Stances with Wolves:

The Story of Ojibwe Opposition to Wisconsin's Wolf Hunt and the Proposed Use of Buffer Zones as a Geographic Solution

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ABSTRACT

Upon its establishment in 2012, the wolf hunt forged a divide between the state of Wisconsin and its sovereign Ojibwe nations. The purpose of this research is to explore the history of cultural, political, and scientific issues that instigated this break from the tradition of cooperative management, as well as addressing the current structure and composition of the decision-making system that continually disregards the Ojibwe. The implementation of buffer zones is ultimately proposed as a geographic compromise to mediate concerns of the wolf's presence in Wisconsin while considering the separate interests of all stakeholders, and the wolf itself.

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INTRODUCTION

In 2012, Wisconsin established the first state harvest for gray wolves. In accordance with the state's management objectives, the harvest season aims to ensure a healthy and viable wolf population while effectively addressing and controlling depredations and other burgeoning incidents of conflicts and threats that continue to become more problematic with increasing wolf populations. Concern regarding human-wolf conflict is legitimate, *however*, Wisconsin shares these wolves. 83% of state wolves inhabit Ojibwe reservations, or territory ceded by the Ojibwe where the Tribes retain resource rights. Historically, the Tribes and the state cooperatively managed the shared resources within ceded territory, but the implementation of a wolf harvest has instigated the first break from cooperative management in decades. Both sovereigns harbor reasonable, yet seemingly incompatible, interests regarding the hunting of wolves in Wisconsin. Concerns of Ojibwe underrepresentation in the decision-making process and vague interpretation of treaty rights are prevalent; both of which could produce results that are marginalizing to the Ojibwe people if not addressed. Moreover, if both sovereigns do not enter into peaceable government-to-government negotiations and maintain cooperative management, they face the threat of a federal government forced to play peacekeeper (Sanders, 2013, 130).

METHODS

We seek to clarify the basis for the current debate, and explore how cooperative management is the method that will most likely to allow each sovereign to optimally achieve their respective goals. We will accomplish this by (1) exploring the cultural underpinnings of both the Ojibwe and many of Wisconsin's non-Native American residents (2) detailing the history of wolf management and applying lessons from that history onto modern management (3) exposing key players and how the structure of the current system favors these individuals/groups (4) using a moderating viewpoint to propose a compromise—buffer zones (zero-hunt areas)--that will seek to mitigate conflict by paying notice to the interests of both sides (5) ultimately proposing that both sovereigns can and should continue the tradition of cooperative management, seeking to resolve this conflict without the use of interminable and costly litigation.

We have prepared a story. As a precursor to modern wolf management in Wisconsin, we must first provide the context. The first method to our data collection was acquiring all of the chapters in the book that set the stage for today's debate. The histories are extensive and peppered with controversy. We have chosen to detail primarily those things that we believe to be important to understanding the contemporary relationships between the Ojibwe, the state, and the wolves. We accomplished this feat by delving into the archives. Once up to speed, we were able to analyze more recent government documents (released in the time following the

state approval of the wolf hunt in 2011: management plans, official letters, and meeting minutes) in order to explore the structure of the current system, and the presence of key players within it. Our findings prompted us to believe that there were voices and opinions that had been muted along the way- voices that were imperative to the story.

Equipped with this inkling, we sought out interviews. We were able to successfully develop rapports with members of The Bad River Band of the Lake Superior Tribe of Chippewa Indians, tribal wildlife specialists, representatives in the Wolf Advisory Committee, Department of Natural Resources biologists, Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission representatives, and members of the Timber Wolf Alliance. Through these exploratory conversations, we were able to interpret the varying attitudes toward the wolf hunt, where they are rooted, and how they will influence future decisions regarding wolf management. In accordance to guidelines set forth by the Department of Geography, we were unable to make use of recording devices and have found it necessary to make use of paraphrasing in some instances.

We took part in new experiences, such as wolf tracking with a wildlife biologist and attending state committee meetings. The participation in these activities allowed us to have a markedly more comprehensive understanding of those things which we spend an entire paper exploring, while simultaneously allowing us to bond with the people we had been talking to and interviewing, which produced more honest, uncensored responses in conversation.

We believe that surfacing the root of beliefs can aid in mediating decisions and agreements. Analysis of modern thoughts will (hopefully) shed some light onto the perpetuation of the underlying traditional beliefs, and therefore provide greater significance to the contemporary debate, along with gathering a collection of stakeholders' valid ideas concerning where to go from here in the name of cooperative management. We believe that an understanding of values behind these ideas will help to prohibit Native American marginalization in decision-making moving forward. We point out evidence of a system that favors certain groups, and provide suggestions for changes that could be made to avoid an unfair system- all supplemented by the primary data collected through our interviews.

Ultimately, we use this collaborative narrative to propose a geographic solution that could help to mediate conflict. To accomplish this, we used data provided by the state, along with newfound information and insight from our interviews to speculate on a solution that seeks moderation among those involved. By implementing GIS technology, along with a trusty road atlas and pens, we created a visual representation of wolf management zones that we propose in the end of our paper.

BACKGROUND: SETTING THE STAGE

The Lake Superior Chippewa Indians (Ojibwe) consist of several Bands (commonly called "Tribes") native to the land surrounding Lake Superior, each of which have territorial and sovereign reservations governed by federal treaty. Tribes

are largely sovereign bodies within the U.S. federal system. Tribes generally maintain sovereign management of natural resources on their reservations, free from state control. The control of the decisions in ceded territory is more complicated. For instance, if Tribes retain the right to protect and perpetuate wolves on the reservation as part of their inherent sovereignty, then will some sort of protection be enacted for these wolves as they wander off of the reservation into surrounding ceded territory?

The existing conflict is largely a result of two separate, but overlapping sovereigns, and the wolf that pays no heed to the defining boundaries. We must try to mediate the rightful concerns of Wisconsin residents, some of whom do not wish to share territory with the wolf, and the Ojibwe, who vehemently oppose the harvest of wolves all together…

Background: Cultural Sovereignty and Situated Beliefs

Sovereignty is an issue that works on multiple different levels. Matters of land division and politics are frequented in the differentiation between Wisconsin and the Ojibwe, and we will discuss these important matters in the upcoming section entitled "Treaties: Agreements in History". In order to successfully explore how each sovereign relates to the wolf, we must also take into account the cultural sovereignty of the groups involved. In his research on cultural sovereignty of the Ojibwe, Lawrence W. Gross (2003) poses an imperative question:

> "In a scenario which Native Americans achieved sovereignty over their land and politics, would that accomplishment have any functional meaning if, at the same time, Native Americans were fully assimilated into the culture of the dominant society?" (Gross 2003, 127).

In addition to language, it could be argued that cultural sovereignty has to start with religion; religion has most commonly provided the foundation onto which cultures are built (Gross 2003, 127). An essential start of religion is myth, or the sacred stories, belonging to a particular group of people. These myths are often responsible for the subsequent actions taken by individuals, and therefore control of the meaning and interpretation of myths is a crucial element in cultural sovereignty (Gross 2003, 128).

Dissimilarities between Native American oral tradition and European wolf folklore created a substantial divide between the perceptions of wolves among the members of each group. The conflicting traditions of Native American oral tradition and European wolf folklore have forged a discord into the harboring of similar perspectives on the wolf and wolf management in Wisconsin. Careful contrast of European and Native American epistemologies will offer the background necessary to understand why each culture feels, expresses, and portrays the wolf in the ways that they do from a broader, cultural perspective.

Background: Ojibwe Oral Tradition

Our depiction of Ojibwe oral tradition is not intended to suggest that it fully captures the intricacies of relationships that exist within the stories of one tribe, or recognize the differences in these relationships among all tribes that exist. Each story passes on important relics, ways of understanding, historically important events, worldly explanations, and/or a glimpse into the thoughts of loved ones from times past. The wolf is an important character in Ojibwe oral tradition- primarily in the creation story. The story explains that humans were the last of the animal species placed on the earth, but different from the other species in the sense that only one human was created, whereas all others came in pairs. He [human] asked the creator for a partner, it was not a woman or wife provided to him. Rather, a brother was provided as a substitute – a brother wolf, known as "ma'iingan' among the Ojibwe. The Creator told the pair, "The two of you are brothers. Both of you must go and walk, and share the Earth, and visit all its places." Man and ma'iingan walked together, coming to know the Earth and all its places. They grew very close. They became brothers. In this closeness, the pair realized that they were family to all the Creation. When they had completed the journey, they talked to the Creator once again, who left them with this:

> "From this day on, you are to separate your paths, but they will be linked. You must go different ways, **but what shall happen to one of you shall also happen to the other.** Each of you will be feared, respected, and misunderstood by the people who will later join you on this earth" (Benton-Banai, 1979, 8).

Many other tribes share similar traditions of nature/human reciprocity, but the wolf and man parallel is rather unique to the Ojibwe (Shelley, 2010, 46). Folklore of the Ojibwe places strong spiritual value upon the wolf, as wolf and man become one and the same. They share a history. The belief that the two will also share a fate instills hopefulness for the wolf's success, as well as a vested interest in protecting the wolf population.

The wolf serves as a symbol of fidelity, perseverance, and guardianship in Ojibwe tradition. The wolf is seen as the caretaker of humans, as well as a teacher of family structure and a complex hunting strategy (Barnouw, 1977, 63). Wolves' resilience, stamina, and ability to adapt are among their most admirable traits, and the Ojibwe seek to replicate these traits in themselves (Shelley, 2010, 47).

In regards to the significance that Ojibwe myth has among the Ojibwe people today, Lawrence W. Gross (2003) shares a summary:

> "Given the amount of activity surrounding the sacred stories of the [Ojibwe], it is clear that their myths remain as vital today as ever. Working with their myths and mythic characters, the [Ojibwe] are developing effective responses to cataclysmic disaster… Those responses are also assisting the [Ojibwe] in maintaining a unique identity as Indian people. And sovereignty, at its very basic, involves maintaining an identity apart. To the degree that the myths of the [Ojibwe] remain relevant and vital for the people, their cultural sovereignty will remain strong." (Gross 2003, 134).

Background: Portrayal of the Wolf in Predominant European Religion

The background of European settlers is just as diverse. To divulge on the beliefs held among every European culture would serve futile, as our research would never reach an ending point. For the purpose of this paper, we will highlight some of the basic ideas that resulted in common irrational hatred toward the wolf in the New World. At any point that our portrayal of these beliefs seems over-generalized, it is on part of our own shortcomings.

Some of the earliest records of wolves as a literal interpretation, as well as a metaphor, for evil can be discovered in the Bible's Old Testament. Wolves were cast as vindictive hounds of Hell, bent on destruction, and evil men were considered "wolves in sheep's clothing" (Matthew 7:15, King James Version). Wolves were intelligent, cunning, and powerful in folklore (largely human characteristics). This provided humans with the idea that they could lose control, and that the wolf could become more powerful than they were themselves, thus humans acted by exercising their dominion. "You have given him dominion over the works of your hands; you have put all things under his feet, all sheep and oxen, and also the beasts of the field," (Psalms, 8:7, King James Version) is a passage from the bible that justifies the very reign over the wolf as a beast.

Background: Wolf Hysteria Takes Hold

It was in this era, around the time of the penning of the previous Bible verses, in which the war on wolves in the Europe began. As people converted to agriculturally based livelihoods, and took on practices of shepherding and droving livestock, resentment toward wolves was fostered due to competition. Mysterious livestock disappearances and supernatural events were blamed upon the wolves, or upon a creation stemming from the idea of wolves—werewolves. Werewolves were portrayed as wolf/human hybrids that occupied the dark European forests with other bandits and preyed on the innocent travelers. When the wildly unpopular British King John (of Magna Carta fame) was deposed in 1215, rumors began that he was a werewolf; it is likely that this was an expression of popular discontent (Feher-Elston, 2005, 85). The French seemed to have a particularly strong "mania" about wolves and werewolves. The French warning tale of Little Red Riding Hood used the wolf as a metaphor to warn young virgins of the intentions of carousing rakes. If a girl in 16th century France was no longer a virgin the saying was "Elle a vû le loup" – "She has seen the wolf." Not surprisingly, the intended metaphor was lost over the years and people simply believed it was a story about a rogue wolf who ate a little girl and her grandmother - children were, obviously, the favorite target of hungry wolves (Feher-Elston, 2005, 87). With the eventual passage of settlers into America, the Atlantic Ocean proved to be too small to keep the fear of wolves from crossing.

