the local hunters also wind up having to pay high prices if they want to hunt on private land. When Chuck related to me the going rates of private hunting opportunities, I was unsure

whether the rates were true, or just an exaggerated reflection of the bitterness of hunters that have lived here their entire lives, who hunted on private land when they were boys and were now shut out of private land hunting due to the rise in demand.

After checking on-line, I found that Chuck did not exaggerate. One company offers hunting and lodging (meals excluded) for \$4800.00 per day, per person for a combination of archery and firearm hunting, firearm only was \$3150.00 per day, per person (Campbell's, 2013). These rates did not include tags needed to legally hunt deer, or other fees. These trips are designed for out-of-town hunters that are interested in mediated nature experiences and include both lodging and guiding. For local hunters like Ed, who are interested in less mediated hunting experiences, there are several websites devoted to season-long leases. These do not include any sort of lodging or extras, just the land. This is more the type of arrangement that Ed comments on. I found many that were available for a specified amount of hunters, i.e. no more than four, for \$3000.00 per season and another for a maximum of six hunters for \$5800.00 (Base Camp, 2013).

KW: "So, public land?"

Ed: "I do on occasion."

KW: "And where do you prefer?"

Ed: "Well, I prefer private land 'cause it seems to be more bountiful and I am not sure why it's that way. I don't know if it's the Department of Conservation may not be working to keep an area better for certain types of pressure so that it doesn't have enough for certain types of people...you know the hunters. There is

some good public hunting but you have to spend some time looking around for the areas that provide that. There's, with the public hunting, there is competition and when you find a good spot on that public ground, if they [other hunters] see your vehicle parked at a certain parking lot where there's usually no one there, sooner or later they keep seeing the same car there they're gonna say "Hey, this guy's here quite often" which is pretty common sense that there's something going on in there. You feel that way, whether it's true or not. I like probably the private ground better, it just seems more natural, I guess. For the most part being raised hunting private ground 'cause when I started hunting with my grandfather, he knew all these hunters and stuff and he was raised with or knew their families. But when money started coming in to people from hunters that had disposable incomes to spend on [leases] started driving away that public freedom of hunting on private grounds, so we used to have great access to a lot of great hunting ground. You pull up there and you respect the property and treat it like it's your own and it's kinda a little more friendly, face to face. When you go to the state or public hunting grounds they got all these rules and regulations. A lot of it is common sense that most people are gonna do anyway. I understand the reason they got 'em there, the signs, but it takes away a lot of the intimate feeling of it."

Hunting on private ground seems "more natural" to Ed for multiple reasons. The main reason is that he learned to hunt, alongside his grandfather, on private ground and saw the

positive relationship his grandfather had with the land owners. On private land, you are less likely to run into other hunters, which also makes the experience “more natural.” Hunting on private land is a less mediated experience. The only rule is to respect the land as you would your own. Even if the conduct and regulations that are posted on public land are the same as what would be implicitly expected from a private land-owner, on private land these regulations are not posted, it is a system based more on trust and personal relationships. This difference between private and public land translates for Ed and other hunters (Chuck included) as the difference between a sense of more freedom and less freedom. The less the sense of freedom the less hunting can be felt as an escape from the cultural to the natural. The more unknown hunters a hunter comes upon makes the forest seem less like being apart from culture and more like being in town.

KW: “Do you think that people treat private and public ground the same?”

Ed: “I think people probably don't treat public ground as their own, just my opinion. One thing they don't really have the freedom to ‘cause there's a lot of things that people want to do but it's against state regulation. I started using public ground to hunt squirrel on. There's not a lot of people who squirrel hunt anymore, it's kinda a dying sport and mostly deer hunt, turkey and water fowl. There's still people who hunt squirrel but not like it used to be and I started exploring some of this public ground, like Devil's Kitchen Lake, I started exploring it, Cedar Lake and some around Crab Orchard and up at Rend Lake. Actually, I started hunting Rend Lake and you go and get a map from the Conservation

office and it tells you all of your designated hunting places. Which that was all right, but then you come down to Crab Orchard and that's federal deal and they've got an actual contract, in order to hunt you gotta get a sticker anyway. So I bought the sticker, in order to hunt they want you to have a piece of paper and it tells the rules and regulations. You understand 'em and you sign it and you just keep that in your vehicle then if they ask for it you got it. I thought that's a little bit odd you know, but after I got to huntin' down there and I read the contract its more or less just common sense, being courteous to other hunters. I kinda got the feeling that like really it's all private ground, we all own that you know. I don't know where that come into my perception of signing that paper and thinking this is actually partly my taxes that have paid for this and it kinda give me a sense of ownership with that contract as long as everybody respects everybody we can all use this ground. That kinda made me feel good."

KW: "Did they have a fee for that?"

Ed: "No fee for that, you gotta have that sticker and that contract. Some people might think that's intrusive but I think that for me it put it on a more personal level."

As he stated, Ed prefers to hunt on private ground; however, hunting in Southern Illinois is now a substantial part of the region's tourism income. Out of town hunters pump money into the economy through food and equipment purchases, lodging, use fees (in certain areas), hunting licenses, and processing services for the game that they take. Private land owners

quickly caught on that they could charge these out of town hunters (and consequently local hunters) to use their land to hunt when they had previously been letting local hunters use it for free. It is beneficial to the land-owner, especially land that is agricultural because allowing hunting keeps the deer population down and reduces competition. Through time the price of leases has risen substantially and as one local resident told me, some land owners have found that they can make more money leasing their land and letting the deer population grow than growing corn or soybeans. Therefore, local hunters like Ed, have found themselves in a strange situation. They now have to pay for what they used to be able to do as a favor for a land owner.

Ed typifies the reasons that I have heard from other local hunters that hunt, or at least prefer, to hunt on private ground. The first and most important is that there is not the sense of regulation, even though Ed admits that the regulations are common sense and are not all that different from how he would behave while hunting on private land. As Ed stated, the signs posted around the hunting areas made him feel less free and the experience was a little less intimate. The signs remind the local hunters that it is a public *space*, not their *place*. The signs and the official regulations interrupt the building of place. Other studies of hunters have found similar tendencies in other regions of the United States. Those that hunt private land have more invested in seeing those lands remain healthy, while public land users have less control over other users (Stedman et al., 2008), and thus less of a sense of place. It is logical then that hunters on public land feel less connection to public land. Given this tendency, it is interesting that Ed was reminded that public land is *for the public* and therefore he was a land owner, when he thought about the contract that he signed to be able to hunt on Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge.

The second reason that Ed cited for his preference for private land was echoed by others as well: that there just seems to be more game on private land. There are two possible explanations for this beyond the obvious lack of competition from other hunters that Ed cited. The first is that land owners that lease for hunting will often attempt to bring more deer (or other game) onto their land by planting and raising food exclusively for the deer, and killing predators. I was told this by hunters and land owners alike. It makes sense that land-owners who lease for the purpose of hunting would attempt to make their land more attractive, and therefore more lucrative, by having an abundant deer population. For example, driving around the roads surrounding Devil's Kitchen Lake there are many geese hunting clubs. These clubs attempt to draw more geese in by first building water features like ponds and small lakes, then stocking the areas around these features with fake geese, or decoys. The actual real geese see these decoys from the sky and figure that all the other geese down there can't be wrong and decide that this must be a good and safe place to stop. At least, that is the club-owners hope.

The second possible reason is that local hunters may have different motivations for hunting in the first place. Many local hunters complained to me about the out of town hunters, and I have heard *many* jokes at their expense and concerning their ineptitude, real or imagined as hunters. The following joke is a good example of this.

“These guys from Chicago come down and they want to hunt this old farmer's ground. And he's like what are you wanting to do? And they say they want to deer hunt. The farmer says sure go ahead and hunt all you want down there. Well, they went down by the creek down there and got set up, next

morning they went down there to deer hunt. Old farmer was out in the yard messing around with his tractor and he heard a couple shots and didn't think nothin' of it. About an hour later one of them guys from Chicago comes up into his yard, scratchin' his head. Looks at the farmer and the farmer goes what's goin' on? Well, I killed one. And the farmer says ya did? Well, what's the problem? I ain't sure if I killed a deer or not. The farmer said well, describe it to me. The hunter said well, its got a real hard head and a stinkin' ass. That farmer said oh my god you killed my mother in law!"

Ed described the animosity between local hunters and out of town hunters in the following way.

"There is animosity between locals and Chicago hunters. I relate it back to the natives. They didn't want people encroaching on their hunting areas, and it ain't changed. People don't like outsiders hunting on the areas that they hunt. I've been a part on both sides of that. I've gone croppy fishin' in Mississippi in the spring and I got the impression that they didn't want no Yankee's comin' down. And we're Southern Illinoisan but we're still Yankees to them. It's a vacation to them [Chicago hunters], it's not part of their daily life. It's the heritage differential, between someone who's grown up hunting from somebody who's raised in the city."

This quote reflects that the preference to hunt on public or private land is less about the issue of land ownership and the abundance of game and more about the creation of place. Local hunters view out of town hunters as being in their place, which to the out of town hunters is just a space.

One other common complaint is that the main goal of out of town hunters are trophies. Season after season the areas that I have come across deer without heads (taken as trophies) are in places that are frequented by out of town hunters. Many of these hunters come from the northern parts of the state, which is reflected in local nicknames for these areas, "Chicago Corner" is one that I have heard often. These jokes and nicknames demonstrate a connection in the minds of local hunters between out of town hunters (namely from Chicago) and hunting on public land. Local hunters view these out of town hunters as urbanites that are not, or at least less, knowledgeable in hunting and field craft.

Stedman et al. (2008) found similar results in their research on hunters in Pennsylvania. They found that respondents to surveys characterized public land users as "city folk" (229). While there are hunters that come to Southern Illinois from all over the country, and even from other countries, local hunters tend to associate out of town hunters on public land with the urban center of Chicago. Stedman et al. also found that those who hunt public land want antlered deer (for the trophies) and don't harvest as many deer as those who hunt private land. Conversely, private land hunters are less concerned with whether the deer has antlers or not and more willing to act like managers. These sentiments echo Ed's feelings and experience; hunting on private land fosters more respect for that land than public hunting.

Conflict

No one interviewed for this project suggested that hunting was anything but necessary in this region and as far as I have been able to discover there is no recent history of large-scale controversy surrounding hunting in the region. Since the ridiculously successful reintroduction of white tailed deer and wild turkeys, hunting in the Shawnee seems to elicit little conflict between hunters and other groups of recreational users. However, talking to hunters suggests there does seem to be some amount of conflict below the surface between different groups of hunters, as discussed above. This type of conflict is not unheard of. In an extreme example, in 2004 a Hmong hunter shot and killed six people and wounded two others in a conflict concerning a tree stand (this is a metal stand which attaches about 15-20 feet high in a tree, from which a hunter can wait for deer to come near) on disputed land in Wisconsin (Kelleher, 2005). While this type of incident is rare, the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources is looking into ways to ensure the safety of hunters as well as better enforcing regulations.

Many local and out of town hunters related to me that most of the conflict in the region were like the Hmong conflict above, only not as serious. Most conflicts are about turf, or place, whether it was about leasing land, or hunters following other hunters to good spots. Ed related a story to me of a group of hunters who owned some land that was famous for its excellent hunting. He heard that these hunters did not want anyone else to hunt, not just their land, but any of the surrounding land, therefore saving all the deer hunting for themselves. He was told that these hunters would walk the periphery of their land around deer hunting season banging pots and pans to scare away the deer that may be living at the edge of their property. By

scaring away these deer they would effectively decrease hunting outcomes on that contiguous property and increase their own hunting potential. While this story may or may not be true, it does reveal distinctions between local hunters (who are viewed by Ed, as more ethical and knowledgeable) and out-of-town hunters. Ed stressed to me that these were trophy hunters, not hunters that were hunting for the meat. This was an important distinction for him. He also made a distinction between trophy hunters (those that hunt for trophies but still eat or donate the deer meat), and poachers who just cut the head of the deer off and dump the body. His thoughts are quoted in the beginning of this chapter, but are worth revisiting here:

“I have physically seen them with their heads cut off...dumped. Big bodied deer and their head cut off and it's a sickening sight. That's not a trophy hunter there, that's somebody who's raping the country. Not right at all.”

Success in hunting is at least partially dependent on finding a good space to hunt. When a hunter finds a good spot they return to it again and again, making it into a place. Hunters tend to be protective of their places. Dave is a hunter who lives full-time in central Illinois. However, his family has been coming to Southern Illinois to hunt since he was a little boy. He is now in his mid-thirties and owns a small piece of property in Southern Illinois and a small trailer in which he lives when he comes down to hunt and trap. Dave explained to me that the conflicts that he has been involved in had never been about animal rights or environmentalism, but rather with other hunters. One set of conflicts that he described to me revolved around hunters “trailing” him to his hunting spots. As Dave described, conflict over hunting has to do with “personalities

and respect for other people, not between other people [other recreational users].” He saw that those hunters that were following him did not have respect for him. Hunters often invest a great deal of time finding a good place to hunt so when another hunter “cheats” and trails a hunter to his spot, the other hunter is not just taking his space, but taking his place.

Hunting conflicts in Southern Illinois are among hunters; however, throughout the rest of the country this is not the case. Controversy continues over hunting, with animal rights activists being the loudest voice against this type of recreation. Dizard (2003) relates a story of a hunter being harassed on public land by “environmentalists” walking along behind him banging pots and pans to scare away the game. He believes that this conflict is based on unjustified stereotypes and that hunters are misunderstood and are actually knowledgeable woodsmen who wish to conserve the land. In this example, Dizard is writing about the Northeast where urban sprawl has greatly affected hunting and other forms of outdoor recreation (see also Stedman et al., 2008; Emel, 1998; and Shaw, 1977). There is also a great amount of controversy in the west where hunting predators (such as wolf and bear) comes under fire from animal rights activists and conservationists.

Hunting conflict in Southern Illinois is for the most part between hunters or between hunters and land owners. Some conflicts involving land owners revolve around leases and the desire to make money from hunters, as Ed described in the following interview excerpt.

“I got run off a piece of property a few years ago which I did not have permission to hunt on this person's ground. I was hunting on a railroad track right of way and the guy came down there and was very irate. And I can

understand his perspective of it. Railroads have 75 or 100 feet of right of way and typically people [landowners] don't mind if you hunt their ground if you stay on that railroad track, but this guy come across... he was picking beans and sees me over there and he come off his combine and he was irate and yelling. I apologized and said I would never be there again. This was his ground and I was hunting his ground, but the underlying tone was that he leased that ground so it was a money issue. And before these farmers, there a big group of farmers it used to be a dairy farm, they didn't mind if you hunt their farms. But since they leased it I was rabbit hunting and he had a quail lease on it. So if he hadn't had that he wouldn't have said anything."

Other conflicts involving landowners arise when hunters, usually that are unfamiliar with the area they are hunting, come to close to private property. Some landowners told me about hunters coming within thirty feet of their homes to hunt. One person I talked to told me of a conservation police radio call he overheard while working at Giant City State Park. The call involved a homeowner whose property was adjacent to Shawnee National Forest.

"I overheard the report as it came in of all these deer hunters coming right on this guy's property. And he's a famous, or infamous activist in the area. Well he got up with the hunters around three o'clock in the morning and put his stereo speakers in the window. Turned it up to top volume to scare off the deer. I doubt he really even had a problem with hunting, it was just that they would go

up on his property and blaze away. Once the call came in I realized that the CPOs were much more concerned with getting him than they were about keeping the hunters off of his property, they were always trying to get him for something. They were trying to figure out if they could arrest him for “hunter harassment.”

Another homeowner whose property was adjacent to Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge told me that every year during deer season he has to string rope around his property and put orange flags on it, so that the hunters would realize that they were shooting towards someone’s home. One out of town hunter told him “You picked a bad place to live.”

Each of these examples of conflict do not have ideological pro-hunting or anti-hunting at the center of the issue. Many people, hunters and non-hunters alike, told me that it was more about the attitudes and perspectives and practices of certain hunters, rather than an aversion to the activity (hunting) itself. I have talked with non-hunters who have found stacks of garbage and illegal deer stands and these behaviors do bother them, but the actual hunting does not.

Melinda is a great example. She sometimes works on a local farm which has a certain amount of forest surrounding it. One day, while on this property, she came across and injured deer. This deer had been shot by a hunter, but it was not a good shot and the deer survived but was badly injured. She is also a poet and wrote the following poem about this experience. Melinda’s writing demonstrates that she is not against hunting in general. She even writes about practicing archery. It is a certain type of hunting experience that she writes about.

Deer Tracking

I found her glassy eyes startled from the grasses,
a wound in her hip - blood down her fur.

She was curled on the river bank like a cat. Bright doe,
milk still in her body and somewhere fawns.

I knew the reason for this random shot, this poor aim--
as rifles echoed in the distance.

On the walk here I'd seen the flashing beer cans
float down stream, but this poor drunken shot

had left her bleeding through the woods unfinished,
her life this close - sharing breath.

I backed away to give her space as she limped down the trail
sniffing the air, looking for solace--

A presence so lovely and precious and what to do
but serve. Again the question always rising –

what is violence; what is mercy?

The arrows I had shot that summer into straw targets

came to mind, but I didn't have my own bow yet

nor the will to kill her alone.

