

**This dissertation is submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the
Master's Degree in Anthrozoology**

**Walking With Wolves: An Ethnographic Investigation into the Relationship Between
Socialised Wolves and Humans.**

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2012



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ABSTRACT

Wolves have held a fascination, fear and or revulsion for humankind throughout history. At the UK Wolf Conservation Trust, a charity whose main aim is to educate the public about wolves, socialised wolves interact with volunteers and with members of the general public. Could a dangerous carnivorous prey non-human species elicit human attachment and symptoms of attachment such as anthropomorphic terminology? A short term ethnographic study investigating the relationship between socialised wolves and human volunteers was carried out, utilising the techniques of participant observation, questionnaires and semi structured interview techniques. Twenty four questionnaires were voluntarily completed, answering questions relating to guardianship of current and previous companion animals, reasons for volunteering, favourite wolf and importance of recognition and interaction with the favourite wolf. From these questionnaires eight volunteers offered themselves for interview. Utilising the theory of multispecies ethnography; within the enclosures when completely free of human restraint, the wolves took the role of participant observers of the human volunteers, deciding whom they would allow into an extended pack circle by challenging them behaviourally as if they were wolves, whilst at the same time restricting some wolf interactions suggesting knowledge of self-identity. Inside of the enclosures the wolves had more control over human wolf interaction. Outside of the enclosures the wolves relegated some of this power back to the volunteers. Volunteers' attributed their fascination and attachment for wolves due to them representing 'the raw nature of dogs', admiration of their family social structure, as a representation of a persecuted 'keystone' species or an unidentified 'spiritual' link. Whilst anthropomorphic tendencies were evident in all aspects of wolf handling, experienced volunteers were aware of the dangers which anthropomorphism could cause whilst handling an 'untrained and untamed' non-human species. Experienced volunteers either tried to think and behave like a wolf as far as possible or treated wolves like human adults rather than human juveniles.

KEYWORDS

Wolf, human-wolf interaction, attachment, anthropomorphism.

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Chapter 1: Introduction.

1.1 Aim and Objectives.

In a field a few miles south of Reading Berkshire, a group of three humans; two females and a male crouched around the recumbent form of a female canine. Two of the humans held her lead which was a heavy chain but the animal was large and powerful even if she was old at twelve years. Between the humans there was soft laughter and the bond of companionship, to the canine they spoke gentle comforting words, whilst six hands caressed her. As I sat on a log and watched I wondered if the old female canine thought the hands were her dam's tongue; the emotions of love, respect, honour and admiration from the humans were almost tangible, certainly as a human bystander I could sense them. The canine gave a deep contented sigh, and opened the yellow eyes, not of domestic dog but of a wolf.

The relationship between human animals and the non-human animal the wolf (*Canis lupus*) has varied three dimensionally across the natural geographic range of the wolf, which was once most of the Northern Hemisphere above thirty degrees north latitude (Lopez 2004: 12), across time and finally most dramatically across cultures (Lopez 2004;Marvin 2012). Few other animals can evoke such strongly polarised feelings of hatred, loathing, fear and revulsion and conversely admiration, love, protection and honour whilst also symbolising the lost wilderness of nature (Fox & Bekoff 2009: 117).The strength of these emotions especially the negative aspects can at first glance appear to be very surprising in the early part of twenty first century, as the wolf has now been scientifically proven to be the ancestor of the domestic dog *Canis familiaris* (Herzog 2010: 105; Parker, Kim, Sutter, Carlson, Lorentzen, Malek, Johnson, De France, Ostrander & Kruglyak 2004; Clutton-Brock 1995: 8) the first nonhuman animal to accept domestication and be accepted by human animals (Herzog 2010: 106). The actual act of acceptance in some cultures has included physical integration into the immediate family unit: domestic companion dogs in the western world are often thought of as members of the family (Herzog 2010: 128; Bonas, McNicholas & Collis 2000: 233; Serpell 1995: 252), therefore why should the

very close ancestor of the beloved family dog be feared, hated, persecuted and killed? (Niemeyer

2010). Barry Lopez (2004) has given the subsection in his book covering modern rural American's perception of wolves as 'The Beast of Waste and Desolation'. If we 'love' and by that I mean form a strong positive emotional attachment to our companion dogs and recently published scientific research (Miller, Kennedy, DeVoe, Hickey, Nelson&Kogan2009; Nagasawa, Mogi & Kikusui 2009) indicates that we humans can 'love' by becoming biologically bonded and attached to our domestic dogs, to the point of treating them as younger members of our own human families; is it possible to become similarly attached to the ancestor of our companion dogs, the wolf?

The aim of this research is to investigate the relationship between humans and captive exotic animals which can be defined as non-human animals not kept as companions or wild indigenous animals common to the United Kingdom. The focus will be on one particular type of relationship; that between socialised (still wild but habituated to close human interactions) captive wolves and human volunteers at a wolf conservation trust in southern England. The research will explore the concept of wolves as participant observers of the humans they have contact with, attitudes of volunteers towards the socialised wolves, and the role of anthropomorphism in interaction with a non-domesticated animal.

1.2 Area of study.

I first became aware of the UK Wolf Conservation Trust in the autumn of 2005 when a group of Foundation Degree students studying animal science and management requested that I, as their course manager, organise a trip for them to the trust prior to them breaking up for the Christmas holidays. Walking with the then two ambassador wolves of the trust; Duma and Dakota was simply awe inspiring, then having a '*meet and greet*' session with Dakota, offering her my hand which she gave a cursory sniff to then being invited to scratch her stomach was beyond words. To

explain why 'outsiders' (human individuals not well known to the wolves) are always told rub the stomach of a wolf is because it does not display dominance; in the words of one of wolf trust handlers to me it is 'polite' in wolf language. The pat on the head dog owners unwittingly give to their own and other dogs, in wolf terms is impolite, over familiar and displays dominance is not a good introduction to any other sentient being human or not. Wolves even socialised ones are not and never will be just wild domestic dogs. Six years later as I try and analyse the emotional and physical impact of that first interaction with a wolf I can remember excitement, happiness, some nerves and a connection with something natural and wild. Even now I can remember the sensation of a smile that covered my face. In the past six years I have annually arranged educational visits and work experience placements for my students to the trust and attempted to become a volunteer. The attempt was soon ended when one of the wolves Mosi, took a strong and at that time unprecedented dislike to me. I will explain the impact this had on me in the results section. One of my ex-students is currently the Educational Officer at the Trust, so even whilst not actively involved with the Wolf Conservation Trust I have been kept aware of changes and developments.

The UK Wolf Conservation Trust was established in May 1995 (UKWCT 2007) by the late Roger Palmer. He had owned and hand raised socialised wolves since 1972 but with the introduction of the Dangerous Wild Animal Act in 1976 which increased the legislation around keeping captive exotic animals and a desire to allow more people to interact and learn about wolves (*Ambassadors of the Wild* 2007) a not for profit organisation was formed, the UK Wolf Conservation Trust. Any profit the trust makes from its membership and Adopt a Wolf schemes, open days and merchandise go towards supporting wolf conservation programmes in Croatia, Bulgaria, Nepal, the United States of America (Red Wolf Coalition) and Russia and the endangered Ethiopian wolf (Wolf Print 2011). The UK Wolf Trust arranges an annual educational seminar and in October 2011 at the start of my research I was kindly invited to attend this by the Trust Director Tsia Palmer. The trust operates with four paid members of staff, and during the week a number of suitable college or university students on

work placement periods assist Clive Readings (full time wolf keeper) with husbandry tasks and general maintenance of the site. The UK Wolf Trust applied for and was granted a Zoo License in September 2011, although entry to the Trust has to be pre-arranged unlike many other zoological collections for example London Zoo.

In January 2012 the annual fee to become a walking member of the trust cost £100.00 (UKWCT 2011), this allows the member to receive the trusts magazine 'Wolf Print' published three times a year and take part in a pre-arranged wolf walk with a guest on farm land owned by the Trust's director; a 'meet and greet' group can consist of up to 30 members and guests. The following details come from my own observations whilst carrying out the field work which formed the basis of this study. The walk generally lasts about two hours and if the ambassador wolves are co-operative members will be allowed to take part in a 'meet and greet' session when they can interact with a wolf. Members receive a wolf briefing and health and safety talk in the Trust's operations rooms (Figures 1 & 2) after signing a disclaimer.

Members are then escorted by volunteers to the start of the walk where they form a line up, the ambassador wolves which at the time of the research were Duma and Lunca, although towards the end of the period of research, the three homebred wolf cubs the Beenham pack were being introduced to 'meet and greet' sessions. The wolves each on a chain collar and lead with two handlers are allowed to walk along the human line up to become acquainted with the visitors. Generally the wolves show little interest but can stop and sniff some individuals, or rub against them or even mouth them. Visitors are given exact and detailed instructions in the briefing talk on how to react to each of these situations. Apart from the two handlers in charge of each wolf every walk requires the presence of at least two senior handlers who take charge and initiate the 'stump talk' and two other volunteers, one to carry the wet wipe bag and the other to assist in talking to the public. So the minimum total that any public walk can operate with requires the assistance of eight volunteers of varying grades.

Generally half way round the walk there is an interval called the 'stump talk', this is when the wolves are removed a little distance from the visitors who are given a talk on wolf natural history and the volunteers are given the opportunity to interact with the ambassador wolves. This is less controlled than the interaction with the public and as the wolves know the volunteers most of whom will be handlers of the different grades (please see below for details) interaction between the wolf and human is very similar to that of a human and companion dog. The wolf is touched all over including the face, the wolves teeth can be examined, sometimes a human face is buried in the wolfs coat, wolves are frequently kissed by the handlers and the wolves will respond by licking the handlers' faces, ears and hands and the wolves may then lay down and roll over a submissive posture similar to that seen in domestic dogs. After the 'stump talk' the visitors and wolves re-join each other, another 'meet and greet' session may occur and then the visitors return to the immediate surroundings of the wolf enclosures. The wolves then may be taken down to the stream in the back field so visitors can take pictures of them in the water, the wolves are then returned to their enclosures.

Following tea and coffee the visitors can buy Wolf Trust merchandise and are then given a tour of the site and talk on each of the individual packs. During this time some volunteers will be preparing the wolves food, which consists of paunch, chicken wings and large chunks of beef, road kill deer and rabbits. Each wolf has to have a carefully weighed amount of food; at the time of the study this varied between 1.2- 1.6 kilograms of mixed meat daily. Decisions regarding changes to diet are made under the control of the wolf welfare committee. The visitors then leave and after clearing up the operations room there will be a short de-brief session mainly concerning handlers' aptitude and anyone's concerns on the behaviour or welfare of the wolves. The wolves are then hand fed through the chain link fence, which requires great dexterity on the part of the volunteers as the wolves will attempt to snatch at the offerings, the meat had to be pushed through with a flat palm as protruding fingers will be grabbed as well as the offered meat. The only wolf not to be fed in this manner is Motomo who is not a socialised wolf and is not willing to come so close to

the fence and interact with humans as the other wolves. In his case food is literally thrown over the fence to him. The theory behind this method of hand feeding is that it increases the bond between the wolves and the handlers and all handlers can have a chance of feeding. Mid-week education visits follow a similar pattern although the actual walk will be shorter and there may be an extended educational talk in the operations room.

The walk day will begin with the arrival of volunteers, who have put their name forward for that day; there was frequently hugs and kisses exchanged between the volunteers in greeting and I noticed on departure in the evening, this seemed to cement the relationship that the volunteers had established within the group as a whole. On occasion I was also included in these ritualised greetings. The portacabin was where refreshments were made, general chat carried out and the roles for the day were allocated by the two seniors in charge. At the time of the study the juvenile Beenham pack were in the process of being trained for public walks, so some of the more experienced handlers would turn up at a slightly earlier time (9am) just to take part in the juvenile training walk. Over tea and coffee volunteers would be given their allocated jobs which range from cleaning out wolf kennels, preparing the operation room for the visitors and cleaning up afterwards, car parking duties, collecting disclaimer forms to making tea and coffee for the visitors, dealing with sales of merchandise at the shop, to chatting with the members whilst on the actual walk, carrying the wet wipe bag so visitors could clean their hands if they wish after interacting with a wolf and answering any questions they may have on the Trust, its work, their wolves or wolf conservation in general.

If there were sufficient senior handlers available a training walk would run before the public walk and volunteers who wanted to progress to the next grade, had a chance to handle the wolves under the watchful gaze of a senior handler, whilst away from the general public. Volunteers who had reached the suitable grade of handler may be actually responsible for handling the wolves either on the front (nearest to the wolf

requiring complete concentration on the wolf and reading its behaviour) or 'back up' at the end of the chain. If enough suitably qualified handlers are present handlers may change half way round the walk, or if a wolf seems particularly restless that day, another handler may be used to see if they can settle the wolf.

Also at the time of the study the three imported Arctic cubs were in quarantine, they had a lot of human interaction daily with ten registered handlers of varying senior grades being allowed to enter their enclosure in accordance with strict quarantine regulations. It is hoped that they too will become ambassador wolves for the Trust. It is clear that the UK Wolf Conservation Trust would not be able to continue its work without the co-operation of the volunteers and handlers who freely give their time to the Trust.

Handlers' Grades and Duties.

At this point I think I should explain the different grades of handler within the Trust. The lowest grade is that of a volunteer, all volunteers have to be cleared by the Criminal Records Bureau and provide proof of their current state of health (UKWCT 2008), they are required to spend an average of two days per month working at the Trust, and be willing to clean wolf accommodation when required, help with general maintenance and preparing food for the wolves and assist with the duties already mentioned above on a member's walk other than wolf handling (UKWCT 2008: 11). Interaction with wolves will be under close supervision of senior handlers and may be with wolves either free in their enclosures or during a meet and greet' session on a training walk (when training takes place in wolf handling for the grades above volunteer) (UKWCT 2008).

Volunteers after volunteering for a minimum of three months may, if they prove to be satisfactory, progress to being a trainee handler, this will enable them to be on the

second lead of a wolf not on public walks but on training walks when no member of the public are present (UKWCT 2008). The next grade is that of Assistant Handler whom in addition to the previous duties, has to control members whilst on walks, check the vicinity around the wolves is clear of debris (this may distract the wolves and be potentially dangerous), they may take the second lead on members' walks and will assist the front handler with meet and greets. Assistant Handlers should be ready and willing to take over control of the wolf should the first handler fall (UKWCT 2008: 14).

At Handler grade the 2008 Manual for Volunteers states that they should have *'Developed a strong working relationship with the wolves and also be respected by the wolves with which you have responsibility'*.

Grades above Handler are Assistant Senior Handler, Deputy Senior Handler and Senior Handler. These grades require more additional responsibilities, for example to initiate the 'stump talks' or the safety briefings the public. The ability to deal with difficulties not just with members of the public but with the wolves as well, and run training walks for the lower grades of handlers. These higher grades of handler take part in assessing the lower grades not just with upgrades but downgrades if necessary. All grades are required to attend two training days per year and progressing from one level to another requires them to successfully pass a test (UKWCT 2008) and the more senior handlers are constantly assessing all the handlers' attitudes and aptitude. A number of sub committees exist within the Trust: Wolf Welfare, Health and Safety, Volunteer Liaison, Education, Website to name just a few. The more senior handlers would be expected to take active if not leading roles in these.

In the results and discussion section of this research I will not differentiate between the different grades, this is not due to a lack of respect for the different grades but to

ensure anonymity as the number of individuals of each grade diminishes with seniority therefore reducing the confidentiality factor. I will refer to each grade as a generic volunteer.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Through the Eyes of a Wolf: Multispecies Ethnography.

Multispecies ethnography is starting to emerge with increasing frequency within the realms of anthropological study (Kirksey & Helmreich 2010), Eduardo Kohn (2007:5) describes this as '*An ethnographic focus not just on humans or only on animals but on how animals and humans interact...*' (*ibid*: 6) it is in fact '*an anthropology of life*' linking all life forms (*ibid*: 19). Recent ethnographic studies have demonstrated the range of study across all forms of *taxa*, from the more common mammals (Fuentes 2010), insects in the form of honey bees (Kosek 2010) right through to Cup Corals (Hayward 2010) and avian influenza virus (Lowe 2010). Ethnographic studies should include the researcher investigating the anthropogenic issues of human and non-human relationships in social, economic and political context (Fuentes 2010) perhaps more interestingly animals themselves may become the anthropologists mirroring the human ethnographer, studying the behaviour and relationships of the humans who care for them (Kirksey & Helmreich 2010: 552). This in turn may allow the researcher to gain a wider knowledge of humankind by utilising a different viewpoint, allowing the ethnographer to break away from the methodology '*...that traps humans as analytical objects within a framework of analysis that is exclusively human*' (Kohn 2007:18).

Eva Hayward's (2010) ethnographic study of Cup Corals centred on the exploration of how different species sense and comprehend each other utilising '*.... different sight, sense, sensibility and sensuality*' (*ibid*: 580). If the researcher will allow themselves to utilise their senses in a new way '*.... seeing with tact, touching by eye, feeling from vision*' (*ibid*), in a way Hayward terms 'fingeryeyes', then more knowledge and self-knowledge may be obtained. These 'fingeryeyes' may be applied to wolves as a pack animal wolves are extremely tactile creatures (Dutcher & Dutcher 2003: 214). This reciprocal act of being touched in the art of touching also implies the making of an impression of knowing and being (Hayward 2010: 581) thus allowing identities and affinities to emerge (Haraway 2008).

2.2 Natural History of the Wolf.

Canis Lupus (Lopez 2004:12), is the most widely distributed of all land mammals and the most adaptable (Mech & Boitani 2006: xv) successfully inhabiting a variety of habitats from tundra, deserts, mountains, swamps, forests and prairies. As a species they are Holarctic: occupying areas above 30 degrees north latitude (Lopez 2004: 12), they currently inhabit parts of Portugal, Spain the Western Alps, Italy, Dinaric-Blakan region, the Carpathian countries, the Baltic area, Finland and Russia (Karelia) Sweden and Norway (Musiani, Boitani & Paquet 2009: 20) these authors gave the approximate number of wolves three years ago as in the region of 37,000 wolves. In North America populations inhabit parts of Mexico, the endangered red wolf (*Canis rufus*) clings on in the swamps south east Texas and Louisiana (Lopez 2004: 13) whilst there are large populations of (*Canis lupus*) in Alaska and Canada (Boitani 2006: 317). Following controversial reintroduction programmes in 1995 to 1998 (Niemeyer 2010) the wolf has returned to parts of the United States of America. Carl Niemeyer in his talk at the 2011 UKCT Seminar reported that there are now in the range of 1700 to 2000 wolves in an area covering Montana, Idaho and are now dispersing to Oregon and Washington State. Wolves also currently inhabit parts of the Middle East; Turkey, Israel and Saudi Arabia (Boitani 2006: 327). Afghanistan and Pakistan also have small wolf populations (Boitani 2006: 327) as do Nepal and Bhutan, Mongolia, China, Xinjiang and Tibet (Boitani 2006: 327).