Background: The Trans-Atlantic Journey of Wolf Hysteria

Europeans brought more than mysterious disease and manifest destiny into the New World – many brought along folklore of the wolf as the devil, accompanied by the desire to exterminate them. No other wolf killing ever achieved, in scope or scale, the war waged against wolves in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the United States. Eric Zimen, a German wolf biologist, once remarked, "We killed the wolf in Europe, and we hated the wolf, but it is not like anything you have done in America" (Lopez 1978, 169). This time in America was a sad chapter in the book for both wolves and Native Americans. The similarities between wolves and Native Americans have often been observed. Some of the most prevalent include: both shared similar social organization, living in large groups where all adults shared responsibility for the young, both are predators sharing common prey, both had similar territorial distribution patterns with other groups of their own kind, and both were seldom understood by white settlers. Settlers faced a group of people whose language they did not speak, whose customs he was unfamiliar with, and whose power was unknown. In the colonist's mind, Native Americans and wolves were often fused together into a symbol of the land's unfriendliness, of perils that were not to be reckoned with. Colonists built fences around their village to protect themselves from these unknowns. They killed both wolves and Native Americans when given the chance. A Massachusetts law of 1638 stated:

"Whoever shall shoot off a gun on any unnecessary occasion, or at any game except an Indian or a wolf, shall forfeit 5 schillings for every shot" (Lopez 1978, 170)

By the end of the nineteenth century, both Native Americans and wolves were suffering from their interactions with settlers. Settlers gave to the wolves poisoned meat, and to the Native Americans, small pox infected blankets. They dug out wolf dens to kill the pups, and stole Native American children and sent them to missionary schools to become assimilated. Native Americans and wolves were marginalized to few and certain areas (Lopez 1978). As the Ojibwe watched their own people and their brothers, the ma'iingan, share such similar experiences, the words of The Creator resonated strongly…

Background: Treaties- Agreements in History

In the midst of the war on wolves and Native Americans, European settlers began to expand into Wisconsin for agricultural, mineral, and natural resources reasons. Though Wisconsin did not pay any regard to damages of the ongoing extirpation of wolves, they did engage in some peaceable agreements with the Ojibwe. The Ojibwe ceded most of their lands and territory in Northern Wisconsin to the United States in 1837 in exchange for $30,000 a year for twenty years. However, they kept usufructuary rights of hunting, fishing, and gathering on the ceded territory (Treaty Guide, 1991, 1). The remaining land was ceded in 1842 for a higher price, but traditional rights were still retained. Tribes moved to reservations, with distinguished geographic locations, in exchange for reserving sovereign territory and rights protected by the federal government.

In 1850, President Zachary Taylor ordered all Indian tribes east of the Mississippi River to vacate immediately, but the Wisconsin Legislature did not comply and the Ojibwe remained in Wisconsin with their treaties intact. The threat of being forced to leave lead to another treaty in 1854, where the Ojibwe accepted reservations to combat the threat of being forced out (Treaty Guide, 1991, 3). The treaties of 1837, 1842, and 1852 are crucial to Indian/State relations regarding hunting and fishing rights today.

These treaties established the Ojibwe as sovereign nations (at the time), today the tribes are no longer fully independent, rather they are considered "domestic, dependent nations," as ruled by Chief Justice of the U.S. John Marshall in Georgia six years earlier (*Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia, 1831*)." It is important to note that the rights to subsistence through natural resources were kept by the Ojibwe; they were never sold, nor were they granted by the federal government. The Ojibwe kept the right to obtain food to ensure the survival of future generations (Treaty Guide, 1991, 3).

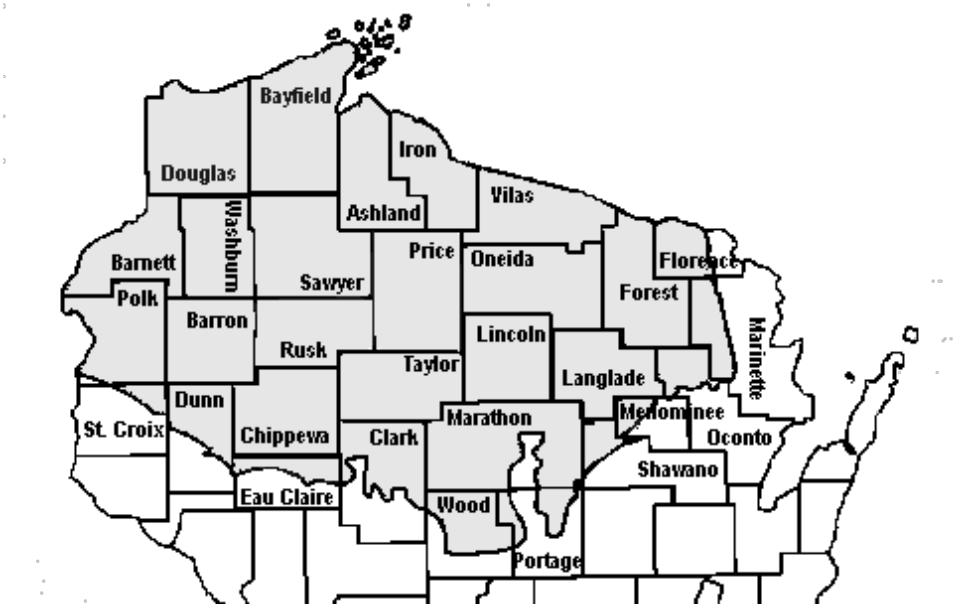

Figure 1: A map of the ceded territory as defined in Wisconsin today. The area is composed of 22, 400 square miles in the northern part of the state.

The common misperception between the idea of usufructuary rights as a gift from the U.S. and the understanding that those rights were always the Ojibwe's is paramount; perception of unfair harvest rights after the "LCO/Voigt Decision" transformed into a lengthy legal battle and a violent and series of confrontations between Indians and other Northern Wisconsin residents throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, stemming from the Tribble brothers' (both members of the LCO band) spearfishing incident in 1974. The LCO/Voigt decision affirmed the treaty rights that were already in place. Anti-treaty organizations clashed with tribal members, contended that the treaty rights allowed Natives to "over-harvest" the resources (Treaty Guide, 1991, 5). Their baseless accusations were intended to "alarm the public and arouse unwarranted hostility towards the Ojibwe for exercising their treaty rights (Guide, 1991, 3)." An important distinction is: tribes did not *gain* rights

by treaty, but rather *guaranteed the perpetuation of rights they always held* as sovereign people (Sanders 2013, 107).

Judge Barbara Crabb ruled in 1990 on many aspects of the resource harvest, but most importantly, she ruled that, "the tribal allocation of treaty resources is a maximum of 50% of the resource available for harvest" (Treaty Guide, 1991, 3)." This ruling is crucial in regards to the quota entitlements in the current wolf harvest.

Treaty rights are contemporarily recognized by tribal members as an ends, means, and symbol. As ends, they synthesize a lifestyle, a set of practices: hunting, fishing and gathering as activities that are paramount to pleasure, productivity, and social integrity. As means, they are the condition of reproducing a way of life: the use of plants and animals in culturally distinguished ways acts to perpetuate the way of being in the world as a people. As symbol, the treaty rights are a sign of social, political, cultural and legal sovereignty. The treaty rights entail a wide array of opportunities and responsibilities for self-determination and self-governance (Nesper 2009, 5).

Background: Facilitating Cooperative Management

To enable cooperative management amongst the Tribes and between the Tribes and the state, the Tribes created the Voigt Intertribal Task Force ("Task Force") and the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission (GLIFWC) in 1984. GLIFWC is guided by the Task Force. Its objective is to represent the 11 Ojibwe

tribes in the Great Lakes region who reserved hunting, fishing, and gathering rights in the ceded territory. GLIFWC provides natural resource management expertise, conservation enforcement, legal and policy analysis and public information services in support of the exercise of treaty rights throughout the ceded territories. Since the LCO/Voigt decisions, the Tribes and the State have cooperatively managed almost every resource shared between the two sovereigns (Sanders 2013, 109). James E. Zorn is the current Executive Administrator of GLIFWC. Prior to assuming his leadership with GLIFWC, he served as the lead attorney/policy analyst from 1987 to 2006. He has been extensively involved in the affirmation and implementation of Ojibwe ceded territory treaty rights. In 2009, GLIFWC hosted a treaty rights symposium called Minwaajimo (Ojibwe for "telling a good story"). One of the most powerful excerpts from Zorn's speech on co-management is as follows:

> "My job as the Executive Administrator of [GLIFWC] is to figure out how to facilitate co-management while exercising that precisely delegated sovereignty that our member tribes have trusted us with. The last time I checked, and my mother can attest that I've never been good at math, co-management is not a four letter word. It's certainly not profane by any definition of profanity I ever understood. I guess what I quickly learned in my job is I don't care what you call it; it's about what it is, and how you go about it. You can call it cooperative management. What it really means I think… is listening to those folks that came before us… It's the power of presence, just being there. Not a word has to be said… So, if at GLIFWC and those who work for the tribes understand their jobs that we're supposed to do it for the tribes in our area of natural resource management and co-management, the first job is to always be there and let those other governments know. The other people who make the decisions that affect the tribal rights know that the tribes are there and their rights exist. If you don't know what else to say, at least remind everyone else of the tribal rights and the tribal sovereignty, and they're not going away." (Zorn 2009, video recording from the Minwaajimo symposium).

A predominant issue in co-management today is in regards to wolf management in the state. With the recent establishment of a hunting season, it has been difficult for the Tribes and the state to co-manage peaceably, or at all. Both sides maintain views and goals that they are unwilling to compromise upon. Fundamental beliefs are one of the underpinnings that disallow Native Americans and the state from coming to an agreement. We will continue to explore the soundness of reasoning behind viewpoints, but first we must explore the history of wolves and wolf management in Wisconsin as it was simultaneously occurring with aforementioned events.

HISTORY OF WOLF MANAGEMENT

We would like to send you into the following history sections of the paper by asking that you pay close attention to the ways in which wolf management was previously addressed in the state, by whom, for what underlying reasons, and to the understanding of each situation in retrospect. We will ask for you to call upon these historical relics in comparison when we later detail some of the contemporary aspects of wolf management…

The wolf called Wisconsin home long before the colonization of Europeans, the legal rulings of Judge Crabb, and the founding of GLIFWC. The gray wolf (*Canis lupis*) lived in Wisconsin dating back to about 10,000 years ago, following herds of muskox and caribou that moved in after the glacial ice melted (Wydeven,

2011). Upon the settlement of Europeans, there were an estimated 3,000-5,000 wolves in the state (Wydeven, 2011). We previously discussed the common attitudes held by these settlers causing them to continue to hunt and kill wolves as they were encountered. With the pressure to provide for their families and themselves, men took advantage of the surplus of game animals, and the market for meat, and began hunting the bountiful game in the new found territory. The expansion of market hunting caused the depletion of elk and bison in Wisconsin, the wolves' natural prey (Wydeven, 2011)Triggered by the need to survive, wolves started to make meals of the farmers' livestock throughout Wisconsin, which only lead to an increased rigor in extirpation efforts.

History of Wolf Management: Bounties

For the initial reason of preventing further livestock kills, Wisconsin began to place bounties on the wolf, offering a monetary reward in exchange for proof that a wolf has been killed. Bounties existed at several different levels: township, county financed, and state bounties, as well as private bounties supported by groups of individuals. The first record of a bounty was for $3, and issued by the territorial government in 1839 (The History of Waukesha County 1880, 624). In 1865, the state legislature placed a $5 bounty on the wolf across all of Wisconsin (Wydeven, 2011). By the turn of the century, wolves had been reduced to only a handful of localities in the state, and no longer such an imminent threat to livestock. At that time, however, attitudes toward the hunting of deer were transforming of those for

the benefit of market hunting to the more supportive role of preserving and enhancing recreational hunting opportunities. The public opinion of predators was once again very negative. Predators were viewed as worse than competitors. Such creatures as wolves were labeled outlaws- destroyers of game- an attitude that has prevailed among some Wisconsin hunters up to present times (Klessig, 1972). In an attempt to save the threatened deer population, the state reinforced the already prevalent idea of eliminating wolves from Wisconsin. The justification of the bounty system focused on saving the deer from the menace of the wolf. Market hunters, sport hunters and wardens condemned the wolves. The bounty was increased to $20 for adult wolves and $10 for pups. No limit or quota was placed on the bounty, a person could kill as many wolves as they pleased, at any time they saw fit (Wydeven et al, 2009, 87-105). The statewide bounty program provided citizens with ample opportunity for vengeance, still harbored in stories and folklore, against the wolf.

In the 1920s, the state government began to "manage" deer by setting aside areas to be used as refuges where no hunting or trapping would be allowed. The first refuge was established in in Forest County and known as the Argonne Deer Refuge (Thiel 1993, 84). Even the wolves were protected (as a byproduct of the no hunting law) in this area until 1930 when a federally subsidized control program was implemented and a trappers was hired to trap predators, namely the wolf, inside the refuge (Bersing 1966, 66). The details of the trappers' jobs were noted in a Wisconsin Conservation Department report:

> "Each of these men who work on March 15 will be assigned to a district in the state where there is a severe infestation of timber wolves. Because the gray timber wolf does more individual damage to wildlife than the coyote or other predatory animals, intensive work will be carried on against it…" (State Historical Society of Wisconsin Archive, Madison, Game Management Division materials, unprocessed).

The program ended in 1932 due to inefficient trappers, problems caused by illegal trappers within the refuge forest who didn't appreciate the government's infringement, and criticism for wasteful use of the state's money. Wolves were once again protected in the Nicolet and Chequamegon National Forests. In the winter of 1936, serious deer losses were reported in northern Wisconsin and the National Forests (Swift 1946, 43). The public was becoming increasingly agitated over the deer issue, especially when predators were protected within national forest lands. A hunter wrote in the Florence Mining News expressing his opinion of obvious competition felt toward the wolves:

> "…we are allowed one buck in this open season, if we fail to fill our license in that time we just simply move off the hunting ground…but the wolf is not restrained in his lawless work at any time of year, he can take either sex, buck or doe, his license calls for this, those ivory fangs inside his upper and lower jaw means death to the harmless deer once this snarling brute is on the warpath." (Cole, 1937).

At this time, state deer hunters commonly believed that the removal of predators would enhance the survival of a greater number of deer. This meant more deer for the hunters. The Wisconsin Conservation Department policy toward predators was a product of its day, for the age of ecological concepts had not yet

dawned (Thiel 1993, 92). The main oppositions for the wolf in the late 1930s were (1) growing unrest of citizens about the deer dilemma (2) the retained "antiwolf" prejudices held among people in general and (3) the desire by wardens to appease the agitated citizenry with whom they had to interact (Thiel 1993, 92). The state's predator policy was in line with public attitudes, and thus it was an acceptable policy.