Jim and Rafi had been out hunting at dawn; their knives were sharp

and I knew ease could come quickly to her. I called on the cell,

as I kept my eye on her brown spark from a distance - a flash

in the forest. They guys arrived down the hill

and slowly, slowly signaling each other,

we closed in on her moment of standing.

She was right in front of me, her neck turned toward Jim.

I made a twig break to call her head forward

and then Jim, bow stretched, shot her

the razor slice right across the throat.

As I found her, the last breath eased from her body.

She was warm, shimmering on the ground.

Her glassy eyes were wide awake –

her body quiet upon the oak leaf bed.

When I began this project I expected to find conflict between animal rights activists and/or environmentalists and hunters. Certainly the suspicious reaction of some hunters that I originally approached re-enforced this expectation. I was surprised to find no such conflict. I am sure there are some residents that disapprove of hunting, or that think hunting is unnecessary; however, I found the most conflict to exist between different groups of hunters themselves. I also found conflict between hunters and land owners. Both landowners who lease their land to hunters as well as non-hunter landowners who sometimes fear for their safety.

There are notions of a division between nature and culture involved in the recreational activity of hunting, but not in the same way as these concepts are present in other conflicts that will be covered in the following chapters. As Ed stated earlier in the chapter, he used hunting as an escape from culture, from the stresses of everyday work and life. Hunters tend to use hunting as an escape from the cultural, yet as stated by both Dizard (2003) and Cartmil (1995), they remain in the middle of culture and nature; in a liminal state between the two separate spheres. The most important aspect of conflict between hunters is the construction of place and the perceived violation of that place, as described by Dave and Ed.



Figure 10: A poached doe after an incomplete skinning.



Figure 11a: Left - dead coyote. Figure 11b: Right - the skeleton trees.

CHAPTER VII MUD

Down the Creek

To say that my previous life in the suburbs gave me no touchstone for the appreciation of all-terrain vehicle (ATV) culture is an understatement. There was no such thing. At one point my neighbor had a motorcycle, but I was not allowed on it; if my mother had her way, anywhere near it. Like the logging conflict in Southern Illinois, I had moved to the area after ATVs had been legally banned on the National Forest, as they were banned on all public land in the area. Again, I was blissfully ignorant of any sort of controversy surrounding their use on the forest, because I had never seen one. That changed a few years ago at Bell Smith Springs.

As the name implies Bell Smith is spring-fed creek, so that even in the hottest of Southern Illinois summers the water at Bell Smith stays remarkably cool and refreshing (see figure 12). While all of the man-made lakes turn into bathtubs around the end of July, the few areas with spring-fed creeks stay nice and cool. With deep holes carved in the rock of the streambed, Bell Smith Springs seems to have been designed for swimming and relief from the sauna that is Southern Illinois in the summer. Bell Smith Springs is part of the National Natural Landmark Program due to its “outstanding condition, illustrative value, rarity, diversity, and value to science and education” (National Natural Landmarks, 2013). Needless to say it is a very

special and beautiful place and is extremely popular with locals, transplants and transients alike. It is also where I first discovered that not everyone has given up riding their four-wheelers in the National Forest, regardless of the law.

It was not a direct conflict. No one shouted or hollered or threatened. I was swimming with my family and I heard a machine noise, which is unusual for the area, coming closer and getting louder. I looked up and around the edge of one of the many house-sized boulders in the creek in time to see two twenty-something-looking men coming directly down the middle of the creek on four-wheelers. I didn't say anything to them, they didn't say anything to me and they were gone in a moment, but for some reason the occurrence seemed to hold great significance to me. I thought, even in Bell Smith, an area designated nationally for being special, they ride down the middle of the creek? Why do they have to bring their culture into my nature? After all, I am an anthropologist.

To them it must have been no big deal, as they had probably done the same thing their whole lives. Ride down the creek to go swimming, what could it hurt? After all, these were not tourists or transients; they had probably lived here longer than I had. Was it more their place than mine? Who decides who gets to use the forest and for what? These were the questions that I found myself asking after I had gotten over my initial anger. I realized that these questions are another way of asking the fundamental question: what is the forest for, conservation or preservation? I also found myself thinking about something a friend had told me that a person he worked with had told him... 'How can we say that one person's recreation is bad and someone else's is good? Everyone is entitled to their recreation.' This is a common point that proponents of ATV use on public lands frequently cite and to which

environmentalists have an answer that I discovered over the course of my research for this chapter.

All-Terrain Vehicles

All-terrain vehicles (ATVs) made their debut in the United States in the 1970's when Honda introduced the three-wheeler. It was manufactured and brought to market as a result of the lagging sales in motorcycles (StarTribune, 2002). In 1988, three-wheelers were pulled because of safety issues, but companies like Honda did not give up on the ATV market (Havlick, 2002). They instead introduced the four-wheel model of the ATV. However, even before the introduction of the three-wheeler ATV, there was a long history in the United States of driving vehicles off-roads and onto road-less tracts of nature. Pre-1970 this was mostly accomplished through the use of four-wheel drive capable vehicles, such as trucks, and motorcycles and dirt-bikes, all commonly referred to as off-road vehicles or ORVs. The advent of the three-wheeler and subsequently, the four-wheeler, set the stage for more and more accessibility to remote and fragile areas and the consequential disturbance caused by motorized vehicles. With the introduction of three and four-wheeled vehicles that were specifically designed to go where larger vehicles could not, and still be as easy to drive as a car (unlike motorcycles), the amount of people riding them in isolated areas increased dramatically (Havlick, 2002). It is also important to note that the use of ORVs is not only a way to get from one place to another place, but is often an experience in itself to those that ride (Daenport and Borrie, 2005).

Controversy surrounding ORVs is not a recent phenomenon either. Beginning in the 1970's Howard Wilshire conducted a great deal of research which described the damage that these types of vehicles caused in the desert southwest (see Nakata et al, 1976; Wilshire et al, 1983; Wilshire, 1983). The market for ATVs keeps growing, in 1999 sales reached over 500,000 and were not expected to decrease (Havlick, 2002). The impacts of ORVs are varied and include noise, air, and water pollution, as well as the huge effect they have on soil compaction and erosion, as well as plant and animal life (Havlick, 2002). These impacts fall into two major categories: the first is noise and the second (but by no means the lesser) is the ecological impact.

Impact: Noise

If you have never sat in the wilderness and experienced letting the sights and sounds of all of the natural world wash over you, then there is little chance that you will understand how disturbing it can be when motorized vehicles disturb that soundscape. The forests of Southern Illinois are never quiet, but there are certainly places where a person can go and hear a very limited amount of human-made sound. When the sound of engines intrudes on place it can be maddening, whether the cause is a passing plane, or an ATV.

This is one of the most common complaints made against ATVs on public land. There is even a You-Tube video that demonstrated both sides of the noise issue (Addressing ATV Conflict, 2010). The video sets up a situation in which two men on ATVs encounter a man on

foot, both parties are out scouting for an upcoming hunting season. The video takes place on public land and this becomes the issue that both sides use in their argument. The man on foot asks politely if the men riding ATVs would mind going the long way around the valley and thus sparing his primitive camp (used to describe a camp without amenities such as water and in this case motor vehicles) the sound of the ATV motors. The two men drive off amicably and then stop to decide what they will do. One man wants to take the long way and avoid the camp as asked, the other wants to go through the valley thus disturbing the experience of those in the primitive camp. Both men try to convince each other with the same argument to different ends. The man who wants to go around states that this is public land, so the man and his friends in the primitive camp have a right to their experience and quiet. The other man states that this is public land, so they have just as much right to be in the valley as those in the non-mechanized camp. The video ends with one man set on going around and one man set on going through.

This video shows the conundrum of public land. If it is for the all of the public, how does one mediate between those whose purposes on that land conflict? There are also two comments attached to the video that mirror the divide within recreational users. One commenter states: "I don't get the problem? Why can't they?" This commenter clearly does not understand why anyone would have a problem with the sound of motorized vehicles, even out in the wilderness, which reflects why there is conflict. The other comment reads: "Part of being responsible when enjoying outdoor recreation is being considerate of others. I know that while I'm out enjoying the trails in my Jeep, others may be in the same area, whether they're hiking, hunting, camping, or horseback riding. Try to avoid a selfish mindset and realized [sic] that our public lands are for a variety of users. Leaving a negative impression of your particular activity

for other users may only lead to restrictions of what you like doing out there” (Addressing ATV Conflict, 2010).

While this video highlights one major problem with the idea of public land and the ever-present debate between conservation and preservation, it also demonstrates that conflict over the noise of ATVs is a common complaint throughout the country. I have heard this complaint many times from Southern Illinois recreationists and it was also one of the cornerstones to the controversy surrounding the use of snowmobiles in Yellowstone National Park, one of the more well-known ORV controversies (Davenport and Borrie, 2005). This complaint makes sense within a society that tends to separate the realms of nature and culture. The sound of ATVs can be heard for as much as a mile away, and snowmobiles even farther, and brings with them the realm of culture, in an obvious and irrefutable way into people’s “natural” experience.

Impact: Ecology

As stated above the adverse effects of ORVs has long been documented. Media coverage of the national controversy reached a high point in the mid-1970’s. In fact, ORV use was even cited as a contributing factor to dust plumes photographed from space over the Mojave Desert in 1973 (Nakata et al, 1976). Much of this controversy was centered on the Barstow, California to Las Vegas, Nevada motorcycle race. This was an annual speed race referred to as a “hare and hound” and was memorialized as the beginning point in the film “Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas” (1998), which in the briefest of glimpses, demonstrates the

amount of dust and sand stirred-up by the race. There were approximately 3,000 participants in the 1974 race (United States, 1974). The race was first run in 1967 and ran for eight consecutive years before the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) shut down the course for seven years to study the possible environmental impacts (Motorcycles Lose, 1989).

The ecological effects of ATV and ORV use are varied as the landscape varies; however, all environments that are used by ATVs and ORVs suffer damaging impacts (Havlick, 2002). In the southwest the main impact is soil compaction and the resulting damage to plant and animal communities (Wilshire, 1983; Wilshire et al, 1983; Havlick, 2002). In Southern Illinois and areas of similar ecology, the main problem is soil compaction and erosion. "Particularly on steep slopes and areas with fragile soils, ORVs can generate rapid and calamitous effects" (Havlick, 2002: 92). Soil damage increases as the amount of ATV or ORV traffic increases. Another adverse effect of motorized use of trails is the disruption of hydraulic systems. The paths of ATV wheels create ruts in trails, which then cause further soil erosion and continual water run-off, which in turn causes faster erosion (Havlick, 2002). Often, trails that are heavily used turn into quagmires as seen in figure 13.

There are other ecological effects of ATV use on public land in Southern Illinois. Research on invasive and exotic species cite the use of ATVs and equestrian traffic along access road-forest edges as both facilitating erosion and proliferating exotic species (Honu and Gibson, 2006). Besides the proliferation of exotic and invasive species, ATV use has also been the cause of damage to native plants. Appalachian bugbane (*Cimicifuga rubifolia*), is listed as a critically imperiled species in Illinois, and has been reported as being damaged by ATVs and equestrians (Long Heikens, 2003). Many times ATV users choose to ride through and down streams and

creeks causing water pollution through leaking oil and fuel. These local examples of ecological threats caused by use of ATVs on public land, taken in conjunction with national scientific studies that focus on ATV ecological damage, demonstrate that there are significant to severe ecological impacts in the Southern Illinois area directly caused by ATV use.

By the time the BLM put a legal halt to the Barstow to Las Vegas race in order to finish the environmental assessment report, Wilshire had been writing for years about the adverse effects of ORVs in this region (Wilshire, 1983). However, as with most of the conflicts surrounding the use of ATVs and ORVs on public land, the use of the area did not stop. Many continued to ride the course and even staged protest rides. The BLM allowed the race to continue in 1982 after a seven-year hiatus, but then disallowed it again in 1989 due to the endangered species designation of the desert tortoise (Motorcycles Lose, 1989). One consequent protest ride received a great deal of media attention because, not only were some of the participants armed, but Barry Van Dyke (Dick Van Dyke's son) was arrested as one of the law-breaking protest riders (California In Brief, 1991).

This conflict is typical of other contemporary conflicts throughout the country surrounding ORVs, with even the chief of the United States Forest Service identifying unmanaged ORV use as one of the greatest threats to the forests of the United States (Dolesh, 2004). The participants are the same in all regions where motorized use of trails is an issue: on one-side are the environmentalist groups such as Sierra Club and Earth First! (who were accused of spiking the Barstow race course, see Motorcycles Lose, 1989) and on the other were the riders and their network of support, in this case riding clubs and ATV manufacturers. The Shawnee National Forest banned the use of all motorized vehicles on the forest in 1996

(Hendee and Flint, 2007). Ken explained to me some of the background of this long process of getting a ban on this type of recreational activity.

“But it [the 1988 Settlement Plan] left all this language in there about motorized use totally ambiguous and made these guys think that they were gonna get all these miles and miles of trails for ATV and motorcycle use. Well, the people that were from the motorized sector didn't understand the legal language that went into it. OK...provide opportunities for these number of trails and it even had maps of a hundred miles of ATV trails on Forest land, but there was this thing in there that said that they had to do the full environmental impact study to go through it to make sure the soils and everything could handle ATV use. We were fully cognizant of when we [Sierra Club] allowed the language that there was no way it could pass.

Well, they didn't understand that part. So they were tricked, but they weren't because of their own ignorance, not stupidity, but ignorance. Well then it became time to do the first one and it was like no it won't work.”

However, despite this ban, as I stated at the beginning of this chapter, there are those who continue to ride ATVs on public land.

Difference of Opinion?

Many of the conflicts over recreational use can be seen as differences in worldviews, perceptions and identities. Where one public land user believes the forest's primary purpose is to benefit humans, another believes that nature should be preserved for nature's sake. One user looks at a heavily used trail which has turned into a mud pit and think that it looks like great fun to ride an ATV through ("mudding" is an important component to the ATV/ORV experience). Another user can look at the same trail and see the erosion and the defoliation and contemplate trying to walk through or around all that mud and think that it is the worst kind of disgrace. Both of these users are in the same geographic space, but in very different places. While hikers and environmentalists cite many of the reasons explained above for not wanting ATV use on public lands, ATV users paint a benign and family-oriented picture of their experience in the forest. Tim is a transplant to Southern Illinois, and like Ken, arrived in the area in the 1970's. He was an avid ORV rider and lamented the ban of ATVs and ORVs to me as follows:

"I have been riding since I was young. Not always in the woods, mostly racing back then. In the late 70's and 80's we used to ride down to Panther's Den every weekend. We used to take the whole family down there, a bunch of us. We'd take the kids and lawn chairs and coolers and all kinds of stuff down there.

We kept those trails open. If it hadn't been for us goin' down there with our families and our picnic lunches, you wouldn't have been able to get down to Panther's Den at all. Forest Service never did anything to keep them open. Now there's no way to get down to Panther's Den. You can't walk there."

This is a common theme nationally. In the same article that detailed the closure of the Barstow to Las Vegas race mention was made concerning this very same idea: "Motorcyclists see a threat to their way of life - for instance, communal gatherings of families at favorite spots for weekends. 'Don't close down the land,' said Allen Barbor, of Palmdale. 'Most of it has been used for desert riding for years. You really can't get there by foot, so why not let motorcyclists enjoy it?' (Motorcycles Lose, 1989).

While I am aware that distances in the southwest are much greater than the distances in Southern Illinois, it is important to note that Panther's Den is, at most, a six mile round-trip from the trail head. This hike is accomplished by scores of people on foot each month in season. So while it may take an entire day to hike in, eat a picnic lunch, and then hike out, it is by no means inaccessible without the use of motorized vehicles. Many who I interviewed had a much different take on ATV use in the Shawnee National Forest.

Ken: "It was Panther's Den that made me become an environmental activist locally. The first time I went there was in 1974. At that time, the mechanized toy of choice were dirt bikes. And dirt bikes would go down there and there was a trail - all user made because this was actually in fact private property, even

though no one knew that – dirt bikes would go up and down this one hill and then after it rains it turns out that this soil type around here dissolves like sugar when it is exposed [defoliated].”

KW: “This is motorized right?”

Ken: “Oh, absolutely. We're not talking about mountain bikes, we're talking about what we used to call "wing-dingers." Two-cycles, really powerful little engines and they sound like "wing..ding ding ding ding..." Well, they would make these trails and they would use them until they got so deep and they had a steep V shape cross-section. Their foot pegs would get stuck in the bottom of the trail. Then they would move over and do it again until one hillside was just gone. It was so torn up it was unbelievable. The other thing, at that time, it was the big, big heavily 3/4 ton pick-up trucks, were the toys of choice. That was the one good thing about the 1973 oil embargo and then it happened again, like three or four years later. There were long lines at gas stations....the big four-wheel drive trucks just disappeared. It was like these local boys couldn't afford to put gas in them. It was incredibly fortunate. And then after that came three-wheelers, they were unbelievable. They did a lot of damage, but then the three-wheelers they realized were so inherently dangerous they stopped manufacturing them. So then they went to four-wheelers and the four-wheelers were, oh my god, the four-wheelers were terrible.”