In England the continuous conflict between wolves and humans protecting their domestic stock resulted in the effective extermination of the wolf by legislation in the early sixteenth century during the reign of Henry VII (Marvin 2012; Boitani 2006: 318). Wolves held out longer in the wilds of Scotland, and the last wolves were killed in the forests of Braemar and Sutherland around 1684, whilst in Ireland they persisted for a further 100 years with the last wolf reportedly being killed in 1770 (Marvin 2012: 182; Boitani 2006: 318).

Wolves vary tremendously in size from about 35-45 pounds for the small Arabian wolf up to the heaviest recorded weight 175 pounds killed in central Alaska in 1939 (Lopez 2004:18). Carl Niemeyer (2010) who was a USA Federal Tracker and Damage Co-ordinator working with Idaho Wolf recovery reported in his UKWCT talk (2011) that the largest wolf he ever captured was 143 pounds although north American game hunters who are anti-wolf frequently state that the 'modern' wolves are weighing in at 250 pounds, this is an example of extreme negative human-animal interaction highlighting the exaggerated fear and anger that the reintroduction of wolves has caused in rural North America. A large male wolf can measure 36 inches at the shoulder, but the average is between 27-32 inches. The coat of the wolf can vary in colour from nearly pure white, through creams, greys, browns and blacks (Lopez 2004: 21), the Arctic pack at the Trust have a creamy white colouring whilst Mosi and Mai being members of the subspecies McKenzie river were nearly pure black as cubs. Mai however has now lightened in colour to a mid-grey colouration with a distinctive pale grey almost white covering over her face, whilst her sister Mosi remains a darker grey colour. A wolf's coat is made up of an insulating undercoat which is deep and soft, with a top coat of long guard hairs which gives adequate protections for temperatures as low as -56°C (Mech & Boitani, 2006: xv), in summer the undercoat is lost and wolves can develop a very svelte shape (Lopez 2004: 19).

Wolves are social creatures which can live in packs of up to forty two (Mech & Boitani, 2006: xv) however they can survive as solitary animals if sufficient small prey is available to them, the normal pack size is between 5-8 individuals (Lopez 2004: 26). The larger pack size is common when wolves prey on large ungulates such as caribou and elk (Mech & Boitani 2006:7). The hierarchical role of alpha, beta and omega wolves is well documented (Ellis 2010) however David Mech the world authority on wolves in 1999 published a paper which highlighted that the previous behavioural studies of packs of captive wolves (which are not necessarily related) had resulted in the theory that a wolf pack was a group of individuals constantly vying for dominance but held in restraint by the 'alpha' male and female was wrong. After thirteen years studying wild packs on Ellesmere Island Canada, he concluded that a wild wolf pack is a family unit working mainly through co-operation, with the older

female predominating primarily in such activities as cub care and defence and the male during foraging and food provisioning. Barry Lopez (2004: 37) notes that another researcher wrote *'that the strongest impression he was left with was of the wolves' friendliness towards each other'*.

Wolves as with any social species communicate via a variety of methods, these include vocalisations from the early neonate squeals, yips, yelps and yawns through to the adult howls, snarls, growls, woofs and barks (rare) to the harmonic sounds (Harrington & Asa 2006: 72) of whining, whimpering and yelping. Other communication routes include body posture and facial expression (Harrington & Asa 2006) and anyone who has ever had regular interaction with a companion domestic dog would recognise a great similarity between that animal and the wolfs visual communication repertoire. Physical contact also plays an important role in wolf communication from the submissive licking or mouthing of the muzzle of the higher ranking individual, to the aggressive hip slam when the more dominant wolf thrusts its hips into its rivals flank to unbalance it (Harrington & Asa 2006: 95).

Wolves also have a very highly developed olfactory sense and use this in a similar way to domestic dogs for example marking their territory with urine and faeces and indulging in scent rolling (Harrington & Asa 2004: 83). In the wolf this is more developed and I have been told by volunteers at the Trust, that the wolves will become very interested in human females who are pregnant (it was explained that the wolves may be sensitive to the olfactory clues in human hormones), to the extent the Trust has had to prevent pregnant human females taking part in direct wolf human interaction. The more highly developed sense of smell may also be the method by which wolves can identify illness in their human volunteers, volunteers are encouraged not to try to take part in wolf human interaction when they are feeling off colour as this may cause problems with the wolves, especially if one particular wolf tries to become more dominant to the sick human.

Whilst some research has supported the idea that wolves only attempt to kill injured, aged or young prey this is incorrect as wolves will kill indiscriminately across the across the prey population if numbers allow and will take part in surplus killing (Lopez 2004: 55) and the excess meat may be cached (Mech & Peterson 2004: 142). Whilst the common perception is that wolves are carnivores they will eat a variety of food including grass, berries, insects, small mammals, carrion, fish, domestic stock and wild ungulates (Lopez 2004, : 54). Barry Lopez (2004: 50) also mentions an extrasensory perception that wolves communicate by when they are out of visual range and there is no audible sound.

2.3 Good Wolf (Positive Human Attitudes)

To find the roots of lupophilia (Marvin 2012:119) it is necessary to look back beyond the Neolithic revolution of domestication (Olmert 2009: 139). Our early European Palaeolithic ancestors have left us cave art with images of animals the significance of which has not be fully understood (Bulliet 2005:77), however the wolf does not feature in any artwork yet found (Bulliet 2005:76). Why is this? Perhaps it is because the wolf was already a familiar animal accepted by and accepting of humans, our *Homo sapien* ancestors saw no need to represent an animal that may have crept close to their camp fire and scavenged at the edge of the camp (Olmert 2009: 65). Maybe it was because the European wolf (*Canis lupus lupus*) was a creature of woods and forests and therefore more elusive (Lopez 2004: 15).Fritts, Stephenson, Hayes and Boitani (2006: 291) suggest that early humans must have watched wolves on the open tundra and prairies and have become acquainted with their behaviour, whether wolves were seen as competitors for resources is not known, but our hunter gather ancestors and wolves must have scavenged from each other's kills when they could.

There are many similarities between a human hunter gather group and a wolf pack (Fritts *et al*/2006: 291); both lived in societies that consisted of pair bonding, staying together for more than just a breeding season and extended family relationships,

group co-operation, care and training of young, group rituals (as in greeting rituals), leadership hierarchies and sharing of food (Lopez 2004). Both wolf and humankind lived in the same (very varied) ecological environments; both had a preference for the group hunting of large herbivores. Wolves and may be early man defended their hunting areas from outsiders. Wolves and early humans lived side by side (Grambo 2005: 27).

Troy Bennett, International Society for Animal Professionals' Ambassador for France (Bennett 2012) discussed this point further with me, and as someone who teaches survival techniques and who will frequently go 'native' living in and off the natural flora and fauna of the French Alps for up to three weeks at a time following wild wolves, he made an interesting observation:

'If I was an early hunter gather living with my family unit, I would have noticed wolves living in a similar way. I am certain those people would have utilised the wolf way before the wolf became even partially socialised. For instance if I saw a pack of wolves on an opposite ridge starting to look wary I wouldn't have hung around if something was worrying the wolves, I would move my family away. When you live with nature as part of nature you can use nature to help you'.

(Troy Bennett 28th January 2012)

North America and its indigenous people identified with wolves and their stories and rituals endeavoured to explain that relationship (Grambo 2005:39). Barry Lopez in his book *'Of Wolves and Men'* (2004), covers in detail the significance of wolves and their hunting methods, and the integration of wolves into creation myths to the different tribes of the First Nation. One thing is certain, hunting was seen as a holy act (Lopez 2004:91) game animals were holy and had to be treated with respect. Tim Ingold (1994: 13) states that the main principle of hunter gather societies is trust with the environment and its animal inhabitants. The indigenous populations of North America

saw wolves as spiritually powerful animals (Fritts *et al* 2006). Some First Nation tribes named meat 'medicine' (Lopez 2004: 92) meaning it was sacred and was obtained in a sacred ceremony i.e. hunting. More literally it meant that the flesh of herbivores was better than the flesh of carnivores, the flesh of the wolf as a meat eater was not considered good meat and would be avoided by some First Nation tribes (Lopez 2004). When wolves were hunted and trapped rituals would take place to appease the spirit of wolves (Fritts *et al* 2006). Wolves symbolised skill in warfare for warriors (Fritts *et al* 2006), the Wolf Soldier band of the Cheyenne was the best known wolf warrior society of the western plains (Lopez 2004: 115), warriors had to earn the right to wear wolf tails around their legs (Lopez 2004:114). In sign language the sign for 'wolf' and 'scout' were the same (Fritts *et al* 2006). Young warriors were trained to move like wolves, to hide their trails and endure harsh conditions (Fritts *et al* 2006).

The positive symbolic aspects of wolves as fierce and fearless individuals in warfare and as warriors were also shared by early European cultures; early pagan Germanic warriors (prior to Christianity) frequently used the wolf as a totem (Marvin 2012: 73; Fritts *et al* 2006). Rebecca Grambo (2005) includes an extract from Hrafnsmála a tenth century Norse poem:

*'Wolf coats they are called, those who carry blood stained swords to battle;
they redden spears when they come to slaughter, acting together as one'*

Anglo Saxon nobles named themselves after wolves, in an attempt to associate with the perceived positive aspects of the animal (Fritts *et al* 2006; Marvin 2012: 74). Wolves appear frequently in Norse mythology the mythical giant wolf Fenris shackled to the earth, and who bit off Tyr's hand (Lopez 2004: 275; Grambo 2005: 96). Gary Marvin (2012: 72) also mentions Odin the Norse god of death in battle who is accompanied by two wolves Freki and Geri, whilst the former deity takes the souls of dead warriors to Valhalla Freki and Geri feast off their mortal remains.

Apollo the Greek god was sometimes known as Apollo-Lykeios, the wolf-Apollo, associated with wind and the sun (Grambo 2005: 28). The she wolf's superior maternal skills were recognised in the tale of Romulus and Remus the founders of Rome (Lopez

2004: 243) who were supposedly raised by a wild she-wolf (Fritts *et al* 2006: 293). Similarly in Celtic mythology the Irish King Cormac MacAirt was kidnapped and raised by a she wolf (Davies 1998). Two early Irish Saints had positive relationships with wolves: St Maedoc fed a pack of starving wolves whilst blind St Hervé was led around by a wolf (Davies 1998:148), but these last two examples would seem to symbolise the compassionate and trusting face of the early Christian church over the perceived 'bad/pagan' wolf.

Much more recently within the last sixty years, field work carried out by scientists studying wolves in the wild has resulted in a revised public image of wolves as a caring family unit working cooperatively (Mech 1999). Scientists have come to realise that wolves as top predators have an important and integral role to play within the environments they inhabit (Mech & Boitiani 2006; Niemeyer 2010). Dutcher & Dutcher (2012) called them a keystone species, their re-introduction has improved the ecosystem by driving away elk from the streams and lowlands, preventing over grazing and allowing the re- establishment of willow and cotton wood tree's (Niemeyer 2011) and promoting biodiversity (Smith, Petersen & Houston 2003). Marvin (2012: 142) links this re-evaluation of wolves in their ecological environment with a matching re-evaluation in popular culture. The wolf has now have come to symbolise the holistic benefits of 'the wild and the wilderness' (Marvin 2012:142). A recently published review in *Current Anthropology* has even hypothesised that human monogamy arose from observation of the successful pair bond of dominant male and female wolves (Neeley 2011: 435).

2.4. Bad Wolf (Negative Human Attitudes To Wolves).

Carl Niemeyer (2010:321) quotes a central Idaho Anti Wolf Coalition member in 2000 saying '.....wolves are terrorists in the order of Osama bin Laden'. To American war veterans returning home from the horrors of World War Two and taking part in the systematic destruction of wolves from the United States, wolves were described as

'Nazi's' (Niemeyer 2011). Wolves since the Neolithic agricultural revolution have been characterised as '*rapacious, voracious, greedy, deceitful, murderous and criminal..... and when its predatory attentions have turned to humans, a monstrous creature of vicious and evil intent*' (Martin 2012:7). Wolves amongst other wild predators have become symbolic substitutes onto which humans transfer their guilt ,fear and loathing for their own destructive personalities (Midgley 2001 in Lynn 2010:83), wolves epitomise the animalistic 'Other' (Serpell 1996:188).

The worst thing that ever happened for wolves was humans' desire and ability to domesticate herbivores (Fritts *et al* 2006: 293). Martin (2012:35) states that when domesticated animals were perceived to be the property of owners, any individual human or animals who threatened the property was seen as a threat. Wolves moved from living in harmony with humans to becoming a direct, unwanted and feared threat (Martin 2012:36). Two and a half thousand years ago Aesop in ancient Greece was using wolves in his fables i.e. 'The Boy Who Cried Wolf' (Martin 2012: 40; Grambo 2005: 129) in a culture which was largely centred on organised sheep or goat herding. However in these tales the animals were used as allegories for human behaviour (Grambo 2005: 129).

The old and new testaments mention the wolf as a symbol of rapacity, wantonness, cunning and deceit, in direct reference to human characteristics (Fritts *et al* 2006: 293). However as a lot of the symbolism of early Christianity Jesus as the lamb of God and Jesus as the good shepherd (Grambo 2005: 131) and his followers revolved around a pastoral economy (Martin 2012:43), the wolf came to be seen as evil symbolising Satan and a direct threat to the Roman Catholic church (Fritts *et al* 2006: 293).The after effects of the Black Death which swept through Europe killing half the human population (Grambo 2005: 133), and many medieval wars resulted in the unthinkable, wolves feasting on human corpses (Marvin 2012: 50; Grambo 2005: 133). This may have led to the tales of werewolves which will be discussed below but it certainly brought the wolf into the realms of a transgressive animal (Marvin 2006:

17) which had taken a step too far from stealing and killing domesticated livestock to eating human flesh. Transgressive animals arouse strong human emotions from anger to loathing and disgust (Marvin 2006: 17). Another canine that does not always behave as humans expect it should is the Australian Dingo (Peace 2010), it does seem that close relatives of the domestic dog fare particularly badly if they do not live up to human expectations.

European medieval peasants dependent on a few sheep or goats for their livelihoods had real reason to fear wolves, which could destroy the wealth present in their livestock, attack them if they were foolish to travel at night through the wild countryside, and even infect them with fatal disease rabies (Lopez 2004: 208). Greedy feudal laws were called 'wolves' (Grambo 2005: 131), famine was called 'the wolf' in fact anything that threatened a peasant's perilous existence seemed to be linked to the wolf (Lopez 2004: 206). Medieval persecution of wolves continued because they were thought to be evil minded criminal beings (Marvin 2012: 46). The human made link between wolves and criminals is well documented; when an outlaw fled from justice he became a 'wolves head' meaning his value to society was equal to that of a wild wolf (Grambo 2005: 130; Lopez 2004: 208), his death would be beneficial to that society and anyone may kill him. A gibbet was often called a 'wolf heads tree' and frequently a dead wolf would be hung alongside the unfortunate human (*ibid*).

The first systematic controlling of wolf numbers was under Charlemagne when in 812 he founded the Louveterie, and institution charged with the killing of wolves (Marvin 2012: 81). The Welsh subjects of Anglo-Saxon King Edgar had to produce 300 wolf skins per year as a form of tribute (Marvin 2012:81). Canute the Great declared that wolf heads (outlaws) should be banished beyond the places where men hunt wolves (Grambo 2005: 130) whilst King Canute's Forest Laws (1016) permitted anyone to kill wolves outside of the Royal Forests (Marvin 2012: 81) and even killing a wolf inside of the Royal Forest would result in a more lenient punishment.

Persecution of wolves continued when the settlers in North America first arrived with their tempting and precious farm livestock (Fritts *et al* 2006: 293), wolves became symbolic of the dangerous and threatening wilderness surrounding the first homesteads and symbolic of the wild indigenous population who shared the wilderness with the wolves; both had to be controlled (Marvin 2012: 87: Fritts *et al* 2006: 293). Wolves became the object of 'pathological hatred' (Marvin 2012: 102) not content with shooting, trapping and poisoning them with strychnine (Niemeyer 2012) these transgressive criminal animals were to be put to death in the most horrific ways possible; trapped wolves would have their legs tied together, their mouths wired shut and they would be carried on a horse to a inhabited area. Their death would be as protracted and painful as possible, '*.....many were beaten, baited with hounds, lassoed and dragged behind galloping horses or pulled apart by two riders of horses; some were even set on fire*' (Marvin 2012: 109).

In America the Endangered Species Act 1973 gave the wolf protection but it was too late, by 1930 the lower 49 states of America were wolf free (Nemeyer 2011). The re-introduction of grey wolves into Montana and Idaho in the 1990's cannot be counted as a success. Due to the continual public pressure which resulted in politicians making decisions to gain the most votes for re-election, since spring 2011 wolves in America (Niemeyer2011) have now been removed from the Endangered Species List (Dutcher & Dutcher 2012). Idaho currently wants to reduce its wolf population by eighty five percent, wolves have been blamed for a 'State of Emergency ' in Idaho (Dutcher & Dutcher 2012) so in America the slaughter continues.

Wolves under persecution and attack are frequently not seen just as a wolf, a lot of sociological symbolism becomes attached to them (Niemeyer 2011). Carl Niemeyer in his introduction to his lecture stated that the current problems surrounding the reintroduced wolves were a '*war over the ideology off wildlife and wild places*'. The

wolves used in the American re-introduction of the 1990's were wild caught in Canada; the public perception of Canadian wolves was that they were '*bigger, meaner and more vicious than the exterminated American wolves*' (Niemeyer 2011). Canadian wolves were also carrying a killer disease tape worm; the anti-wolf coalition played on the disease threat, claiming that it would kill everyone in the United States, hikers and hunters were warned not to drink at natural water sources, but as Carl Niemeyer pointed out no human Canadians have died from this canine parasite. Wolves have been called the Saddam Hussein of the animal world (Niemeyer 2010). Pro wolf people tend to be young, well-educated and urban living, the anti-wolf coalition is made up mostly of ranchers and similar rural living individuals struggling to survive in a tough world. The old frontier spirit still burns, ranchers don't want to be told what to do by any one and especially not by Federal Government (Niemeyer 2011).