History of Wolf Management: Science vs. Public Pressure

In 1940, the Wisconsin Conservation Commission implemented the Deer Research Project with William S. Feeney as the lead biologist. The team was comprised of trained biologists, some with college degrees. Their research over the next four years suggested that deer were overpopulated and outstripping the forest of a food source. Feeney lacked confidence in the Wisconsin Conservation Department wardens and ranger personnel, who were largely an untrained group in biological research. This caused a rift in the department, and alienated Feeney's findings from reaching the public (Thiel 1993, 98).

In 1942, a new committee was appointed consisting of a nine member team of interested citizens. Fortunately, Aldo Leopold was one of these individuals, and he had a history of university training in the sciences. Research by this group was issued in a 1943 report:

"1. Starvation in winter yards was occurring
2. Artificial feeding did not relieve pressure on preferred food plants.
3. If the herd weren't reduced it would decrease through starvation.
4. Implement an antlerless deer season.
5. **'A low population of timber wolves [should] be deliberately Maintained as insurance against undue congestion or excessive Numbers of deer'**" (Leopold et al. 1943, 20)

Leopold was certainly a driving force in recommending elimination of the bounty on wolves, reasoning that it would, "restore at least in part, the natural machinery for deer population control" (University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, letter). In May 1943, perhaps wooed by the work of Leopold, the state legislature's Finance Committee recommended against funding bounty money to citizens (Thiel 1993, 99). In July, the legislature approved the state budget bill (which no longer contained appropriations for bounties). This spawned immediate backlash by citizens- flurries of letters, pursuits to their representatives… and in response 10 northern assemblymen drafted new bounty bills. The following deer season citizens, some perhaps joining to prove a point, harvested a record number of deer- 83,000 more deer than the previous record season (Bersing 1966, 45). Hysteria ensued, with the public feeling as if their beloved game species was threatened, and now that the wolves had no bounty, the deer were in danger.

Articles were frequently hitting local papers exaggerating population numbers, pack sizes, and incidents that people had encountered, which only lead to elevated misconception. People affiliated with the Conservation Department could not even counter these wild claims with factual information, largely on part to the

lack of scientific research that had been done on wolves (Thiel 1993, 106). Feeney was armed with some of these hard facts, but the system structure was already stacked against him. He wrote a letter to Leopold in 1944 in which he explains the wolf as a known deer predator, but it is not as destructive as supposed. In fact, the deer were dying of starvation on account of their overpopulation, and the wolf-deer relationship is severely misunderstood. Furthermore he calls for no bounty on wolves, but he suggests that public demand could call for the implementation of a moderate bounty as a possible temporary public relations procedure until better educational material, based on facts, has been presented to the people (University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, letter).

Public pressure was in generally in high support of reenacting the bounty. Intense, emotionally based wartime propaganda slogans were even circulated that exhibit some citizen's irrational hatred for wolves. Following is a statement released by Washburn County's Trego Rod and Gun Club:

> "The wolf is the Nazi of the forest. He takes the deer and some small fry. The fox is the sly Jap who takes the choice morsels of game and the songbirds. Can Professor Leopold justify their existence because deer meant for human consumption should be fed to the Nazi because we must have that protection for the trees? Can he justify the Jap or the Nazi because he eats a rabbit or a grouse which are meant for human food, or the songbird on its nest, which are meant by the Lord for our pleasure…?" (Flader 1974, 211-212).

The wolf bounty was reinstated in 1945 on large part due to public persistence. During the late 1940s, university educated wildlife biologists were hired on as regional game biologists under the Game Management Division. They

brought with them an enlightened, ecological approach to the field, and Conservation Department Officials were no longer willing to react so quickly to complaints of wolves killing deer (Thiel 1993, 112). In fact, within the deer refuges, starvation had become chronic and by 1950 the refuge program was dismantled all together. There was noticeably less public condemning of the wolf. One of Feeney's past understudies even spearheaded the effort to allow the Argonne Deer Refuge in the Nicolet Forest to become a refuge for the few remaining wolves in 1951-1952 (Keener 1955, 24).

The Conservation Department was faced with having to balance mandating and appropriating the bounty system while maintaining a sanctuary where wolves would be protected. The inconsistency of this policy was questioned, "…the conservation department has set up a refuge in which timber wolves are protected…while just outside the refuge area the state is paying $20 for mature wolves. It just doesn't make sense" (Woerpel 1952, 8) Wildlife managers ultimately abolished the refuge to eliminate the inconsistency in 1952, but further research of wildlife biologists continued to show just how endangered the wolf really was.

History of Wolf Management: Untimely Decisions

In 1956, an article from the Citizens Natural Resources Association urged for the removal of the wolf from the bounty list. They sourced scientific information produced by the Game Management Division's wildlife biologists to explain that the wolf species is in danger of being exterminated from the state of Wisconsin, and that

their removal is an important step in preserving wildlife species in the state. After over 100 years of war waged against the wolf, the bounties were ceased, and shortly thereafter the wolf was placed on the state's protected list. Though profound, these points were moot, as the breeding population of the wolf had already disappeared.

The convenience of the wolf bounty eventually drove the animal to extirpation in Wisconsin, and near extinction in the United States. The wolf population had declined from an estimated three to five thousand in 1830 to zero in 1957 (Wydeven et al, 2009, 87-105). According to the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, by 1960 few wolves remained in the lower 48 states, leaving the majority of the population in Minnesota (350-500 wolves) and Upper Michigan (20 wolves).

The transition of conservation agencies from "game management" to "wildlife management" in the 1970s reflected a more ecological approach to management, broadening responsibilities for conserving non-game species as well. The scarce population was eventually recognized on the federal level and caused the wolf to be placed on the Endangered Species List in 1974. Richard Thiel shared a powerful, and relevant statement about the history of wolf management, and how its lessons should be implemented in the future:

> "History can provide something very important to society: the knowledge of which actions to avoid in the future. While the biopolitical actions that led to the demise of Wisconsin's timber wolves are understandable, they are far from excusable" (Thiel 1993, 120)

RECOVERY: "WHAT SHALL HAPPEN TO ONE OF YOU SHALL ALSO HAPPEN TO THE OTHER…"

The recovery of wolves in Wisconsin shares some uncanny parallels in time and place with the reaffirmation of Ojibwe treaty rights. Peter David, a wildlife biologist for GLIFWC, has published a chapter entitled "Ma'iingan and the Ojibwe" (2008) in which he powerfully articulates the interwoven stories of both groups within our state. We will detail some of the connections that he has drawn upon in this chapter while continuing to unfold the wolf's history in Wisconsin.

On March 8, 1974, wolves were considered to be absent in the state of Wisconsin. This is the very day that the spearfishing act of the Tribble brothers (resulting in their arrest) would forge a divide between the Ojibwe and the state. The brothers were subsequently found guilty of illegal harvest off of reservation land. A year later, the LCO Band of Lake Superior Ojibwe filed suit in federal court on the grounds that the tribe had never relinquished its rights to hunt, fish, and gather on the lands they had ceded to the U.S. government. They argued that the state did not have the right to enforce its law on the Tribble brothers. In that same year, another political boundary was crossed: several wolves crossed the border into Wisconsin from neighboring Minnesota (Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources 1999).

Action for both the wolves and the Ojibwe took place slowly over the course of the next decade. It took four years for the court to rule against the LCO band, they began the appeals process, which resulted in an additional decade of litigation. In this time, the wolf population slowly began to grow, but would fall victim to newly

introduced canine diseases, and automobile accidents (Thiel 1993, 182). In the late 1970s, officials hesitatingly recognized that the wolf was returning to Wisconsin. Most didn't hold high hopes, and some still wrote these wolves off as a simple passing occurrence (Thiel 1993, 182). The Wisconsin DNR began to intensely monitor wolves in 1979, by winter snow tracking, howl surveys and radio collars. The Department of Natural Resources attempted to have a tracking collar on one wolf in each pack throughout the state. From the Wisconsin's DNR surveys and monitoring they found 5 packs, consisting of 25 wolves living in the state in 1980, but found the number dropped to 14 in 1985 due to reduced pup survival (Wydeven, 2011).

In 1983, the federal Appeals Court ruled in favor of the LCO band, in what became known as the LCO/Voigt decision. Litigation continued through a lengthy series of trials to further define the specifics of Ojibwe treaty rights. During this time, the Ojibwe began to exercise their off-reservation treaty rights for the first time in recent history. Many non-Native Americans looked negatively upon the reaffirmation of the treaty rights, much the same way as they regarded the recovery of the wolf. They viewed both events as the return of dangerous threats to the state's natural resources.

In Northern Wisconsin, outburst toward the Ojibwe followed. Protestors swarmed boat landings displaying anger by shouting racial slurs at Ojibwe members, pelting them with rocks, firing guns into the air, and holding up signs that read things such as, "Save a Deer, Shoot an Indian." Similarly, Wisconsin wolves were facing unwelcoming crowds. Mortality rates increased to over 35% with the

most prominent cause of death being gunshot wounds (Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, 1999).

Tension continued to mount up until the litigation concluded, detailing the specifics of the affirmed treaty rights. Both parties were relatively quiet, and neither chose to appeal Judge Barbara Crabb's summary judgment. Protests settled down, and for the first time in recent history, Wisconsin's wolf population reached over 20 individuals. The future seemed suddenly seemed encouraging for both the Ojibwe and the wolves.

Litigation began to unfold in Minnesota (in respect to the same federal treaty that the Wisconsin case had just discussed). A different outcome could change the progress that had been made in Wisconsin. Six of Wisconsin's Ojibwe bands decided to join the legal proceedings in 1995. The wolf population continued to rise. In 1997, the court upheld the treaty rights for Minnesota, and in the same year Wisconsin's wolf population reached one-hundred wolves. The Wisconsin DNR drafted a wolf recovery plan in 1999, setting a state wide goal for the wolf population to remain at or above 80 for three consecutive years in hopes of reclassifying wolves from "endangered" to only "threatened."

The DNR's strategies for recovery efforts were based on educating the Wisconsin public, legal protection, habitat protection, and providing compensation for problem wolves (Wisconsin Wolf Management Plan, 1999). Farms across Wisconsin lose livestock each year to wolves. Beginning in 1985, in an effort to discourage negative attitudes toward wolves, the state has agreed to compensate for the monetary loss of wolf depredation incidents to citizens (---1999, Wisconsin Wolf

Management Plan). The DNR expects that compensation for wolf damages will keep Wisconsin residents tolerant of wolves and the risks associated with their growing population.

Recovery: Issues with Co-Management

Nearly fifty years after the wolves had been extirpated from the state, their species had returned and significantly recovered. Most of the wolves, about 83% of Wisconsin's total population (Sanders 2013, 101), reside on territory that is ceded by the Ojibwe. While most people are aware that the LCO/Voigt decision reserved the rights of the Ojibwe to hunt, fish, and gather in the ceded territory under their own regulation, most are unaware that the series of court cases also restored the tribes' opportunity to help manage off-reservation resources. Wolves are one of those species. This management of the ma'iingan was deeply important to the tribes, partially because the Ojibwe reservations themselves are generally too small to have populations of more than a few wolves. One form of involvement consisted of Ojibwe involvement in the state wolf management plans.

Off-reservation management of wolves has often illuminated the generally conflicting cultural perspectives between the two manager groups. GLIFWC, as in other management operations, has the responsibility of formulating and conveying the positions of the Ojibwe on wolf management. The cultural significance of the wolf has complicated the ability for it to be discussed. In fact, its spiritual significance is so profound that many tribe members are uncomfortable

talking about it, and consider it to be a topic best addressed only by elders though intimate tribal philosophy (David, 2008, 273).

The Ojibwe's worldview toward ma'iingan, their brother, is distinctly different from views held by most federal, state, and private interests. This difference has caused difficulties even finding a common language with which to discuss management issues. In his chapter, David, as a representative of GLIFWC, conveys the Ojibwe response to state wolf management issues. Population goals and management in response to depredation are two of the issues central to most non-Native American discussions of the debate. Following are some of David's examinations of these issues, and reasoning for why it is complicated for the Ojibwe to co-manage.

Population goals are oftentimes the basis of state management plans. However, attempting to limit population growth is in great opposition to the Ojibwe ontology of *What happens to the wolf, happens to you.* "Population caps" and "minimum viable populations" are offensive to someone who holds an Ojibwe worldview. The Ojibwe feel that it is inappropriate to discuss the future of their brother in these terms. The state management plan (1999) establishes a population goal of 350 animals "as a reasonable first attempt at assessment of social tolerance" (16). The community whose social tolerance was being assessed was clearly not the Ojibwe. The preferred tribal alternative has often been stated as, "allowing wolves to reach their natural population level" (David 2008, 275). This goal recognizes the biological carrying capacity of wolves in the state, rather than making attempted estimates at the human social carrying capacity.

Lethal depredation control is another aspect of state management plans that the Ojibwe cannot accept. Though this form of solution to depredation issues seems to have a rather broad acceptance among the non-Native American society and is a typical component of management plans, it does not have support among the Ojibwe community. It should not be surprising that many traditional tribal members feel unwillingness to apply the death penalty to their brother wolf- especially the wolf's actions were only wrong from a human perspective. In the instance that all other measures have been extinguished and lethal control is deemed necessary by the state, the bands strongly desire that high levels of verification of wolf depredation are required. The bands feel that this method of depredation control is to only be used as a response to individual wolves in individual situations.