The above interviews highlight two major differences in perception of ATV use and users. The first excerpt comes from an ex-ORV user who rode motorcycles and ATVs to Panther's Den area (Tim). He describes these trips as being beneficial to the forest and helpful to the Forest Service because they assisted in keeping the trails clear and open. The second interview excerpt (Ken) could not be more different. What Tim saw as a helpful service, Ken saw as a disgrace of irresponsibility. On this point, the science tends to come down on the side of the second interview. As cited above, trails with delicate soil types do not suffer ATV use well. So then the question becomes do the users of off-road vehicles see and understand the damage to the trails? Do they blame it on other users? Or does it just not bother them? To answer this question I asked an environmentalist and self-proclaimed former "gear-head." His answer is as follows:

"Their perception can go back to when in the 60's I rode a motorcycle and where I rode was in Northern Florida and there were areas of sand dunes. And it's FUN, it is just fun. And if you don't have the environmental ethic, if you don't understand that what you are doing is harmful then you don't care. I can prove that they know what they are doing because a lot of these guys are farmers or their parents are farmers, they grew up in rural areas...they're not townies. You don't see a bunch of mud-covered trucks and ATVs lined up and down the driveways in Carbondale or Anna. These are rural boys and you don't see them doing that on their own properties, you don't see them ripping up their mother's front yards, you don't see them spinning donuts with their

motorcycles in the yard. They go to public land to do it. They don't care because it's fun.

In the 60's I was a hardcore gearhead and raced cars and there's something about adolescent males and mechanical power. I can relate to that but I understand that you don't race on the street, there are places to do that. And that's the other part of this whole thing, if your favorite sport is drag racing, the public does not provide a drag strip. If you wanna do sport's car racing, there are no tax payer funded race tracks. You have to take your car to a track and you have to pay for it and for the ambulance and you have to pay the insurance and it costs a fortune. But, ATVs and ORVs they believe and think that the public should allow and provide them a place to play with their toys. So my argument was always so, what if the recreational toy of choice is a bulldozer? Are we supposed to let you run through the forest with a D9 Cat? "No, that's ridiculous." Well then what's the difference? And they just say well because you should."

The above statement fits with other research on this topic in that many recreationists are not willing to give up their activities for long term benefit (Davenport et al. 2002). As a side note, there are at least two private ATV/ORV courses in the area. They are both on private land and they both offer many miles of trails (one is on 860 acres, the other is 226 acres), mud pits and other amenities to ATV enthusiasts. Both seem fairly inexpensive for a day of riding (Little Egypt, 2013 and Williams Hill Pass, 2013).

The second difference lies in the image of the ATV/ORV enthusiasts themselves: they are alternately families out for picnics and weekend getaways or gear-head, hell-raisers looking to tear up the land. These differences in perception are also evident in the conflict surrounding equestrian use of the forest, which will be covered in the next chapter. Undoubtedly, there is some amount of truth in both of these perceptions: not all ATV users are oblivious to the damage that ATVs cause on trails, and conversely, there are many accounts of ATV users inciting violence in conflicts with other recreational users and demonstrating a lack of regard for the ecological damage that their vehicles are inflicting.

Once again, it is up to the Forest Service to mediate between two sides of users in the Shawnee National Forest, only unlike the logging controversy, both groups are recreational users. While the head of the Forest Service stated that unmanaged ATV/ORV use was one of the greatest threats to the Nation's forests in 2005, locally many Forest Service employees identify with the riders. The following statement was made to me by an ex-employee of the Forest Service:

“In the Vienna office there was a stack a foot and a half high of ‘Off-Road Magazine.’ Which, at the time, ATVs and ORVs of any kind were illegal on the forest, but the people at the district office of the Forest Service were promoting off-road culture - so tell me whose side they’re on. I mean that one’s glaring.”

Confrontation and Violence

The battle over the use of ATVs on public land is the most physical and confrontational of any of the recreational conflicts in Southern Illinois. With the perception of the same physical space being completely different places, the stage is set for conflict around every bend of the trail. Of all the stories that I was told throughout my research, by far the most violent and serious were due to conflicts between ATV users and hikers. I have included two of these stories below. The first is told by Ken, an ex-member of the Sierra Club and an avid hiker.

“We had one conflict, it was Columbus Day and Monday was a holiday. It was out by Panther's Den. It was after the wilderness bill had passed [making Panther's Den a federally designated wilderness area]. It was designated, it was signed, they had, they put up these signs on all the trails that said you know no motorized use or anything. It was a beautiful day and I can hear two big motorcycles, you know motor-cross bikes. And I could hear 'em off in the distance and you can hear them from a mile away you know. On flat open stretches of trail they would open it up pretty good and then when they got into a tighter spot and they would (makes revving bike noises).

It turned out that right where we were was one of the worst spots on the trail, where it had been all torn up by motorcycles. So it was like what I said earlier about the V-shaped ditch, so we were in that little stretch when we encounter these guys and they're coming from the opposite direction. And the

person I was with was saying let's get up on top here and get out of the way you know. And I was like "NO! No, I'm not" and they came right up and the guy stops and they're in full, total motocross gear. Literally if you would've seen them you would've thought, jeez, it's a sanctioned motorcycle race, like the whole uniform and everything you know? The whole nine yards and you couldn't really see the guy's face because it was a tinted visor. And it wasn't a small dirt-bike, it was a big, heavy...probably 800cc, four-cycle motorcycle. And the guy tells me to get off the trail. I was like NO! First of all I said you guys realize that what you are doing is actually illegal. That what you are doing is a federally congressionally designated wilderness area which forbids the use of motorized equipment. You can't even have something with wheels.

And the guy told me several things that I could do with myself and then told me again to get out of his way and then grabbed the throttle on his bike and gave it a little and ran the front wheel right up between my legs until my groin was right up against the handlebars. I said this is a bad idea, you know...what you're doing is a really bad idea. And the guy behind him was like let's just go, let's just go. And the first guy started going into this rant about how he built this trail.

And I said Boy, this trail looked almost this bad before you were born, I've been coming here before you were born, don't tell me you built this trail! Now, I've got a pretty good memory and as soon as I get behind you I am gonna take note of your license plate and I'm turning you in. And he started to get off

his bike and his friend said no, no, let's just go. So I took his license plate number and they left and then we heard the engines actually leave, you know fainter and fainter.

Then I called the Forest Service and of course it was a weekend so their funding is such that you can't even reach a Forest Service law enforcement officer on a weekend unless you actually personally know one that will give you their cell number, which I actually got later. At that time there was nothing I could do. This happened on Saturday, Monday was a holiday so on Tuesday I called and explained to them what happened, they mailed me a user conflict form to fill out. They asked me to describe what happened, maybe it wasn't actually a form but they asked me to describe the user conflict. In a technical, legal sense that was an assault, when someone runs into you on purpose with a motorcycle that's an assault. No one ever contacted me again, we gave them the license number, but they claimed that they lost it. This was not uncommon. We'd start with the educational side, you know, you may have thought that this was legal, but it isn't."

Ken also explained another conflict with ATV riders he encountered when one of their four-wheelers became stuck in a creek. This time Ken was out hiking with a number of other people surveying the damage along an illegal ATV trail. Ken and his group were on a ridge so there was some physical distance. Ken attempted to tell the man with the stuck ATV that what he was doing was illegal and that he was going to take his license plate number and report him

to law enforcement. The man began to yell “obscenities” at Ken and his group and threatened them (see figure 14).

The above story could have turned out much worse and in the Shawnee, conflicts often do. Below is another example from a man who related a story that he heard first hand from both parties involved in the conflict.

“This is a guy from the Chicago-land area, moved here back in the 70’s. He’s a herpetologist, loves snakes and reptiles. He came down here and went to school and realized we had a gold mine of snakes down by Pine Hills and Clear Creek, the wilderness areas down there. He comes from fairly wealthy family and he was able to buy essentially a whole valley down by Clear Creek. He works for himself primarily so he has a lot of time that he spends at home. He has made it his mission to stop illegal ATV use, not only on his property, which was ate up with it, but on the forest as well. And he for years coordinated with the Conservation Police Officers (CPOs) and also with the Union county sheriff. He had a close relationship with them and they understood that he was gonna do everything he could to keep those guys out of there. Being sworn to, they did what they could to help him. He was trying to stop law breaking.

Well, this went on for years, one conflict after another. This guy kept a loaded shotgun right by the door. ATVs are a rough crowd, there’s some throw-back to the logging days cause the loggers were a rough crowd too. If certain type of environmental activist had wondered in to a bunch of loggers down at

Eddyville store years ago, well there very well could've been somebody getting their ass beat. They did a hard job, a physical job, typically didn't grow up with a lot of extra money lying around so they take it very seriously. Well, the ATVs are just mean, just hell-raisers.

So anyway, Chuck. I haven't talked to Chuck in years but back in about '01 or '02 something like that, he was in a routine altercation with this crowd of motor-heads that were riding in Clear Creek. He drove up in his truck and he confronted them and told them he had already called the sheriff and the CPOs and I'm not sure what all was said but he ends up, cause he's a real hot-tempered guy. He's sort-of is an old hippie-type, but doesn't fit the non-violence thing. But he ended up grabbing the keys out of one of the guy's machines and throwing them in the creek. And they swarmed him and were trying to drown him, literally holding his head under the water when the sheriff showed up. As far as I know no charges were filed against them. I don't know how much that had to do with Chuck, or how much of that had to do with the sheriff or the deputies, but it's very interesting cause the place I was working at the time, one of the kids who assaulted them and was trying to drown him, his mother worked there and she was nothing but proud of her boy. She knew the whole story, just how I heard it from Chuck, and thought it was just dandy. She said Chuck was lucky the sheriff had shown up when he did or they would have kilt 'em... k-i-l-t.

It's the culture, a rock-head culture. I'm a local. I'm not shocked by the country folk in any way. I'll tell you right now they'll tear shit up. It's not somebody using it to get around their land slow and safe speeds. They are out there to tear it up. [It's a] dangerous activity and it attracts a certain kind of person and invariably they are too damn lazy to walk through there. You don't catch them walking through the woods. Chuck has fought a low-intensity war with them for years and it got pretty high intensity that day.

They've done worse things to people that are not as aggressive [as Chuck]. Tom and Sarah live at Burke Branch, right at the edge of it and that is a hot-bed for ATV users. In fact, there's a club of ATV users out of Metropolis and that was where they liked to ride. And Tom and Sarah have had their house broken into multiple times - vandalized, trashed - they've come very close many times to being assaulted and they told me a story once that the only way they avoided it was by hiding when they heard them coming. They had a verbal conflict with a group riding on their land [which abuts the National Forest] and the riders said "we'll be back" and they heard them coming back with more, and they got way off trail and hid and that's the only way they avoided it. What would've happened out in the middle of the woods? People do crazy things.

KW: And did they have help from the CPOs and other law enforcement?

C: No, they had terrible assistance. They tried to get the LEO [law enforcement officer] to come down there and he told them if he couldn't ride his four-wheeler on the trails to where they were going then he wouldn't go because he

didn't want to walk. He just didn't like them. They were old hippie-types and he was trained that they were the enemy and he wasn't gonna help 'em. Massac county sheriff's department was on the other side of the county, they weren't gonna go up there every time there was a four-wheeler report. Hell, most of those guys ride. Or at least thought it was fine. They identify with the riders. The ATVs have a rougher identity, a "we'll drown your ass in the creek" identity."

These interviews show the potential for violence when recreational users confront one another in the forest. It is also a good example of the feelings concerning law enforcement on the forest. Many times a user can witness something that is against the regulations of the forest, but nothing is done about it. This makes those who are abiding the law feel helpless. When they take it upon themselves to confront those that are breaking the law, conflict and the threat of violence, or in the worst case actual violence, results. Many public land users who I spoke with felt that they had no other recourse but to challenge illegal use of the forest themselves. Lack of funding for law officials is often cited as the reason for the lack of enforcement.

While the use of ATVs was first legally banned in the Shawnee National Forest in the 1992 Forest Plan, the ban was put into place due to a lack of environmental data and explicitly stated that the Forest Service should not exclude the opportunity for ATV use in the future (Hendee and Flint, 2007). This kept hope alive for ATV enthusiasts in the region. They were consequently disappointed again in 2006 when the new Forest Service Plan continued the ban.

The Forest Service cited the need to concentrate on the equestrian issue (Hendee and Flint, 2007). ATV users continue to be hopeful that someday this will change and they will once again be able to legally mud through the forests of Southern Illinois. Others are appalled at the thought of ATVs once again set loose on the land and hope that day will never come. Identity and world view clash over this issue when these two groups see the same space as radically different places. These clashes sometimes end in violence, or at least the threat of violence.

Whose Public Land?

The trails in the Shawnee National Forest are for the most part multi-use trails. This means there are not trails exclusively for ATV use or equestrian use. There are no trails that were set aside for hikers and backpackers. Many times, hikers are forced to use the same trails that have been damaged by heavy equestrian and/or illegal ATV use. This forced co-occupation of the trail system generates situations that are ripe for conflict between user groups. Due to budget issues, as well as sympathetic world views, there is very little enforcement of current regulation. For these reasons hikers, backpackers and environmentalists, among others, do not, and will not support any ATV use on any public land.

The questions that I posed to myself in the beginning of this chapter remain open to debate. Whose public land is it? Is everyone entitled to their recreation on public land, regardless of the impact? The answer depends entirely on the difference between conservation and preservation. If ATV riders believe that setting aside natural areas is only useful if it directly

benefits people like them, and not a bunch of “tree-hugging, granola-eating, dread-locked, commie-loving sissies,” as the ATV riders have characterized those against riding in the forest, then it is logical to them that they should be able to ride and damage public lands. If they believe that nature will repair itself, then logically, they will see the damage that they do to trails as a temporary thing. Or it could be that ATV users are just having fun, as one of my sources stated above, and that they just do not care if their recreational activity hurts the recreation of other people, or the forest.

As a hiker and backpacker, this last attitude is the one I am most offended by, as are most of those who oppose ATV use of the forest. My recreation is hard-won, and its impact (on both the land and other users) is intentionally minimal. My personal lack of tolerance for the destructive mind-set mentioned above is just one more example of how conflicts brew on our public lands, and how identity can be a reliable predictor of the nature of these conflicts. This difference in identity and perception of identity is a common theme in many conflicts over public land and will continue to be explored throughout the remainder of this work.



Figure 12: Bell Smith Springs National Natural Landmark



Figures 13a and 13b: Above and Below Two examples of trail damage caused by ATV use at Panther's Den Wilderness.





Figures 14a and b: Two shots of ATV riders with their vehicles stuck in a creek.



CHAPTER VIII
MONEY

“The public can’t imagine a horse tears up the woods. They can imagine logging does, or even ATVs, but horses? Come on! How about 5,000 horses... come on.”

- Chino

“There is no such thing as wise use. It's all total bullshit. Its tea party shit. They are only looking at their own interest. And if you go back deep enough it's all about money. Wise use was formed by and funded by Mountain States Legal Foundation and they challenged every single pro-environment law ever enacted.”

- Ken

Horse Muck Reprised: You’re not in Oklahoma Anymore

Illinois was once the great western frontier. In Southern Illinois, sometimes the feel of the frontier is close, like a memory from earliest childhood; simple impressions of color and shape. It is still possible to come across remnants of days gone by while walking through the woods: treacherous old cisterns lined with creek rock, cornerstones of farmhouses and barns, even an ancient rusted out truck that crashed off an old roadbed. The hull of the vehicle remains, upside down, even though all that is left of the road is a barely perceptible shadow.

Despite the fact that Illinois was at one time the western edge of the United States, it was never the same as our cultural idea of the Wild West. There are no ghost towns replete with one-cell jails or saloons with bat-wing doors. Ecologically, the American west and Southern Illinois are about as different as it gets. The soil, the climate, the stone, all are completely different. For example, recent tornadoes in Oklahoma highlighted the composition of the soil and bedrock when the rest of the country began to wonder why hardly anyone there had storm shelters. The answer is simple: there is only the thinnest layer of sandy red soil over solid bedrock. (It's very expensive to carve a basement into bedrock.) As discussed in chapter II, this is not the case in Southern Illinois. Here, we have a layer of delicate top soil covering sub-soils of clay and, eventually, sandstone bedrock. One thing we do have in common is cowboys and horses.

I have already told the story of how and when the conflicts over public land in Southern Illinois became personal to me. However, as with most things, it was only a beginning. Since that fundamental experience I have been forced to trod, slip, slide, and be mired on many a horse trail. I suppose the obvious question would be: Why don't you just get off the trail and walk next to it? There are several answers. The first, is that trails are there for reasons. They not only lead from one place to another, but are also meant to minimize impact (McEwen and Tocher, 1976). When everyone stays to the trail, all of the impact is limited to the course of that trail. The second is that many times getting off a trail in Southern Illinois is simply impossible. There are either fields of poison ivy, very dense underbrush, huge boulders or cliff faces, sheer drops, or any combination thereof, to either, or both, sides of the trail.

Three years ago, my teenage niece came to visit my family from her home in Oklahoma. We planned a backpacking trip into one of the most remote areas in Southern Illinois, Lusk Creek Wilderness. As any teenager from Oklahoma she and her friends rode horses and had been immersed in horse culture. Before the trip, she heard us talk about and try to prepare her for the damage that she would confront in Lusk Creek that was caused by equestrian use. She didn't know what to expect and it seemed like she didn't really believe us as to the severity of the damage. Unfortunately, she not only came to understand, but because she sprained her ankle while in camp, the hike back out became a true odyssey of bushwhacking and avoiding trails. When injured, cutting through the bush is relatively easier than attempting to navigate trails that are used by horses, which in Lusk Creek is almost all of them. I have included my niece's thoughts on our adventure as they pertain to the trails below.