Lindquist (2000:187) draws similar conclusions with regard to the Saami and the Swedish governments' conflict in 1995 over the cut in state payments for predator damage, especially since wolves had recently become protected by the Swedish government. The wolf has moved beyond being a simple predator and has taken on the 'metaphor of encroachment' (*ibid*). A recent academic paper (Bisi, Liukkonen, Mykrä, Pohja-Mykrä, &Kurki 2010) on the Finnish wolf conflict highlights the dissension between the two main stake holders: conservationists and moose hunters. Once again the wolf has reached protected game species status, and the conflict has its roots in the differing values of modern society. Lyn (2010:82) highlights the fact that wolves are highly symbolic creatures, wolves are perceived to stand for events or ideologies occurring within human society, in modern Europe and North America wolves have now come to symbolise endangered species and wild landscapes which society believes should either be protected or exterminated. Wolf conservation in America or Europe sets urbanites with an idealised view of the wild against rural dwellers struggling to survive. It is a picture painted in black and white and regretfully for the wolf there seems to be few shades of grey.

Goatley (2006) investigating the link between humans, animals and metaphors gives four wolf metaphors; wolf a sexually predatory man; wolf down to eat greedily; wolfish sinister or threatening (of a man) and finally a wolf in sheep's clothing a deceitful or cunning person. All of these have negative connotations. However a more recent investigation by Sommer & Sommer (2011) on the use of nonhuman animals as metaphors (zoomorphs) widened the definition of wolf to a sexually aggressive person of either gender (2011: 244) but once again the term wolf was seen to be predominantly negative.

2.5. The Wolf of Nightmares: Werewolf and Sexual Predator

Barry Lopez (2004: 203) states 'we create wolves'. This is true, human cultures across the wide ecological range of the wolf have bestowed upon it either honourable or diabolical properties (Lyn 2010: 82). Lopez (2004: 206) calls it '... *the human psyche wrestling with the wolf, alternatively attracted to it and repelled by it*'. However no repulsion is as extreme as that of the werewolf. With werewolves the true horror is that they are humans who take on the form of wolves, and then transform again (double transformation) back into humans (Marvin 2012: 48). Werewolves also eat their victims so a major crime within most civilisations is committed, that of cannibalism, humans eating human flesh (*ibid*). Werewolves were not an invention of the medieval period; they date from ancient Greece (Lopez 2004: 231; Grambo 2005: 130; Marvin 2012: 49). Gary Marvin (2012: 46) traces it back still further to the Babylonian text of *Gilamesh*.

However it was in the medieval period in northern continental Europe (Marvin 2012: 53) that the belief in and fear of werewolves escalated, fed in part by the doctrine of the Christian church (Lopez 2004: 238). A good Christian must fight evil, and evil in the form of the Devil could come in the disguise of a wolf or a werewolf. Fear and hysteria surrounding werewolves increased to epidemic proportions (Lopez 2004: 239). Werewolf trials were responsible for hundreds of innocent humans being

executed, the physically or mentally handicapped, heretics and political dissenters were all branded as werewolves (Grambo 2005:134; Lopez 2004: 241). The fear of werewolves gradually disappeared as the real wolves were hunted to extinction in western Europe, only to resurface in the mid-nineteenth century when the first resurgence of interest in lycanthropy in literature developed (Marvin 2012: 58) in a mainly urban population. The interest in the werewolf survives even into the twenty first century with BBC's 'Nearly Human', and werewolves being part of the Twilight series.

A less well known symbol of the wolf is that of sexual predator. The latin for prostitute and she-wolf is the same '*lupa*' (Lopez 2004: 242) which places a slightly different connotation upon the Romulus and Remus tale already mentioned above. Marvin (2012:70; Grambo 2005: 129) both talk about the sexualised wolf in the French expression '*elle avoit vûle loup*' (she has seen the wolf) when a young woman loses her virginity. Little Red Riding Hood written in 1697 (Grambo 2005: 129; Marvin 2012; 64) by Charles Perrault, announces her sexual availability by wearing a red (colour of harlots) cap or hood (Grambo 2005: 129; Marvin 2012: 64) and she is attacked not by a wolf but by a werewolf who entices her to get undressed and into bed with him. The symbolism of this fairy story is too great to discuss further here but suffice to say it has more hidden meaning behind it than a simple story for children; the important point is that the wolf or werewolf is seen as asexual predator.

2.6. Anthropomorphism.

Horowitz & Beckof (2007: 23) state that anthropomorphism comes from the Greek *anthrōpos* (human) and *morphē* (shape) and has been described as the use of human characteristics to describe or explain nonhuman animals. Datson and Mitman (2005: 2) state that the use of the word describes the belief that animals are '*essentially*' human and it is typically used as a term of intellectual and moral reproach, an '*erroneous*' term for the characterisation of nonhuman behaviour (Horowitz and

Bekoff 2007: 23). In the traditional scientific fields of ethology the use of anthropomorphic terminology has seen to be unprofessional, dangerous and naive (Kennedy 1992, Crist 1999, Wynne 2004) and indicative of '*sloppy thinking*' (Datson & Mitson 2005: 3) although more recently the development of cognitive ethology based on decades of cognitive research on humans now attempts to be totally scientific whilst describing animal behaviour or animal mental states in anthropomorphic terms (Keeley 2004: 522, Datson & Mitson 2005:3). Epley, Waytz & Cacioppo (2007: 865) goes further to state that anthropomorphism requires the 'attributer' to give the ability of perception of mind with the central themes of conscious experience, meta-cognition and intention to the agent or object.

Why do humans feel the need anthropomorphise non-humans? Serpell (2003: 84) refers to 'reflexive consciousness' the human ability to use self-knowledge to understand the behaviour of others, which probably developed in anatomically modern humans (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) around 40, 000 years ago. Mithen (1996) argues that a 'social intelligence' developed during the Middle to Upper Palaeolithic period to deal with the complexities of increased social interactions and that anthropomorphic thinking emerged as a result of the new social thinking mixing with the natural history intelligence of the ancestral brain. Epley *et al* (2007: 868) suggest it is the mirror neurons in the prefrontal cortex which are the foundation for people's ability to empathise with another's emotional state or simultaneously experience it; using one's own mental state and characteristics as a guide when reasoning about non humans is anthropomorphism (*ibid*). Serpell (2003: 86) proposes that the ability to anthropomorphise allowed humans to excel at hunting animals and later to socialise with animals as pets and domesticated livestock. Historically the evidence for the anthropomorphism of animals abounds from prehistoric art (Bulliet 2005: 75, Serpell 1996:181) to the medieval trials of various animals supposed to be guilty of crimes (Serpell 1996: 200), through to the evolutionary continuity of species by Charles Darwin (Keeley 2004). Although Keeley (2004: 524, De Waal 2001: 66, Datson & Mitson 2005: 2 and Epley *et al* 2007: 865) also point out that the term anthropomorphism historically was also used for describing the human like traits of gods and spiritual beings.

Horowitz and Bekoff (2007:28) state that anthropomorphism may occur when an animal's behaviour follows some or all of the rules for successful human-human communication. In the case of Horowitz and Bekoff's research on domestic canines and humans most anthropomorphisms were carried out around the behaviour of playful social interaction with the canine with four specific patterns: directed responses from one player to another, indications of intent, mutual behaviours and dependent activity when each players actions are based on and related to what the other has just done. Wolves have a very strong play instinct (Dutcher & Dutcher 2003: 110; Packard 2006: 39) so a direct extrapolation can be made between the human desire to anthropomorphise a play companion be it wolf or domestic dog. The attributions of anthropomorphism are similar to the attributions that adults make to human infants, when the interpretation of infants behaviour is seen to be intentional or adult-like. In effect anthropomorphism may be a biological side effect of an innate drive to care for our own young; therefore anthropomorphism is an inevitable product of natural selection (Horowitz & Bekoff 2007: 31). Naturally it would follow that the easiest animals to anthropomorphise are those within the same taxonomic group as our selves (Horowitz & Bekoff 2007) especially animals following similar morphological patterns with similar senses i.e. mammals (*ibid*). Mitchell & Hamm (1997: 175) stated that a human's familiarity with and attachment to an animal (domestic dogs and cats being viewed as being more similar to humans) can have a positive effect on anthropomorphising those animal's behaviour. Whilst wolves are not domesticated dogs they can appear very similar to some domesticated dog breeds, resulting in a corresponding increase in humans' tendencies to anthropomorphise their natural behaviour.

Stephen Gould (1979) has suggested that humans identify more readily with certain species that have noticeably neotenic features. Serpell (2003) uses the examples of popular toy dog breeds, for example toy spaniels. Animals which have features close to those of human infants with relatively large heads, large eyes, bulging cheek region and short thick extremities (Horowitz & Bekoff 2005) cause the release of a 'cute response' (Horowitz & Bekoff 2005, Serpell 2003) which is assisted by soft fur or

hair. Coppinger & Coppinger (1982) hypothesised that domestic dog breed specific behaviour is aligned very closely with the distinct stages of ancestral canine development, so domestic dog breeds with the strongest neotogenic features (toy breeds) would have the correspondingly most juvenile-like behaviour. Following this argument through an adult wolf typically shows the ultimate in adult canine behaviour; domestic dog breeds have never been allowed to develop to such an extent to exhibit this 'raw' behaviour and humans during the course of developing dog breeds have only allowed the heeler's for example Huskies and Corgi's to develop physically and mentally as far as an adolescent wolf.

2.7. Mechanisms of Attachment.

Whilst the reasons for anthropomorphism (above) may explain why some animals over others are more likely to become anthropomorphised, the theory of attachment explains how humans and mammalian non humans can become strongly attached to one another. Odendaal's and Meintje's experimental research (2003), showed that after quiet interactive affiliative behaviour both humans and dogs arterial blood pressure decreased over similar time frames; between 5-23 minutes. Both species had increased concentrations of neurochemicals during the trial, one of which was oxytocin, which had doubled in concentration in both humans and dogs.

The neuro-hypophyseal hormone oxytocin has long been recognised as the hormone which is responsible for maternal bonding (Perderson & Prange 1979), and social bonding (Young, Wang & Insel 1998). Olmert (2009: 50) notes that oxytocin also reduces the flight/fight response and produces a state of 'calm and connect' which has been vital in the domestication of all animals but especially so in the domestication of lactating livestock (Olmert 2009: 157).

Two studies have taken this work further. The first (Miller, Kennedy, De Voe, Hickey, Nelson & Kogan 2009) looked at the stress relieving effects of human-dog interaction, by measuring human serum oxytocin levels before and after separation from their

companion dog. The result showed that serum oxytocin levels increased statistically more for women after interaction with their dog, than in the control procedure (reading quietly). Men showed no significant increase in serum oxytocin levels either after interaction with their dogs or after the control procedure. These results suggest that there is a gender difference in the hormonal response to human dog interaction.

The second (Nagasawa, Mogi & Kikusui 2009) examined the possibility that dog owners' urinary oxytocin levels was increased by their 'dogs gaze' as a measure of attachment. Owners who received a longer gaze from their dogs were found to have a higher urinary oxytocin level than those who only received only a short duration gaze from their dogs. Individuals, who received the longer gaze, stated that they had a high degree of relationship with their dog. The authors concluded that owners' interactions with their dogs, could increase the owner oxytocin urinary levels as a manifestation of attachment behaviour. From the above evidence it is clear that humans have the biological and psychological ability (nature) to develop close relationships with a non-human species.

The latest published research on oxytocin in humans and their companion domestic dogs indicates that canine oxytocin levels rise significantly after just three minutes from the start of human canine interaction and similarly in the humans their oxytocin levels peaked between 1-5 minutes after the start of interaction (Handlin, Hydbring-Sandberg, Nilsson, Ekdebäck, Jansson & Unväs-Moberg 2011). The researchers concluded that the short lasting rise in oxytocin in the dogs in the experiment was caused by the stroking and petting performed by their owners (Handlin et al 2011: 312).

All of the published research on the role of oxytocin in human animal attachment theory has utilised domestic canines. With regard to captive exotic species and wolves would be classified as such, little work has looked at the relationships

between humans and zoo animals. Geoff Hosey's paper (2008) investigated the concept of human-animal relationships (HAR) between zoo animals and their keepers and proposed the following model; a negative HAR would result from a high fear of humans and avoidance of contact perhaps due to previous rough handling (*ibid*: 107). A neutral HAR is where the animal has low fear of humans but avoids contact, and finally a positive HAR where the animal has a low fear of humans and shows some confidence with people. Mitchell, Obrdovich, Herring, Dowd and Tromberg (1991) concluded that the monkey, golden bellied mangabeys (*Cercocebus galerituschryso gaster*) treated zoo visitors as interlopers, keepers as familiar conspecifics and observers like familiar neighbours. Hosey's paper ranged across a selection of taxa but not unfortunately wolves. However there was recognition in this paper of the importance of a socialisation period soon after birth when social attachments are made to the mother but also to human carers (Hosey 2008: 121).

Wolves due to their extremely strong pack instinct are very protective over what they identify as their immediate family (Dutcher & Dutcher 2003: 174), this can include humans as in the case of Mark Rowlands and his socialised wolf Brenin (2009) and are usually very wary of strangers (Dutcher & Dutcher 2003: 255). The socialisation of wolf cubs to humans must occur before their eyes are open at about 12-14 days (Packard 2006: 47) this means removing them from their mother at this age or younger and hand rearing them (Dutcher & Dutcher:271). Jim and Janie Dutcher, wildlife film makers who spent an incredible 6 years living in a 25 acre enclosure in the Sawtooth Mountains Idaho with their wolves the Sawtooth pack stated:

'The only dependable way to develop a true bond between a wolf and a human being is for that person to raise the wolf from a pup. Once bonded, the wolf desires the company of that individual just as it desires the company of its own pack mates.'

Jim and Janie Dutcher (2003: 256).

Torak, Mosi and Mai were not born at the Trust but arrived there at roughly 10 days of age and were hand reared by the volunteers. Whilst the Beenham pack of Nuka, Tala and Tundra the offspring of Main and Motomo were hand raised by volunteers from the age of 10 days, with the sole purpose of allowing them to become future ambassadors for the wolf trust (Wolf Print Summer 2011: 4).

3. Methodology

I had applied to the Education Officer of the Trust in July of 2011 and made a visit in that month during which I put forward my idea of an ethnographic study. This was the first anthrozoological ethnographic research project the Trust had assisted in, although the Trust previously had had many years' experience of assisting under graduates and post graduates in ethological quantitative research. After my proposal was given the go ahead by the Director of the Trust Tsa Palmer, I was put in touch with the volunteer organiser and due to preparations for a large open day taking place in September; my first visit to the Trust was in early October 2011. From then until the end of January I visited the Trust as often as possible endeavouring to work alongside volunteers for one full day at weekends. An injury to my knee whilst collecting data curtailed the visits for a short while, but as soon as I could drive I resumed the participant observation but no longer took part on training walks or the public walks for a few weeks.

The methodology chosen for this for this ethnographic investigation was one of multiple methods (Silverman 2010: 32); participant observation, questionnaire and then semi-structured informal interview. For an investigation into attitudes a semi structured interview (Bell 2002: 138) focussed around the participants own attitude to non-humans (interview framework) would seem to most suitable; and can 'put flesh on the bones of questionnaire responses' (Bell 2002:135). With both questionnaires and interviews the researcher must avoid leading, presumptive, ambiguous or potentially offensive questions (Bell 2002: 123 &135). The reasoning behind this multiple choice of data collection was as follows. From my prior knowledge of the Wolf Trust when I had previously attempted to become a volunteer I was aware of the very close relationships which developed within the volunteers' community at the Trust. I knew it would take some time for me to become accepted and even partially integrated into the group due the fact of it being large (60 plus volunteers), with a shifting pattern of different individuals working each weekend. Bell (2010: 193) states that one problem with participant observation is that

researchers may have to spend years become fully integrated within the group they are studying.

I started my weekend end visits to the Trust, working alongside volunteers in as many areas as I could in early October 2011. Referring to my field notes from different days with differing volunteers groups and senior handlers, it was obvious that I was very aware of varying degrees of being accepted; at times I felt I had made it only on the following weekend to feel a complete outsider again. In truth I don't feel I was ever totally part of the volunteer group due to the simple fact of being a researcher and not a fully-fledged volunteer which prevented me from total inclusion, an example of this was not being included on the volunteer e-mail list. I knew that from my previous short volunteer experience this is an active communication route with anything wolf related, changes in organisation etc. being sent out to the volunteer population.

Even as an 'outsider looking in' (Bell 2010: 193) this primary participant observation was very useful. Initially I was able to treat it as unstructured observation (Bell 2010: 192), watching the interaction between volunteers and the wolves the first morning I was struck by the strong anthropomorphism being shown by all of the volunteers. This gave me my first area of investigation closely followed by human attitudes and attachment to captive wild animals, and after observing the Trusts' wolves I attempted to utilise them as participant observers of the human volunteers.

Participant observation enables '...theories to be considered, reflected upon and developed' (Bell 2010). From the first morning taking part in a training walk with the Beenham pack, it was became apparent that just chatting to volunteers was going to be the best way to gain information, especially if the subject was wolf related. From previous research I was aware that Rebecca Cassidy (2002) in her ethnographic study of Newmarket, kinship class and gender faced similar problems recording data in the field as I was experiencing. I took every opportunity to make copious field notes, either during quiet moments at the Trust or immediately after my visits in the

evening. I was aware that my note taking was considered with suspicion by some volunteers (Silverman 2010: 32), one volunteer actually asked me if I was 'a spy' although I repeatedly explained these were reminders for myself. Unknown to me at the start of my field work there were some internal political issues arising within the volunteer group. Due to the apparent mistrust of the volunteers of seeing me making notes, I felt that trying to maintain a written observation schedule (Bell 2010: 195) would not be helpful or practical. The one time when I did feel it was conducive to openly make notes was when I was watching direct interaction between the wolves and the volunteers in the wolf enclosures. Obviously for health and safety reasons I was not allowed in the enclosures, the volunteers would be fully preoccupied with their wolf interaction and would be too engrossed in what they were doing to worry about me writing some distance away. As I became more accepted by some individual volunteers, I found information was being offered willingly to me, one topic which a couple of volunteers talked to me about privately was the spiritual aspect of wolves. Another volunteer talked freely to me about a website they had constructed when I was setting up the observation room.