Many non-Native American members of the state have conflicting interests. The rise in wolf population has significantly increased human-wildlife conflicts and the subsequent state expense (Sanders, 2013, 101). According to WDNR damage reports, over 1.5 million dollars has been paid to the Wisconsin public for wolf depredation incidents since the payments were established in 1985. Stakeholders such as some farmers, rural pet owners, hunters, and trappers have expressed interest (sometimes vehemently) in reducing the wolf population in the state of Wisconsin.

OJIBWE ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

As previously detailed, Ojibwe people hold the wolf in high regard on part of their spiritual and existential belief system. The significance of the wolf, however, is not limited to otherworldly value alone; rather its significance is also derived from the fundamental interweaving of these beliefs with the knowledge and understanding of the wolf's ecological importance. Patty Loew of the Band River Band explains its value:

> "What the Ma'ingaan story tells us and what the Wenebojo and flood story tells us is that the Ojibwe people believe that animals and plants are people – they have a living, breathing spirit which makes them people, we just happen to be human people. Unlike other religious tradition, where you have these explicit statements about men having dominion over animals, this very different when animals are co-creators of the universe. If you pull that forward you can predict that someone who comes from a tradition Ojibwe world view is not going to support a wolf hunt. Someone that comes from a different religion, where they've been told they have dominion over the animals may believe that they have the right to hunt and kill those animals. That's where those stories are really important." (Patty Loew, personal interview, 2013)

Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) is the accumulated human knowledge and understanding of place in relation to the world in both an ecological and spiritual sense (Berkes et al. 2000). The Ojibwe retain a TEK that is highly place-based and has accumulated over time by the sharing of experiential knowledge across generations. For the Ojibwe, ecosystems are viewed as unpredictable,

uncontrollable, and full of surprises, requiring wisdom for responding to ecosystem change.

Ojibwe people regard their environments as their responsibility to take care of it in such a way that it continually supports whitetail deer and other interdependent organisms. They reciprocate and nurture their relationship with deer through their land tenure practices and by showing respect through moral judgments and actions, such as offerings of tobacco. These practices involve moral judgments associated with broader, traditional values.

The wisdom necessary has been molded and formed over the years by Ojibwe experience in the ecosystem, along with the oral tradition that has perpetuated through the years. Living in close proximity to the natural realm shapes a greater ecosystem understanding, and even fosters a sense of stewardship toward the community that one is involved. The Ojibwe are more keen to observations of disturbance and imbalance within their ecosystem community simply because they have become familiar with their surroundings (Patty Loew, personal interview, 2013) Their survival depended on understanding the biotic community that enveloped them, an understanding that was often gained from their spiritual counterparts- the animals and plants- within the community (David 2008, 1). Of all species that the Ojibwe closely followed, none resonated so closely with their ways than that of the ma'iingan.

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOLVES AND WOLF POLICY, 2010

In 2010, Victoria Shelley piloted a survey, in the form of a mail back questionnaire to the members of the Bad River Band of Ojibwe in order to understand their values toward wolves and their preference for alternate wolf policy. The results were extensively analyzed and compared to results from a sample of non-tribal residents in wolf territory. Findings included the Bad River respondents held more positive attitudes toward wolves and that they were more supportive of protective wolf policy and less supportive of a public harvest than the non-tribal residents. Using Kellert's (1997) wildlife values categories, the Bad River Ojibwe had more ecologist and naturalistic views toward wolves than the more utilitarian and negativistic values held by non-tribal residents. Each sample's cultural and historical relationship with the wolf was shown to be exceptionally strong. In her analysis, the cultural affiliation of respondents proved to be more significant than all other demographic factors. Differences between the two sample's values and attitudes toward wolves seemed to be rooted in cultural differences. To offer breadth, Shelley uncovered that attitudes toward wolves were not predisposed by culture entirely, as there were differences throughout each sample reflecting alternate views- for example certain circumstances would justify/warrant the killing of wolves in Ojibwe culture.

Shelley's research is important because it demonstrated contemporary proof that Bad River tribal members were more supportive of protective wolf policy and less supportive of a (proposed at the time) wolf harvest than the non-tribal respondents. Figure II (below) shows a visual representation of the results of one of the survey questions regarding cultural significance.

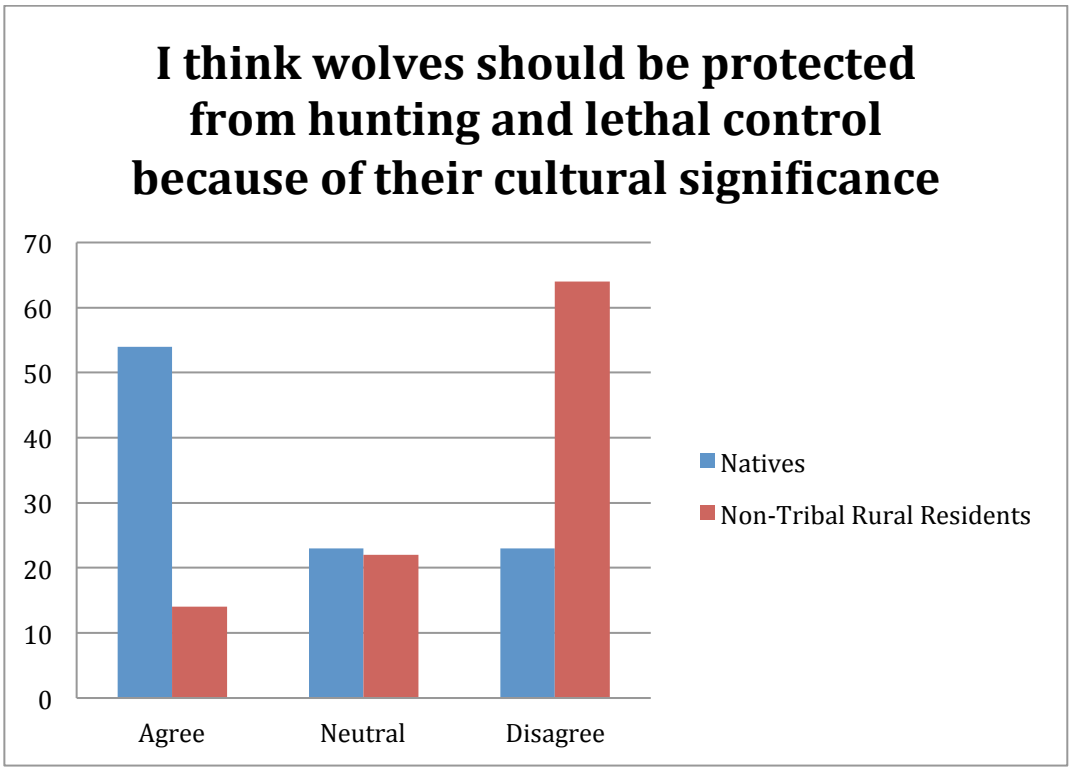

Figure 2 Data from Shelley 2010, created by Summer Wilson

Bad River Ojibwe survey respondents were also given the option to write in additional comments on Shelley's (2010) surveys. A selection of these responses offers insight behind reasons that some tribe members are not entirely opposed to a wolf harvest.

As one tribal member expressed,

> "Wolves were harvested [historically] by Native Americans, however the wolf selected was harvested compassionately. Usually it was those wolves disconnected from the pack and scavenging. Those wolves were less likely to survive without the pack; just as an Anishinabe would less likely be Anishinabe without the tribe."

Some tribal members expressed the importance of balancing hunting opportunities with cultural beliefs, as one tribal member wrote,

> "...[wolf] populations would/should warrant a wolf hunt, but I strongly urge 'no dogs, poisons, trespassing, etc.' we already have enough problems with bear baiting...Any type of wolf hunting should be very carefully and thoroughly assessed before major decisions are made. The cultural significance applies as well - what happens to ma'iingan [wolf] - happens to man."

Another respondent portrayed a similar idea stating,

> "Wolves present a bit of a paradox for me. I love them in the woods with me, hearing them, cutting their tracks, seeing their kills, and seeing them. Culturally I know their story in regards to my culture but if they are abundant enough to sustain a limited harvest I support hunting and trapping, partly because I believe my people long ago took wolves when they needed one, but also because I am so passionate about maintaining and increasing hunting and fishing opportunities for all peoples. I believe there can be a balance."

Upon wrapping up her research, Shelley said, "Tribal opinion could play a pivotal role in future wolf policy as they have political claim to half of any harvest in ceded territories which overlap much of the wolf range" (2010).

THE WOLF HUNT

Wolves were delisted from federal protection on January 27, 2012, and management authority was returned to the state (2011 Senate Bill 411). Unfortunately, the increase of wolves in Wisconsin has resulted in more frequent depredation incidents on livestock and pets. All of which are being compensated for with government funds. In the DNR's Endangered Species Report #142 there is a year-end summary of the wolf population monitoring in Wisconsin for the year 2011. Within this summary, there is mention of a hunting and trapping season and its possible implementation in the fall of 2012 as a means to reduce wolf depredations, provide additional hunting and trapping opportunities, stabilize or reduce size of the wolf population, and increase tolerance (Wydeven et al. 2012). Shortly thereafter, the state, badgered by concerned citizens and stakeholders who wanted to decrease the wolf population, approved Wisconsin's first modern-era wolf hunt, which would open on October 15th, 2012.

The Wolf Hunt: Signing of Act 169

On January 27, 2012 at 12:01am, the gray wolf was federally delisted as a protected species (WDNR, 2013), and on January 27, 2012 at 3:30pm (a mere 15 hours and 29 minutes later) SB411- a wolf hunting bill- was introduced (Jurewicz,

2013, lecture). On March 3, 2012 the bill was read and passed by the Senate. On March 13th, 2012 the senate bill was read and concurred by the Assembly, leading to its publication by the Senate as follows:

> "This bill requires the Department of Natural Resources (DNR) to issue wolf harvesting licenses if the wolf is removed from the U.S. and Wisconsin lists of endangered and threatened species. Under the bill, both state residents and nonresidents may be issued a license. The license authorizes both the hunting and trapping of wolves. The bill requires that there be a single annual season for wolf hunting and trapping from October 15 through the end of February. Under the bill, DNR may limit the number of licenses issued and the number of wolves to be harvested." (2011 Senate Bill 411)

Act 169 was signed into effect by Governor Scott Walker on April 3, 2012, and the state of Wisconsin had officially sanctioned and required a wolf hunting and trapping season. Act 169 authorized the Department of Natural Resources to define management zones, set harvest quota, and determine the number of licenses that would be issued to meet harvest objectives (Wisconsin Act 169).

The Wolf Hunt: Reactions among Stakeholders

News of the hunt was devastating to many of the Ojibwe. During a personal interview with Patty Loew, a member of the Bad River Band, she explained:

> "Thinking of it in a cultural context, our oldest story relates to the Ma'iingan-the wolf. It tells us that what happens to the wolf is going to happen to us. There is a recognizable parallel…Imagine that you are an Ojibwe person and the state says 'there are too many wolves out there and we need to manage them, and so we are going to regulate the population by organizing this hunt.'

> What does that say to us? It tells us that maybe that state thinks that we need to be managed too, maybe our population needs to be controlled, maybe our influence on the state needs to be curtailed…" (Loew, personal interview, 2013).

Stakeholders, groups or individuals with a vested interest in Wisconsin's wolves, experienced reactions on both ends of the spectrum. A Wisconsin Wolf Stakeholders meeting was planned to take place on April 21, 2012 in order to discuss wolf population updates, depredation management, wolf management policies, discuss the new federal delisting, and delve into the initial plans to developing wolf harvest rules. Present at the meeting with WDNR officials were hunting groups, environmental groups, animal welfare organizations, farm groups, tribes, educators, and private citizens (WDNR, 2012).

During the Listening Session on Wolf Harvest Legislation, each stakeholder is given the opportunity to share his or her thoughts (for three minutes) in response to any wolf-management issue (WDNR, 2012). Peter David (GLIWC representative, and one of the stakeholders present for Native American tribes) exemplified the Ojibwe population's disdainful response to the proposed hunt through his impassioned statement as follows (copied directly from the meeting minutes taken on April 21 which accounts for the grammatical inconsistencies):

> "This not an official GLIFWC statement. I want to make clear that this process does not replace state-tribe meetings. I am here in part to hear what other partners have to say. To DNR - concerned with certain echelon of DNR. Wolves are a species that the Ojibwe see their future intertwined with. There is not time to talk about issues with bill (today). Saw report from Bureau of Wildlife Management about partnerships then watched process with wolves and the disregard for all partners. The DNR Administration opted to intentionally disregard staff, Science Committee, Stakeholders group, Natural

> resources Board, and the Conservation Congress. Three days before bill still no notice from DNR on website. Particularly unconscionable that among all these groups that the Tribes were not contacted or consulted. Tribes can take ½ of the harvest in ceded territory. Tribes need to be fully engaged. Tribes and GLIFWC on and off reservation. I strongly suggest that this group (Stakeholders) function as it was designed to. If at the June meeting DNR comes with issues decided then that will be another nail in coffin of partnerships with the Tribes."

Randall Wollenhaup, a stakeholder for the Stockbridge-Munsee Nation, also alluded to a conflict between tribal views and the rapid passing of Wisconsin's wolf harvest legislation:

> "I want to point out that there was a lack of consult with tribes or tribal biologists, not one of them was consulted. When we were notified we only got 48-hour notice. Legislation will have severe impact on tribes' ability to manage and maintain a wolf population on reservations. As far as the Harvest Zones, tribes want to be consulted and want buffer areas around reservations. This will be a huge burden for tribal game wardens with dogs running to ensure no trespassing."