“There aren't a whole lot of things that Oklahoma is known for, but among the handful of things we do have, no one can miss our red dirt, and our horses. Growing up here, I never thought those two things had much to do with each other - dirt is dirt, horses are horses. There's really no avoiding the riding culture here in Oklahoma, and as a lover of all things living and green, trail riding seemed like the thing to do. Spending time with animals AND exploring the woods at the same time, how could you go wrong? That's where the dirt came in - in Oklahoma, you couldn't go wrong. However, trek up north a few states to where the dirt is brown and you have a whole different story.

I'd never heard anyone talk about horses 'damaging' trails until I came to visit southern Illinois. Of course, the idea seemed a bit strange to me. Our trails down south were beautiful, and we rode them constantly. The hooves on the ground and the constant munching of the horses as we rode even helped to keep our trails clear of regrowth, and kept us from having to recut and remark trails too often. I couldn't really imagine what horse damage would look like, until I saw it.

When one thinks of hiking trails, they normally think of just that - a trail. Simply a path through the brush, wide enough for walking. But the trails in Lusk Creek were quite a bit more than that. Instead of a clearing in the natural foliage, there were deep trenches in the dirt, especially near the streams that ran through the trail. It seemed like as the horses' wet hooves walked across the dirt, their weight and the soggy ground combined and had actually begun to erode the stream banks. This alone seemed like a problem to me; as much as I love trail riding, if it affected the area I live in the way it does southern Illinois, I would be completely against it. Cutting trails is one thing, but these horses were actually changing the landscape of the area and creating steep inclines on either side of the trail, so it felt more like walking through a tiny canyon than hiking down an actual trail.

Of course, the damage to the trail was more than just visual. The muck created on each side of a creek by the horses sloshing the water into the soft dirt was deep, and sticky. Climbing steep trails with heavy packs is hard enough,

but when your boots get stuck in the mud, and your steps are more like wrenching motions trying to free your feet, it becomes outright dangerous. Not to mention the deep, sunk in impressions of the horses' hooves making the ground unstable and cratered with holes.

After the hike to our camp, I could definitely see that I was not in Oklahoma anymore. These weren't the clean, stable riding trails I knew. The dirt here was too soft, and the trails too overused to support the constant tread of huge animals. The hike in proved that there was a problem here, but the hike out beyond solidified my feelings.

Accidents happen, and when they happen in the woods the severity of them increases. If I had sprained my ankle on a trail back home, it would have been bad. But doing it here, in the midst of the carnage that is Lusk Creek's trails, was worse. Hiking in through the damage had been hard, getting out with an injury simply wouldn't happen. Had I not been with the people that I was with, people who didn't need the trails and could navigate us out straight through the woods, my trip likely would have gone from ending uncomfortably to ending pretty terribly."

The Equestrian Conflict

The conflict over equestrian use of public lands in Southern Illinois has been one of the longest, most complex and often most heated in this forest's history. Through the course of research for this work I also found it garnered the least attention from the media. The complexity of this conflict could warrant a book unto itself. Needless to say, there are many issues that will be briefly covered in this chapter that could be expanded significantly. This conflict centers around two opposing sides: equestrians who wish to utilize the National Forest (and other public lands including CONWR) with as few restrictions as possible (especially made up of specialized horse-campground owners, and the environmentalists who believe that equestrian use should be regulated in time and space due to the heavy environmental impact that this activity generates. In this conflict, more than any other so far discussed, the Forest Service is the focus of both sides' complaints.

Throughout this conflict the one thing that both sides had in common was their anger at the Forest Service. Environmentalists were mad due to the Forest Service's lack of enforcement of pre-existing regulations regarding horseback riding. The equestrian community was mad due to the lack of maintenance of pre-existing trails. During the ten years that this issue was litigated, the forest service was named as defendant again and again, by one side or the other. This inability to please anyone involved may be due to the cumbersome size of the United States Forest Service, (Southern Illinois being just one very small section of the National Forest system), or it may be due to the general distrust of the federal government. One thing that is

clear is that both sides felt that the Forest Service should be sympathetic to their arguments, rather than those of the other faction.

As I stated above, the story of the equestrian conflict in the Shawnee is the most convoluted of all the conflicts covered thus far. While researching both the logging and the ATV conflict I could not help but think that the line between nature and culture had been drawn. Encountering ORVs and ATVs will skew almost anyone's ideal of a nature experience. However, the equestrian conflict is different. On the surface it is hard to understand what the conflict is about. People want to ride horses through the National Forest and what could be more natural? There is no chainsaw or 400cc engine touting the arrival of one person's culture into another's nature. The other striking difference is that no environmentalist or hiker ever publically called for the complete ban of horseback riding on public lands. In this respect it is more like hunting on public lands: stakeholders want it regulated and done responsibly, if those conditions are met, than most stakeholders would not have a problem with equestrian use of the forest.

For all of the difference between the previous conflicts and the equestrian conflict there are some similarities, such as the difference between space and place. The places that exist between recreational users involved in this conflict may be more similar than the places seen between environmentalists and pro-ATV and pro-logging factions. Both sides say they desire to protect the environment. Both sides say they value the environment of Southern Illinois, particularly, more than any other place. Both sides appear to have the same motivation for being in the wilderness. Despite this shared claim of environmental ethic and responsibility, those involved inhabit very different places, as will be discussed.

Unfortunately, due to the volatility and hostility involved in this conflict, I was unable to interview any of the equestrian campground owners, many of those involved in the original conflict have since relocated. I spoke with a number of people who ride their own horses on public land, but none in the areas most affected by equine traffic. In lieu of personal interviews, I have used information available on websites, through social media, publications of equestrian clubs and organization, and editorials from the Southern Illinoisan and other local newspapers, who covered this conflict. One of the most active proponents of equestrian use and equestrian camps is the Shawnee Trails Conservancy (STC). STC is a non-profit group “dedicated to preserving and protecting its [the Shawnee’s] natural resources through proper trail maintenance, good trail signing, education of trail, camping and hunting users to achieve a low environmental impact and wise use management practices” (Shawnee Trails, 2013).

This group does a number of volunteer trail clearing and building activities within the Shawnee National Forest. It is also heavily allied with the equestrian campgrounds and makes no secret of their mission to advocate for multi-use of the Shawnee in general (including ATV and ORV use), or of their opinion of environmental groups. Their website contains a link that states simply “ENVIRONMENTAL ORG”. This link leads to a page which gives STC’s opinion of several environmental organizations that are active in the Southern Illinois area. For example, one comment reads: “Heartwood: Protecting heartland's hardwood forests at the cost of user access” (Shawnee Trails, 2013).

The other side of this conflict is again dominated by environmental groups and individuals, who mainly use the Shawnee to hike and backpack. Again, the main organizations that were involved were the Sierra Club’s local chapter, RACE, and the above-mentioned

Heartwood, which is dedicated to protecting the Heartland's remaining hardwood forests. Along with these organizations were many stakeholders who were unaffiliated with any particular group, but witnessed the damage caused by equestrian use of the forest and were concerned. The dislike between environmental groups and the STC is mutual. When asking environmentalists about this organization I received many statements that would be censored by the FCC. For example, when I asked Ken, a long-time member of the local environmental community what he thought of STC, I could not even finish my question before his reply was given: his opinions made clear.

KW: "Well the Shawnee Trails Conservancy..."

Ken: "OH MY GOD! They are NOT a conservancy whatsoever. Those were the people I said were the most vicious. STC was nothing more than a bunch of campground owners and a bunch of irate hillbillies that decided that we are gonna do what we want to do and we don't give a damn."

The issues that are the heart of this conflict were twofold. The first issue was the previously mentioned conditions of stakeholders were not being met: equestrian use was not being regulated and many times was not being done responsibly. The second issue was the commercialization of this recreational past-time. The problem was never with local individuals, or small local groups of riders, out for a day of riding. The conflict grew out of the explosion of horse campgrounds that offered guided tours through the Shawnee and were making profit exploiting the National Forest for commercial gain. The stage was set for this conflict to escalate

in all venues (public meetings, legal action, and on the trails) and throughout the 90's and into the new century, it did just that.

Legal Action

In 1999, Joe Glisson filed a lawsuit naming the Forest Service as defendant and claiming that the Forest Service was not enforcing the current laws of the Shawnee National Forest. He claimed that they were turning a blind eye to campground owners making their own trails and riding through sensitive natural areas, among other complaints. Later, the Shawnee Trails Conservancy was added as an intervenor with the Forest Service (DeNeal, 2008). This suit would become the most lengthy and complicated lawsuit concerning use of the Shawnee National Forest to date. The initial lawsuit led to many other suits and counter-suits, but the Glisson case turned out to be the engine that eventually, and debatably for the time being, resolved some of the issues involved in the conflict.

The case was presided over by Judge Phil Gilbert, who as a Federal Judge, had previously presided over many other cases that involved use of the Shawnee National Forest. Judge Gilbert was quoted retrospectively as describing the relationships between the parties in the following terms: "During these hearings it became apparent to me that there was this intense distrust that existed between all parties" (Muir, 2005). As the case progressed, Judge Gilbert found that there were more issues at play and the case was much more complicated than he

originally assumed. Therefore “To prevent ongoing litigation I took on the role of an arbitrator rather than an adjudicator” (DeNeal, 2008).

Further impressing all parties involved, the Judge made the unusual decision to actually go to the sites that were being discussed and experience the situation for himself. This unusual action proved to be extraordinarily effective because it is very difficult to explain this conflict in words. Without the complete sensory experience of the forest, both the environmental damage caused by equestrian use, as well as the equestrian experience, is flat and lifeless. The saying goes: seeing is believing, and in this case experiencing is understanding. Experience was the only way that Judge Gilbert would truly be able to understand all of the tendrils that wrap around and through this conflict. This being said, in the sections that follow I will attempt to do just what I stated is difficult at best: describe in words the issues that are the basis for this conflict.

Impacts of Equestrian Use

Riding horses has been a part of the rural culture in Southern Illinois for as long as anyone can remember. European-American residents had horses and used them to get from one place to another. When land was sold to the Forest Service locals would continue to ride across these sections of public land. This small-scale equestrian use of the forest by local residents had very limited impact on the ecology of the area. This changed in the early to mid-1990's with the explosion of commercial guiding and riding. Equestrian tourists would leave

from private equestrian catered campgrounds bound for the Shawnee National Forest. With the influx of trail riders, the effects of equestrian use became more and more apparent to other users of the forest.

As I stated above, the equestrian conflict was one of the most intense conflicts that has occurred within the Shawnee National Forest. The main reason for this intensity was because the conflict involved money and the possibility of economic growth for the region in the way of tourism dollars. Word of the beauty of the Shawnee, specifically the Lusk Creek Wilderness Area spread among trail rider associations and equestrian tourism circles. More and more equestrian tourists began coming to the area as more and more specialized campgrounds began to spring up. As it so often does with ecotourism, this economic opportunity came with a high price of environmental degradation due to overuse and under-enforcement of standing regulations. Both the economic and the ecological degradation factors, as well as the opinions of the various stakeholders, will be considered below.

The Windfall of Tourism Dollars?

As discussed in chapter II, the economy of Southern Illinois is a story of decline. Southern Illinoisans, like other rural peoples in the United States, value work; “work, more than any other activity, organized and gave meaning to people’s lives...” (Adams, 1994). Also like many rural communities, the economy has changed drastically in the last thirty to forty years. The clean-air act of 1990 depressed the coal mining industry (Ganning and Gasteyer, 2007) and

many one-time manufacturing jobs have moved overseas. So, while the people of the region value work, there is often very little economic opportunity in the region.

The rise in the poverty level in the later part of the 20th century led many to hope that recreational and ecotourism would be the next economic boon for the area². The conflict between economic and the environmental interests is what drove the logging controversy, and the equestrian issue follows a similar dynamic. Equestrian use of Shawnee National Forest exploded in the 1990's for the most part in the form of campgrounds that catered to horseback riding. Many of these campgrounds were tailored to out of town visitors who would bring their own horses with them, although there are several camps that offer guided or unguided rides and provide horses for visitors.

There are conflicting reports of just how much the specific activity of equestrian tourism has brought to the economy of Southern Illinois. Undoubtedly, this recreational activity has brought some economic growth to the surrounding communities; however, both the reality and the perception of the economic impact varies widely. For example, Chino is a life-long resident of the area and an environmentalist. He explained his position to me as "in a unique place of being a local who's spent twenty-five years surrounded by transplants or locals who are anomalous, who don't fit in with the general view out there." The "general" local's view, according to Chino, is pro-timber extraction, and pro-ATV and equestrian use. He explained to me his view that any economic growth through equestrian use of the forest was minimal and not shared throughout the community.

² There is an extensive body of work concerning different types of preservation through tourism, ecotourism and the relative success and failure of these programs worldwide. For some examples see Edwards and Abivardi, 1998; Infield and Adams, 1999; Igoe, 2004.

“Everything comes down to money, it’s the idea that we are all going to get rich off tourism. It’s an idea... a myth, that tourism was gonna save us (turned out it was prisons that did that). We were all gonna get rich off of tourism. They published a bunch of inflated numbers about how much money tourists spent. It was outrageous. The average tourist spends \$50 bucks if we’re lucky, back then anyway. Now maybe it’s a little more, but it’s not saving us.”

Other residents of Southern Illinois feel differently and cite equestrian use of the forest as having a positive economic impact. In a 2007 survey of local stakeholders many perceived some amount of positive economic impact and blamed a “small group of environmentalists” for the conflict over equestrian use (Hendee and Flint, 2007: 17). Still, as Hendee et al (2007) report, stakeholders view recreational tourism as an economic asset, but not necessarily, a lifeline.

Bill Blackorby, who in 1999 was both the president of the STC and the owner of the Circle B Ranch horse campground located in Eddyville, Illinois, stated that the economic opportunities provided by equestrian tourism were huge. "They talk about greedy campground owners. But when [riders] pull into Marion or Harrisburg or Golconda, the first thing they do is get groceries. Then they pull into a gas station and take 60 to 70 gallons. They all go to the restaurants, the antique stores and they stop at the Wal-Mart" (Lambrecht, 1999: 19).

The economic issues were also debated in the local newspapers. In one example, The Southern Illinoian showcased side by side op-eds from both pro and anti-commercial equestrian perspectives. The pro-equestrian article states that trail riding is the “...development

of an industry that is one of the cleanest, wholesome [sic] recreational activities that money can buy" (Black and Hankins, 1995:3D). Although, there is ample data that would disagree with this statement, certainly on the cleanliness point. They go on to mention a recent survey in which riders are reported to spend two million dollars in Southern Illinois annually (Black and Hankins, 1995); however, they do not provide the actual citation for their data, so their numbers could not be verified. Along the same lines, they claim that visiting equestrians spend \$60 a day whereas hikers only spend \$12, again the citation for this information is not provided. The argument has also been made by anti-equestrians that it costs taxpayers much more to maintain trails that are utilized by equestrians than it does for hikers.

There are few who would deny that equestrian tourism brings in money for campground owners and a few other businesses. The op-ed written from the environmentalist perspective does not dispute the fact that equestrian tourism is economically positive for the area. They acknowledge this fact, but add that equestrian use must be regulated in a responsible manner. "Economic growth is a viable issue when one considers Southern Illinois' economy. Growth in the horse campground industry could be good if it is approached in a responsible, sustainable manner" (Piper and Winston, 1995:3D). The authors spend the rest of the article addressing the ecological concerns that they believed must be met in order for horseback riding to be a true economic boon. In a different article, Joe Glisson, the main plaintiff against the Forest Service over equestrian use, argued that without these ecological considerations the economic opportunities would be a moot point. "Nobody's going to come here to look at moonscapes," (McRoberts, 1999).

The State of the Trails

Most trails in the Shawnee National Forest, as well as the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge (CONWR), are not designated or designed for a specific activity. There are few trails that are for foot traffic only, or mountain bike only, or equestrian only, they are almost entirely multi-use trails. The very few exceptions would be trails where equestrian use is not permitted. Most trails seem to have been maintained in the same manner: before the explosion in the population of horses using the area, the idea seemed to be trails are trails no matter who uses them for what. However these are two very important points. That trails are not designed for the damage that occurs during heavy equestrian or ATV use means that the trails cannot stand up to this type of use. That trails are not designated for a specific use means, as I have previously stated, hikers are forced to walk along trails that are muddy and unsafe.

Beyond multi-use trails, the ATV conflict also highlighted a theme that was to become an even greater issue in the mid to late 1990's with the equestrian conflict: user-made trails. This is a common side-effect of almost all outdoor recreation that damages trails. When one trail becomes so damaged that it becomes impassable, traffic, whether foot, horse, or ATV, creates a new trail parallel to the original trail. Eventually, the two trails converge and create one large trail that is unusable. Traffic then moves over again and further widens the trail. The result is huge areas of defoliation where the fragile soils are laid bare and at risk for severe erosion. This type of trail damage is known as trail braiding.