The information gained from participant observation and informal conversations with volunteers whilst on wolf walks, enabled me to design a questionnaire (see Appendix 1), which attempted to clarify some lines of inquiry. I felt it was inappropriate for this study to delve too deeply into individuals' personal demographics such as income bracket and religion, especially due to the evident mistrust of some individual volunteers. Questions centred around the themes of ownership of companion animals, as I thought this would be interesting comparing differences if any between attachment to a companion animal and a socialised wild animal. Volunteers' membership of animal charities and if they were vegetarian, the latter arose as it became a point discussed on a training walk that the wolves could distinguish between humans who ate meat and vegetarians, with some derision being expressed by the volunteers present regarding vegetarians. Another theme that I could see developing was the unconscious similarity between the wolves and the volunteers, in many aspects. Other questions centred on the reasons why volunteers choose to

work at the Trust, and if there was a common theme of human attraction to large predators.

Question number 13 asked for all of the wolves to be ranked in order of favouritism, with 1 being the most favourite. Most respondents said they couldn't rank the wolves they 'loved' or 'liked' all of them equally. Of all the questions this one on ranking, perhaps caused the most concern to those completing the form, even on the pilot study. I decided to leave the question as it was, as it allowed those who did have a favourite and a least favourite to clarify the reasons exactly why this was the case. The final group of questions on wolf recognition and interaction to a human was designed utilising the Likert scale (Bell 2010: 223) although my study is qualitative not quantitative use of the scale did allow me to gain some impression of the strength of feeling for the questions I posed.

The questionnaire when complete was piloted to the Trust's Education Officer and the volunteer organiser, who both noted the difficulty in ranking a favourite wolf, however as discussed above I decided to keep that question in the questionnaire. The questionnaire forms were printed out and placed in the volunteer portacabin, next to a post box I had made for completed questionnaires to ensure privacy for the informants. Twenty four volunteers voluntarily completed the questionnaire.

I had hoped to carry out more interviews, but the injury I sustained whilst at the Trust to my knee was severe enough to warrant an operation, which reduced the time I was available for face to face interviews. Plus the reluctance and suspicion I had first noted on starting my field work seemed to arise again with regard to a recorded interview. I must also point out that whilst at the Trust volunteers are extremely busy, (on some days there was a wolf training walk, a handler training walk and a public walk to be fitted in) so time was very limited. For an investigation into attitudes, a semi structured interview (Bell 2002: 138) focussed around the participants own

attitude to non-humans (interview framework) is the most suitable; and can 'put flesh on the bones of questionnaire responses' (Bell 2002:135). With both questionnaires and interviews the researcher must avoid leading, presumptive, ambiguous or potentially offensive questions (Bell 2002: 123 &135). However I did manage to complete three verbal face to face and five telephone informal semi structured interviews. Unfortunately there is a gender bias in the interviews towards females as only two males indicated that they were willing to participate in the interviews, these along with my field notes and the use of the wolves as observer participants gave me sufficient information to work on. I spent considerable amount of time looking for similar trends in answer to a question, I cannot go so far as to say I carried out Grounded Theory (Knight, Nunkoosing, Vrij & Cherryman 2003), however in analysing the transcriptions of the interviews, I noticed certain key words and phrases being repeated.

When starting interviews I was careful to explain to all participants that only University markers would see the completed and written transcripts which would be anonymous. I also assured them that the copy which the Trust had requested would have the transcripts removed, so there would be no possibility of the identity of interviewees being known unless they choose to talk about it to other volunteers. Written transcripts of the interviews can be found in Appendix 2.

With qualitative research methods, where analysis is so dependent upon trying to unravel the subjective intricacies of another individual, the researcher must be aware of their own biases creeping into the project at all stages. Babcock (1980:10) states that, '... it is necessary to be reflexive if one is to be scientific', and Mead (1962 in Babcock 1980: 2) indicates that reflexivity is essential for mental development. Etherington (2004) develops this further in stating that reflexivity allows the researcher to be conscious of their own culture and ideology and thus of their participants. My own reflexive analysis follows.

Reflexivity

In qualitative studies it is vital that the researchers own preconceptions be noted to prevent bias creeping into the work. Babcock (1980:1) states in her essay on reflexivity ‘..any method demands scrutiny of its own terms and procedures’. Why did I attempt to investigate a human animal relationship that I was unsuccessful in gaining? Mead (1962: 134) indicates that reflexiveness is ‘the turning back of experience of the individual upon himself’. I have spent a large part of my working career working first hand with horses (as a riding instructor, competition groom and working in studs) and gaining internationally recognised vocational qualifications along the way. All of my own successful competition horses have been individuals unwanted by other riders because of behavioural issues. At University I spent holiday’s house sitting all types of animals including large dogs such as Rottweiler’s, but none that were openly aggressive. Later on when I moved into a more academic career I would frequently be given injured animals (normally rodents) to be taken home and cared for by the college Animal Centre Manager. I was acknowledged to be good at caring for animals. I have successfully bred and shown Burmese cats, and have had mostly mammalian companion animals for more decades than I care to admit to. The only time I have ever not succeeded in building a relationship with an animal, was in forming a successful bond with a wolf.

In the autumn on 2008 I joined the UK Wolf Trust and was accepted as a volunteer, I undertook the induction day, and then during the Christmas holidays spent as much time as possible at the Wolf Trust, taking part in general husbandry duties and assisting with public walks. On a cold icy winters morning after completing numerous tasks the senior in charge asked if I and another new volunteer would like to go into Mosi, Mai and Torak’s enclosure. I was enthusiastic and after being instructed to get to the platform (three foot high) and not allow the wolves to force us to take a step backwards followed the others in. I should add at this time there were two of the most experienced senior handlers with us, and at least another high ranking handler as well. As we were let in to the muddy and slippery enclosure, I can remember

thinking 'just don't fall over on the slippery partially frozen mud' as falling over would mean I would never be accepted by the wolves, they would see me as prey. We had hardly got to the platform before the female wolves were on top of it, excited and boisterous at greeting us. What happened next was a surprise, Mai and Mosi started mouthing each other and rough playing. The new volunteer accompanying me, later said she felt the canine tooth of a wolf go right up her nose. I ended up with two wolves smashing their heads into my face. Eyes watering with the impact and the cold I pressed hard against the platform trying not to take a step back. With horror one of the seniors told me I had a cut just below my eye, and to get the blood off quickly. I was handed a tissue, and then told to get the tissue away quickly, as anything new would be off interest to the wolves.

I can remember my face being licked and lots of anthropomorphic talk, then I squeaked (which was something we had been warned against) something had nipped my bottom. When asked what had happened I told the seniors, Mosi for some reason had taken against me. I spent the next twenty minutes alternatively being 'saved' from Mosi by Mai coming up for interaction. Mosi at that time was lower ranking so if her sister came to me Mosi would back down, and fending off Mosi who growling and snarling made her feelings against me very obvious. Worried about my face I stood at the platform and quietly told a furious wolf we could be friends, all the time I held my arm up in front of me and all the while Mosi had a paw on it, in a battle of strength who would give in first. At the same time I had a senior handler encouraging me and instructing me what to do. I felt considerable relief when Mosi jumped off the platform and joined her sister and Torak by the pond. Then she came back and started darting at me from under the platform. Her aggressive behaviour had to be stopped and a senior literally picked her up and threw her to the ground, she landed on or close to Torak and the next thing there was a fully-fledged wolf fight at my feet. When everything had calmed down a little, the decision was made I had to be got out of the enclosure; surrounded by seniors and other volunteers I was shuffled out, all the time with Mosi circling around trying to get to me.

The senior on the day assured me that I had done nothing wrong, in discussion with her I thought the fact I was on HRT and it was coming up to breeding season may have been seen as provocation to the lower ranking female Mosi. I continued to volunteer at the Trust, but even after another careful introduction to Mosi (standing behind a known senior my hand being covered by her hand and both being offered to Mosi) it was evident that there was no way she would ever accept me. If Mosi did not accept me that meant there would be no acceptance or interaction with that pack, I would have no wolf human interaction bar that which the public had on a lead. At a training day it was made clear that even though the seniors in charge on the day considered I had done nothing wrong, other high ranking individuals thought I was responsible in some way. Shortly afterwards I made the decision to stop being a volunteer.

Was my pride hurt? A little, I felt I was being blamed for something I had not been aware of doing. I can remember standing outside Torak's, Mai and Mosi's enclosure as a winter dusk closed in. Everyone else was inside interacting with the wolves, Mosi ran over and started whining, two seniors came over and gently explained that it didn't look good, she probably never would accept me. However even after I left I still had interaction with the Trust, with my student's going there for work experience and with the students I made yearly visits. I felt I had been vindicated when a student told me a year or so later Mosi had taken against another female volunteer. When I discussed this feeling of loss of a relationship I had never experienced with a female volunteer during my research I was told '*.....who knows what goes on in their (wolves) brains*'.

I still find wolves fascinating, aesthetically appealing, wonderfully similar but dissimilar to our domestic dogs. However the desire for uncontrolled wolf interaction disappeared when I was standing by the Beenham packs' enclosure and watching volunteer wolf interaction with the three cubs jumping up and down repeatedly at a volunteer. I realised that I now didn't want that sort of interaction. I am now only too aware of my own fragility with two severely arthritic knees, I am not use to dealing

with what amounts to very large untrained canines. I have discussed that at length with a friend and as she pointed out, all my working life with horses they were highly trained and had to be disciplined to behave in acceptable ways. Whilst washing a Blood Hound during a class at work, I can remember being furious at being head butted by it jumping up. I have had dogs for many decades, but the largest were Golden Retrievers and Border Collies and none of them were allowed to jump up. Perhaps I underestimated my need for control or what I perceive to be acceptable behaviour. My two dogs (small sized) at present I would not say are highly trained, they sit on the sofa and one sleeps on my bed, but their range of behaviour is acceptable to me.

Even though I have never achieved a close human wolf bond, I am fascinated by it. I know what pleasure I get from interacting with the wolves: once when I was out on a training walk with the juvenile Beenham pack, Tala brushed past my legs with a very definite pressure. Knowing that this must mean something but not sure exactly what I asked a volunteer. It was I was told, acceptance behaviour, a confirmation that I was part of the pack, a natural way of spreading scents between the pack. I was thrilled to be told this and to feel I had been accepted briefly by this young female wolf. On another morning volunteers were inside the safety barrier interacting with Mai, scratching her through the wire fence, being watched suspiciously by Motomo who was some distance away. Mai obviously loved it, rubbing up against the wire, licking hands. I was invited to join in bending down and scratching the thick fur of my 'saviour' wolf, telling her how beautiful she was, I felt really happy to interact with her for just a moment, to see her pressing against the wire so she could get closer to my probing fingers (see figure 9).

Chapter 4 Results

Twenty four of my questionnaires were voluntarily completed, sixteen questionnaires completed by female and eight by male volunteers. Analysing the volunteers' demographics the males had an age range from the 29 to the 59 years plus brackets with the largest cluster being in area of 39- 48 years. Whilst the female volunteers covered all of the age ranges in the questionnaire, with the largest number of individuals in the 18-28 year bracket, and the second largest and equal number of females being in the range from 39 to 58 years.

Analysing the pets currently owned by the volunteers of both sexes; domestic cats came out as surprisingly the most common companion animals, with four of the volunteers currently owning eight cats between them. Seven females owned cats, totalling twenty three individual cats with one volunteer currently owning eleven cats. Three male volunteers owned four dogs between them with one owning two dogs, against four female volunteers who owned twelve dogs between them. More of the female volunteers were multiple owners of dogs (three with four dogs each). Only one female volunteer currently owned a cat and a dog, no male volunteers owned both of these companion species. The female volunteers also currently owned companion animals within all of the brackets of the questionnaire with two volunteers currently owned no pets. The male volunteers' preference for animals seemed to be grouped around dogs and cats, with one owning a lizard and one owning a cockatiel two currently had no pets. One male volunteer owned a lizard as did one female. Slightly more females owned individuals within the bird species bracket against the one male volunteer.

Referring to my field notes when I was unable to accompany the cub training walk, I stayed behind and chatted to a volunteer who was sitting with Tala. I should explain Tala for a short while in the autumn and early winter of 2011 managed to sustain consecutive injuries; a tear wound to her chest/underarm (probably from rough play

with her siblings and falling off a platform at the same time), and later on she pulled out a claw which resulted in her toe being amputated. These injuries meant she had to be separated from her brother and sister although they were in adjoining enclosures in an attempt to maintain pack unity. When Tundra and Nuka were taken out for training, a volunteer would stay with her to keep her from being coming distressed and damaging herself further. The volunteer I spoke to informed me that '*.a lot of volunteers have cats, they are more independent a bit like wolves. Not all dog people can deal with the wolves, they want to but they treat them like dogs and it never works out right*'.

All the dogs owned by the volunteers were in the medium to large size range with one exception being a Jack Russell Terrier. Either Huskies or Husky crosses seemed to predominate or breeds from the pastoral group; Belgian Shepherds and Border collies, German Shepherds either pure bred or crosses also seemed very popular. The remaining dog breeds were a Staffordshire Bull terrier and cross breeds or Labrador sized dogs. With the exception of the terrier no small or toy breeds, one volunteer told me he '*.... did not like genetically mutated little dogs*'. On the same day there was a discussion amongst the volunteers present that the wolves probably recognised the German shepherd as a '*more like a proper dog more like then Sprout (the Jack Russell Terrier) who would just be a snack or hor d'oeuvre*', followed by laughter. On another day, Sprout the terrier was present with his owner and the juvenile arctic wolves were taking an interest in the terrier, who was introduced to the wolves. He was picked up and held up by a female volunteer, not his male owner so the terrier could see the wolves over the safety barrier and through the mesh fence.

Three of the female volunteers were vegetarians, I asked this questions as all volunteers have to be willing to prepare the wolves food which often requires cutting up rabbits or road kill deer, and handling raw meat and very smelly paunch (the unwashed intestine of a sheep). The wolves are also hand fed. No male volunteers

were vegetarians. It was common practise that if a wolf on a walk took an interest in a person's face during a meet and greet the handlers in charge of the wolf would explain that they were trying to smell a person breath, and the individuals were encouraged to breathe slowly out to allow the wolf to do so. When I explain I was a vegetarian one male handler commented '*.... oh you're boring then you don't eat a proper diet*'. I frequently noticed a definite comparison by the humans likening certain human traits or behaviours to the wolves.

Looking at past pets owned by the volunteers, males were divided equally amongst cats and dogs, while slightly more females had owned cats, repeating the current pet animal status, more females had owned a wider range of other pets. Individuals of both sexes contributed to animal welfare, animal conservation and environmental charities, with one male contributing to all three brackets of charities.

Not surprisingly the most common reason given for volunteering at the Trust for both sexes was human wolf interaction. Almost double the number of females to males put human-human interaction as a reason. Similarly more females (seven against two) put exercise as a reason, with the categories of liking learning, helping to teach others and wolf conservation all scoring more highly with female volunteers. The only category which scored highly with males was wolf conservation, with six males putting this as a reason.

Some volunteers wrote down their reasons for volunteering these included:

'Internship for school I love wolves and dogs', and 'For my school I had to do work experience in another country' and 'Love and fascination of wolves from an early age'. 'I want to experience working with carnivores'. 'All my life from a child I had the confidence to be with and handle dogs that frightened other people. I jumped at the chance to interact and handle wolves' and 'Stress relief from work'.

The favourite animals of male volunteers not including wolves seemed to mostly centre on carnivorous predator species; two stated big cats in general plus another stated tigers, one indicated sharks and two expressed a preference for raptors (birds of prey). One liked 'any wild animal' and only one male stated a herbivorous species; the lemur. Felids once again were very popular with the female volunteers four stating tigers, one cheetah and one big cats in general, with the female volunteers there seemed to be less preference for carnivorous animals, other species mentioned ranged from elephant, gorilla, 'all species except monkeys', polar bear, penguins, hedgehogs, Slow Loris, otter and deer.

The question on ranking the wolves resulted in a lot of written comments, however with the male volunteers Duma seemed to be very popular with five individuals ranking her first followed by four ranking Mai second. The ranking of wolves was much more varied with the female volunteers. Written comments from females volunteers explaining their choice of their favourite wolf included:

'Dakota (Duma's deceased sister was my favourite as she was the first wolf that I got to meet and touch. All the other wolves I love equally'

'Tala is just so affectionate and loveable I really feel a bond with the cubs due to hand feeding them. Duma is the other wolf I knew and she's just amazing. Mosi is brilliant cos I knew her from a few months old and I love how naughty she is but I've always had a good relationship with her'.

'Because you made me choose, in truth I have no favourite but I adopted Lunca before I met any of the wolves. They are all Number 1 as they ate all my favourites for different reasons'.

'Mai, I started at the UKWT when they were approx. 8 weeks old. Mai more wary and spooked by things and I always enjoyed walking her and not reacting to the things that frightened her. A good trust/respect was formed. Very often I would be placed on the lead for a calming effect if needed with other handlers when (Mai) frightened'.

'I had to babysit Tala for a while, she became my favourite'

'I have always enjoyed walking Lunca and she has a very interesting personality. She has a fantastic howl'.

'I just think Mai is a sweet heart and a very loving dear wolf. (Can't rank them anymore because I don't know them and wouldn't be fair) only have 1 favourite then they are all quite equal other than cubs a little'.

'Torak has a special personality, difficult to rank the others'.

'His (Nuka) appearance is one of the most appealing to me personally. I have also got the chance to be more interactive with him than the other wolves. He has amusing quirks and a distinct playful and boisterous personality'

'Motomo is not as dependent upon humans and is somewhat of a mystery. In a way he is the most 'wolf' like'.

Male volunteers writing about their favourites made the following comments: *'The wolves I have ranked 1 are the ones I have the strongest bond with and would miss the most'*, and *'So little difference in how I feel about them, but Duma and I have had the longest and most continuous relationship'*. Another wrote *'I have had a brilliant 10 year relationship with Duma. Whether it is just socialising with her or private walks with 1 or 2 people or the other extreme, meets and greets with 300 school children. My all-time favourite would be Kenai, she frightened some experienced handlers but if she liked you she was a lovely wolf to be with'*.

The reasons why individuals of both sexes ranked a wolf or wolves lower than others were very similar; either due to the lack of opportunity for interaction or because a wolf was afraid of a volunteer, or due to volunteer not being able to differentiate between individual wolves. This was a common reason why the Arctic pack was frequently placed low down in the ranking.