To clarify, buffer zones are areas around reservations that would seek to maintain populations of wolves that live on the reservation itself. Because wolf pack ranges will typically cross reservation borders, these wolves, that the tribes seek to protect, will be at the risk of being killed by a hunter. We believe that buffer zones could serve to mitigate come of the conflict between Native American Tribes and non-Native American rural residents who are not in favor of coexisting with wolves, and we will intensively explore this proposal in a following section.

The Wolf Hunt: Decision-Making for the First Season

Six harvest zones were outlined based on wolf habitat value and human conflict potential (See Figure II below), and any tribal request about buffer zones around reservations was either not included or overlooked all together. A harvest quota of 201 wolves was established- ten percent of the 2,010 state licenses that would be available. In accordance to treaty rights, the department set aside half of the harvest quota on ceded territories for the Ojibwe tribes, resulting in a tribal quota claiming 85 of the 201 wolves in the statewide quota. Zero-quota areas were established within the reservation boundaries of Ojibwe reservations: Bad River, Red Cliff, Lac Courte Oreilles, Lac Du Flambeau, Menominee and Stockbridge-Munsee reservations (---2013, Wisconsin Wolf Season Report 2012).

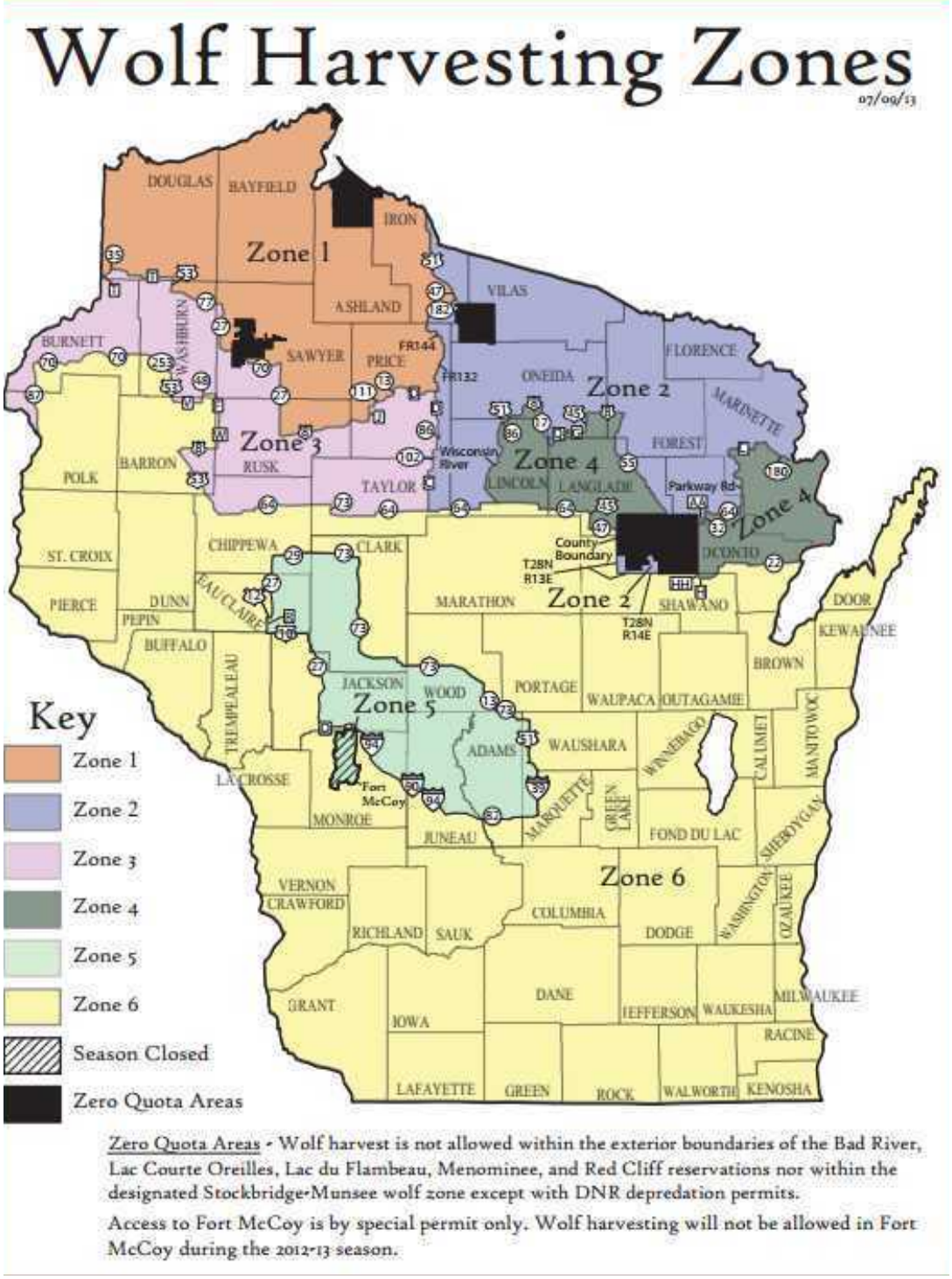

Figure 3: Wolf Harvest Zones in the state of Wisconsin (WDNR 2013)

On part of their situated beliefs, The Ojibwe did not use their wolf tags, leaving their portion of wolves to live. The reported tribal wolf harvest remained at

zero, whereas the wolf population remained 85 greater than the DNR had intended to see. Licensed trappers and hunters were allotted 116 wolf tags via a lottery-like system, and by December 23rd there were 117 wolves registered by means of licensed harvest. The zones were all closed, the quota was met, and the first controlled wolf harvest was completed. In addition to wolves removed via the harvest, 243 known/reported wolf mortalities occurred during the calendar year of 2012; the causes of the mortalities are detailed in Figure III, below (---2013, Wisconsin Wolf Season Report 2012). Although the 2012 mortalities were within the expected range and the population did not seem to suffer, potential other effects that the harvest has had, and will continue to have on the population are largely unknown at this time (---2013, Wisconsin Wolf Season Report 2012).

The Wolf Hunt: Following the First Season

On March 23, 2013, a Wolf Management Round Table meeting was developed for gathering feedback on the first wolf harvest from agencies, stakeholder groups, and tribes (WDNR, 2013). Notes from the meeting portray a seemingly general feeling of success about the first season- there was much to research and much to be learned from the data of the first hunt. The need to discuss modifications was also brought forth. Discussion involving Wisconsin's Native American tribes revealed a collective suggestion that management zones should be altered to include zero-

quota areas (or buffer zones) surrounding the reservations, as taken from the meeting notes:

- Bad River Tribe wants 6 mile buffer from reservation boundaries with zero quotas have proposed road boundaries
- Potawatomi Tribe has disjunct ownerships with no established boundary but would like their own wolf management zone
- Stockbridge-Munsee tribe will be asking for a zero quota buffer area
- Tribes are generally ok with depredation control actions where there have been depredation problems, even near reservations.

Suggestions to altering different aspects of the hunt and the need for further research in most areas were brought to the table, with the understanding that these ideas would be revisited much more intensively in the Wolf Advisory Committee meetings to come (WDNR, 2013).

WOLF ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The committee was established by the WDNR in 1992 to oversee wolf recovery, and develop the wolf management plan. Initially it was a technical, or science committee comprised of biologists and researchers from different fields across the state. In 2004, however, its composition transformed to include numerous external interest groups as well (this is also when it took on the title Wolf

Advisory Committee). Members are exclusive, and selected by the DNR as the consistent representatives for each committee gathering. The current purpose of the committee is to review and alter the management plan by facilitating the research, input, suggestions, and concerns from its members. The committee makes proposals that must be passed by the Natural Resources Board in order to take effect.

To highlight the key players in decision-making: The Wisconsin DNR explains the Wolf Advisory Committee as, "a diverse group representing agency, non-agency, tribal and stakeholder interests [that] meets to propose wolf quota recommendations." Separately, "A Wisconsin DNR Wolf Advisory Committee will continue to incorporate a diverse group of individuals to address policy and management concerns," is written in the Wisconsin Wolf Management Plan (WDNR, 1999).

Following is a list of members (with respective groups and agencies attached) in attendance for the Wolf Advisory Committee Meeting in Wausau on April 23, 2013. This list was compiled from the meeting minutes posted by the WDNR:

- Bill Vander Zouwen -- DNR
- David MacFarland-- DNR
- Adrian Wydeven – DNR
- Brad Koele – DNR

- Steve Hoffman – DNR
- David Halfmann – DNR
- Sara Kehrli – DNR
- Kris Johansen – DNR
- Dan Michels – DNR
- Barry Gilcheck – DNR
- Jenny Pelej – DNR
- Brian Dhuey – DNR
- Lee Fahrney – Conservation Congress
- Eric Koens – Wisconsin Cattlemen's Association
- Mike Gappa – Wisconsin Bear Hunters Association
- Joe Koback – Safari Club International
- Randy Jurewicz – Timber Wolf Alliance
- Mike Brust – Wisconsin Bowhunters Association
- Peter Fasbender –US Fish and Wildlife Service
- Jake Walcisak – Wisconsin County Forest Association

- Dan Eklund –US Forest Service
- Jason Suckow – USDA-WS
- Maynard Breunig – Wisconsin Trappers Association
- Ralph Fritsch – Wisconsin Wildlife Federation
- Peter David – GLIFWC (Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission)

Though the WDNR explicitly states that the members form a diverse group, there is a clear distribution in the majority of representation. Treaty rights allocate 50% of the harvestable population to Native American groups, and Peter David is the only representative for the tribal population, comprising only 4% of the committee. Meanwhile, there are 12 DNR representatives, 3 representatives from government agencies, and 10 DNR-appointed stakeholders. Formerly, university researchers and anti-hunting groups (such as Humane Society of the United States and Sierra Club- John Muir Chapter representatives) were included, but after the 2012 season they were removed.

The purpose of the committee gathering on April 23, 2013 was to collectively bring the group up to speed on wolf monitoring and management after the first state harvest, which would allow group members to prepare to make recommendations for the second wolf harvest (WDNR, 2013). As detailed in the meeting notes, a

publicly published record would not include quotes or names rather only enough detail to capture what was discussed and presented (WDNR, 2013).

During this meeting, the following comments were noted as shared with the committee in regards to tribal perspectives (WDNR, 2013):

- Belief that state may be violating Voigt case decisions including amount of social consideration in developing recommendations such as quotas.
- Belief that depredation control kills, harvest kills and illegal kills must all be in state's side of the quota.
- Belief that zone kills (depredation and harvest) should be managed together not independently, with particular targets in mind.
- Tribes don't support harvest but they can probably tolerate some harvest if it's not intended to substantially reduce the population like in MN and MI.
- They want core protection areas or refuges such as the reservations and 6-mile buffers.
- Tribal rights are more than a harvest right; also right to values of living resources.
- Desire for a fully functional ecological system including the number of wolves that are needed for such.
- Tribes are developing a Midwest wolf stewardship plan.

- Desire for state to be cautious with quotas considering the unknown....age of killed wolves, potential for super-additivity (lower survival and reproduction of remaining wolves) that won't be known until after this year's quota is set.
- Consider current population to be small.
- Suggestion that the goals of the hunt are not very clear.
- Suggestion the hunt is ineffective at depredation control as most hunting and trapping kills are not from packs that are depredating livestock.
- Suggestion we need a joint wolf stipulation as with other species.

The next committee meeting took place on May 23, 2013 with the goal being to develop recommendations for the coming year's wolf quota and licenses (WDNR, 2013). For this set of meeting notes, names were attached to suggestions. Peter David of GLIFWC expressed that steps were being taken out of order, and expressed his doubts as follows:

> "The 350 population goal can be interpreted in different ways. It is an old goal written when the population was ~200, and was based on social tolerance. Should that be the primary consideration in wolf management? We don't have the ability to fully evaluate the effect of the first harvest season. We don't yet know the age structure of harvested wolves. The tribes suggest being conservative until the plan is revised and impacts of the first harvest are better known. The emphasis of this group is harvest, which is being viewed as synonymous with management. Three hundred fifty is not a stable

number to manage at. The tribes' objective is to see all suitable habitat occupied."

Wolf Advisory Committee: Discussion

A significant portion of our research regarded the structure and composition of the decision-making committees. Personal attendance at a Wolf Advisory Committee meeting, as well as opinions we gathered from interviews suggest that this committee is a problematic forum for facilitating effective cooperative management. Sitting in on the meeting allowed us to understand the tense atmosphere and the stifled nature of conversation. Stakeholders come from very different backgrounds, and it is noticeably difficult for them to see eye-to-eye on topics that they may feel passionately different about.

During our interviews, a considerable amount of conversation revolved around the committee meetings. Here we will convey some quotes from different conservations regarding each of the subjects listed in boldface.

Of 25 members, only one of them represents the tribes (Peter David of GLIFWC):

> "If you set up a structure where a majority of the representatives are pro wolf hunting and only one is representing the tribes, I argue that it violates the spirit and the letter of the court ruling. That is not 50/50…I think you're ensuring a certain outcome." (Patty Loew, personal interview, 2013)

> "Heavily loaded with user groups." (Randy Jurewicz, Timber Wolf Alliance Rep., previously with WDNR, personal interview, 2013)

> "Conversation is stifled; it's hard to tell people how it will affect both wolves and the tribes when you're up against everyone else and their beliefs." (Peter David, personal interview, 2013)

The nature of the committee has changed:

> "With the inclusion of 7 special interest groups, the committee is really devaluating science." (Peter David, personal interview, 2013)

> "Oftentimes, the wildlife managers are sitting there silently. There isn't a union anymore, there is no longer that protection." (Randy Jurewicz, personal interview, 2013)

Are the tribes at a disadvantage in decision making?