This may sound like it's not that serious of a problem... it is messy and inconvenient, but it is not the entire length of the trail so a hiker or backpacker can just forget about it until the

next impasse. But it can and often does matter. To a hiker, horse trails (or trails that are frequently used by horses) can be messy, inconvenient and, at their worst, can be truly dangerous. Besides the possibility of injury, horses urinate in the same spots as other horses on the trails. Many times a hiker is sinking not only in mud, but in mud created by horse urine. Almost all of the hikers interviewed for this project commented on the issue of having to hike through horse waste. Many also cite equestrian use as the cause of much of the trail erosion on Southern Illinois public lands.

That horses have a greater impact on trails than hikers, bicycles, and even in some conditions ORVs and ATVs, is nothing that was not known before the equestrian conflict in Southern Illinois began. A 1978 study by Weaver and Dale showed greater damage from horses in compaction, erosion and vegetative trampling than either hiking or ORV use (see also Leung and Marion, 1999). In order to get a professional's take on the trail damage in public lands in Southern Illinois, I spoke with a retired forest ecologist and outdoor recreation professor who lived and taught in Southern Illinois for a large part of his career.

KW: "Do you remember the equestrian controversy well?"

DM: "I remember it very well. It's still going on you just don't hear much about it in the news."

KW: "How did you get interested in it?"

DM: "My doctorate was in forest ecology and I did some work on the impact of recreational activities on wild land environments. Everything from hiking and

camping to off-road motorcycle riding. And of course horses featured into that. That was my general background and interest.

When we were here in Southern IL, I didn't do any formal studies. I did do a study at Land Between the Lakes on ORVs, the extent of their impact. So we didn't do any formal studies, but we observed a lot of their impact. Class room exercises and demonstrations - that was the general background."

KW: "I heard from a former student about one of the exercises which showed that horses had much greater impact, do you remember it that way?"

DM: "What we did was, we went in to an undisturbed - not a unique area - but an undisturbed area, with typical forest soil. It was loose, there was litter on the top and so on. We staked out three different parallel paths that were pretty much the same. Then we marched through the walk in a long line and circled around and they [the students] did so many passes with their feet and then at a certain point we would measure the amount of soil compaction. We did the same with bicycles and then we did the same with horses. The way we measured soil compaction, which is the most important thing, was we had a little open bottle and we would pour a certain amount of water in there. And of course the un-compacted soil, the water would run right into the soil rather quickly, and as it became compacted the water would take much longer to get to the bottom, we timed it to see how long it would take to clear the container we poured it into. Which you can imagine, in totally compacted soil the water wouldn't hardly move at all.

And the bicycles and foot traffic had about the same initial impact.

That's very understandable because in terms of soil dynamics, you don't have to pack the soil very deep. All you have to do is compact about an inch into the top soil and that's about enough to start the soil running off the top instead of penetrating through, which causes erosion and also seals off air going into the soil, it's sort of like putting saran wrap on the soil. You don't have to go very deep to have effects on the soil in terms of erosion or aeration. Those things happened quite quickly with a few passes of the foot traffic and the bicycles. Well horses, in addition to the weight, had a churning action. They churned up clods of soil. They had a much more damaging effect on the first pass. I would have to say, and I emphasize this, that over time, all three paths are going to become compacted. But the horses would continue to churn the soil and make it much deeper. So they definitely had a bigger impact.

And one of the things that we would notice, there were established trails. Well if an off-road bicycle or a hiker would veer off that trail and walk and they wanted to carve their little path, you know from point A to point B, you wouldn't notice it. It only took about one or two passes of a horse and you had a sub-trail established. Then others would follow and then you have this sort of braided network of trails which would be much more wide-spread. The other factor of course with horse riding, again none of this is verifiable in terms of a published study³, horses [riders] you know in the wild west, they enjoyed being

³ I take this to mean verified as there is no published work on this topic.

off trail, rough rider through the country-side kind of mentality. But they're not doing much rough riding in terms of what used to be considered rough riding through the country out in the west. There's some of that mentality. They tend to disrespect staying on the trail. Hikers and bikers, depending on the number of trees and obstructions, tended to stay on the trails because it's much easier to move along. So there was more and more of that too. Riders are kind of bodacious, you know, they are up on their horses and pretending to be cowboys, I don't know, that was sort of my assumption.

I wrote a monograph published by the American Motorcycle Association on the off-road vehicle in Land Between the Lakes, they have 2,500 acres and they opened it up to ORVs and they could go anywhere they wanted to in the forested area. It's basically a hilly clay soil, mostly forested, there are a few meadows down there but mostly forested. We did some analysis and after five or ten years they had only impacted .5 percent of the entire area. From an ecological point of view the area was intact, sure there were a few areas where there were these hills that they would run up and down there was terrible erosion, it looked unsightly to a naturalist, but the forest was unchanged. What we found was once the trail system was established there was a great incentive to stay on it, because it was just too difficult [on the ORVs] to go bushwhacking. So, there was sort of a self-regulating effect of the motorcycles down there. To a certain extent you find a self-regulating effect with other kinds of people moving through the woodland environments. You know, try to get from A to B

with the least amount of energy unless you're trying to, for some specific reason, to conquer or go off the trail, you're going to stay on the trail. That's a psychology that I have observed over a number of different environments and different users. Again not in any kind of formal study. Which is common sense if you spend any time hiking or in the outdoors."

KW: "So do you find that the equestrians don't have that self-regulating effect?"

DM: "I wouldn't want to say that because I don't know. I do know that there is something of a cowboy effect, but like any population there are going to be some more responsible and irresponsible participants. I know at Ondessonk [private youth campground] we had a trail building class and we were doing some work down there and the camp did not want these riders right up by this waterfall. You could get off the River to River Trail and go right up to these falls. We're talking maybe a hundred yards to get up to these falls from the trail. So we built you know a very nice corral, with hitching posts and so on. And they didn't want to do that. They would ignore that because they wanted to be in front of that falls, a real sensitive area, on their horses so they could take a picture of it. We worked at certain places blocking off the trail, you know moving big boulders, and we kept them out of some areas, but they were looking for a trophy experience. They were just bodacious. It wasn't a matter of convenience and asking them to walk a little bit, they were on their horses and they were gonna do what they were gonna do. So that's one isolated incidence where they just disregarded."

KW: “Do you think there can be a balance achieved in the Shawnee between horses and other groups?”

DM: “Well, first of all from a strictly ecological point of view, the first way to control impact in areas where people recreate is that you find the smallest area possible. So, you have established campsites, or trails, people use the trails, then the impact is confined to very small areas, the ecosystem in general is intact. The horses, hikers, so on, if they were in a natural area if they stayed on the established trails. Although I have to say, you run into the conflict, if you’ve ever hiked a trail where horses use it they leave their “road apples” there and to the hiker it’s not fun to step around those things. The noise issue with the ORVs. There is also a cultural thing, people have a cultural paradigm; if you’re in the outdoors you should hike, so even on a bicycle there’s maybe more impact to hikers. Then you also have the problem of regulation, because when you are in the backcountry you don’t have the resources to police people. A hiker getting off the trail is not good but it’s not catastrophe, but a horse getting off the trail, typically is a catastrophe. Only one or two passes and they’ve churned up the soil and have gotten down into subsoil. It’s because the size and the weight of the animal, it’s an inherently more dangerous thing to put in there in terms of impact. People are going to disregard it and once they do, one individual, one outlier can cause a ton of damage. But one outlier of a bicycle or a hiker can be erased in one season with leaf cover. You probably wouldn’t even

know it was there. Basically, if I was in charge of the Forest Service, I would give them access to non-sensitive areas and keep them out of the sensitive areas.”

DM stressed to me in the above interview again and again that just one horse can inflict a severe amount of damage to sensitive areas. The issue of equestrian usage of the Shawnee, especially places heavily utilized, such as Lusk Creek Wilderness, is not an issue of one horse, but thousands of horses a year. Each pass by a horse compounds the churning effect on the soil, deepening their erosive effect. During special riding events, such as the 9-Day Trail Ride in late July, there are literally thousands of horses in the forest. At the height of the conflict in 1999, there were approximately three thousand horses in the region for this one event (1999 Shawnee National). Time and again the number of horses was stressed when I spoke with various environmentalists. The following interview excerpt with Chino illustrates many of their views:

KW: “So every time you went there you saw horses?”

C: “I not only saw horses, every time I went out there I saw something more outlandish. It was absurd. You’ve got to understand I have seen a group of a hundred horses riding together. I have talked to a man who I trust implicitly, who claims to have seen a group of close to three hundred horses. In a group. In ONE group. Some sort of special event ride. This was my eyes, a hundred in one group. I mean we had to wait off the trail for thirty minutes, with full packs, for them to get by. I got to see it all happen. It was as clear as day the negative

impact that they had. The fact that it's still being disputed, officially, and they have massive political power? It's perfect because any idiot with sight in one eye could walk down those trails and see the problem. If you don't see it, then you don't want to."

Excessive horse use was also cited in an op-ed written in the Southern Illinoisan. "The argument that everyone is entitled to enjoy their chosen recreational activities on public lands has begun to sound very hollow. The line between recreational activities and pure industry has been blurred by excessive horse use. When any activity results in heavy damage to the natural resource, it must be re-examined and judged on its benefits to all, not just a politically powerful few" (Piper and Winston, 1995:3D). This point is a recurrent issue that was also debated during the ATV/ORV conflict. I spoke with Mr. Piper about this article and he addressed the argument concerning people's rights to their recreation as follows:

"Recreational rototilling: let's say there's just nothing I like better than running a tiller. The smell of the new earth, the two-cycle motor oil, the whine of the motor, I feel like I'm doing God's work out there... like a ploughman. So am I entitled to that because it's my recreation? Well, here's the thing. I can take that tiller and run it all through Lusk Creek and not do any more damage than four or five horses would in a marginally wet month. They weigh a thousand pounds and wear metal shoes. One pass with my Troy-Built, no more

damage than a few horses. I just gotta figure out how to put a seat on one, so I don't have to walk."

Examples of damage caused by heavy equestrian use can be seen in figures 16-20.

The Fight Over Natural Areas

The equestrian use of natural areas is one of the largest points of contention between environmentalists and hikers and equestrian users of the forest. These areas are designated by the state of Illinois, but when on public land they are recognized on the federal level. Natural areas can be on private or public land; however, when they are designated on public land the process is formal and the areas are administered by the National Resources Conservation Service, which falls under the Federal Department of Agriculture (Natural Areas, 2013). Areas are designated in Illinois because a specific piece of land "either retains or has recovered to a substantial degree its original natural or primeval character, though it need not be completely undisturbed, or has floral, faunal, ecological, geological or archaeological features of scientific, educational, scenic or esthetic interest" (Illinois Natural Area, 2013). The issue of natural areas is, again, an issue of perspective, and there are many competing perspectives and opinions involved. How much natural character should the land contain? How much impact can these areas be expected to withstand? Southern Illinois has been settled a long time, why should we limit people's use of the land now? The point of the environmentalists was that these areas had

already been designated before the commercialism of equestrian recreation in the Shawnee. The laws and regulations had already been passed, they were just not being enforced.

Below is an explanation given to me by Ken, a former member of the Sierra Club's local chapter, concerning the lead up to the equestrian controversy and how it relates to natural areas. It is an extensive story, but it goes a long way towards explaining how equestrian use, especially in natural areas, was allowed to go legally unchallenged until 1999 and unenforced until much later, as well as setting equestrian recreation in the context of other recreational conflicts and the politics of the time.

“This is an interesting policy fact. In the Forest Management Act, and I can't remember the date, it made it so that congress directed the Forest Service to come up with management plans because they realized that at that time there was just rampant corporate logging and stuff with no regard for what area it was in. So, when they did that they had to come up with a long-term management plan. And the Shawnee developed theirs and implemented it in 1986 and it turned out to be so bad that everybody filed administrative appeals. Environmentalists, motorcycle riders, even the logging industry. The 1986 plan came out and it was horrible. Out of the entire system for the entire country the plan for the Shawnee National Forest may have been, from an environmental perspective, the worst plan in the whole country. The timber volumes were insane, they were ridiculously high. Their preferred method of harvest was forty acre clear-cuts. It [common practice] was very specific and said clear-cutting

was the last resort, but here it was the first choice. The volume of timber that they wanted to take off every year was more than was produced, so it was completely unsustainable.

All of the parties that appealed the plan agreed to get together and coming up with a plan, which resulted in the 1988 settlement agreement. The settlement agreement became the document that became the [1992 Forest Management] Plan. The Sierra Club actually had some shrewd negotiators and it resulted in an agreement and it went from one of the worst plans to one of the best plans.

That was part of it. It was during the meetings that preceded that, at that time there was only four equestrian campgrounds that were adjacent to the forest. There was only one really large equestrian event it was called the 8-Day Trail Ride [sic, 9-Day Trail Ride] and fortunately it was in mid to late summer and everything was unbelievably dry. The trails were hard, the damage was minimal in some respects, unless it was rainy which was not very often, they came and they went and that was that. While we were in those [post 1986 Plan] negotiations there was definitely talk about designation, equestrians had to stay on trails, the trails had to be system trails not user-made, they couldn't make trails.

Well, we had guys there that were seventy years old and this was back in 1990. So at this time the people who were riding had been riding since they were kids and they'd ride from farm to farm. Then the government got the

property and everything. And these guys would still ride from farm to farm and they would cross forest property and it didn't have any impact at all. And these guys were like "are you gonna tell me I can't ride across there? I been riding back there since I was twelve years old." And we were like of course not, with no anticipation of twenty really large horse camps that developed, with like up to a hundred horses in one group riding cross country, creating a trail by having a hundred horses in a line. Where there was nothing before, there would be when they passed. We stopped the ATV thing with slick language and ended up screwing ourselves because there was no [equestrian] issue when we said of course you can ride cross country without the knowledge that this thing was gonna explode. Then when it came to protecting natural areas that was when it was all done."

Private horseback riding (not for profit) on public land continues to be an issue for some people in some areas. I met a man in Bell Smith Springs who told me that he thought it was ridiculous that he was not allowed to ride his horse in the Bell Smith Springs area. As I stated in chapter VI, Bell Smith Springs is a National Natural Landmark area and equestrian use is not permitted at any time. The man was a local and was probably in his 70's. He told me that he had been riding in Bell Smith since he was a boy. He blamed "the government" for regulating his place and taking away an activity that had been part of his life since he could remember. This is a perfect example of what Ken was trying to explain in that environmentalists did not want the Forest Service to disallow private use by the local community. However, with the

damage incurred by the explosion of for-profit horse camps some areas became off-limits to equestrians entirely.

“There is an interesting aside to all of that - the natural areas and equestrian use thing. The natural areas are an identification of a geographical location that had characteristics that were as close to pre-settlement conditions as could be. Some of them are like an acre. As it turned out, out of the entire state of Illinois, the vast majority of natural areas happened to be now in the ownership of Federal Government and the Shawnee National Forest. So the state, this was part of the agreement, because the Illinois Department of Natural Resources [IDNR] was one of the groups at the table in the planning process and they had a thing about the fate of the natural areas and how they should be managed - no camping, no structures, no fire-rings, no equestrian use, no trails, and that's the way it is. If you want to walk through a natural area, fine, but that was it. The other thing was natural areas contain rare or endangered plants and or animals whether it's an insect or a lizard, whatever.”

The state of Illinois does dictate regulations in state designated natural areas; however, regulations differ in different natural areas (Administrative Rules, 2013). For example, Lusk Creek Canyon Natural Area, along with several other natural areas, are closed to equestrian use. Rebecca Banker was the Shawnee's public relations specialist at the height of the equestrian conflict, and she was quoted as summing up the two sides of the natural area issue

as follows: "There's a group that truly believes that they have a God-given right to ride their horses on every square foot of forest out there. And then there's the other side, which believes that we must close the natural areas" (Lambrecht, 1999:20). Ken continued to explain the politics involved in equestrian use of natural areas.

“So, they [Forest Service] were gonna have a public informational meeting, everybody was invited. They were basically gonna say the natural areas are closed to motorized and equestrian use - period. And I knew about it and I said well do you want the environmental community there for support? And they said no, you guys don't have to worry about it, it's a done deal...it's done, they're closed. Well, Congressman Glenn Poshard at that time was just doing wonderful stuff for the environment but his district had changed. He must be a true believer of representative government because when it came time to designate the natural areas [prior to the equestrian issue] he said I am doing this because it's the right thing to do. Well, now it turned out that there was a very wealthy equestrian campaign contributor that approached him about this and they have this meeting and the state and feds tell them the natural areas are closed to equestrian use, and they throw a hissy fit. And Poshard amazingly showed up at this meeting, the feds had no idea he was coming, and he shows up and makes this speech about how they've been locked out of the process, and they were like no here's the '92 plan. They went through it and he forced the Forest Service to go through it with the equestrian users. They said well we want

to have a trail through this natural area and that, and especially over by Eddyville [Lusk Creek area].