'Not knowing of being able to differentiate between wolves especially the juvenile Arctic's and therefore feeling less connection with them', and ' Arctic's purely cos I have not met them or had interaction yet, so don't know their personalities well, but I except them to move up the ranks soon!'. Fear on the part of the wolf affected the possible relationship; 'A wolf being afraid of a handler and not coming near them'. 'Tundra is afraid of me and won't come near me. You can't build a relationship with a wolf like that'. 'Not spending time with a particular wolf' (related to Motomo who is not socialised) and again 'No relationship with (Motomo) only a 'separated appreciation of his beauty and relationship with Mai, but only as an observer and no real connection emotionally'.

Analysing the Likert scale questions on human- wolf affection, the results from male volunteers indicated that their favourite wolf was one that recognised them and was affectionate to them. However some denied that this was an important factor (question 18). All indicated that being able to physically touch their favourite wolf was either very or extremely important, most of them also indicated that if they were no longer able to maintain a physical contact with their favourite wolf they would be very or extremely upset.

Surprisingly after analysis of the female volunteers questionnaires, all the questions with the exception of number 19 (importance of physically touching favourite wolf) utilised all the possible scales from 'not at all' to 'extremely'. With the females it appeared for a wolf to maintain a status of favourite, this was not dependant on that wolf showing affection to a human female. Amongst females there was indication of a similar strength of feeling around being upset if they could no longer have physical contact with their favourite wolf.

These questions showed that being able to establish a physical contact with a wolf was generally very to extremely important across both genders, however males

seemed to need the favourite wolf to recognise them and show affection, these attributes were not so important to female volunteers. One female handler who had had a break of over four years indicated that it was extremely hard leaving the wolves.

Anthropomorphism was the first trait I noticed at the Trust, on the first morning walking with the Beenham juveniles I heard, the terms of '*Auntie (volunteer name) and Mummy*' used. Such openly anthropomorphic terms were more frequently used by female volunteers; however I realised straight away when I talked to the cubs that I was raising the pitch of my voice and talking in '*motherese*' (Serpell 1996: 78). Often when I had interaction with a wolf normally Duma and on one occasion Mai (scratching her through the fence) I used terms of endearment such as '*darling*' or '*gorgeous*'. On another occasion talk in the portacabin was about the behaviour of the Beenham pack, someone said that they were like: '*Yobs, with their hoods up and their trousers half way down their bottoms*'. In an interview I was informed that the cubs are often called the '*Beenham brats*'. The juvenile wolves often provoke a call of '*cubby cubby*' by a few female volunteers to get them to approach them, although some of those interviewed did not like this overt anthropomorphism. Frequently volunteers (females) would call out a greeting to a wolf '*hello darling*', or speak about the wolves in an anthropomorphic manner referring to a wolf as '*trouble*' or another time someone referred to one of the wolves as '*sneaky*' in its behaviour. Males would often use male bonding terms '*Hiya mate*' to a wolf.

In one extreme example of anthropomorphism, the volunteers had decided which human alcoholic drink each wolf would prefer; Duma's preference was decided to be a gin and tonic whilst Mosie's would be a 'lager', this provoked laughter from both myself and the interviewee when I was told this. In another interview after a period of absence an interviewee likened Duma's howl when she saw him to a howl of welcome. From my field notes once when on a cub training walk, there was a lot of discussion on how big/handsome the Nuka male cub was, and the volunteers talked

of him thinking about his minions i.e. the human handlers. So they were elevating him to the status of pack leader over humans. Females were much more likely to call Motomo and Torak 'big *and sexy*', I never heard of a male volunteer calling a female wolf sexy, but several commented on looks and temperament together '*Mai, she is the most beautiful and sweetest wolf at the trust*'. Males tended to discuss their favourite wolf more frequently as a '*teacher*', which would seem to indicate an element of respect for the non-human species.

Following on from the perception of a wolf as teacher, from my field notes one volunteer admitted to a special connection with the wolves, a spiritual connection, on questioning them they felt a 'deeper' connection to the wolves than they perceived in other volunteers, I was told '*only about one out of every ten volunteers would understand what I'm talking about. One interviewee told me 'I feel attuned to them*'. Sometimes this connection was with wolves in general and in one instance it was with one particular wolf now deceased. However it was evident that not all volunteers were happy with this type of connection to the wolves. This was an area that due to my limited time in becoming fully integrated I was not able to investigate further, but it was evident that wolves can be attractive to humans on many different levels.

The Arctic juveniles, as their enclosure was directly opposite the portacabin had a lot of random human interaction through the fence and quarantine tapes, this well may have been the reason for them being positioned there. On all but the coldest and wettest days the portacabin door would be open, volunteers would move in and out from the cabin making drinks, smoking outside and moving to the Arctic enclosure talking to them. As mentioned before, only a limited number of volunteers could interact with the quarantined Arctic's. On one occasion a volunteer was sitting the platform cuddling one of the cubs, another cub came up and caused the cub being cuddled to move away. The female volunteer spoke to the Arctic cub which broken up the moment chastising it with, '*.....having a nice cuddle and you ruined it*'

From my interviews and field notes the general consensus was that males tended to *'be more macho, more hands on, a bit rougher and rougher play winds the wolves up'*, this was from a male volunteer. A female commented *'some males can be a bit more heavy handed more likely to shove them around. Some can be a bit overconfident. The best male handler's won't do that; females tend not to do that'*. Conversely another male volunteer commented that some females *'almost fawn over the'*. This was endorsed by some females who noted *'females want to mother them'* and *'more inclined to be cuddly and huggy'*. On a training walk a male volunteer told me *'females tend to be more nurturing around them'*. However I did notice in interviewing female volunteers of handler status and above, whilst the affection was still there and the word *'love'* was often expressed, they were more aware of the potential problems with interacting with the wolves, and there was a strong realisation that the wolves needed specific and at times firm handling. In conversations it appeared that wolves and humans of the same gender could have more problems; for example Torak did not like tall men around him, and Mosi had made outright challenges to three female volunteers which included the one I was involved with.

Chapter 5 Discussion

Multispecies ethnography unlike anthropomorphism does not place human traits on the nonhuman species being studied, but by allowing them to become the anthropologists studying their human carers (Kirksey & Helmreich 2010: 552) anthropocentric barriers are broken down. This branch of research, in my opinion gives the animals their own theoretical voice of power. I found this to be the case at the Wolf Trust with the very strong personal relationships which developed between the wolves and the volunteers, however unlike domestic companion animals these were relationships were at the discretion of the wolves themselves and could never be imposed upon them by humans. The human animal relationship had moved from one of anthropocentrism (Daston & Mitman 2001) to lupinecentrism, with the wolves holding the power. I noticed in the interviews the phrases '*they accept us*' or '*they tolerate us*' frequently appearing, which would indicate that the volunteers are aware of this shift in control. One male interviewee likened the wolf human relationship to the '*shark and little fish that clean their teeth. We're the little fish*'. If a wolf showed a positive dislike to a volunteer, that relationship would be terminated for safety reasons, the wolf's view point would be the deciding factor. This was illustrated by the European wolf pack when Lunca's siblings were alive, the pack were not walked as they made it very obvious that they did not want such close human interaction.

Interviewee's who were handlers, often mentioned wolves challenging or testing volunteers behaviourally in the context of the off lead interaction within the enclosures. In this human socialised wild canine relationship, the wolf has not lost his/her voice unlike our domestic canine companions, and in this context the 'voice of power' is not considered transgressive (Marvin 2006: 17) as it might be in a domestic companion dog, which tried to impose (aggressively) it's power over a guardian or owner. The wolves are free to decide who will be allowed into the extended pack circle within their enclosure which is their own free territory by testing and challenging the volunteers in a very similar fashion they might other wolves. One interviewee stated '*they are always playing games with us I mean mind games*'.

Wolves who find weaknesses either in human mental confidence or physical attributes will have succeeded in removing those volunteers from their enclosure. However the space outside of the enclosures could be considered liminal from the wolves' point of view, as this is an area which they were only allowed access to on their chain collars and leads and under human control. In this out of enclosure area, it appears that they had partially lost their control, and their voice had been muted. Mosi for example made it quite clear by her behaviour and body language that she definitely did not really want me in her territory, but outside of her enclosure her voice was ignored or only partially heard (see figure 3). One interviewee told me '*...we go in there (the enclosure) but the line is more blurred.....on the lead it's like they think yeah whatever you want*', referring to the concept of the wolf being in control in their own enclosure

Tactile communication is important within a wolf pack (Dutcher & Dutcher 2003: 214) and the wolf volunteer interaction within the enclosures allows this to develop (see figures 5 to 10). Donna Haraway (2008), states that the reciprocal act of being touched allows identities and affinities to emerge. In one instance when an interviewee advised another volunteer to give a wolf confidence by nudging it with her knee, just as another member of the pack would brush past her to reassure her. It worked, and in this case the interviewee had made the transition from thinking like a human to thinking like a wolf. The act of knowing and being (Hayward 2010: 581) is evidenced by the human wolf interaction within the enclosures, from my observations wolves are quite literally all over the volunteers and the humans can only be there on the wolves terms so any part of their body will be vigorously licked, knocked into and investigated. Volunteers touch the wolves but at the same time as both species are getting to know the other, the humans must retain a '*respect for them, never be off your guard*'. One female interviewee said '*But they do know we are different like I said earlier they don't rough house with us to like they do with each other. They don't grab us like they grab each other*'. This would seem to indicate that the wolves have a sense of self identity and are aware that humans somehow lack attributes that they possess and therefore must be treated differently; the wolves

themselves have become participant observers to understand the volunteers in their own territory of the enclosure.

The reasons given by the interviewees to explain their attraction to the wolves at the Trust seemed to be able to be divided into four main themes; firstly wolves as ancestors of dogs and their general attractiveness, secondly the social behaviour and structure exhibited by wolves, thirdly wolves as representatives of persecution and intolerance and humans destruction of the wild, and finally an elusive sometimes spiritual fascination. Taking the first theme one interviewee stated that '*wolves are like the raw side of dogs*' another '*...wolves are a purer form of dog*', both of these comments came from male volunteers who had as an opening answer stated they were fond of dogs. Wolves as ancestors of our domestic canine companions, have a morphology that we are familiar with and readily accept, accept in fact to the extent that we can treat that particular morphology as kin within our homes (Serpell 1996: 79). Datson & Mitman (2005: 11) state that phylogeny may be one reason some animals are chosen over others as the recipients of anthropomorphism. Kay Milton (2002: 50) explains that the intersubjectivity experienced by human interaction can be easily transferred to non-human animals we commonly associate with. I would like to extend this further to include intersubjectivity of a recognised nonhuman body shape. The link between wolf form and correct dog form was evident when the German Shepherd dog was termed '*a proper dog*', by the volunteers'. This demonstrates that the volunteers consider that wolf morphology is correct.

'I like their behaviour especially their family behaviour the way they look after one another'; 'Wolves to me symbolise a loving family unit'; '...I like the pack the loyalty, the values that they have which are exhibited in a pack'. Research on wild wolves now clearly states that in the wild they co-operate with one another as a close family group (Mech 1999; Lopez 2004: 37), the positive qualities that the wolves exhibit including sharing of food, caring for each other, pair bonding (Neeley 2011: 435) group rituals (greeting) and extended family relationships (Fritts *et al* 2006: 291) are

qualities that have been admired and shared in common by humans for thousands of years. Modern western society has resulted in ontological insecurity (Franklin 2008: 56) with family ties and personal relationships becoming more fragmented and belief structures being eroded. It is little wonder that within modern society that the admiration of qualities which our recent ancestors held in high esteem, should evoke such admiration when they are frequently observed within a non-human species.

In discussion I found out that a lot of the volunteers at the Trust have travelled world wide to visit and study at other wolf sanctuaries or work with wolves in the wild. Lynn (2010: 82) talks of wolves being highly symbolic animals in modern society, representing all endangered animal species or wild landscapes that need protecting or exterminating. In rural areas of North West America wolves are once again being seen as the 'metaphor of encroachment' (Lindquist 2000). From observing both wolves and volunteers at the Trust in the course of my research I noticed strong similarities within the two species and the two cultures, which made the early symbiotic relationship between them very easy to understand. These included hierarchical group (pack) relationships, overt challenging behaviour (physically in the case of the wolves) and mentally (politically) in the case of the humans, the setting of boundaries' physically in the case of the wolves and with some of the volunteers emotional boundaries were erected, so I was the 'outsider'.

Wolves are marmite animals you love 'em or hate 'em', this marvellous statement expressed by a volunteer sums up the attitudes wolves evoke in humans perfectly. In mainland Britain there have been no wild wolves for over four hundred years, and our British culture has evolved so they are no longer seen as physical threats except in the realm of entertainment (Lopez 2004; Marvin 2012: 58). Gary Marvin (2012: 142) calls wolves the symbol of holistic benefits of 'the wild and the wilderness', linking the recent re-evaluation of the wolf in their ecological niche to a re-evaluation of them in modern culture. Most of the volunteers interviewed expressed a positive interest in working either full or part time with wild wolves. Conservation of all wolves is one of the main aims of the Trust, the reason behind the public 'meet and greet' sessions

and the stump talks, which are all attempts to dispel the negative assumptions around wolves. *'We always say at the Trust that the Ambassador wolves are helping their cousins in the wild'*.

The questionnaires revealed that many volunteers subscribed to both animal and environmental conservation charities, Wolf Print the Trust's magazine, regularly runs articles on different aspects of wolf conservation, and during my research period a conservation conference was held with international speakers. Also during the time of my research the BBC wildlife series 'Frozen Planet' was being shown, there were regular discussions over coffee around the actions and fates of the wild wolves shown on the programme, with genuine distress expressed by volunteers of both genders regarding a sequence showing two wolves who would starve to death if they were not successful in achieving a kill.

As I worked alongside the Trusts' volunteers, I became aware of a growing self-impression that the socialised wolves represented firstly themselves as individuals, and secondly all wolves, in fact they merged into one generic worldwide wolf, which illustrates Carrither's, Bracken and Emery's (2011), 'tropology' or rhetoric culture theory. This is when the animal species are not considered as individuals but as a means to an end to activate the public to act in a moral way.

'Only one out of every ten volunteers' would understand the spiritual side', I was told by one volunteer. Although it was never openly discussed in general conversation it was evident that some volunteers considered the wolves as spiritual in some way. One volunteer told me that a certain wolf was a *'healer, he really helped me get over a bad time'*. One interviewee spoke of *'being attuned with the wolves'*. It was evident from listening to what was said in conversations' in the portacabin that the spiritual side was something many volunteers' were wary of. An interviewee told me, *'the volunteers' that come in and think they have a spiritual connection or kinship with the*

wolves, they're the ones to watch cos they may be good to start with then they become complacent, they think they are in tune with the animals'. Two volunteers' who spoke of a 'deep almost spiritual attraction' were in fact highly competent handlers. Another interviewee told me about her first sight of one of the wolves, 'I saw Torak and all the hairs on the back of my neck went up'. Troy Bennett (16th October 2011) mentioned a 'heart stopping almost primeval attraction it goes beyond words', when he first came eye to eye with a wild wolf in the French Alps. It is evident that some volunteers' think they have or find a deep spiritual connection with the wolves, however those wishing to become successful handlers must never forget that they are routinely dealing with a creature of considerable strength. One interviewee told me 'I would never go into an enclosure by myself even with just one wolf that I knew. On a one to one you wouldn't stand a chance'.

All volunteers who either answered my questionnaire or I interviewed, expressed attachment to either a few favourite individual wolves at the Trust or all of the wolves there. The Wolf Trust is fairly unique, in enabling human volunteers who are not employed as animal carers to have close interaction with and handle an animal species which is a potentially violent carnivorous predator. Most zoological collections do not allow such 'hands on' interaction between keepers and their charges. Of course the physical interaction can only occur if the wolves are socialised to accept humans, which requires that they be hand-raised (Packard 2006: 47; Dutcher & Dutcher: 271). Hosey's (2008) work on relationships between zoo animals and their keepers indicates that all of the wolves at the Trust with the exception of Motomo, the un-socialised male, would score a positive HAR (human animal relationship), as they show a low fear of humans and varying degrees of confidence around them. Motomo since his arrival at the Trust has increased in confidence, 'I can go to the fence and call him and he come over within a couple feet of the fence', and 'there was a picnic table by his enclosure and I often sat there and he would come up quite close..', these two comments from female interviewees indicate that he has moved from a negative HAR with a high fear of humans and avoidance of contact to a neutral HAR, displaying a low fear of humans but avoiding contact (Hosey 2008: 107).

The positive HAR scores can be related to the positive interactions the wolves experience with volunteers such as hand feeding, petting (Boivin, Lensink, Tallet & Veissier 2003), being talked to (Hosey 2008: 109) and being taken for walks, '*It is interesting for them (wolves) to get out and explore their territory and the public are just part of that*'. Hosey (2008: 109) suggests that animals in zoos' have a different, and probably generalised, relationship with the visiting public', than the relationship they have with their keepers. This is collaborated by comments from the interviewed volunteers who indicated that some wolves '*like meeting new people*', whilst others are less happy, '*Oh my god new people*', about interacting with the public. However whether wolves show exactly the same attachment to humans as domesticated dogs is under debate as research in Hungary (Topál, Gácsi, Miklōsi, Virányi, Kubinyi & Csányi 2005) indicate that socialised wolf cubs did not show the specific patterns of attachment to known humans that were established in similar aged domestic puppies.

Anthropomorphism – attributing human mental states to non-humans (Serpell 2003: 83) or human characteristic to describe or explain a non-human animal (Horowitz & Bekoff 2007) has been widely recorded in human companion animal social interaction (Serpell 2003; Herzog 2010; Horowitz & Bekoff 2007). One explanation for the anthropomorphism of companion animals is that owners perceive their companion animals as humans (Bonas, McNicholas & Collis 2005: 211) and utilise the same 'theory of mind' (Herzog 2010: 62) or reflexive consciousness (Serpell 2003: 84). These evolved as a method of understanding what others of the same species were thinking or doing, and have transferred these psychological processes (Mithen 1996) to explain the behaviour of a non-human.