> "Decisions are not based on numerical voting, they are based on consensus. But averaging consensuses is like dealing with a group of sharks; the consensus is, 'yeah, let's eat the seal!'" (Randy Jurewicz, personal interview, 2013)

> "Wolf management decisions are being made by people, most say… who value [wolves] the least." (Peter David, personal interview, 2013)

Each person we talked to made it known that they favored the prior committee structure over the current. Randy Jurewicz refers to the Science Committee as "the good ol' days" and Peter David (who is already overwhelmingly outnumbered) explains how he does not believe that his opinion is appreciated

nearly as much as it was before the restructuring of the committee. Even Adrian Wydeven, a leading wolf biologist for the Wisconsin DNR, discussed how there are members of the Advisory Committee that would be more appropriate as members of a committee for stakeholders alone. "You have a lot of stakeholders who don't know the science or feel any obligation to the science," said Timothy Van Deelan, a wildlife ecologist and professor at UW-Madison who is not on the committee (Wisconsin Watch, 2013). Yet for some reason, it seems as if the administration is favoring these special interest groups. Just as David said, "obviously the deck was stack; they chose who they wanted to have on this committee." David remains fairly convinced that he is on the committee merely as part of the litigation from the Voigt case. If it weren't federal law, he does not believe that he would be invited.

The structure of the committee also lessens the opportunity for other tribal representatives to offer input. Because he is with GLIFWC, David represents the ceded territories, not the actual reservation land. Therefore, none of the tribes have representation on-reservation. Lacey Hill, the wildlife specialist for the Bad River Natural Resource Department explained to us how she would like to be a part of committee meetings, and she has a lot of research to share (as will be presented later in the paper), but is unfortunately not included (Hill, personal interview, 2013).

It is important to recall that during the wolf bounty era, the discrediting of science and a structure that appeased special interest groups ultimately lead to the extirpation of wolves from the state of Wisconsin. Though time has passed, trends

are uncannily similar, and another quote from David forewarns the decision-makers in modern management:

> "History can provide important lessons. It's worth remembering that we did eliminate wolves once, and it was not that difficult…" (David, personal interview, 2013)

CONTROVERSY: BREAKING FROM COOPERATIVE MANAGEMENT

On June 26, 2013, The Natural Resource Board unanimously approved the harvest quota for the second hunting and trapping season, set to begin in October 2013 (Smith 2013). The Wolf Advisory Committee advanced the target quota of 275 wolves to the board after its support by the state's wildlife policy team and DNR executives. Abiding by off-reservation treaty rights, the quota from the Natural Resource Board Agenda Item states that 115 wolves will be "eligible for harvest declaration by the Ojibwe tribes" WDNR, 2013). Also added into the agenda item is the statement that the Voigt Task Force remained opposed to the wolf harvest (Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources 2013).

For nearly 2 months after its approval, there were still discrepancies involving the actual number of wolves that would be claimed for harvest by the Ojibwe. The DNR news release on June 26, 2013, used 275 as the number of wolves that would presumably be harvested, as researchers had attached multiple statistics

and thoroughly researched management goals to this quota: "We want people to understand that meeting a quota of 275 wolves does not equal removal of over a third of the current minimum population," said Dave MacFarland. "The committee has been working closely with University of Wisconsin researchers and based on our best population modeling knowledge, we estimate the approved quota could reduce the population by approximately 13 percent taking all mortality factors into account." Nothing published by the DNR integrated the quota number of 160 (275 minus the 115 wolves entitled to the Ojibwe who had remained consistent with the decision that they would not harvest the wolves). Online news sources continued to report that uncertainty remained around the issue of tribal involvement in the harvest; and used both the number 275 and 160 in reference to the upcoming quota, while conveying the notion that the wait for finality rested upon a tribal decision (Smith 2013).

Meanwhile, another Wolf Advisory Committee meeting took place on July 18, 2013. Important details involving Native American stakeholders included the recommendation to include Voigt requirements under the Legal Background section of the management plan, as well as the intent to include a discussion on tribal values (Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources 2013).

Suddenly, on August 13, 2013, The Central Office of The Wisconsin DNR published an article that read, "[the wolf harvest quota] was set at 275. However, the number of wolves available for harvest…has been adjusted to 251, in response to the recent declaration of wolves by the Chippewa Bands of Wisconsin." The article proceeds to adjust the number of permits that will now be available after

the claiming of 24 wolves by the Ojibwe (Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources 2013). Sue Erickson, a spokeswoman for the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission, which oversees the Chippewa's off-reservation rights, declined comment on the tribal declaration, saying the matter is still under discussion.

Reports explaining the arrival at this decision were seemingly nonexistent, or at least they were being purposely kept from the public. The following letter from DNR Secretary, Cathy Stepp to GLIFWC Executive Administrator James Zorn was ultimately located in the media documents section of the online Milwaukee, Wisconsin Journal Sentinel. It is important to consider the single-sided decision making by the state, as well as the potential violation of LCO/Voigt decision treaty rights in refusal to allot 50% of the wolves in ceded territory to the tribes.

State of Wisconsin
DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES
101 S. Webster Street
Box 7921
Madison WI 53707-7921

Scott Walker, Governor
Cathy Stepp, Secretary
Telephone 608-266-2621
Toll Free 1-888-936-7463
TTY Access via relay - 711

August 13, 2013

Via Electronic Mail

James E. Zorn
Executive Administrator
Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission
P.O. Box 9
Odanah, WI 54861

Dear Executive Administrator Zorn:

Thank you for your letter on behalf of the Voigt Intertribal Task Force (Task Force) and Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission (GLIFWC) regarding the upcoming 2013 State of Wisconsin wolf season, and the Task Forces' live declaration of all wolves in the Ceded Territory. We deeply respect the cultural and religious beliefs of the Ojibwe bands (Tribes), and appreciate that this continues to be difficult issue for many.

As we have discussed in the past, the Department continues to bear the responsibility and authority for the management of all of the natural resources of the State. As a state agency, our duty is to implement the directive of the legislature, which is to hold an annual Wisconsin wolf harvest. In doing so, the Department remains committed to both respecting treaty rights and striving to achieve the management objective approved in the Wisconsin's Wolf Management Plan of a sustainable wolf population. This year, the Natural Resources Board established an overall quota of 275 wolves for the 2013 season, a number that is consistent with the state's management goal to sustain wolf populations in their core range (an area that includes most of the Tribes' reservation lands), while reducing the overall population to a more socially tolerable level. However, in recognition of the ongoing sensitive of this issue to many tribal members, the Department will again establish zero harvest zones within the exterior boundaries of the Bad River, Red Cliff, Lac Courte Oreilles, and Lac du Flambeau reservations.

Consistent with our letter to you on August 15, 2012 (copy attached), we continue to respectfully disagree with the Tribal claim to all wolves in the Ceded Territory. While the existence of usufructuary rights in the Ceded Territory is well-established, the Voigt (Lac Courte Oreilles Indians v. State of Wis., 775 F. Supp. 321(W.D. Wis. 1991)) case clarified that those rights are harvesting rights, not resource preservation or enhancement rights infringing on the State's recognized authority and responsibility as primary resource manager. Moreover, the harvestable surplus of any resource to which the Tribes have retained a harvesting right must be apportioned equally between the Tribes and the State, and neither party can exempt their share of the harvestable surplus from actual harvest. As a result, the Tribes' reserved treaty rights do not include the ability to make a "live declaration" of the entire wolf resource or to utilize a declaration to prevent harvest in violation of the state's management authority and objectives.

As you know, in balancing respect for treaty rights with the need to meet management objectives, the state routinely adjusts the portion of the overall quota which is allocated to state harvesters based on actual tribal harvest for a wide variety of species. During last year's first-ever wolf season, the State set aside fifty percent of the harvestable surplus of wolves within the Ceded Territory (85 wolves) for Tribal harvest in the event that the Tribes decided to implement a Tribal season or issue ceremonial harvest

Figure 4: Page 1 of 2 of the letter from DNR Secretary, Cathy Stepp to the tribes conveying their quota for the 2013 wolf harvest season

permits after the state's season was already underway. No Tribal harvest occurred, and with fifty percent of the harvestable surplus reserved, the number of wolves available to be taken by state harvesters during the 2012 season was insufficient to place downward pressure on the wolf population, and therefore did not meet the state's management goal. Since then, the Tribes have consistently articulated that they remain steadfast in their opposition to wolf harvest. Additionally, the age data collected after the 2012 season, which reveals that very few breeding wolves were harvested, continues to give us comfort that our management decisions were both conservative and reasonable. Because the Task Force has not yet desired to seek an agreement with Department as to an appropriate Tribal season, and in the absence of any past Tribal harvest performance, the Department believes it is still necessary to set aside a portion of the harvestable surplus in the event that the Tribes determine at a later date to implement a Tribal season or issue ceremonial harvest permits after the state's season is already underway, but to do so as a reduced percentage in order to meet the state's management goal. Accordingly, for the 2013 season, the State will reserve approximately ten percent (24 wolves) of the harvestable surplus of wolves in the Ceded Territory for potential Tribal harvest, for a statewide quota of 251 for state harvesters

We remain mindful of our management responsibility as it relates to Tribal harvest in the exercise of their usufructuary rights, and will continue to work with the Tribes in the event they desire to implement a Tribal harvest in the future. Additionally, while we recognize the difficulty in talking about such a culturally sensitive issue, we will continue seek input from the Tribes regarding the future management of the wolf resource as intended by the Voigt case.

Sincerely,

Cathy Stepp
Secretary
Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources

Figure 5: Page 2 of 2 of the letter from DNR Secretary, Cathy Stepp to the tribes conveying their quota for the 2013 wolf harvest season

During a personal interview, Patty Loew responded to Cathy Stepp's letter (Figures III and IV) by saying:

> "That letter was so arrogant and dismissive and disrespectful. It shows such a lack of any willingness to understand the cultural perspective of the Ojibwe people. That is what was so disheartening for me as a member of an Ojibwe band. I read that and I thought, not only do they not get it, they don't care if they don't get it. They're completely unwilling to open their minds and understand that this decision is alienating an entire group of people." (Loew, personal interview, 2013).

With tensions high, it is a critical time to mediate the relations between the State and the Ojibwe. One of the first compromises that can be made is exactly what the Tribes have requested from the beginning: buffer zones.

BUFFER ZONES: A GEOGRAPHIC SOLUTION TO ISSUES OF POLITICS, CULTURE, AND SCIENCE

Moving forward, we would like to propose a solution that seeks a moderated common ground. As mentioned prior, buffer zones are areas surrounding reservations in which the wolf hunt would be prohibited. For the tribes, the purpose of these areas would be to maintain an ecologically sound population of wolves (protected on the reservation) without the threat of losing these wolves to the harvest if they were to wander across reservation boundaries. In the case of the Bad River reservation, Lacey Hill said, "It's not possible to protect the Bad River wolves without a buffer zone, we have been monitoring for many years, and not one pack

stays entirely within the reservation" (Hill, personal interview, 2013). Below is a map displaying the outlines of buffer zones surrounding the zero-quota reservation areas. The commonly proposed extent of these zones is 6 miles from reservation boundaries.

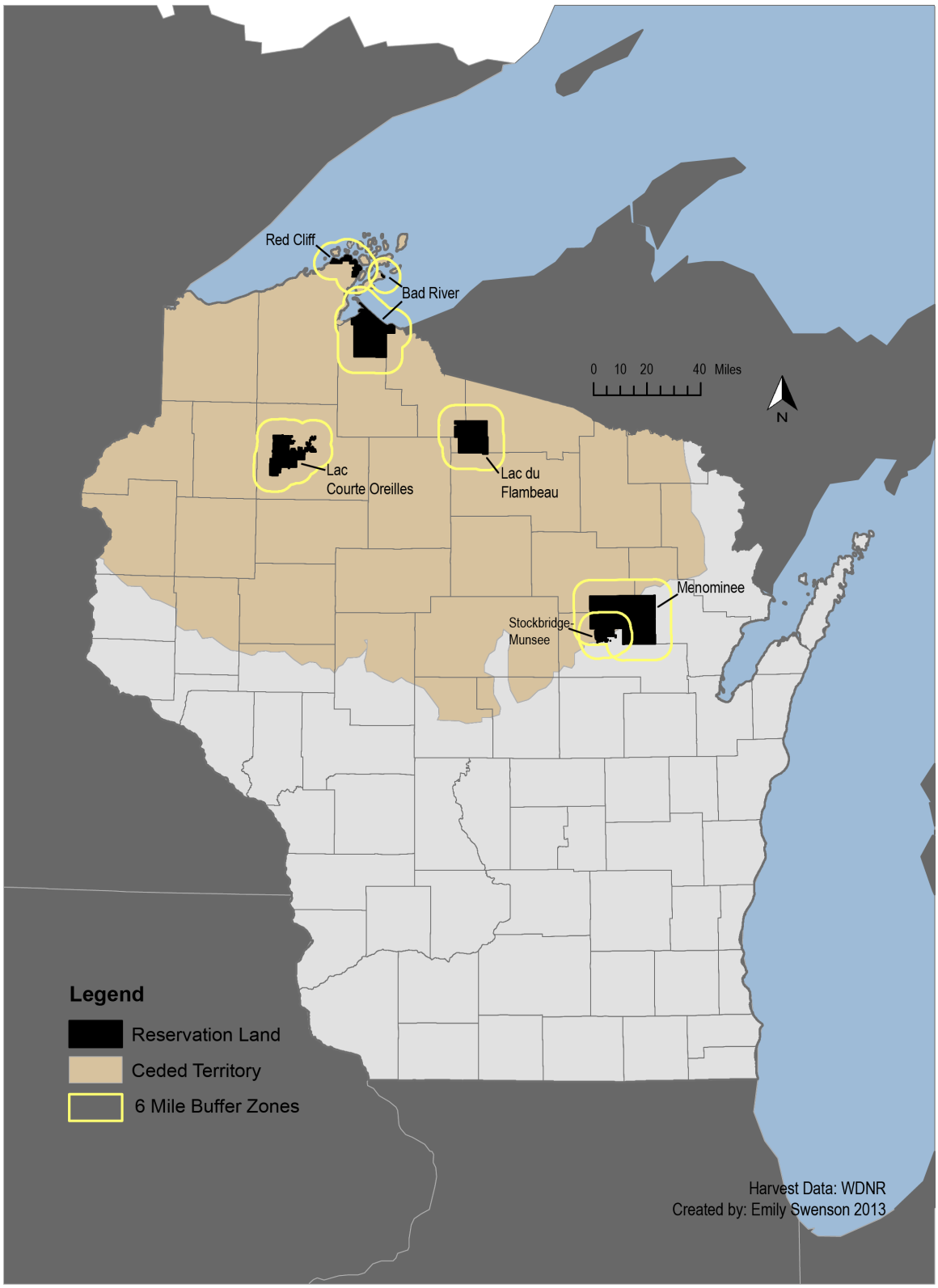

Figure 6: Map created by Emily Swenson outlining proposed 6 mile buffer zones.