It turned into a debacle, it was awful...I have never seen more hateful nasty people and it turned out that the worst, the most aggressive, the most vicious people were ones that had lived here for less than five years and they came down with money in their pocket and purchased property that was adjacent to the Shawnee, set up camps, charged people to come, were illegally guiding, doing actual guiding because these people [tourists] didn't know where they were, built illegal trails from their property to where it would intersect another trail...totally illegal, blatantly illegal. The damage was unbelievable, just awful because they rode all year round, where the locals didn't go out in the winter when the ground was so soft and the freeze thaw cycle. There would be a grass covered slope one horse could walk across it and the next time when it rained there would be a gully. It was just too fragile and they just didn't care, they didn't care."

It is clear from Ken's comments that the environmental community was opposed to equestrian use of natural areas. However, the equestrian community, while technically breaking the law, had very different ideas and questioned the validity of natural areas in general. One of their tactics became to question the definition of natural areas and the designation of these areas. Many proclaimed that natural areas in this region should not even be designated due to the long history of farming and logging, or other forms of human

alteration to habitat. The equestrian community was employing a strategy long used by those opposed to the preservation ethic: people have always altered the environment and there is no “original natural or primeval character” left.

This has been a point of discussion in ecology and environmentalism for many years and is threaded into the debate concerning humanity’s place in nature and nature’s place in culture. The debate can be pared down to the question of whether or not humans are fundamentally different than the rest of the natural world. Ingold (2000) writes that thinking humans are separate and above nature (fundamentally different) has many negative impacts on humanity’s relationship with nature; it forces an artificial separation of mind and body, as well as privileges reason over bodily experience. Both of these points are true and are reasons to see humans as just another natural being. When we go out into the world (or sit on our butts at home) we experience the world through *all* of our senses just as the rest of nature does.

This line of thinking is also employed by Callicott (1998) who also makes a case for humans as simply other beings in the natural world. He reasons that there are some animals that help their environment, such as bees that pollinate flowers and make it possible for us all to eat many things, and then there are animals that hurt. These are animals such as elephants and beavers that degrade their environment. Callicott (1998) states that humans are just another animal which degrades the environment. While understanding Callicott’s rationale there is also an inherent danger in this type of logic. What would the Earth be like if there were over six billion elephants? Of course, this scenario would never happen due to certain ecological principles that no longer apply to humans (see Hardin 1968: 1246).

Moran (2008) reviews some of these ecological principles and their applicability to the human species. The first is the many ecological limiting factors that constrain animal populations. One of the most common limiting factors in any environment is nitrogen. Nitrogen allows for green growth in plants which all animals require in one form or another. Nitrogen can only be fixed into the soil from the atmosphere by certain types of plants. However, nitrogen is not limiting for humans; if our soil is nitrogen depleted we use chemical fertilizer. Due to limiting factors and constraints, most animals cannot change their environment to suit them and their populations are thus constrained. Humans shape the environment to fit our needs and thus can live anywhere on the Earth.

There is danger in either way of thinking. If humans are just another part of nature than the degradation of the environment can be seen as natural process. The Earth can be seen as self-regulating and therefore there is no need for stewardship or preservation of the planet (Jelinski, 2005). At the same time, it is also dangerous to see humans as fundamentally different than the rest of nature. After all, this is how we have been viewing ourselves for a long time (albeit for different reasons). Continuing the separation of mind and body and of nature and culture allows cycles of human domination and environmental degradation to continue.

Many of those that advocate for conservation ethics rather than preservation utilize the argument that humans have always altered their environment and therefore, nature can recover from any damage that is inflicted. During this conflict, the equestrian community was no exception. They attempted to use the definition of the natural areas and past human encroachment and habitation in these areas to argue against closures to equestrian traffic. "Even so, some locals scoff at conservation efforts in an area with a long history of farming and

logging. 'You tell me what a natural area is,' said Eddyville Mayor Ralph Aly. 'There's not a place in Pope County that someone hasn't lived on'" (McRoberts, 1999).

The Shawnee Trails Conservancy and other equestrian groups went so far as to enlist the help of the Mountain States Legal Foundation to aid them in fighting the designation of natural areas. The Foundation was said to be attempting to challenge the Forest Service's right to keep "natural areas" off-limits to equestrian and other use. "Bill Blackorby [equestrian camp owner] of Eddyville is among those hoping Mountain States prevails in arguing that the Forest Service can't rightly designate as 'natural areas' once-settled strips of forest with remnants of buildings and roads" (Lambrecht, 1999:19).

Regardless of the feelings and arguments of the equestrian community, the Forest Service did eventually close forty of the Shawnee's natural areas to equestrian use. However, officially closing the areas and enforcing those closures are two very different things. "That's closing in a technical sense because people continue to use those areas" (Lambrecht, 1999:17). An ex-employee of the Forest Service explained the process to me in the following way.

"They began to enforce the closure of the natural areas, because I went in there about 2002 on a backpacking trip on my customary route. You know it was just horse highway all the way and then we get to a point where we dive off and get to the natural area, suddenly there was no more horse trail. There were plants growing in the trail, it was amazing. You could see where one or two belligerents had to have their say and go in there, but it was nothing like it had been. What I think was that the Forest Service decided to enforce the closures.

Those closures had been written in probably '94 or '95. I worked for the Forest Service in '95. The biologist had all the closures to all the natural areas, no more equestrian use. He had them in the drawer of his desk, o.k. ready to sign. And they were hostages. He told some people in the environmental community that if they stopped trying to sue over the Bell Smith timber sale that he would sign the closures. But that was the deal, let them do their pine logging, then he would sign and enforce the closures. So for three or four years that did not happen. This guy, he wouldn't do it. It was purely political and had to do with who he identified with. From what I have seen since, that is holding [the closures]."

The Sensibilities of Equestrians and Hikers, Or Cowboys and Indians?

As I stated above and have written about in previous chapters, much of the conflict between groups of recreationists using public lands in Southern Illinois is a difference in worldview, sensibilities, perceptions, and identity. All of these factors help to create different communal places to different groups. Lusk Creek Wilderness is a different place to hikers, backpackers and environmentalists, than it is to equestrian users. Many equestrians see environmentalists as "tree-huggers" and Radical Environmentalists (Lambrecht, 1999) that are looking for a fight. One op-ed states "We all know there are always a few soreheads that cannot see the need for considering the future for our children..." (Black and Hankins, 1995:3D)

obviously targeting anyone against equestrian use of the forest as being also against the future of the region.

Below are a few excerpts from interviews that touched on these identity differences. In the first Chino describes his own view on why he is an environmentalist.

C: "I have favorite spots. Some spots are so special to me they border on religion. It's like religion. I've been saying for 25 years that it was my church, my temple. Not just Lusk Creek, but any place comparable to it. People who didn't understand how one can have such passion for environmental issues, a lot of times they're Christians. I remember one guy I worked for, he was a Christian. He was a real open-minded Christian, and he and I would talk about religion and the land a lot. He was also an environmentalist, he truly loved the land. The best analogy I made for him was, if you knew somebody was trashing your church right now as we speak it would drive you crazy. You couldn't rest. He gave me that, that it was an apt metaphor. Of course he was leery of anything that smacked of Paganism, he stopped short of saying the land was his church: it was the creation, not the creator. With me that was all blurred and mixed up together. There are my favorite spots and they are as important to me as any shrine to any pilgrim."

In the next excerpt, Chino describes how equestrian use affected his experience and his place.

C: "It was amazing, there were people everywhere. It was very depressing because the one thing I would have never ever called Lusk Creek until that point would have been crowded. So, it was not only crowded it was trashed and literally trashed.

I would hike two hours to get to the middle of the wilderness area, I mean if it was a dart board it would be the center of this thing and this happened on numerous occasions, but this time was so profound I always use this as an example, in the very center of this place that we had named the Garden of Eden, it was so beautiful. Years before we said well we'll call this the Garden of Eden, we always named places. How the hell else are you gonna know what anybody's talking about? To just say Lusk Creek, well, that's a lot of land. So we're in the Garden of Eden and I'm not kidding, it's about a two hour hike to get in there. We're going in there hoping to go swimming, cool off, and maybe even be alone, it's the middle of the wilderness. First thing we see is the family sized McDonalds bag. And they couldn't even put the damn trash in the bag. They just sort of scattered it everywhere and used the bag as a centerpiece. It was like "This is where we ate and this is what we ate." It was so disgusting.

You can't stop hundreds of people hauling their McDonalds in there and leaving it. I'll tell you this, whoever did that wasn't a hiker. There aint nobody carrying that in there on a two-hour hike in the summer and then throwing it down there. It just doesn't go together. People that are disciplined enough to walk in there with their own two feet, carry the stuff they need, for one they're

probably not gonna bring that crap in there, but they are certainly not gonna throw it down there when they're done. Most hikers I know won't even leave a little piece of tissue behind. That was the first thing that struck me was it's like they think they are riding down some crappy road in a car they can fling the stuff out. Out of sight, out of mind. Only it's in the center of my church."

The above excerpt concerns how Chino feels about certain areas and points to ethical differences between hikers and equestrian users. I have had many people tell me about following trails of empty beer cans like breadcrumbs to parties of equestrians. The next excerpt demonstrates Chino's views on the pro-equestrian tendency to attempt to link anti-equestrians with animal rights activists.

C: "You would not believe some of the places I've seen trails cut into. When this conflict first started what they loved to accuse the environmentalists of was being animal rights extremists. They used it because there was, and still is, a negative connotation to an animal rights extremist, they're typically from urban areas. It's almost like it was with the logging thing, you know the idea that people were coming down here from the suburbs of Chicago to occupy the forest really pissed a lot of people, a lot of locals, off. So, that was one of their first arguments. While I never heard of anybody who had a problem with horses on the trails use that argument, once you see some of the places that they take the trails, and you're on them yourself, about to break your neck, you think

damn, it would suck to be a horse on this. Have some deadweight on your back. And all of these were user-trails, they were treacherous. Backpacking in there, especially with the damage, was just dangerous.

This isn't Oklahoma, that's the problem. The image is rooted in some Dodge City, Kansas idea of cowboys. Well, I hate to break it to them, there weren't any cowboys around here. We didn't have huge cattle ranches and there was never any cacti, this is NOT a Fredrick Remington painting. This is a moist, fragile environment. If it's wet, it's a lot easier to make mud in. The bedrock out west is about an inch under the sandy soil, and if you want to ride a horse there, you could ride for a hundred years out there and not cause a problem. Here, a hundred passes and it's ruined. The land is not suited to it. Honestly, it may be officially, the most intensely fought conflict in the forest."

This interview was not the first time I heard the equestrians referred to as cowboys. DM also referred to them in this way as did another local environmentalist and avid hiker whom I interviewed. He is a transplant who has been in the area for over twenty years and spent a great amount of time in the Lusk Creek area during the height of the equestrian conflict.

KW: "Didn't one equestrian pull a pistol on you?"

PJ: "Yeah, I had a cowboy pull a pistol on me because I became aggressive with a rider who had informed me he had just been through my camp. I don't mean near it but absolutely through it, because he was too lazy to get off his horse and

investigate the overhang that we were camped in but had to ride right up through it. Kicked and spurred the horse right up through the camp and the horse took the trouble to relieve itself right there at the edge of it all. So, I became aggressive with him and he pulled a long barreled .22 revolver and pointed it at me and told me something like "You can keep going but I'm gonna shoot you" something to that effect. It was kinda my call, so I backed down. I had my wife with me and my dog. I don't know if he would have shot me or if he just wanted to play at it. Funny thing was they were lost, not from around here and they were dressed like actors in a western. You see a local a lot of times they'll have a ball cap, jeans and a flannel shirt. These people are dressed up like Buffalo Bill's Wild West show...crazy...cowboys."

KW: "Were they wearing cowboy hats?"

PJ: "Oh God, yeah. They had chaps and duster coats and the whole deal. They must've had \$600 worth of clothes on, each one of 'em. More than that probably, those boots, and he had even brought his pistol with him, his six gun."

Conclusion

"It all ended up in federal court and fortunately ended up in front of a judge that cared and the judge actually had a field trip and went down and physically looked at the ground and he ruled the correct way. The Forest Service will

provide some trails but the trails will be maintained. The horses will be on these trails they will not go off of the trails and he worked out a plan for things to be done the right way.”

- Ken

In many respects the equestrian conflict was resolved in legal compromise; however, it remains to be seen if the ruling of the judge, and the regulations of the Forest Service will be lasting. In 2008, Judge Gilbert passed down his final ruling. After three trips into Lusk Creek Wilderness both on foot and on horseback in varying conditions, and countless hours spent talking to all factions involved, Judge Gilbert ruled that while equestrian use of the forest should continue, it needed to continue in a more regulated and responsible manner.

For its part, the Forest Service was ordered to maintain and clearly mark trails that allowed equestrian use. This resulted in some extra federal funding for a Trails Designation Project, which is ongoing. It was also ordered to set up a special use permit system for horse campgrounds in the region. Equestrians were to stay on Forest Service designated trails. No more user-made trails, or trail braiding. The maximum amount of horses in any given party was limited to ten per group. Winter closures have also been enacted for Forest Service land, as well as closures based on the amount of rain in 24 hour periods in the months in early spring and late fall (DeNeal, 2008). Seasonal closures are also regulated on other public lands in the region, including state lands, and Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge.

Most parties are cautiously optimistic concerning the results, despite neither side being fully satisfied with them. Environmentalists would like equestrian use limited further, while

equestrians are attempting to get the winter closures lifted as well as more trails added, especially in the natural areas. The STC sent a proposal to the Forest Service in 2012 “requesting different parameters for the opening of the Wilderness in winter” (Newsletter, 2012). The newsletter published the response from the Forest Service which stated that they did not, at the present time, have enough of the trails hardened off to withstand winter riding (Newsletter, 2012).

While the court case is closed and the regulations are in place, many environmentalists remain pessimistic about the ability of the Forest Service to enforce these regulations. It all comes down to the ability of the Forest Service and enforcement. Environmentalists may have won part of what they wanted, but with all of the illegal activity before the court case, there is no confidence that equestrians will follow the rules now, without the threat of enforcement. If conflict arises again the answer may lie in more single use trails, “Areas will be needed for each mode of transport, since each provides different satisfying experiences” (Weaver and Dale, 1978), or reduced equestrian use through many more years of litigation.

Chino states what I heard echoed by many hikers and environmentalists.

KW: “So enforcement?”

C: “Good luck. Who’s gonna do that? Predator drones? Well, politics might be our friend here because some of the bigger camps, well... bottom line it’s a business. So they may be spreading the word that we’re gonna do it right and then they’ll be able to show look we’re environmentalists, and not get all their

trails taken away. If they stayed out of every natural area there would still be plenty to see. There would still be so many trails that they could ride.

They reality is the LEOs [law enforcement officers] are not gonna do it. They are not gonna go out and write tickets to people they identify with, they are gonna hassle tree-huggers. Anybody else that's new to this place and these conflicts would just think I was the most bitter, cynical guy and they would be somewhat right. They would say I am a pessimist. I am not, I am a realist. Enforcement? I will believe it when I see it. I know they're not enforcing the seasonal closures. Eventually, they'll start riding in the natural areas again."

For my own part, since I became conscious of the conflict over equestrian use of public lands and since I had become literally mired in the trails, I have had many questions about the thinking of equestrian trail riders. Don't they see the mud? Don't they see that the trails are in awful condition? If they do, do they just not care? My research for this volume has answered, at least partially, these questions. I found two answers that represent different reasoning depending on the participant's attachment to place. In order to gain a tourist perspective, I sent several pictures of the worst trail damage to an associate in Texas who is an avid equestrian. I asked her to look at the trails and give her honest opinion about whether she would ride them or not. I told her nothing of my research, except that I was looking at how people use public land. Her perceptions were insightful as to how equestrian tourists in the region might understand and perceive the mud and the state of the trails.

Her main concern was the safety of her horse. She stated that she would not ride many of the trails pictured, but not because of any environmental damage. Rather because of these safety concerns; if the trail is too narrow, if there were rocks sticking out into the trail, the possibility of her horse slipping on rocks under the leaf litter. Ironically, the only picture I sent her that she had no safety concerns over was a trail in Bell Smith Springs that is not used at all by equestrians (they are not allowed in the area). "This trail is a good size and nothing seems to be sticking out to hurt the horse. I would definitely ride on this one!" The picture I sent that showed the most mud and the most amount of damage she was the most leery of. Again, not for environmental reasons. "Is it always going to be muddy? If not, then I would ride on it, it's open and nothing sticking out. The big problem with mud is you have to go slow so your horse won't slip, which isn't fun. You would have to be more cautious riding on this trail in the mud."

These comments made me realize that many times, riders from out of town, that know nothing of the conflict or the concerns of local environmentalists, may think that the mud and trail damage are only temporary things: that the state of the trails is better in better conditions. Their first concern may be for their horse, or just for their pleasure on the trip, they may know nothing of environmentalism or preservation versus conservation. Most importantly, being tourists, they have not built a place around the trails in the Shawnee. Their identity is not dependent on a history of building place, but rather built around their horse and horse culture. Some might have a beginning of a place connection, if they visit the area often, but to most it is an experience, a vacation, from which they move on to the next experience or vacation. The capitalism of equestrian camps has interrupted the place-building of others who wish to use public land.