Horowitz and Bekoff (2007) discovered that certain patterns of social interaction during companion dog and human play: include directed responses, indications of intent, mutual behaviours and contingent activity resulted in humans' anthropomorphising their canine playmates. Wolves will play in a similar fashion to domestic dogs, however it is evident from the interviews that wolf human play can

sometimes escalate very quickly' *...it winds them up and they become excited*', and *'... we had to distract them to get the bucket back. You know we had to go as a group to get it, cos they think, I want it I'll take it'*. In the process of domestication canines have become efficient in interpreting and producing behavioural signals which are conspicuous to humans (Miklósi, Topál & Csányi 2004); I would hypothesis that wolves are not so efficient or lacking in these skills of interpretation. One interview was carried out with the interviewee's German Shepherd dog sitting on the sofa between us, both the interviewee and myself periodically spoke to the dog. When a wolf has such similar morphology to some companion dog breeds it is easy to see exactly why volunteers will anthropomorphise a socialised wild animal.

To produce a socialised wolf, it must be hand reared (Packard 2006: 47; Dutcher & Dutcher: 271), the neotenic features (Datsin & Mitman 2005: 11) of a young wolf cub are so similar to that of a domestic dog releases humans innate parental instincts - the cute response (Serpell 2003:87). Oxytocin released in humans during positive interaction with either a cub or an adult wolf will seal the animal human bond (Olmert 2009). I noticed that there were some differences in the genders and how they reacted to the wolves: *'females want to mother them'* and *'More inclined to be cuddly and huggy'*, and *'females tend to be more nurturing around them'*. Nuka who can be seen in (figures 7 & 8) climbed onto human laps or had to be rescued from tables when he lacked confidence, and in both cases the human he turned to was a young female, although it may have been due to only one gender being present at the time. This puppy/childlike behaviour enhanced the anthropomorphism of the cubs; *'Tala Tala silly girl* (in a high pitched voice) or *'cubby cubby comes here'*.

Successful volunteers whilst realising that anthropomorphising of the wolves will take place are more concerned with the reasons behind it, *'And you don't do it because you are afraid'*. *'I'll say to a trainee volunteer it's dangerous to behave like that to a wolf, you shouldn't do it, just watch their behaviour'* and *'If you make your voice all screamy and excitable it just winds them up'*. High ranking volunteers whilst they may anthropomorphise whilst handling the wolves would never revert to *'motherese'*

(Serpell 1996), their voices remained at the same tone and pitch which they had been using amongst their human colleagues. *'Well I talk to them like I would to a human adult, I would just say good girl if I was on a walk with a wolf, never make it baby talk..... You have to respect the wolves even in your voice'*. Volunteers realise that whilst a human voice can give a wolf confidence and reassurance the actual words are meaningless, *'When we say sweetie and Auntie it's just gibberish a comforting noise to them'*.

Descriptive anthropomorphism such as interpreting a wolf's howl as a howl of welcome, or describing the cubs as the *'Beenham Brats'* or calling a wolf *'sexy'* or *'handsome'* or *'naughty'* would seem to do little harm, and may be a passive release of anthropomorphic tendencies in some human individuals. However excessive anthropomorphism of the wolves could lead to less experienced volunteers forgetting that they are dealing with a *'untamed and untrained'* animal, as the vast majority of modern human-animal interaction is with domesticated companion species (Bonas, McNicholas & Collis 2005).

With all anthropological interaction with different cultures, respect for those being studied is uppermost in the ethnographers mind; therefore within the wolves' enclosures when they are participant observer's to the volunteers that they allow into their territory, they should be afforded the respect of being spoken to as human adult. All trainee volunteers should be encouraged to think like a wolf not like a human. Wolves and humans would then share a cultural unity.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

In modern Britain, where wild wolves have long since ceased to be a threat to humankind, a proportion of the animal loving population, which includes individuals who volunteer at the UK Wolf Trust, have attitudes towards wolves which mirror those of the indigenous populations of North America and Canada. Wolves are admired for their strength and power, loyalty as a pack member, superior parenting skills, spiritual guide and a paragon of the endangered wilderness, (Lynn 2010: 82).

Within the confines of the socialised wolves' enclosures, the power has shifted from anthropocentric to lupinecentric; this transition of power ownership is accepted by the volunteers, who understand that to be accepted into an extended pack circle, requires the wolves to give humans permission to be there. Whilst the wolves may challenge and test the humans in a similar way to other lupine pack members, it appears that they are aware at the same time that humans are not wolves. The wolves have completed a metamorphosis into participant observers of the Trusts' volunteers. Successful volunteers' refrain from treating the wolves like domestic dogs, but maintain a respectful awareness of the wolves superior power, strength and excitability. The most successful handlers due to intensive studying of lupine behaviour, have developed the ability to partially think and respond like a wolf. Wolves and humans have developed a cultural unity. Outside of the enclosures when the wolves are wearing the insignia of human control and domination: the collar and lead, the power has moved back slightly in favour of the humans. However the wolves have not entirely lost their power and may still make their emotions and desires known.

Physical interaction with the wolves was the primary attraction for volunteers, the physical reciprocal acts of touching; stroking, kissing (human) and licking (wolf) strengthen the physical and psychological bonds of attachment on the part of the human. All of the socialised wolves at the trust have been hand reared, which could

result in the human volunteers' especially females, reacting to them in a similar way as they may to a human infant. The physiological release of oxytocin is responsible for social bonding, and has a calming effect on the body's neurological and cardiac systems. The fact of becoming attached to the young cubs and the physical appearance of the wolves, which closely resembles some breeds of domestic dogs, may result in anthropomorphic tendencies arising within the volunteer population.

Anthropomorphism of the wolves' behaviours, may seem a first to be an innocent diversion, however anthropomorphism is commonly expressed in relation to companion animals. The danger lies in inexperienced volunteers' starting to treat the wolves either as 'special' domestic dogs or attempting to explain their behaviour in anthropomorphic terms. Whilst in the enclosures with free wolves, volunteers should try to prevent themselves referring to the wolves in anthropomorphic ways. Certainly wolves should not be spoken to as if they were human children, as the tone of speech may cause an escalation in excitement, and prevent less experienced volunteers developing their knowledge of 'wolf culture'. Descriptive anthropomorphism outside of the enclosures and away from human wolf interaction may act as a release mechanism.

It would be interesting to extend this study of human and socialised wolf relationships to include other wolf charities within the United Kingdom; for example The Anglian Wolf Society to see if similar emotional trends are present in the human volunteers. A more extended period as a participant observer would have enabled some aspects which came to light, such as the spiritual aspect of wolves to be investigated more closely. Wolves whether loathed or loved by humankind, deserve further anthrozoological investigation; firstly as the ancestor of our companion dogs, and secondly as one of the most persecuted non-human species to share the earth with human kind.

WORD COUNT 19,973

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APPENDIX 1

HUMAN- WOLF INTERACTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you in advance for completing this questionnaire. The object of this study for my MA Anthrozoology dissertation is to research the relationship/s between socialised wolves and the humans they interact regularly with. Very little if any research has been carried out on this topic, so your help is all the more valuable. All completed responses will remain confidential and will be anonymous in my dissertation write up. On completion of the written dissertation, all the questionnaires will be destroyed. If you would be willing to be interviewed further on your relationship with the wolves at the Wolf Trust and to have this interview recorded, please contact me at bridget.williams@wiltshire.ac.uk so a mutually suitable time/place can be arranged. The interviews will again be anonymous in the write up and after completion of my dissertation the tapes will be destroyed.

Please tick the appropriate boxes

Q1 Are you Male Female

Q2. How long have you been actively involved as a volunteer/handler at the Wolf Trust?

Q3. Which of the following titles of handler/volunteer describes your current level?

Senior Handler

Deputy Senior Handler

Assistant Senior Handler

Handler

Assistant Handler

Trainee Handler

Volunteer

Q4. If you currently training towards a higher level please name the level you are training towards.

Q.5. Your age is between:

18-28 years

29-38 years

39-48 years

49 – 58 years

59 + years

Q 6. Please indicate the pets you currently own by placing a tick beside the species on the list below and putting the number of that species you own next to the tick.

Cat/s _____

Dog/s _____

Rabbit/s _____

Guinea Pigs _____

Rat/s _____

Hamster/Mice/Gerbils (Please circle the species kept) _____

Parrot/s _____

Budgerigar/s or Cockatiels (please circle the species kept) _____

Canary or Finches (Please circle the species kept) _____

Tortoise or Turtle (Please circle the species kept) _____

Snake/s _____

Lizard/s _____

Amphibians _____

FishHorse or Donkey (Please circle the species kept) _____

Other (please write species name) _____

Q7. If you have ticked either cat/s or dog/s can you please indicate the breed/s or if your pet is a cross breed and a dog please put an approximate size next to it i.e. collie size or small terrier size etc.

Q8. If you **do not currently** own any pets but have in the past please indicate the species you have owned by placing a tick beside the appropriate species on the list below.

Cat/s _____

Dog/s _____

Rabbit/s _____

Guinea Pig?/s _____

Rat/s _____

Hamster/Mice/Gerbils(Please circle the species kept) _____

Parrot/s _____

Budgerigar/s or Cockatiels (please circle the species kept) _____

Canary or Finches (Please circle the species kept) _____

Tortoise or Turtle (Please circle the species kept) _____

Snake/s _____

Lizard/s _____

Amphibians _____

Fish _____

Horse or Donkey (Please circle the species kept) _____

Other (please write species name) _____

Q9. Do you currently subscribe/donate to any of the following types of charities?:

Animal Welfare Charities i.e. R.S.P.C.A or Dogs Trust

Animal Conservation Charity i.e. R.S.P.B

Environmental Charity i.e. The Woodland Trust

Q10. Are you currently a vegetarian? Please circle appropriate answer **YES** **NO**

Q11. Which of the following reasons best describes your reasons for volunteering at the trust?

Please tick as many boxes as you wish if these describe your reasons?

Human-wolf interaction

Human-human interaction (Like being part of a group)

Exercise (walking/working outside in pleasant surroundings)

Educational (I like learning)

Educational (I like to help teach people about wolves/conservation)

Conservation (I want to help with conserving wolves in other countries)

Other reason (Please briefly write why in the box below)

Q12. Please give the name of your **favourite wild animal species** (other than the wolf) below.

Q13. The next question relates to your relationship/attachment with the wolves. Please rank the wolves listed below with **1** being your **most favourite wolf** and **12** being your **least favourite wolf**. The wolves have been placed in alphabetical order.

IF you feel you cannot rank them please write this below.

Duma_____

Lunca_____

Mai_____

Massak_____

Mosi_____

Motomo_____

Nuka_____

Pukak_____

Sikko_____

Tala_____

Torak_____

Tundra_____

Q14. Please briefly explain why you have chosen a particular wolf to be ranked number 1 (the most favourite).

Q15. Please briefly explain why you have chosen a particular wolf to be ranked number 12 (least favourite).

Please answer the following questions which relate to your relationship with your number 1 ranked wolf on the following 5 point scale, by placing a tick in the appropriate box.

1- Not at all, 2- Slightly, 3- Moderately, 4- Very, 5- Extremely

	1 Not at all	2 Slightly	3 Moderately	4 Very	5 Extremely
Q16. How important is it to you that your favourite wolf shows signs of recognition when he/she sees you?					
Q17. How affectionate is this Wolf to you?					
Q18. How important is it to you that your favourite wolf shows affection to you?					

Q19. How important is it to you that you can physically touch your favourite wolf?					
Q20. How upset would you feel if you were no longer allowed to have physical contact with your favourite wolf?					

If you are willing to be interviewed further about your relationship with the wolves at the trust please write your name below

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please place it in the labelled sealed box in the Portacabin,

If you would be willing to be interviewed please contact me at

bridget.williams@wiltshire.ac.uk

or

01249 464485

So a suitable time/place can be arranged.

Thank you

Bridget Williams

APPENDIX 2

Transcription of Interviews

Interview 1: Face to face Work experience student V*****

Q. Do you have pets?

A. Don't have pets and never have had a pet

Q. What is your favourite animal?

A. Wild wolves

Q. Why do you like wolves?

A. Because I imagine them as elusive animals which we don't see any more, whilst have domesticated them into dogs we don't know all about them.

Q. Do you think there is a difference in a dog and wolfs behaviour?

A. If we are talking about socialised wolves we know about their behaviour, I believe the wild wolves have very subtle behaviours like picking up certain smells.

Q. Which is your favourite animal wolf and why?

A. Motomo I liked him because he couldn't be handled I felt he was a truer wolf. There was a picnic table by his enclosure and I often sat there and would come up quite close and it meant more to me because he so rarely wanted to be near people, he was more of a mystery.

Q. You have given me a picture of you cuddling Nuka, what did you feel like when you were cuddling him?

A. It was his choice to come and sit and have a cuddle, he didn't know the other people in the room at the time. When it's their choice I felt quite privileged I felt he trusted me.

Q. How did you feel when you were touching him, I would normally ask a pet owner to compare this to when they are cuddling their pet?

A. I have never had a pet I'm not very tactile. I don't need to stroke or pat or physically feel an animal to feel part of its life. I can care for them by giving them good care and getting to know them is enough for me.

Q. How long were you volunteering at the trust?

A. Two weeks for work experience I want to become a zoo keeper with big carnivores I thought it would be useful experience.

Q. How do you think the wolves react to the public at the trust?

A. I think they put up with it I wasn't there at weekends when they do most of the public walks so I only saw one. From the wolves point of view, even if it is on their terms I think they stand it they tolerate it. Mai had her babies taken away at ten days old, she was distraught I can give you an example of how she was distraught, so distraught she wouldn't even greet a really well known handler and this handler said to the visitors 'she'll come and greet me' and she didn't. She was much more concerned with her cubs they were in the holding pen next to Mai's enclosure. Mai stayed as close as possible to her babies close up against the wire. Tundra had a broken leg because Tsa went to feed them one night and stood on her leg; she was a week without a cast then had a cast on for one week.

Q. How do you feel the volunteers dealt with the cubs?

A. I think they (the cubs) needed to know the boundaries more; the cubs would come in and nip at their noses

Q. How did you as a work experience get on with the handlers?

A. The volunteers use their status as a source of power over the work experience. They often try to assert their power. The work experience volunteers are seen as the lowest, we were always given the menial tasks even though we are supposed to be the same as the volunteer; volunteers would always take command trying to place themselves higher. They (the trust) differentiate too much work experience wear green but volunteers wear black. So you can be identified straight away. Although I am quite young I have done a lot of keeper volunteering. Clive is quite relaxed about the duties work experience spent about 1 hour a day on animal husbandry and the rest on cutting down nettles etc. I have volunteered for a long time at the Living Rainforest and there is no obvious hierarchy there. And at London Zoo there the paid keepers look down on the volunteers. Volunteers at the UKWT nearly always have an air of authority when they step onto the place; I think it comes from them thinking they have a better relationship with the wolves. There are some very strong characters. From my previous experience I knew work experience wouldn't be respected due to the number of people who cuddle the wolves. If they think something is right nothing will change

their minds. There is often a battle of wills between people Tsa and Angela, Clive and Pat.

Q. What do you think about the Arctic's?

A. Arctic's are more like dogs; the Arctic's had a dog surrogate mum so they are much more submissive. Puka is the dominant male he wouldn't have a collar on. Pat had to trick him into having it on. I have seen them trying to walk a wolf and it wouldn't not even in the enclosure.

Q. What sort of person do you think wants to become a wolf handler?

A. I think in the pub and at a social engagement they can say I'm a wolf handler and it will trump other people. You can see it in the way they walk in with authority they see themselves as part of the wolves' life. They think the wolf is dependent on them for its happiness. I think they are generally very strong confident and sometimes very lonely people. You have to know the right people there, as a work experience person Angela didn't even acknowledge us. Talking about wild wolves I have only seen wild wolf behaviour on telly, but they are generally in bigger packs. I think the trust changes their behaviour by keeping them in pairs. Would a larger pack be as socialised as their social interaction would be fulfilled by other wolves? I think they (volunteers) force the human wolf interaction. With the three Arctic's they would give females nips, when people come into their enclosures the wolves can't run away from them. People have such a strong emotional attachment they would rather break up a pack than see fighting.

Q. From what you saw do you think the volunteers are attached to the wolves?

A. They believe they are strongly attached and they believe that if a wolf had a choice the wolf would want to be with them

Q. What do you think about the method of feeding the wolves?

A. Well its entirely unnatural isn't it, it's another way the humans are imposing themselves on the wolves. I know why it's done because of maintaining the bond but its taking away an enrichment they would love to have a large lump of meat and fight over it, but it's not something the volunteers want to see. Really think having the socialised wolves is feeding a human need. The volunteers like hands on interaction it a requirement for them but not for the wolf.

Interview 2: Face to Face. Male Handler Grade M*** Handler (has German Shepard which frequently accompanies him to the trust)**

Q. Why do you like wolves Matt?

A. I like all canines, I like domestic dogs and wolves are like the raw side of dogs. They look appealing and I feel sorry for them they have always been persecuted. I like their behaviour especially their family behaviour the way they look after one another.

Q. Do you have a favourite wolf?

A. I don't have a real favourite as they are all such different personalities and they are all individuals.

Q. You have a dog, if you compare the stroking of your dog to the physical interaction you have with a wolf how important is that to you.

A. I love the tactile human wolf relationship it's very important to touch them and see that they are affectionate in return. Means more than a human dog thing, it's a deeper more powerful affection, it's a measure of trust, and wolves are not conditioned to need you they choose to come to you. I feel it's a real honour to be able to interact with the trusts wolves.

Q. If you had the chance to work with wild wolves would you take it up? How important is the human wolf interaction to you?

A. I may do a few months it would be interesting to see wild wolves and know I was helping in their conservation, but I would definitely miss the physical contact aspect of socialised wolves. I took five to six months off and I missed the wolves, not the people at the trust, the attraction to me is all about the wolves and the contact we can have with them.

Q. Which bit of human wolf interaction do you like the most?

A. I like that the wolves are friendly but I also like the fact they are submissive to use. I really like the affection. It's very important for me to touch the wolf and the wolf to respond in a positive manner.

Q. How important is it that you educate the public?

A. I would be quite happy not to have to have the public here, but it is nice at time to be able to introduce people to the wolves and dispel any doubts they have about them.