Looking at the harvest locations from 2012 (WDNR, 2013) (see figure 7 below) suggests that 10 wolves may have been protected surrounding the reservations. Though the 10 wolves are tribally significant, the effects of killing an individual may reach further, affecting the breeding units and pack structure as a whole. Randy Jurewicz said:

> "Because of the family unit of wolves, and their territorial nature, the loss of a single wolf can detrimentally affect the pack as a whole. It can disband the pack. It can cause the entire breeding structure to collapse. Now you haven't only killed one wolf, you have killed all of next year's pups as well." (Jurewicz, personal interview, 2013)

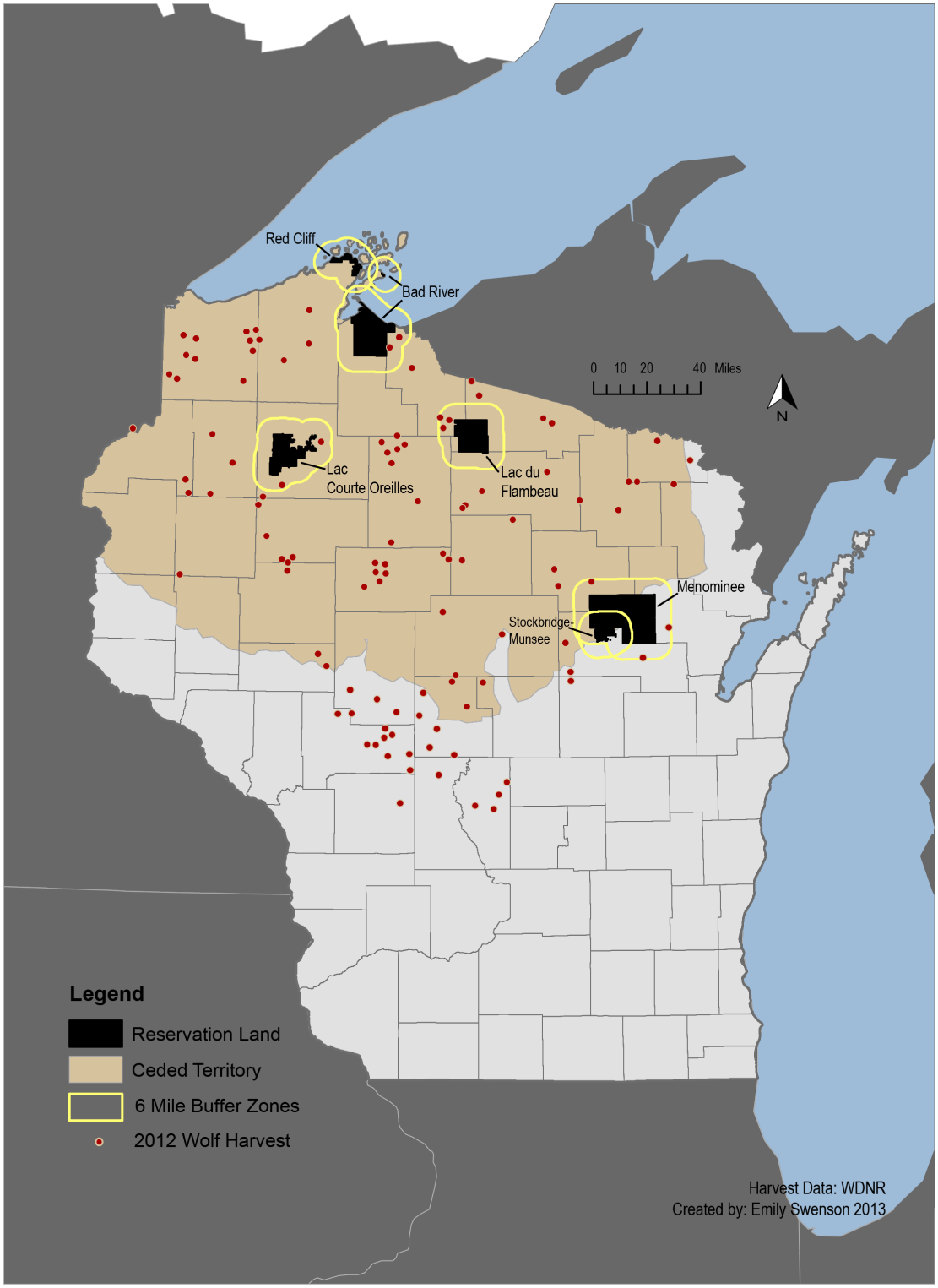

Figure 7: Map depicting 2012 harvest locations in accordance to proposed buffer zones. Harvest data from Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources. Created by Emily Swenson.

Upon meeting with Lacey Hill on the reservation, we realized that she had been hard at work drafting the Bad River Wolf Management Plan (tribally accepted as of 2013) that includes the recognition of buffer zones. She has taken the plan even further, tailoring the 6 mile zones to easily recognizable road boundaries. Hill explains that if the zones are clear and well-defined, there is a greater chance that they will be effective on the ground (Hill, personal interview, 2013). "Hunters are not going to stand out in the woods making certain of their GPS coordinates before they shoot," she said (Hill, personal interview, 2013). Below is a map showing Hill's Bad River Wolf Management Zone.

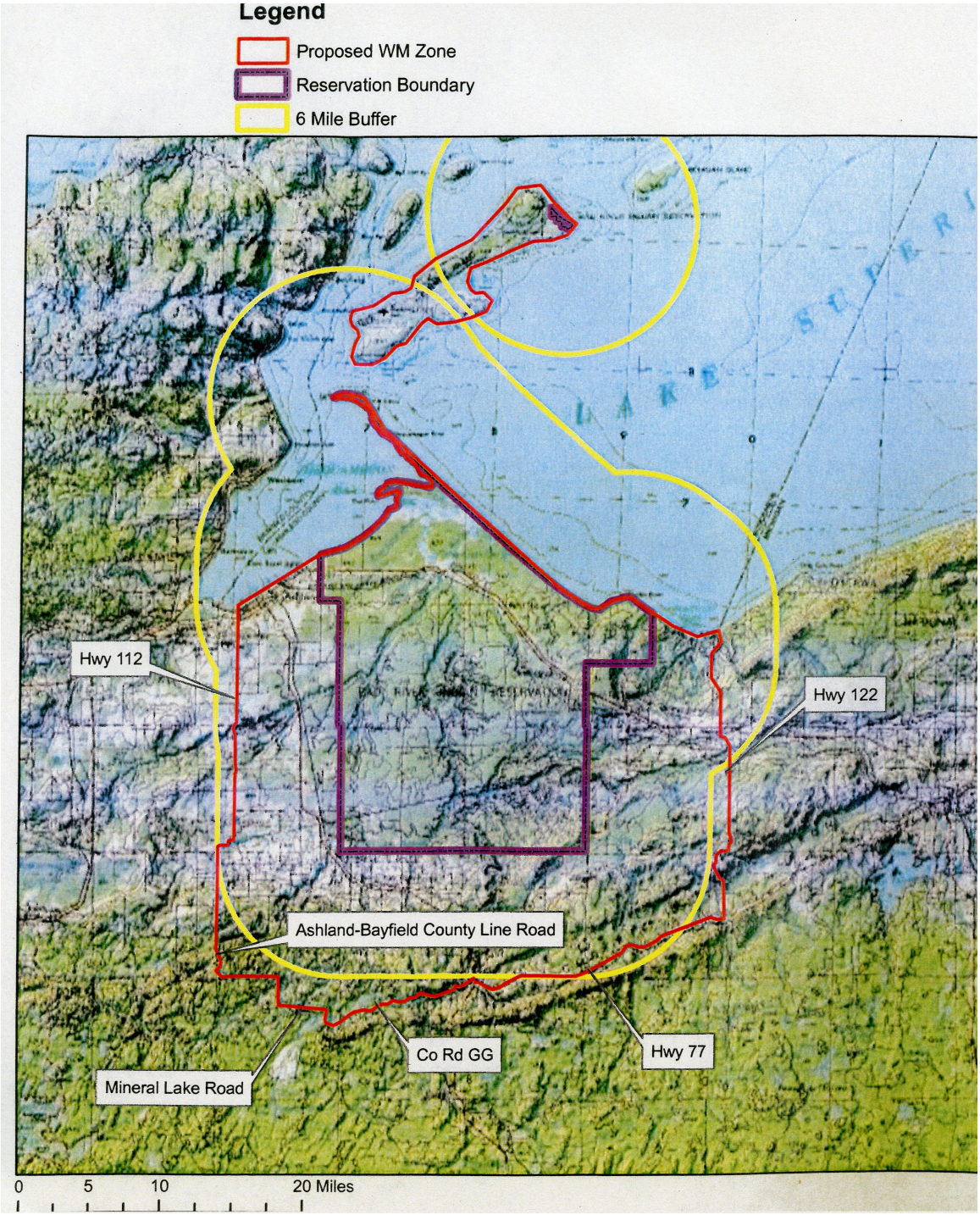

Figure 8: Map tailoring the 6 mile buffer zones to follow well-defined roads. Drafted by Lacey Hill, Wildlife and GIS Specialist for the Bad River Natural Resource Department.

Further, Hill has drafted another map that shows known pack locations of wolves on, and surrounding, the Bad River Reservation. She explained that she cannot be sure of which packs are currently intact, as last year's wolf hunt took a toll killing two wolves immediately off of the reservation (Hill, personal interview, 2013). Nevertheless, this map provides evidence that the buffer zone would be effective in maintaining at least three packs of wolves (Kakagon Sloughs, West Fire Lane, and Potato River) on, and surrounding, the reservation. Other surrounding packs would also receive partial protection from the hunt with the recognition of the buffer zone.