Locally, I found some answers through the Shawnee Trails Conservancy Newsletter (Newsletter, 2012), other trail riding groups, and through local social media. The Spring STC Newsletter included a survey of STC members that showed that riders are aware of the muddy conditions. The first question asked about what STC members liked most about re-routed trails which the Forest Service has been building. The number one reply was “less mud and easier footing.” Another question asked what should be the Forest Service’s priority. The second response was harden off trails to lessen muddy areas (this was a concern only in terms of hastening the end of winter closures, as was stated in the newsletter). I also found comments on the STC Facebook page that showed concern for riders tying their horses to live trees (which kills the tree).

Below is an excerpt of the Illinois Trail Riders 2009-2010 newsletter (Maxwell, 2009) which demonstrates both understanding towards economically hard pressed agencies that are expected to do more with less funding, as well as the frustration within the trail riding community concerning reports of the sometimes bad behavior of riders. This is a state-wide group, which also has implications for place-building, or lack thereof. I find it especially interesting that the author points out the equestrian attitude of the trails belonging to them by the reference to “our trails.” This was also an issue with ATV/ORV use.

“The trails are often older than the park and poorly designed for the heavy use (sometimes abuse) of our growing numbers. These trails are maintained with difficulty by a state agency that does not have the luxury of

dedicated funding for staff and equipment to make them all season and sustainable.

No matter the region we live in or the place we ride our horse, we each should feel a deep sense of ownership of our local public lands and state parks. I hear of equestrians who mobilize with loud indignation when “our trails” are closed due to weather or overcrowded with no hope of a reserved campsite. Feedback comes from trail riders who are critical or even angry when ‘their trails’ are in disrepair or short staffed. Reports of horse owners who cut trail, litter them with beer cans, are rude to other trail users, and argue with land managers also reach my ears and I am ashamed” (Maxwell, 2009:3).

Like Ed the hunter, a sense of ownership of public lands can cause recreationists to build sense of place. There are equestrians who do care more for the land than money. There are also those who understand the money will dry up if the region becomes undesirable in terms of the picturesque quality of the riding experience, as Chino stated above. The environmental community states that they can only hope that through the process of litigation the equestrian community has become more aware that they have to share the place that they have built with others who have built place out of the same geographic space.

In a way the equestrian conflict might be the best exemplifier of the difference in recreational user groups and the different theoretical lines for this project. It is a complicated conflict because there is no clear hostile cultural force interrupting people’s nature experience. To many people horses are natural things and they belong in nature, unlike ORV use, and

logging. In some ways the equestrian conflict is more aligned with hunting in terms of the liminal quality of both activities. Hunters walk the line between the Western categories of nature and culture and horseback riding cannot be completely “natural” as the horse is a domesticated animal (culture). Conflict arose between equestrians and environmentalists around the difference between conservation and preservation as well as the interference of capitalism and place. Conflict will continue, based on these reasons, and on the arguably more lasting and powerful motivators of identity and cultural sensibilities.



Figure 15: Trail riding in Giant City State Park



Figure 16: An example of trail braiding. The original trail is on the left. When the mud on that trail became too deep, users (both hikers and horses) create a new trail next to the first. Some areas are defoliated for ten to twenty feet across due to this practice. Note: this picture was taken in July – the “dry” season.

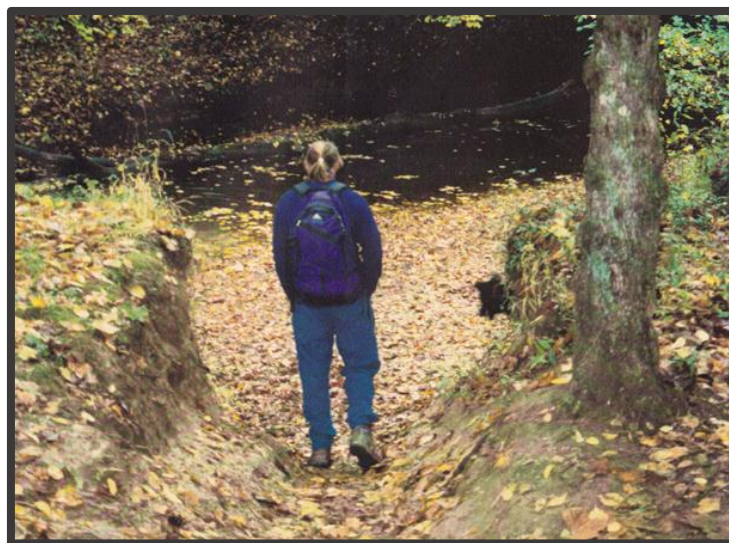


Figure 17 (below): an example of a severe erosion gully on a horse trail.



Figure 18: The above picture gives some idea of the deepness of the mud. Again this picture was taken in July, the dry season.



Figure 19: a section of trail during the winter (the wet season). All of the tan color from the left to the right of the photo is liquid mud.

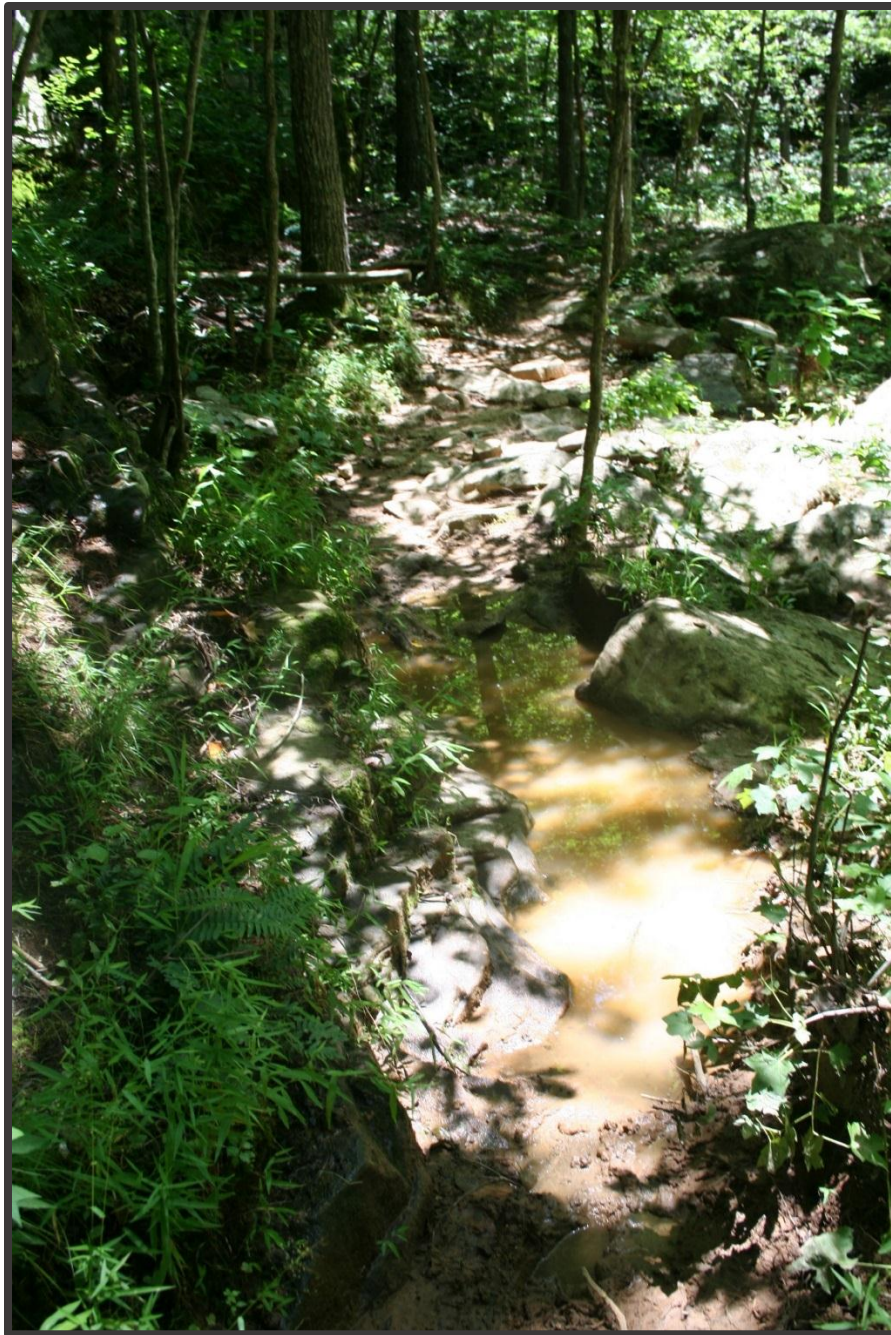


Figure 20: The above picture demonstrates the difficulty of navigating around an area of trail that has been churned up by equestrian use. Both to the left and right of the trail are boulders. These areas are especially treacherous to backpackers carrying full loads of anywhere from 60 to 90 pounds.

CHAPTER IX THE CYCLE CONTINUES

Conclusions are hard for me. I am not good at wrapping things up in a tidy manner. It is the same in the Shawnee forest, conclusions are rare. Nothing ends without something else beginning. It appears to be the same with cycles of environmental conflict in Southern Illinois. Place attachment, or lack thereof does affect how locals and transients perceive conflict over Southern Illinois' public lands, as the most current conflict shows. As I stated previously, I began this work with the idea that I would limit my study of environmental conflict to those which revolved around the recreational use of public lands. However; the more people I spoke with, the more I watched the news, and read the local papers, the more I heard about fracking. This conflict is not yet fully formed, but it is shaping up to be reminiscent of the logging conflict, only possibly on a much larger scale. The commercial extraction of natural gas and oil in the region will bring environmental conflict in Southern Illinois back to the beginning of the conflict cycle.

Fracking Comes to Southern Illinois

Hydraulic fracturing is a method of drilling for natural gas in which combinations of water, sand or gravel are mixed with chemicals and deposited underground into small cracks within the shale deposits. This mixture, under high pressure, enlarges the cracks in the rock and releases deposits of oil and natural gas (Drillers Eye, 2013). Fracking can additionally be used horizontally to obtain previously unreachable reserves. The actual idea and general process of

fracking goes back to the 1860's when water and nitroglycerin were used to stimulate wells (Montgomery and Smith, 2010). In 1949, a patent was issued for the process of hydraulic fracturing with the exclusive pumping license given to Halliburton Oil Well Cementing Company (Montgomery and Smith, 2010). However, it wasn't until recently that this extraction method became widely used in the northeast and the west for pumping natural gas.

Southern Illinois, and specifically the Shawnee National Forest, sits on a layer of shale called the New Albany Shale bed. It is approximately five thousand feet below the surface of the forest. It is believed that this shale deposit contains oil and other liquid hydrocarbons that are more profitable and less common than natural gas (Suhr, 2012). While prices for natural gas have fallen dramatically due to the success of fracking in other regions within the United States, the price of oil remains high, thus making the possible reserves in Southern Illinois extremely enticing for prospectors and energy companies. This possible energy boom is causing a mini-“land rush” in some counties, such as Saline, White and Williamson (Suhr, 2012), while driller's eye leases on federal lands in other counties such as Pope and Johnson (Suhr, 2013). Many of these prospectors are from Texas and are combing the courthouses of these counties trying to procure mineral rights. However, along with the new found reserves and the long yearned for freedom from dependence on foreign energy, fracking brings with it many potential threats to local communities.

Drill Baby Drill, or It's the Economy, Stupid

Like logging, and unlike the equestrian and ATV conflicts, fracking is a controversy that is being played out on a national scale. Recreational conflicts tend to be local and regional in scope. While different areas of the United States may have dealt with similar recreational situations, recreational conflicts for the most part are contained within the region. For example, ATV and ORV use has been debated in the southwest and the mountain states, among other regions, but these conflicts do not get national play the way that commercial extraction conflicts do. The main reason for this difference in scope is the difference in the amount of profit and the alluring prospect of expanding the economies of local communities, such as Southern Illinois.

It is obvious and predictable that the energy industry touts the economic benefits of fracking to the communities that they wish to work in. However, they do not often cite the potential risks involved. Industry studies on the process tend to highlight employment opportunities, both in the actual drilling industry as well as trickle down employment, and tax revenues. These studies also tend to omit important data and other pertinent economic costs that peer-reviewed research would not (Kinnaman, 2011). There are two categories of risks that will not often be addressed in industry propaganda: environmental and economic. Environmental risks are beginning to be well-known, and are often cited by those opposed to fracking. These risks will be discussed below. On the other hand, economic risks are not as often debated in public discourse. Two of these risks will be discussed here. The first is the boom and bust traits of growth due to the character of natural resource extraction-based

economies (Barth, 2013). And the second is the possible risk to the outdoor tourism and agricultural industries.

The so-called natural resource curse states that the more rich a country, or region, is in natural resources, the more slowly it will develop. Many times this is due to the majority of the profits of this type of industry leaving the region in which it is carried out. Resource extraction has always been a boom and bust type economy. When a natural resource is discovered in a region people flock to that region to take advantage of the resource. Business booms and there is both economic and population growth in the region. Drillers, whether local or foreign, spend money at local restaurants, stores, construction, and other local businesses creating jobs and other opportunities.

While these factors sound like a godsend to a rural community that has suffered high poverty and jobless rates, like Southern Illinois, many times these ideals are not met. A study of the coal boom and bust cycle found that for every ten jobs created in the coal sector, only two were created locally in other sectors during the boom period. What should be even more disheartening for the hopeful resource-rich communities was that for every ten coal jobs lost during the bust, three and a half jobs were lost in other sectors, thus leaving the community in worse shape than it was originally. Once the resource dries up and the transient extractors move on to the next boom, the economy is often left in worse condition than when the boom began (Barth, 2013). As stated above, many times the majority of profits leave the region in the first place.

The second oft overlooked economic cost encompasses both the impact of lost tourism opportunities due to actual environmental degradation as well as the loss due to the perception of environmental degradation by potential tourists. This same problem, both real and perceived fears, may also impact the agricultural industry in that people may decide they do not want to purchase food products farmed near industrial areas laden with possible water contamination. In other words, "Public fears of water, air, and land contamination due to shale gas development, whether those fears are realistic or not, may forever negatively impact the public perception of the rural areas that currently enjoy tourism dollars" (Barth, 2013). Both of these industries, tourism and agriculture, are important to the Southern Illinois economy and these potential costs are becoming issues in the fight against fracking.

Due to these types of hidden costs of resource extraction, many ecologists are turning to a method of determining the actual value of preserved land through a method known as value added conservation or VAC. The premise of VAC is to calculate the total land value including all of the intangibles and then compare these intangible values with the value of obvious extractible resources. For example, VAC determines the value of land per hectare not only for timber, oil and gas, or any other extractible resources, but also for the land's value for preservation. These types of values would include but not be limited to preservation of forests or meadows for water quality, wetlands for reducing damage from hurricanes, or preserves for tourism dollars, these qualities are often described as ecosystem services. Edwards and Abavardi (1998) calculated the total value of land in Korup Reserve, Cameroon if that land was preserved and not developed as \$7000 per hectare. This value was much higher than they calculated for the same land developed through agriculture or extraction.

Another example of this type of intangible calculation we employ in the United States through the payment to private landowners to keep their land either wooded or in wetlands rather than converting the land to agriculture (Gibson 2004). This idea is similar to the way in which the Shawnee Forest was procured through the purchase and reforestation of agricultural land that was eroded and no longer viable (Soady 1965). VAC may be a useful method to look at the actual economic costs and benefits of fracking in the Shawnee National Forest and other public lands. Some of the residents of the area are already beginning to ask if the potential benefits are worth the risks.

With the recent upsurge in use of fracking to obtain oil and natural gas, the possible ecological risks of fracking are garnering more academic and popular attention. The most often cited risk is the possible contamination of ground water. Contamination of shallow ground water has been found in drinking wells in Pennsylvania and Wyoming where fracking is occurring in close proximity (Vengosh et al, 2013). Proponents of fracking state that contamination of ground water is not likely due to the depth of fracking wells; however, studies have shown that there is evidence of connectivity from deep shale formations to shallow aquifers giving contaminants a pathway for contamination (Vengosh et al, 2013). Not only is there a danger of gas and oil leaks contaminating water, but some of the chemicals used in the fracking process are hazardous and their use and the consequent disposal of the contaminated water is also a risk (Batley and Kookana, 2012). Land pollution is also a risk as typically in these operations, the contaminated water that has been used to drill is then held in holding ponds while the toxic water is allowed to evaporate (Colborn et al, 2010). One other impact is the possibility of the creation of ground-level ozone through combinations of chemicals and

exhaust at the drill site. Ground level ozone can cause asthma and chronic obstructive pulmonary diseases (COPD). Children, those who spend a great deal of time outdoors, and the elderly are at special risk from this factor (Colborn et al, 2010).

One other ecological issue that may be especially pertinent to the Southern Illinois region is the building of roads and infrastructure to accommodate the amount of heavy trucks and higher traffic volume in general that fracking would necessitate. The building of roads through preserves and natural areas always leads to increased environmental impact. While fracking may not be a completely new technology, many of the risks are not yet known and they may be different from region to region where this method of drilling is practiced.

Larger Threats Make for Strange Bedfellows?

When the injunction against logging and gas and oil exploration in the Shawnee went into effect in 1996, the population of the area was divided. Many locals wanted logging to continue for the potential economic benefits. The local environmental community and transient university population applauded the injunction as a victory for the forest. This changed in March of 2013 when Judge Gilbert lifted the 17 year old injunction, citing that the Forest Service had filled the requirements that he had stipulated all those years ago. The injunction included mining and drilling on the Shawnee. With the injunction revoked, plans to lease drilling rights in the Shawnee are under way. Fracking in Southern Illinois is a relatively recent issue and concern over the process seems to be much more widespread than any of the other conflicts

covered thus far. Some members of the local community is unsure if the economic gains are worth the potential costs.