Q. You have spoken to me about how they train the wolves differently at Wolf Park in America?

A. *Yeah that's right they clicker train them with food, you have to be very persistent and consistent if you are going to successfully clicker train.*

Q. You have mentioned that Mosi is an Agent Provocateur can you explain more what you mean by that?

A. *Yes Klinghammer started Wolf Park he's died recently, a Agent Provocateur is always a female wolf, Mosi likes to do it if you are interacting with her mate, by interacting with you she can raise the excitement level within the pack. She not aggressive but bites your clothing and rump butts Torak.*

Q. Why does she do that?

A. *Well she's an alpha female and if she wanted to get a lower ranking wolf into trouble. I think Mosi does it to stir things up; she'll gain from any trouble caused by getting people kicked out of the pack. Wolves are not always friendly they are always playing games with us I mean mind games.*

Q. How do you think the wolves see the volunteers'?

A. *That's a tough one, (pause) they tolerate accept us friendly but a healthy power thing going on. They won't (ummm)fight but you do see testing games being played out of the volunteers. They know we are not wolves, so it's a strange relationship. We're not part of the pack we don't go in their hierarchy, I know I am not alpha to Torak. I think the relationship is more like the one with the shark and the little fish that clean their teeth. We're the little fish (laughs).*

Me. This is fantastic Matt can you go on.

A. *Wolves put up with it in many respects, they must like it you can see that with their wagging tails. They just know we are not part of the pack.*

B.

Q. What do you think they think of the public?

A. *Well for example Tundra doesn't like them; I think they see the public as extensions of the volunteers they are not friendly with. The volunteers are all part of being part of the wolf pack. With wolf rules, if they are not part of the pack in the wild they would be seen. I think they can distinguish clearly between pack, human volunteers and the public.*

Q. What about the wolf volunteers relations what about interacting with the wolves?

A. Some people take it lightly; they are interacting with the wolves but not paying enough attention. It's easy to become complacent, some volunteers become very complacent.

Q. What about anthropomorphising the wolves do you think that is bad?

A. I'm not too worried about anthropomorphising a wolf if it's done correctly and you don't do it because you are afraid. If a wolf is feeling fearful it's a good thing to try and talk to them. Wolves don't make friends. A wolf pack in captivity is not a friend thing it's a relationship of hierarchy. How they treat you as a volunteer depends on what is happening in the pack at that time. If people are not interacting with them in the right manner, that's when trouble happens. You can't take any of them for granted.

Q. I have heard volunteers talk about being 'bounced' what's that? The Beenham pack were bouncing up at everyone the other week when you were all in their enclosure.

A. If a wolf jumps up and you turn away its seen as a weakness, same as stepping back, anything fearful is seen as a weakness. You have to be confident, if they keep on jumping up you have to make it uncomfortable for them. Either grabs hold of the fur round their neck and lift and stretch them so that's uncomfortable or push down and hold down. If they are mouthing too much the best way is to stick a finger down their throats and that stops it. All the time wolves are looking for a weakness so they can take advantage of it. It's natural wolf behaviour looking for a way to improve their ranking especially the lower ranking wolves. I see that in Tala although she is lower ranking at the moment she will be alpha wolf eventually. Being bounced is when a wolf starts to jump up at you and then keeps on doing it getting more and more in your face it will quickly escalate into growling and snapping. You have to push it down.

Q. Do you think there is a difference in how the female and male handlers inter-act with the wolves?

A. Yes males are more macho more hands on a bit rougher and rough play winds the wolves up.

Q. I've seen some male handlers with the Arctic's with the hose and they were splashing them with water?

A. Yeah that's right and it winds them up and they become excited, I don't think it's always fair on the wolves. A female would just toss a stick in the pond for them.

Q. What does being a wolf handler mean to you?

A. I take pride in being a handler, there is a certain kudos to it, well kudos to me other people don't give a damn, not a damn.

Q. How do you think the wolves see the handlers?

A. Each wolf is an individual with a different rank and looks at us in a different way, handlers are different from wolf ranking and they key into this. Puka for instance he's not alpha not comfort being touched but submissive at the moment. Looks shifty when told off he doesn't respond well more of a clown. Massak more relaxed. Wolves don't like certain personalities, volunteers that are wishy washy or not quite with it enough to deal with problems and things that are going on. You have gauge how the wolves are going to react they can pick up on any problem physical or mental. Wolves are very spooked by some personalities, when we use to take them for walk in the woods Torak would either step away from or launch into (NAMES A VOLOUNTEER).

Interview 3: Phone interview N*** Female Volunteer Handler Grade**

Q. Why do you like wolves Nikki?

A. Oh that's a toughie. Well I use to have a dog, oh I honestly don't know, I have not really thought about it or them. I like all animals you know I was brought up in New Zealand and my uncle had a sheep farm so I was used to working with animals. I always wanted to work with exotic; you know what I mean by exotic non-domesticated animals? I came over to UK to working 2009 on an animal magazine for the BBC and we did a feature on the UKWT, I thought it looked interesting and looked it up and booked up for a members walk. It was when we use to walk over in the woods. And we were in the line-up and we were having the safety talk you know the routine, Angela was there (laughs). And I heard a rattling of the chain as the wolves came out of the trailer and I looked over and saw Torak and all the hairs went up on the back of my neck. Oh my god it was just absolutely amazing I had not had that reaction to any animal before. I chatted with Heather on the walk she was already a volunteer then. When I did the meet and greet with Torak he licked my face and you know he doesn't react like that very often

Q. How old was he then?

A. Nearly 2 then. Thought it was really cool. Angela said later she knew I'd make a good handler cos I never flinched when moved towards my face. You know I never thought to wolves as being big bad wolf, or anything like that. You know it really provoked a reaction in me meeting him.

Q. You have had a dog; if you compare the stroking of your dog to the physical interaction you have with a wolf what is the difference?

A. You know I have never thought of them as the same as dogs. Even when the cubs were still babies I was really aware that they were wolves. I have always had that reaction, you know you really need to have a respect for them, you can never be off your guard (hesitates) It's a tough one. You just get a sense of being on guard. I have even had Mosi asleep on my lap once but even then I was aware all the time of being aware that it was a wolf not a dog. You know since I have been working with the wolves it has made me much more respectful of dogs, of what dogs came from and what they are like. Oh we don't know what goes on in the human mind do we. I use to bowl straight up to strange dogs and start touching them, you know I wouldn't do that now.

Q. If you had the chance to work with wild wolves would you take it up? How important is the human wolf interaction to you?

A. Well if something happened I couldn't interact I'd still be interested in them, From working with the socialised wolves I have really enjoyed just watching them you know,

almost as much as interacting with them. I find a lot of animal behaviour really interesting I just like watching them. Touching and that is just a big bonus. You know I have always been interested in watching animals my mum (laughs) use to catch me watching spiders when I was kid.

Q. In your questionnaire you said you loved them all, can you explain why you like them all the same?

A. Yes that's right I put I love them all, well I suppose I love some more than others. When I first started Lunca I didn't have n much interaction with her and I couldn't get close, you know the Europeans use to be a closed pack and no-one but a few of the old volunteers could handle them, but I had more with Alba. He didn't like me at all but he let me hand fed him, but straight after he had the food he growl and grumble, but he couldn't dislike me that much I mean he didn't rush the fence or anything. But since Lunca has been with Duma I have had a lot more interaction she's got a real character you know she use not to settle for me, now I have a nice relationship established now, and she's a dear old girl. Now Tundra, she's a real challenge at the moment, she's very nervous you know she doesn't like meeting people on the walks. She ignores them if they speak. I noticed that the wolves reassure each other by brushing past another wolf. So we were on public walk and (names handler) couldn't get her to settle or interact with public so I told her (handlers name) nudge her with your knee don't praise her. You need to do something sometimes to break the spell of nervousness. It worked and Tundra relaxed a bit. That gave me a real buzz, something I thought off through watching the wolves really worked. I just got my report back from my handlers exam and it said I was a good handler and very enthusiastic. I had to take Tundra for my upgrade walk and that was the first time I had handled her in a long time. And she behaved beautifully for me. I find the more challenging animals really interesting. Duma can be a bit tricky sometimes, but I feel relaxed with her well as relaxed as you can you know.

Q. How do you think the wolves see the volunteers'?

A. Good question, who knows what goes on in those little furry heads (laughs). Personally I think they know 100% wolves they don't treat us like wolves, you know when they play not generally so rough. I think they definitely see us as sources of food. You know they are imprinted on us what's the man's name Lorenzo

Q. Lorenz

A. Ye that's it he worked with greylag geese and they imprinted on him. Tundra is more relaxed around me than the other cubs for example and I am sure that is because I was more prominent in her feeding when they were being bottle fed than the with the other cubs. She obviously imprinted more on me than Tala for example. Now Tundra is the dominant one at the moment and Tala although less dominant is not submissive to her and that what happened to Mai and Mosi and Mai is their mum and Mosi auntie, so it that due to being genetic or what. We'll have to see what

happens with them. Mm I think they see us as sources of food and comfort. It's very easy to humanise a captive animal but they have wolf intelligence not human intelligence, it's insulting to the animal.

Q. That leads me onto the next question Nikki, what about anthropomorphising the wolves do you think that is bad?

A. Yes I do, I'm not saying I'm not guilty of doing it as humans we only have our human perception of anything, we do it to our domestic animals like cats and dogs because they are so close to us all the time. When I say to a trainee handler it dangerous to behave like that to a wolf, you shouldn't do it, just watch their behaviour and apply it to the wolf you are dealing with. With Tundra for example I could articulate to her not to be afraid she didn't understand what I mean she'd just hear blade blah. You can communicate confidence and pleasure to animal. When we say sweetie and auntie it's just gibberish a comforting noise to them, Oh it's a toughie I don't think it's helpful. I don't think it benefits you or the animal.

Q. Do you think there is a difference in how the female and male handlers interact with the wolves?

A. Well there are some very good and some not so good in both sexes. It's very much an individual thing. Torak doesn't seem keen on very tall men he finds men intimidating, Nuka needs quiet highly strung and he needs careful handling but Debs whose tall you know can handle him really well. Matt is small and slight but he copes really well with the wolves. At the trust we do tend to have more females than men, but I do think they are addressing it, you know some people will never get above volunteers; some people just don't have the right personality for the job. The volunteers that come in and say they have a spiritual connection or kinship with the wolves, they're the ones to watch cos they may be good to start with then they become complacent, they think they are in tune with the animals. We have the benefit of language and consciousness and we are just judging people or our perceptions. You know some people are really cuddly with the wolves but I grew upon the farm and I can divorce myself from that. Sometimes we have to be firm with them, it may look harsh with but I have had to be strong with a wolf before now and it's not had a lasting impression on them. Some people can't do that with the wolves, some are easier than others and you have to be quite rough.

I mean Alex you know Alex she was in with the Arctic's and one grabbed hold of her pony tail, well she twisted his scruff hard. She disciplined him and he respects her more for it now. On Saturday we were in with the cubs (Beenham) and Richard went away from the group cos he was checking the fence and all of a sudden all three of them were on him. You know they are always testing you. That's because they are always testing each other so to find a weakness. But they do know we are different like I said earlier they don't rough house with us to like they do with each other. They don't grab us like they grab each other. You constantly have to earn their respect.

They're an apex predator; they are hard wired to hunt, so they are honing those skills all the time. The little buggers got the bucket off (names handler) on Saturday, so we had to distract them to get the bucket back. You know we had to go as a group to get it, cos they think I want it I'll take it. You can't humanise them or you're domed, they want a piece of you (laughs).

Q What does being a wolf handler mean to you?

A. Oh its wonderful I love it just love it. It takes me right away to get close to an animal not just a domestic animal. You know sometimes I come home at a weekend and I am physically shattered, (laughs) my poor husband (laughs) I have a shower, then something to eat and drink then straight to bed. I'd spend all my time there if I could. We are arrogant as a species we spoil everything in the world you know life can be so interesting around us if we watch it, I love Birds of prey I did a lot of drawing In New Zealand cos we don't have things like foxes and that I just like watching nature. Wolves are marmite animals you love' m or hate them. If you talk about lions or tigers people go Ok but wolves generate so much irrational real irrational hatred. I have been reading Carter Niemeyer's book, that hatred real hatred in there but political hatred as well. Hunting communities they revered the wolves but then agriculturists hate them. I find that really interesting, I think gravitate towards the underdog, wolves just aren't black and white, the more I learn about them the more fascinating it is. Getting to a handler was my goal and I have done it, I do feel it is a real privilege to work with an animal like that. But I would never go into an enclosure by myself even with just one wolf that I knew. On a one to one they'd have you, it's not cos they are being aggressive it's just you never know. But you have that with people as well don't you. Human couples, they look perfect then you find they have broken up and you speak to the wife and she says I never knew him he was this whole different person. It is just a privilege to work any animal but especially with this one.

Interview 4: Face to face M*** Female Work Experience Student Volunteer**

Q. Why do you like wolves?

A. They're cute, and interesting and just gorgeous. I like the look of the pack and how the pack works together.

Q. I know you have pets how would you compare cuddling your cat and cuddling a wolf?

A. Oh it's only half the same, mainly different because you think of them as a wild animal so you are a bit wary and on edge all the time. When you cuddle a wolf they rub up against you and lick your face and try to bite your ears.

Q. You sent me a photo of you cuddling Nuka/ how did that come about.

A. We were in the education room and he kept climbing all over the chairs and tables, he was a bit scared as well and he wanted to look out of the window. So I held him up to look out of the window to calm him down.

Q. Which is your favourite wolf?

A. Mai I think she is really pretty and she loves cuddles and rolls over on her back for her tummy to be scratched.

Q. Did you have interaction with her then?

A. Only through the fence cos she was in with Motomo.

Q. How do you think the wolves see the volunteers?

A. I think they see us a bit like the pack but a bit different something to play with as well. Have had interaction a lot with the cubs rather than the older wolves, I think the cubs see you more like a pack, I have been there when they bring their food over to you (that's only if they really like you). They have a bit of rabbit and give it to you so you end up with bits of rabbit all over you it's really yucky, then they drop it onto your lap and then they sit on your lap and eat it.

Q. How did you feel when you were interacting with the cubs?

A. Well sometimes it was really relaxing like cuddling the cat, in fact one time I fell asleep with them.

Q. How did that happen how did Clive let it happen?

A. (Laughs) he didn't know, the cubs were relaxing in the trees they were asleep, and we went over to them and sat down and then we fell asleep as well.

Q. How big were they? How old?

A. Well about the size of border collies and they were about 3 months old.

Q. Do you think there is a difference between the way the male and female volunteers interact with the wolves.

A. I think the females are more inclined to be cuddly and huggy and want the wolves' attention. The males tend to just sit there more and accept it if the wolves come to them.

Interview 5: Phone Interview Female Volunteer Assistant Handler Grade

R*****

Q. Why do you like wolves?

A. Cos have always liked them ever since pre-school, they are such misunderstood animals. If you ask people they say they are vicious and nasty but I think that describes the traits of people. Wolves to me symbolise a loving family unit.

Q. What does the human wolf interaction mean to you?

A. Well I think I am more likely to get bitten by my cat. Being with the wolves is very much an honour, I think it very spiritual, and they are very different to domesticated animals. Dogs love humans because we have bred them to be like that, wolves are more intelligent. I'm not keen on them being taken on walks and forced to meet people.

Q. Can I ask you what you mean by the spiritual side?

A. I feel attuned to wolves; I find it easier to get on with wolves than people. I worked in the USA and met hunters and when ever those hunters came face to face with a wolf, they would have a weird connection and it changed their minds so they would turn from hunting them to trying to protect them. It something to do with the look in their eyes it's very powerful. Mentions name In mission wolf there was a story of a woman who lost her family in an accident became very depressed and wouldn't go out and her friends forced her to go and see the wolves and for the first time she got up and laid down beside them and they let her so they had some impact on her.

Q. Which one is your favourite wolf and why?

A. My favourite is Dakota cos he was the first one I meet face to face. I did hand rear the cubs and Mosi and Mai and Torak. I suppose Tundra because she was ill and we had to take her to the vets and she was sick all over me in the car, and I haven't been able to face chicken since (laughs).

Q. Did you feel protective to the cubs when you were bottle feeding them?

A. Yes I did, but I think Mai should have been doing it they should have stayed with their mum, I would have preferred for them to stay with their mum but I know why they had to be taken away.

Q. How do you think the wolves react to the public?

A. Some of them like meeting new people they are into interacting with people, but Tundra is very uncomfortable I think it would be better not to walk her it's her choice she does not want to go out. She has made it quite clear she doesn't like it. Kodiak made it clear he hated it and wouldn't do it.

Q. How do you think the wolves see the volunteers?

A. I think the relationship between the wolves and volunteers they see us as part of the pack. The man from mission wolf had a superb relationship and he got un-socialised wolves and lived with them 24/6 and they would eventually let him take them out like socialised wolves. They saw him like a wolf in human form. But at the trust there are so many volunteers we're just viewed as part of the pack, you need to live with them all the time to get that sort of relationship.

Q. Do you think male and female volunteers treat the wolves differently?

A. Definitely females want to mother them quite a lot. Calling them cubby cubby I think its degrading to them. Men tend to treat them more like wolves I heard Roger use to be like that with them. Females tend to give them more titbits.

Q Titbits

A Yes (laughs) they like it so they should have it.

Q. How important is the trust to you?

A. Very important, I love the social interaction with the wolves, not the walks, I like just being there and taking pictures. I'm honoured when they come up tome. It's relaxing and just great to be there with the wolves.

Q. Would you like to work with wild wolves?

A. Love to work with wild wolves I'd give up interaction for that.

Q. How do you feel when you go in with the wolves?

A. I feel a bit excited I never feel nervous. I feel quite safe with them.

Interview 6: Phone with Female Volunteer Handler Grade D***.**

Q. Why do you like wolves Deborah?

A. *Oh (hesitates) not really sure, well going back a long time since childhood, cos they have a family unit a mummy and daddy and babies. I was always fascinated by Native Americans as a child that's going back years (laughs) they have a spiritual meaning to me, it goes deeper than just liking them.*

Q. You have dogs if you compare the stroking of your dogs to the physical interaction you have with a wolf is there a difference?

A. *Its slightly different when you stroke a dog you go in there and stroke or pat in and relax straight away. With wolves a little bit of you has to be aware of their body language in case it changes- a wolf might suddenly change and decide it's time to go. You definitely get the same sort of de-stressor feeling but not quite the same as with a dog. With a dog you can be causal, I mean at the moment (laughs) now I'm chatting to you, I've got one dog across my lap and one sitting between my feet, I wouldn't be like that with the wolves. You should never ever forget a wolf is not trained or tamed. They are nice to stroke though.*

Q. If you had the chance to work with wild wolves would you take it up? How important is the human wolf interaction to you?

A. *I'd be very happy if I could work to keep wolves in the wild, I mean that's the aim of the game isn't it. I would miss the guys (wolves) we work with now; I mean I'd love to do it if family ties etc. would allow me. The strong physical interaction we have with the socialised wolves is great but it would lovely to help wolves in general I mean. We always say at the trust that the Ambassador wolves helping their cousins in the wild. I think that is a very apt description. We couldn't get every single subspecies of wolves, although we have a good selection now with the Europeans, Arctic's so its good people can see the physical differences between the wolves. Our wolves are representatives of their wild cousins.*

Q. In your questionnaire you said you loved them all, can you explain why you like them all the same?

A. *Well I put down if I remember Lunca as my favourite, that's because I adopted her when I was a member before I became a volunteer. If he was still alive it would have been Alba, they are both Europeans wolves and that's the sort we'd have had in our country until we killed them all. Oh this is difficult (sighs) Duma was the first wolf I met. Mai just because (laughs) just because she is so pretty and peaceful she sort of draws you in, it's the way she looks at you and rushes up to the fence, sort of saying 'love me love me'. Mai is just Mai, she has this character that just draws you to her.*

Q. How do you think the wolves see the volunteers'?

A. I think they think we are higher ranking I don't think they see us as wolves. We're caregivers for all of them but Motomo, they have all got someone there they knew from some time ago, someone they know in their daily routine. We do not have authority but we're high ranking, so that's why they will occasionally challenge us. But that's only outside of their enclosures. In their enclosures they know it's their territory, we go in there but the line are more blurred, they will challenge us more inside. Whenever they are on the lead it's like they think yeah whatever you want, but in the enclosure it's on my terms now.

Q. How do you feel about the human wolf-interaction?

A. It's the best bit (laughs then sighs) it's an honour. When they allow you to go into their enclosure is them accepting you. The best experience I ever had was sitting in an enclosure on a summers evening you now a lovely summers evening, the wolves had had a cuddle the grass was long and there were flowers about. Sitting down we couldn't even see the fences. The wolves had started to ignore us and you could just occasionally see a wolf over the long grass or one walked past you ignoring you totally. I felt it was just like being in the wild with the wolves. It was beautiful the best interaction I have ever had. I would like to keep that memory for as long as possible. To be ignored like that means you are totally accepted.

Q. You say in your questionnaire that you like educating the public?

A. I just love it, I do the presentations and the stump talks and I help out on the adult wolf keeper days. It great when they ask you questions at the end and they really look as if they have taken what you told them on board.

Q. How do you think the wolves see the public?

A. I think they think they are interesting (chuckles) interesting new smells, and a reason to get out so they out up with it. It interesting for them to get out and explore their territory and the public are just part of that. Some enjoy it a lot more, like Duma and Mai they love meeting new people others are a bit 'oh my god new people'.

Q. What about anthropomorphising the wolves do you think that is bad?

A. Yeah well I suppose it would be difficult not to humanise them, it helps us to understand. I think there is a risk of over humanising them, an example of that is when the cubs were taken from Mai, people were saying oh poor Mai but she was interested in going off and seeing Motomo. It's too easy to humanise them so we have to be careful. I mean we (laughs) were messing around one day and gave them all

different drink, if they were humans what they'd like best, Duma was a gin and tonic and Mosi a lager we put their characters into drinks (laughs again). If you work there and deal with them you can end up treating them like children we have to humanise everything I mean the Brenham's are called the brat pack, and we call the Arctic's sly.

Q. Do you think there is a difference in how the female and male handlers interact with the wolves?

A. *(Sighs) I think not generally some males can be a little more heavy handed just perhaps more likely to shove them around. Some men can be a bit over confident. The best male handler won't do that; females tend not to do that. I think males and females tend to humanise the wolves slightly differently. For example the women will call Torak and Motomo sexy and handsome. The men look at Mosi and say she's naughty and Duma is annoying. The wolves tend to react better to women I think they like our voices perhaps we have softer voices. Men tended to call a dog's name and say here. Women call the dog's name and say come here. If I wanted to move Nuka on I'll say 'Nuka Nuka' in a silly voice and tell Tala, 'TalaTala silly girl' (Interviewee put on a high pitched voice for these examples). Wolves respond to a kind voice and gentleness. So I'll call 'Cubby cubby come here', more than the men would*

Q. What does being a wolf handler mean to you?

A. *It's a privilege a real honour. I hope I'm doing some good with my work at the trust. I think it's important that I'm a volunteer first and foremost, only when I'm on a wolf I am a handler. I go down there and it's totally de-stressing, it's just wonderful I don't have to be handler to love it like that. I think we hang too much on those levels; it's just lovely being outside. I hate being indoors now (laughs). I love working with the wolves and sharing my knowledge and I'm like a sponge now (laughs) I'm still learning all the time.*

Q. Can you tell me Deborah why you put Motomo as number 4 and he is not a socialised wolf?

A. *Yes I know, I think it's just that he's not socialised, I'm very drawn to him. I love them all for different reasons. Oh this is a difficult (hesitates) With Motomo I can go to the fence and call him and he comes over, within a couple of feet of the fence, he never fails me. It like he's thinking 'Oh I so want to come down but I can't get the courage up'. He's overcome so much not being socialised at all and being moved here and in with Mai, I think he has feed off Mai's spirit and her love of us. I also admire his character; he was so affectionate to Mai when she was pregnant, how he looked after her he really stepped up to the mark and acted like man (laughs). I like strength of character it was the same with Alba and his leg do you remember Alba? (I agree) I think Motomo is as close as we'll ever get to a wild wolf at the trust. You know the eye contact you get with him is special, the eye contact with a wild wolf is supposed to life*

changing. I have two photos at home one is of Motomo and one of Lunca. Nuka is going to be like that, a bit special a real draw like his dad. Is that alright Bridget has it helped?

Interview 7: Phone interview with N*** Male Volunteer Handler Grade

Q. Why do you like wolves Neil?

A. *(Some hesitation before answering) um well I have always liked dogs, and wolves are a purer kind of dog. I like the fact that they are not understood that much. I also like the social aspect of them I like the pack, the loyalty the values that they have which are exhibited in the pack. You know where you are with them.*

Q. You have dogs if you compare the stroking of your dogs to the physical interaction you have with a wolf is there a difference?

A. *Oh it's completely different, with wolves it's all on their terms but with pets you can call them over to you. Wolves tell you off a lot more (laughs). When a wolf accepts you it's a privilege but with pets there are fewer boundaries between us and them.*

Q. If you had the chance to work with wild wolves would you take it up? How important is the human wolf interaction to you?

A. *Um (hesitates) well being able see them would be something, but it would depend on the job not if I was stuck in front of a computer putting in statistical data or something. Obviously it wouldn't be so tactile with wild wolves, if I could retire and didn't have family commitments and mortgages and stuff I would love to work with wolves full time, if I had the opportunity.*

Q. In your questionnaire you said you ranked some wolves' number 1, can you explain why you have them that position?

A. *Well it bold down to them accepting you, you never feel rejected by them or not wanted. The ones I ranked one are the ones that come and see me. Duma is something special, for reasons I couldn't help I didn't get over to the trust for a couple of months. When Duma saw me she gave a howl (laughs) I like to think that was a howl of welcome (laughs) maybe she was just warning the others that I was back there. With the cubs it was because I bottle fed them I love the fact that they were fully dependent upon you and they can identify you amongst all the other people that they meet. I've always had a good relationship with Mail, so than with Mosi you know where you were with Mai. Mosi can be more playful well you know that (laughs).*

Q. You mentioned a wild animal as your favourite other than wolves, what's the attraction of wild animals?

A. *I'm not good with cages, anything like that bird cages or aquarium. I would much rather everything was out in the wild; I know that's naive cos there not enough room now, people are so selfish. I like anything wild two legged or four legged. I'm not so*

keen on reptiles (chuckles) or spiders. I like the idea of socialised animals that seems to have broken down the boundaries between humans and animals. I think we need to learn to live in harmony with each other. I have never liked the idea of performing animals or even with horses' people riding them. I'd just like to think that they (animals) each has its own place in the world that would seem like freedom to me.

Q. How do you think the wolves see the volunteers?

A. I think they tolerate us, to a degree they accept us if they react in the right way to you they accept you. Wolves understand us that we could have been a pack animal, subconsciously I think they do. They don't see us as part of their pack. Some wolves will show dominance to some volunteers so they see humans as weaker. It's their natural behaviour they will challenge us if they think they can get away with it. It may not be necessarily intentional but the problem is it can switch to something more serious very quickly. They don't see us as part of the pack but part of the extended pack. (Laughs) Some people may smell nicer to them than others.

Q. Do you think the anthropomorphism used around the wolves is bad?

A. Um well I don't think it's beneficial but I understand its part of the reason why lots of people are down there, it's difficult not to put human emotions on them. It's a privilege to be with them and up to them (wolves) to accept us or not. I think it's done a lot of the time because its easier to try and understand natural wolf behaviour in those terms by comparing it to human behaviour. For example if the wolves are fighting I think we should just let them get on with it unless ones going to get really badly injured or killed. The seniors are OK in letting them be wolves amongst themselves but a lot of the volunteers get very het up when they see their favourite wolves getting aggressive to each other. People come to the trust with different agenda; they want the wolves to be human so they can say 'that wolf likes me'. When Duma howled at me I read it like that (laughs). I would have dogs again if I could.

Q. What sort of dogs did you use to have Neil?

A. I've had border collies in the past, but I like that size and bigger I'm not keen on yappy dogs, not even terriers or toy dogs. I like big dogs (laughs) you can roll around and play with.

Q. Do you think there is a difference between the way female and male handlers are with the wolves?

A. I don't think it's down to gender but more down to the individual, more of the male handlers seem to think strength and dominance are what is needed, whilst more of the females almost fawn over the wolves. To be a handler you have to have the attitude, 'I'm here I'm confident and I have a right to be here'.

Q. What does being a wolf handler mean to you?

A. It's a privilege an absolute privilege. It takes me away from everything. It relaxes me like nothing else. You have to be very determined and focussed when you are working with the wolves you can't think about anything else that is going on in your life. Just driving in there and I hear them howl and I switch off. The best bit is the wolves more than anything else, I know some people like it cos they can meet their friends but I sometimes find that side frustrating (laughs) the politics and stuff. It satisfies something in me like going back to spend time with the family it's my recharging time

Interview 8: Phone interview with B***Female Volunteer Handler Grade.**

Q. What attracted you to the wolves, why do you like wolves?

A. Well what it was to start with, I use to work with people with disabilities, then I went into studying nursing (laughed) so I was all cared out, I wanted a hobby that didn't involve people but animals, and the Wolf trust was the nearest I only live about fifteen minutes down the road, so it's not a very interesting answer is it?

BW: Not that's fine.

A. I like it they well they are a sort of family you now with one male and one female and they look after each other socially have had such bad press and been so victimised due to that bad image. They get shown in a way that is nothing like they are, you know some people will still tremble when you mentions wolves. Is this still Ok for you?

Q. Great Bridget, If you have a pet you stroke or interact with it, do you get the same sort of feelings when you stoke or interact with a wolf?

A. Well for me they are totally different, I was petrified of dogs, then I found out about huskies and how they don't bark (I use to be terrified of a neighbours barking dog when I was a kid). I'm a runner so I needed a dog that wanted loads of exercise. These dogs have made me not afraid of wolves: I have learnt to read wolves so now in the bark I can read other dogs' behaviour way before anything kicks off, cos I can see what might happen by the position of their tail or head and stuff. I'm not scared now to take my dogs out, I use to be scared of the different dog breeds and their owners. I'm not scared with the wolves when I go in with them just remember to stand broad and tall and keep calm and don't excite them, and then they don't give me grief. In fact I have had much better relationships with the wolves cos of that, some volunteers want to play too much, as they get older they still want to play with them and then stuff can escalate if you don't nip it in the bud. You have it in you how you are going to be with them. You bring your personality out in your demeanour and they (wolves) can read that in me.

Q. If you had the chance to work with wild wolves with no physical interaction would you take it? How important is the physical interaction to you?

A. Oh well I've done that I worked in Canada with wild wolves and we never touched them of course, but there was an observation platform and we use to talk to the public there. I missed the cubs being born but it wasn't that bad because I watched a wild wolf and her cubs, I saw those cubs the first time they ever came out of the den that was a magic moment. Sometime just watching them is as good as handling them you know, especially when there are special moments.

Q. You ranked some wolves higher than others why was that?

A. *My favourite is Mai, (laughs) she used to be quite timid and I use to fed her through the fence for a while., you know although she was Alpha for a while with Mosi she was still timid. The others (volunteers) over fussed her when she was out walking and she looked at me as if to say 'carry on and we'll ignore those scary things', you could feel the tension down the lead, I get it with my own dogs.*

Q. I have heard some handlers say that the Europeans feel entirely different whilst they are handling them to the North Americans, do you feel that?

A. *Oh yes(laughs) when I was in with Lunca and Alba once and Alba didn't like someone in there and he started to nibble on my jacket and from that moment on she use to watch me all the time. Then after four and a half year gap I went on a training walk with her and she jumped up and put her paws on my shoulders and shoved her head into my face and licked me, like she wanted to say hello after four and half years.*

Q. How do you think the wolves see the volunteers?

A. *(Hesitation) Oh well , they just accept us, I think they see us as humans, they don't see us as wolves, some people think there's a spiritual side to them but I don't buy into that. I think they accept us because they don't fear us. For example with Motomo he is frightened because he doesn't understand people very well and Mai is cool with us because she does, I mean she has been brought up by people since a baby. Un-socialised wolves definitely have a fear of you.*

Q. Do you think anthropomorphising the wolves is bad?

A. *Well I talk to them like I would talk to a human adult, I would just say good girl if I was on a walk with a wolf, never make it baby talk. It's just not what I do. If you start making your voce all screamy and excitable it just winds them up. You may use that voice a bit if you are with the public; you play it differently for your audience. You have to respect the wolves even in your voice.*

Q. Do you think there is a difference between male and female handlers with the wolves?

A. *Oh I'm trying to think of a male handler (giggles) ummm well I think it all depends on why you came to the trust in the first place. I think some people come for image, it depends what's in your mind when you start. Um well some of the males do act like little boys. You need to appreciate I am a nurse for disabled people so whatever I do I have things like accountability and predictability at the fore front of my mind. I think*

the most important bit is about how your confidence levels are, I do think with handling women will try and go round a problem another way , we just don't have the strength, but then again even a man a big is not as strong as a wolf.

Q. What does being a wolf handler mean to you?

A. I'm very proud of it; if I say I'm a handler people always ask me what that entails and I make certain I go down the respect route. I always show the good side of the wolf, and stress it's a wild animal not the creature of legends. I know what damage you can do if you say the wrong theory. To be a handler the wolf has to respect you – I have had to learn how to be a handler by going through the tests it's a bit like having a driver's license (laughs). When you are handling them on the lead in front it's really important that you are relaxed and you follow instructions. I have seen people try and move up the grades and they haven't solely because they won't follow instructions from the seniors.

APPENDIX 3



Figure 1: Showing one end of the Operations room at the UK Wolf Conservation Trust, set up for refreshments after a members walk.



Figure 2: Showing the other end of the Operations room ready for the members walk. The most frequent role I undertook as a participant observer was assisting in setting up before and tidying up afterwards and helping with refreshments.



Figure 3: Mosi indicating her dislike of my presence with raised hackles and a tail carried high. This behaviour would often be accompanied by vocalisation.



Figure 4: One of the Beenham cubs ready to go on a training walk, soon after this photo two handlers were allocated to each wolf cub.



Figure 5: A senior handler in close contact with one of the Arctic cubs in quarantine.



Figure 6: Arctic cub showing submissive behaviour to the wolf keeper.



Figure 7: Showing work experience student with Nuka. Nuka had approached the volunteer for reassurance.

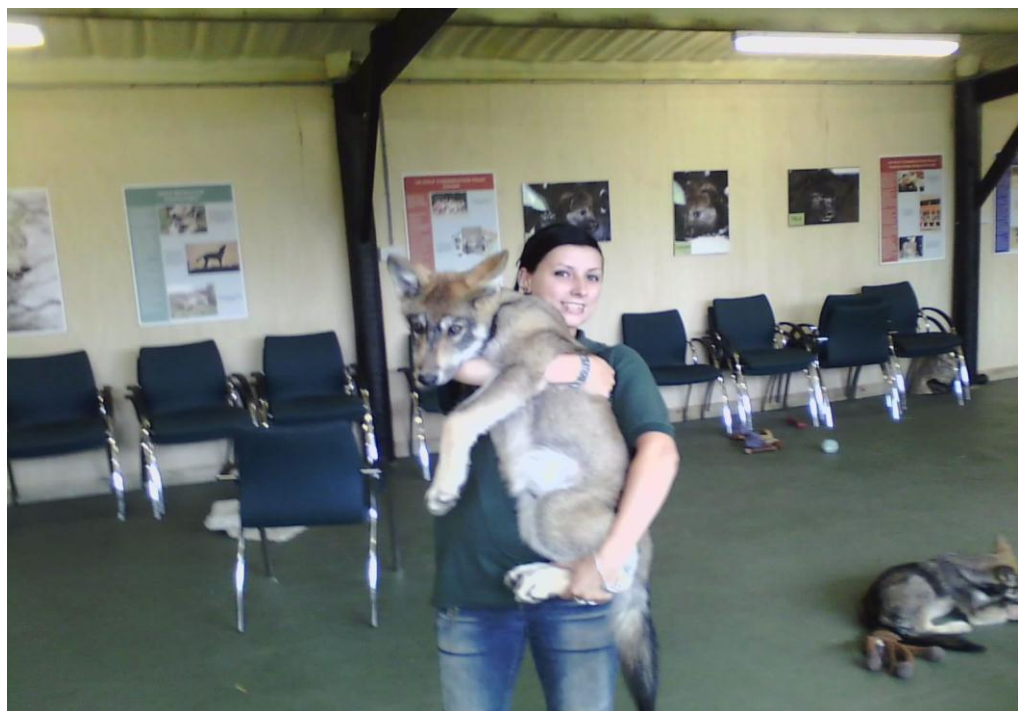


Figure 8: Work experience student in process of retrieving Nuka from tables and chairs in the Education Centre.



Figure 10: Showing how interaction can be maintained even when access to an enclosure is unsafe.



Figure 11: Showing group interaction between volunteers and one member of the Beenham pack, at this time the other cubs were at the opposite end of the enclosure.