In the case of fracking, rural identity may be more important than those identities that held together different coalitions seen in previous conflicts, such as tree-hugger versus local logger. Many residents fear that fracking will interrupt the rural feel of their communities, as shown in the comments below. Environmentalists have already come out strongly against the possibility of fracking. Despite the Illinois legislature passing the toughest environmental regulations for high capacity oil and gas drilling in the country (Lester, 2013) environmentalists are not convinced that fracking will be the safe, economic lifeline that industry and political leaders say that it will be. A new environmental group, Southern Illinoisans Against Fracturing Our Environment, was recently created to organize opposition to fracking. RACE also plans to be involved in attempting to keep fracking out of Southern Illinois.

Local communities are undecided about fracking. One newspaper article sums the differing opinions up in the following way:

“Some envision the kind of economic boom they’ve heard about in other states: tens of thousands of workers drilling for oil and gas, local businesses barely keeping up with demand and many municipal coffers flush with cash. Others are spooked by stories of housing shortages, towns overrun with strangers, torn-up roads and claims of polluted water – and worry drilling would

forever alter the serenity, beauty and very character of an area they consider special” (Drillers eye, 2013).

The same article quotes the chairman of the Pope County board voicing his own concerns: “We need jobs. But will they just bring their own people in, tear our county up, destroy it and then pack up and leave us with a mess?” (Drillers eye, 2013). The Pope County Board, along with the counties of Johnson, Jackson, Hardin and Union, have all sent letters to the Illinois General Assembly requesting a moratorium on fracking in order to further look into the costs and benefits; however, these letters will have little effect after the fracking bill is signed by the Governor (Wernau, 2013). Yet another commissioner of Pope County was quoted as being leery of fracking in his county: "Money's not everything in life. Sometimes we need to protect what we got. We're just keepers of this land” (Wernau, 2013).

Again, some property owners and other stakeholders in local communities welcome fracking even if the possibility of economic opportunity is slim at best. The following are on-line comments posted in response to an op-ed which opposed fracking:

“Somebody releases a movie called "Gasland" in which was not based on facts [sic], but rather scare tactics so they could make a buck and get environmental acclaim. There are environmental laws surrounding fracking as well. They "frack" well below the water tables, and have to do so in legally prescribed methods. I so tire of the fear tactics used to

prevent fracking. It's not like fracking is unregulated. Strip mining and fracking have nothing in common. Nor does hilltop mining and fracking. I really wish the pundits here would research how fracking is done, where it is done, and if still not convinced, demonstrate where vegetation does not grow for miles around a frack site.”

“Frack baby frack, we need that oil!!! who [sic] gives a crap about the environment anyway, when Mitt gets elected as promised, he is going to do away with all regulations [sic] and the EPA and we will be able to drill baby drill!!!”

“How did “hydraulic fracturing” get into this story? So why not also mention the endangered spotted owl and the white-tufted deer tick? This sort of eco-propaganda from the Club Sierra and has [sic] Heartwood-Board-of-Regional-Association-of-Concerned-Environmentalist nannies has become a yawn.

ps: And what’s with the 8-word title? How about just “Wood Head Meddlers?”

There are also several comments in support of the op-ed, but I found the pro-fracking comments more revealing. There are several examples of pro-fracking constituents identifying themselves as conservative politically as well as name-calling and labeling the “other” side as

“nannies,” “eco-terrorists,” and my personal favorite, “wood-head meddlers” (Lang, 2012).

These comments show that fracking in Southern Illinois will, at least in part, continue to be informed by the identities and world-views that were central to both the logging conflict and the recreational conflicts previously discussed.

In the conflicts included in this research the transient population does somewhat live up to locals’ perceptions of them. Many are unaware of any forest issue except those that are being covered by the university paper at the time. They are interested in issues and conflicts that are national, i.e. logging and fracking. Most transients are not heavily invested in small-scale localized conflicts because they have not invested in building place in the area. Many of the transients that I spoke with that identify themselves as environmentalists do not participate in outdoor recreation other than short hikes in areas that are in very close proximity to the campus area, and are very popular. The transient environmental community is often more interested, and more likely to be active, in conflicts on a global or national scale, such as logging, global climate change, and fracking. There have already been several protests held on the campus against fracking, and there are bound to be several more as the prospect of fracking becomes more of a reality.

Chino, a local environmentalist, had the following thought concerning transient participation in the future conflict surrounding fracking.

“I think you have to consider it’s a different time. Technology is a huge factor. As far as kids chaining themselves to, I don’t know, drilling equipment,

that is a huge commitment and I think people are too involved in the smart phones to actually do things like that, but I don't know. I guess my prediction would be that fracking will be fought furiously within the courts. I don't know that you'll see old-style activism in action. There will be no Fairview Woods protest. People will just like something on Facebook and call it good. I think mostly in the courts, bless those people who bring the cases against them. Court action will be the only thing that will stop them."

If they told us that horses are gonna make us rich, well then fracking is gonna make us all millionaires. I shudder to think about what is going to happen to public lands. That's the thing is that the people fighting it will be learning on the fly, but the people bringing it will be well-learned in how to push it. What this comes down to is your opinion of cost. If it's just losing some land and rocks and you don't go out to the woods then whatever, no big deal, but if it's your church..."

Conflict

Recreational conflict throughout the country is comprised of many factors; competition over limited space, incompatible ideals of nature experience, and differences in environmental attitudes (see Davenport and Borrie, 2005). These factors all contribute heavily to environmental conflicts in Southern Illinois, both past and present. Forced co-occupation of

limited space becomes overlapping and conflicting place. Different ideas of nature experiences conflict when culture, often in the form of human-made machines and noise, are introduced. To conserve or preserve is not only a land use distinction, but informs how a person views the natural world around them. All of these components that create and escalate conflict over use of public lands are related to the identities those involved assemble throughout their lives. Tree-hugger or cowboy, conservative or liberal, conservationism or preservationism; these identities tend to be rigid and serve to reinforce divisions within conflicts over public lands.

Competition over Space and the Building of Place

The Shawnee National Forest is one of the smallest national forests in the country. Since the designation, along with the many other areas of public land in the region, the forest has come to define both the people and the relationships of Southern Illinois. Yet that identity changes from group to group and person to person. How the forest defines one person may be quite different than another: the forest-place of one person is, at times, radically different to the forest-place of another. This difference in place can be seen in all of the conflicts considered in this work.

Identity informs the building of place. Environmentalist, tree-hugger, hunter, hiker, logger, cowboy, Indian, local, student, or gear-head; all of these labels identify a person to others, or are used to situate an individual on one side of a conflict or the other. These labels and identities also influence the spaces in which individuals chose to build place. Locals and transplants also build places in the spaces that are near to where they dwell, but also tend to

have strong place-connections and opinions about other spaces and the activities, both recreational and extractive, in spaces throughout the region. On the other hand, transients tend to build places closer in proximity to the campus, staking out areas such as Giant City Park, a distance of about fifteen miles. While some transients do venture to other popular spaces in the Shawnee, (Garden of the Gods or Little Grand Canyon, possibly even Panther's Den), these visits tend to more vacation, sight-seeing trips in nature with little to no connection which would result in place building. The transient students that I spoke with had not heard of Bell Smith Springs or Lusk Creek. I found that, like myself before this space became my place, they had no knowledge of the logging, ATV, or equestrian conflicts. Below, Chino describes what is certainly a common local view of the transients' connection to the area:

“What I found was people that were just looking for some action, something to do while they were going to school or while they winding up to go to a better place than this, or cooler place than this.”

Another point revealed through this study was that place is also made by different communities. For example, those that build their place around a multi-use ideology tended to support the respective sides in other conflicts. The pro-logging constituent adamantly supports the use of ATVs and equestrian, while environmentalists might be involved in anti-fracking, but will identify with and support anti-equestrian use, even if they do not know much about, or do not have strong feelings for or against the issue. While there are most probably exceptions to

this, once the sides are drawn those involved tend to adhere to whichever side's position, and all other positions, independent of their involvement with the issue in question. The side they are on becomes part of their identity and their place.

Nature-Nature or Nature-Culture Experience?

What is nature? Who can define nature? What is a "nature experience"? Is taking a hike through a National Forest? Is hunting a deer with a bow? What about with a shotgun, or a pistol? Is riding a horse in full Wild West regalia a nature experience or, as DM stated, a trophy experience? Or is it an identity showcase? Everyone has their own definition of nature and wilderness as well as what constitutes a nature experience which is created by identity, culture, and worldview. Ideas of nature and wilderness are culturally and experientially situated. For example, one transient student that I spoke with is an environmentalist and is active in environmental causes; however, she had no knowledge of any of the recreational or logging conflicts that had taken place before she had arrived in Southern Illinois. She grew up on a farm in central Illinois and came to Southern Illinois to attend the university. She defined nature and wilderness in the following way:

"I would say non-human living organisms which occur naturally, not man-created. So within that I would say the outdoors is nature, wild animals I would call nature and any flora, even if its grass through a sidewalk crack. Wilderness to

me would be larger spaces that have not been recently taken over by humans.

Things that occur naturally and are not affected by humans.”

I received another definition from Chino:

C: “Nature is whatever you want it to be. If it’s green, it’s nature. If it’s a rock, or a tree, or a bug...it’s nature. I think that’s what most people think.”

KW: “What do you think?”

C: “There’s no nature left. The word nature comes from the word natural, and in the deepest, darkest, least explored place on the planet the air still has 400 parts per million of carbon dioxide. Nature is in the eye of the beholder.”

The amount of acceptable culture in any person’s nature experience is dependent on identity and worldview. As DM stated in the previous chapter, to many hikers even a mountain bike can have a negative impact on their nature experience. The impact continues from there to equestrian damage, to being kept out of one’s place for fear of being shot in hunting season, to ATV noise, to the possible ruination of areas due to logging or fracking. The amount of disturbance or negative impact depends on a person’s definition and past experience of nature and the amount of culture they feel is acceptable.

For all of the individuality involved in the continuum between nature and culture, there are some patterns which became apparent through this research. Those activities that are closest to the nature end of the continuum appear to cause the least amount of conflict. There is no conflict in Southern Illinois surrounding hiking or backpacking. In the middle of the continuum are hunting and equestrian use. Most users of the forest find these two activities to be acceptable if they are regulated and carried out responsibly and much of the controversy involved in these two recreational activities revolves around the commercialization of them rather than the actual activity.

Internal conflicts between hunters cause some to despair over the state of private land leasing and public land regulations and crowding. Many environmentalists link all of the conflict surrounding equestrian use to the amount of riders drawn to the area through ecotourism and the compounding quality of ecological damage that the growth and capitalization of this activity has created. These two activities are in a liminal area between nature and culture both in their acceptance as legitimate nature experiences to other stakeholders as well as in the actual practice of these recreational activities. The use of firearms brings culture into the nature experience of hunters as the use of horses brings culture into the experience of equestrians and consequently those who are forced to co-occupy the same space.

On the far end of the continuum are those activities that are most aligned with culture; ATV use, logging and fracking. While the equestrian community has allied themselves with the ATV community in terms of identity and purpose, I have little doubt how they would feel if they had to share the trails with ATVs; not good. Logging and fracking are the most obvious examples of culture in nature. These two activities are extractive, use heavy machinery, and

necessitate the building of roads and other infrastructure. The end result of these activities is often unsightly and effectively drives out those seeking nature experiences of any kind. They typify the intrusion of culture into nature.

Environmental Attitudes: Identity and Conservation versus Preservation

It is truly in the differences between conservation and preservation where all theory and practice come together. It is also in this area where the question of economy, commercialism and nature collide. The struggle to find balance between the environment and the economy is nothing new and the conflicts that ensue are always informed by identity. Those involved in conflicts are either conservationists or preservationists. Many might not even make a distinction between these two words, but those involved in conflicts in the Shawnee definitely make the distinction in the two world-views that those words represent. Often conservational principles are equated with “wise-use” ideologies. No matter the name, conservation or wise-use, the concept is the same: we put aside pieces of nature for the specific uses of humanity, whether that use is extraction or recreation, the overall health of the environment is not the main goal.

When the places which people have built are involved, the situation becomes even more heated. Those who are attempting to preserve nature are constantly struggling to find a balance between what is “biologically sound and politically possible” (Gibson 2004). Most

places in the world are struggling with this dilemma in one way or another. What is the right balance between the interests of people and the interests of nature? Where those two interests collide there will likely be conflict. All of the environmentalists I interviewed felt that the opposite side of the conflict just did not care whether their actions were hurting the forest. They may be right as research has shown that many recreationists are not willing to give up their activities for long term benefit to the environment (Davenport et al. 2002). When money and the even the off chance of profit is thrown into the mix, then it becomes even harder for those wishing to preserve nature to make the case for preservation over conservation.

Not surprisingly, it is this aspect of public land conflicts in Southern Illinois that management and management practice is the most pertinent to. As stated previously, the National Forest System falls under the department of agriculture, not the department of the interior, like the National Parks System. The Forest Service has come a long way from viewing the forests as a crop like any other; however, their mission is still to “sustain the health, diversity, and productivity of the Nation’s forests and grasslands to meet the needs of present and future generations” (US Forest Service, 2013, italics mine).

In 1999, U.S. Forest Service chief Mike Dombeck stated that recreation, rather than logging or grazing would be the primary focus of federal activities in the future. He went on to state that the Forest Service should be evaluated based on their success in preventing and correcting erosion and improving the general health of the United States’ wild lands (Lambrecht, 1999). These are hopeful sentiments but in the Shawnee many Forest Service employees continue to identify with pro-ATV, pro-logging, and pro-fracking contingents and thus pro-conservation ideologies. Regardless of the focus or intent of the local Forest Service

employees, there remains a dearth of law enforcement on the public lands in the area. In 1999, there were only two law enforcement officials for the entire forest. "It's as though the government has dispatched Barney Fife to close down Chicago's crack houses" (Lambrecht, 1999).

Further Research

There are many lines of future research possible concerning these issues; this work is meant to be an overview of past and present conflicts. Some areas that need to be further investigated are as follows. Recreational rock-climbing is a user-group that space and time did not allow me to investigate extensively. Further research into hunting and especially the resurgence of trapping and differences between bow and gun hunters which, to my disappointment, I was unable to cover. More research into the environmental community, especially ideology and identity differences surrounding direct and indirect action as defined by Chino would also be a helpful addition to research on the environmental community.

Sunset

This work began with my curiosity concerning the ideology and identity of those with different places in overlapping spaces. Exactly how were the experiences of those places

different? My goal was to look at different recreational conflicts of Southern Illinois and determine how issues of place, nature and culture, and conservation versus preservation ethics play into those conflicts. What I found is that all of these factors are inextricably intertwined and that both sides of these conflicts are informed by the identities of those involved and the perception of those identities. It is this apparent conflict, the forced co-occupation of public lands, and the resulting management of the area that is of interest to anthropology.

Environmental conflict is an important issue in today's global society. There is no part of the world that has not been affected by environmental degradation; however, the United States is in a unique position to influence environmental policy throughout the rest of the world. There is no better way to influence policy than through our own actions, yet all too often, the conflicts between citizens of the United States are not resolved to anyone's satisfaction. The question then becomes, how can we export sound environmental policy if our own wild places are being contested every day? This study of the conflicts, identities, and policies intertwining in a National Forest within the United States sheds light on local conflicts and how they have, or have not, been resolved, contributing to our understanding of environmental conflict and policy, theories of nature and culture, landscape and ecological anthropology, while also providing information and rich context which may benefit the geographic area in which I worked. By choosing to work in Southern Illinois, I added to the existing research of anthropologists working within the United States as well as offering a unique view to those involved in conflicts close to home. This type of study makes anthropology not only more relevant and tangible, but more accessible to those outside the field.

Size always matters, but even if the area of public land in Southern Illinois were larger there would still be conflicts over access to Southern Illinois most spectacular locals. Avoiding groups that participate in activities that are deemed undesirable to one group or another is not possible (believe me, I have tried). All of the conflicts that have occurred, and continue to occur, on public land in Southern Illinois are interconnected through ideas of place, nature versus culture, preservation versus conservation and the identities which inform all of the above. Conflicts especially arise in Southern Illinois when economic interests become involved whether through commercial extraction of resources or the commercialization of recreational activities.

With each passing season my walks in the woods of Southern Illinois have become more convoluted. The more I became a resident of my place, the more I became aware that my place is unavoidably overlapped by the places of others. Many times, I do not like, or understand their places. I do not like the place where it does not matter if there is trash in the natural area. I do not like the place where the mud of the horse trail is so deep it is difficult to extract your foot with your boot still attached. This work began with my curiosity concerning the ideology and identity of those with different places in overlapping spaces. Exactly how were the experiences of those places different? My goal was to look at different recreational conflicts of Southern Illinois and determine how issues of place, nature and culture, and conservation versus preservation ethics play into those conflicts. What I found is that all of these factors are inextricably intertwined and that both sides of these conflicts are informed by the identities of those involved and the perception of those identities.



Figure 21: Sunset in Devil's Kitchen

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