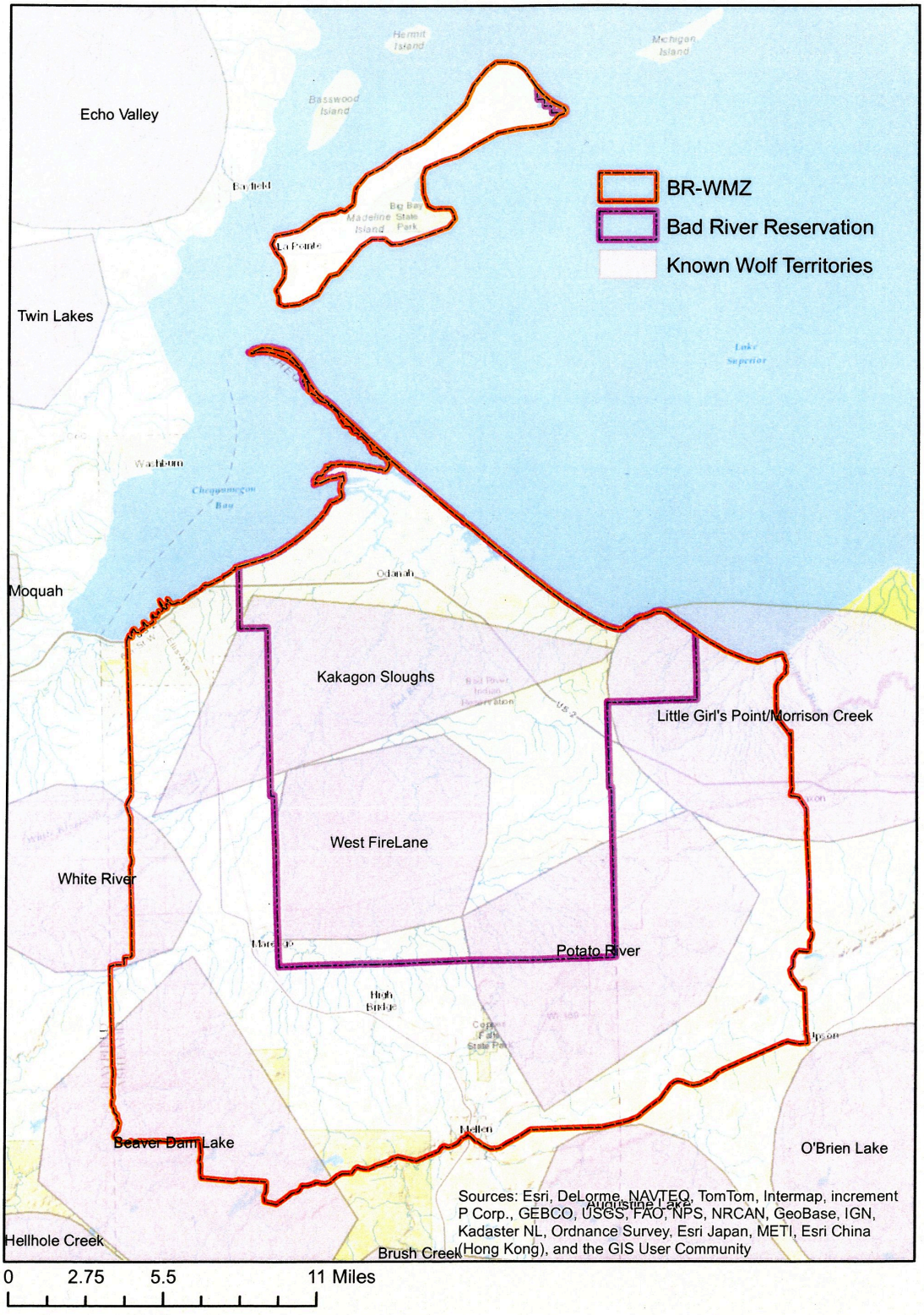

Figure 9: Map showing known pack territories along with the Bad River Wolf Management Zone outline. Drafted by Lacey Hill, Wildlife and GIS Specialist for the Bad River Natural Resource Department.

Hill also expressed a great deal of enthusiasm regarding Bad River's first radio collared wolf. Using radio telemetry, this Alpha Male provides Hill with locational information regularly. He is known as BR001. The map below shows his current territory (as of October 21, 2013). His range suggests that he regularly stays within the proposed buffer zones boundaries. In another interview, Peter David stated that, "a 6 mile buffer zone would capture a majority of [reservation] wolf movements" (David, personal interview, 2013), just as the following map suggests.

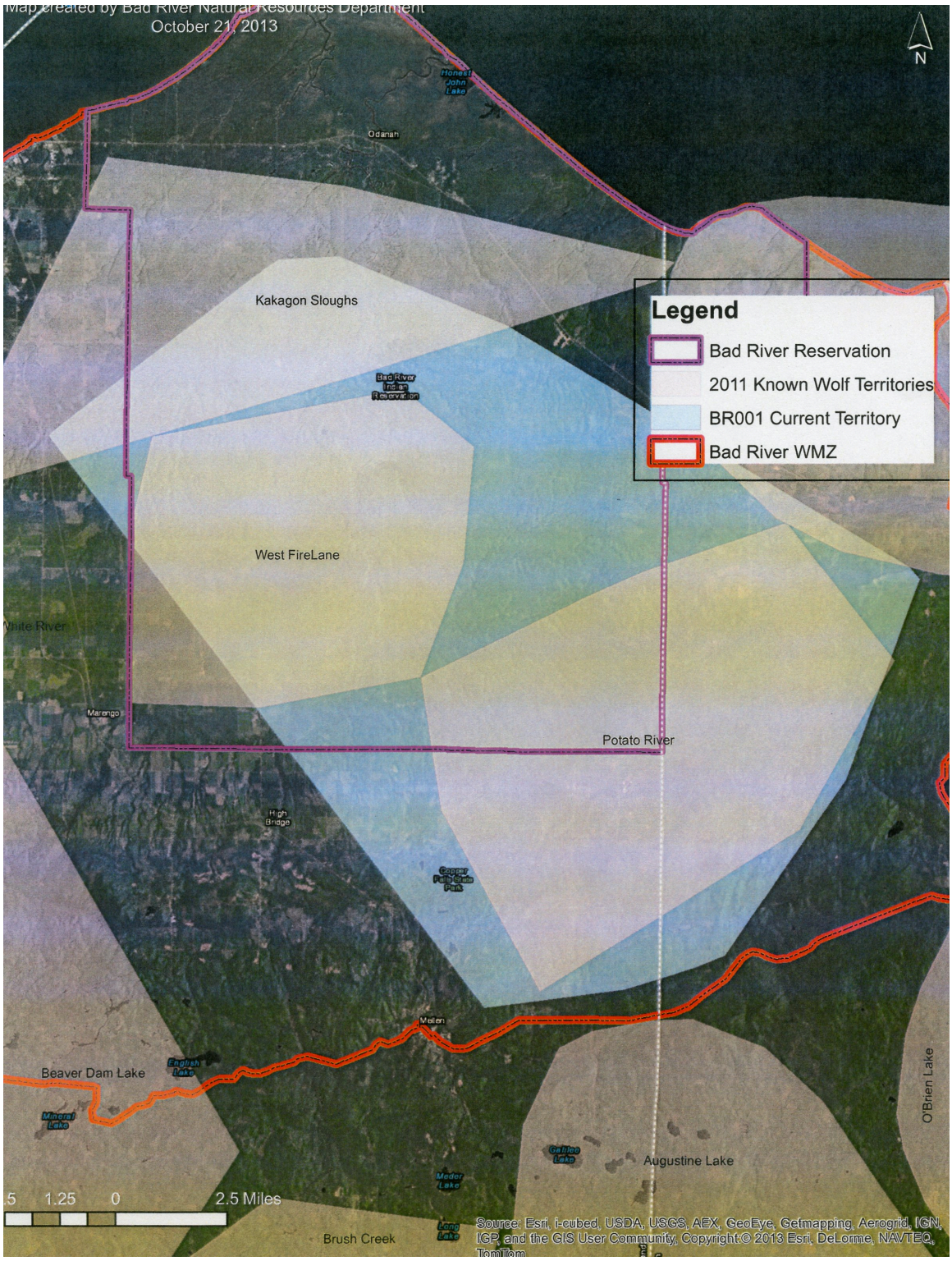

Figure 10: Map displaying the current territory of Bad River's first radio-monitored wolf. Drafted by Lacey Hill, Wildlife and GIS Specialist for the Bad River Natural Resource Department.

Further discussing the specifics of the buffer zone, Hill explained how homeowners living within these protected areas could harbor frustrations, feeling as if they were no longer entitled to their rights. She proceeded to explain that depredation incidents would be managed within buffer areas through joint decision making between State and Tribe officials. Each event would be handled circumstantially. Landowner permits, which authorize those with livestock farms to kill a wolf on their own property, would still be available within buffer zone limits, Hill explained (Hill, personal interview, 2013).

Though she had devised multiple aspects of a cooperative management plan, when asked if she believes buffer zones will be recognized by the state in coming seasons, Hill responded, "no, I do not believe it's very likely" (Hill, personal interview, 2013).

It wasn't long before we were hiking through the freshly fallen snow of Chequamegon National Forest in search of wolf tracks, with Adrian Wydeven as our guide. Wydeven, a mammalian ecologist and conservation biologist with the Wisconsin DNR, is one of the leading figures in wolf management. He has worked closely with Wisconsin's wolf population since their quiet recovery decades ago. Wydeven is in favor of the wolf hunt. He believes that the goal of wolf management should be, "maintaining a healthy, viable population of wolves, while satisfying their cultural significance and minimizing conflict" (Wydeven, personal interview, 2013).

When we began to discuss the idea of buffer zones, we hadn't expected Wydeven to be very receptive (based on Lacey Hill's previous comment, as well as the State's seeming disinterest in recognizing these zones for the past two years),

however, he surprised us by pulling out a road atlas marked up with plans that he had been working on. Wydeven explained to us that the wolf hunt is largely understood to be an experiment. The controlled hunt of wolves is new to the state, and researchers are continuously incorporating their findings into the molding of management policy. With that, he said, "…every good scientific experiment includes the use of controls" (Wydeven, personal interview, 2013). He further explained that controls would take the form of zero-quota areas within the state. Rather than simply creating zones 6 miles around reservations, Wydeven implemented the research findings of a colleague, David Mladenoff, a professor of Forest Ecology at the University of Wisconsin- Madison.

In 2009, Mladenoff and fellow researchers published their findings, including maps, which suggest the probability of suitable wolf habitat in the Great Lakes Region. The map can been seen below (figure 11). The model suggests that the best predictors of suitable wolf habitat are the lack of agriculture and low road densities. Mladenoff also suggests that poorer habitat is not suitable in all ways, and cannot support a truly sustainable population (Mladenoff et al, 2009).

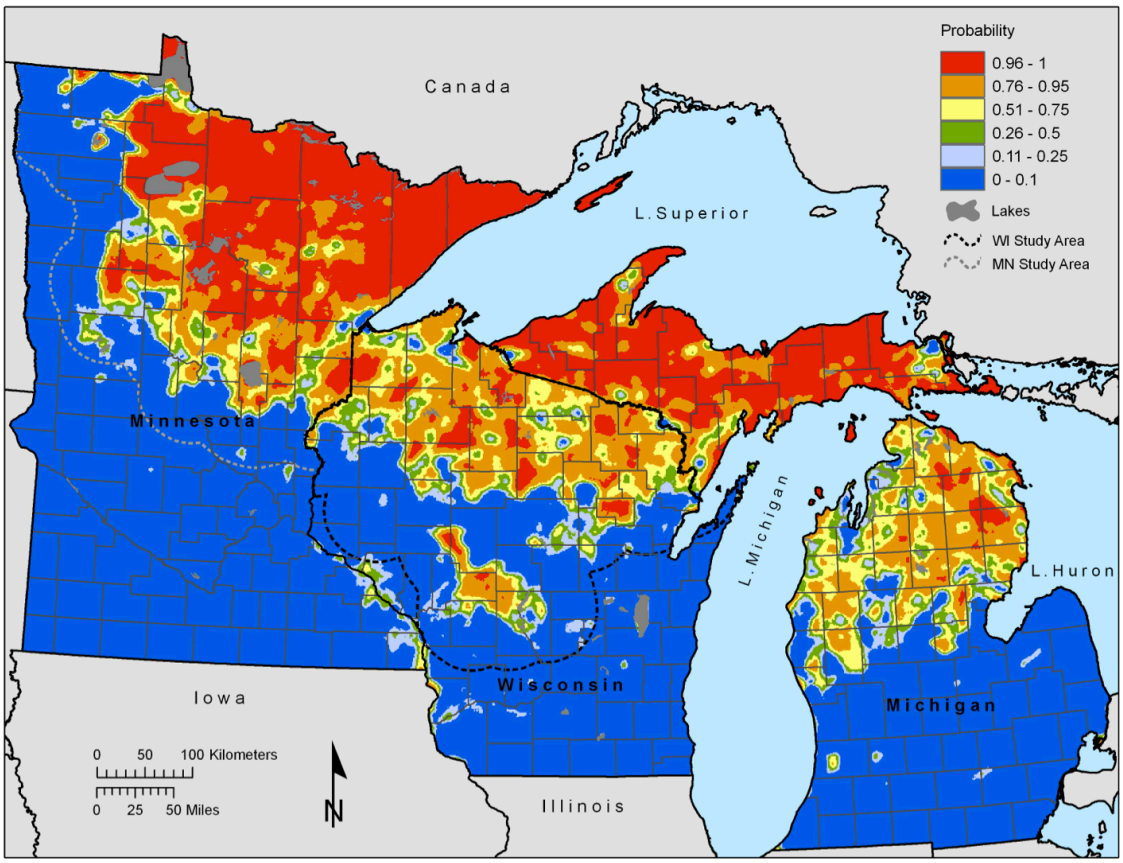

Figure 11: Map of wolf habitat probability classes in Wisconsin, 2006-2007. Created by Forest Landscape Ecology Laboratory, Department of Forest and Wildlife Ecology, University of Wisconsin- Madison, David J. Mladenoff.

The areas in red suggest the greatest probability for suitable wolf habitat. These areas are highly fragmented throughout Northern Wisconsin. Lacey Hill had explained that the area to the southwest of the Bad River reservation is generally agricultural; on the map this area is displayed in blue, suggesting that it is not suitable wolf habitat. This also coincides with Mladenoff's suggestion that the probability of suitable wolf habitat is lessened in agricultural areas.

Wydeven used this map as a basis for determining the proposed zero-quota area boundaries. He used the atlas to follow well-known roads (much like Lacey Hill had done) surrounding suitable habitat areas near the Ojibwe reservations. His logic was to modify buffer zones so that they sustain tribal wolf populations, while simultaneously allowing for the perpetuation of the population in areas without human development, and therefore a lesser chance for conflict (Wydeven, personal interview, 2013).

In Figure 12 , below, is a depiction of what these buffer zones would look like. We are not experts in this field; in fact we are amateurs. What we have drafted here should be regarded on an idea basis only. We have followed roads and rivers in the creation of these proposed buffers, but we are not familiar with the geography of the area, or the wolf territories in the area to make educated decisions on specific location (hopefully we can leave this task in the hands of the State and the Tribes to be cooperatively drafted). Overall, the idea is to promote wolves in areas that it makes sense to do so, and disallow them from areas that it does not.

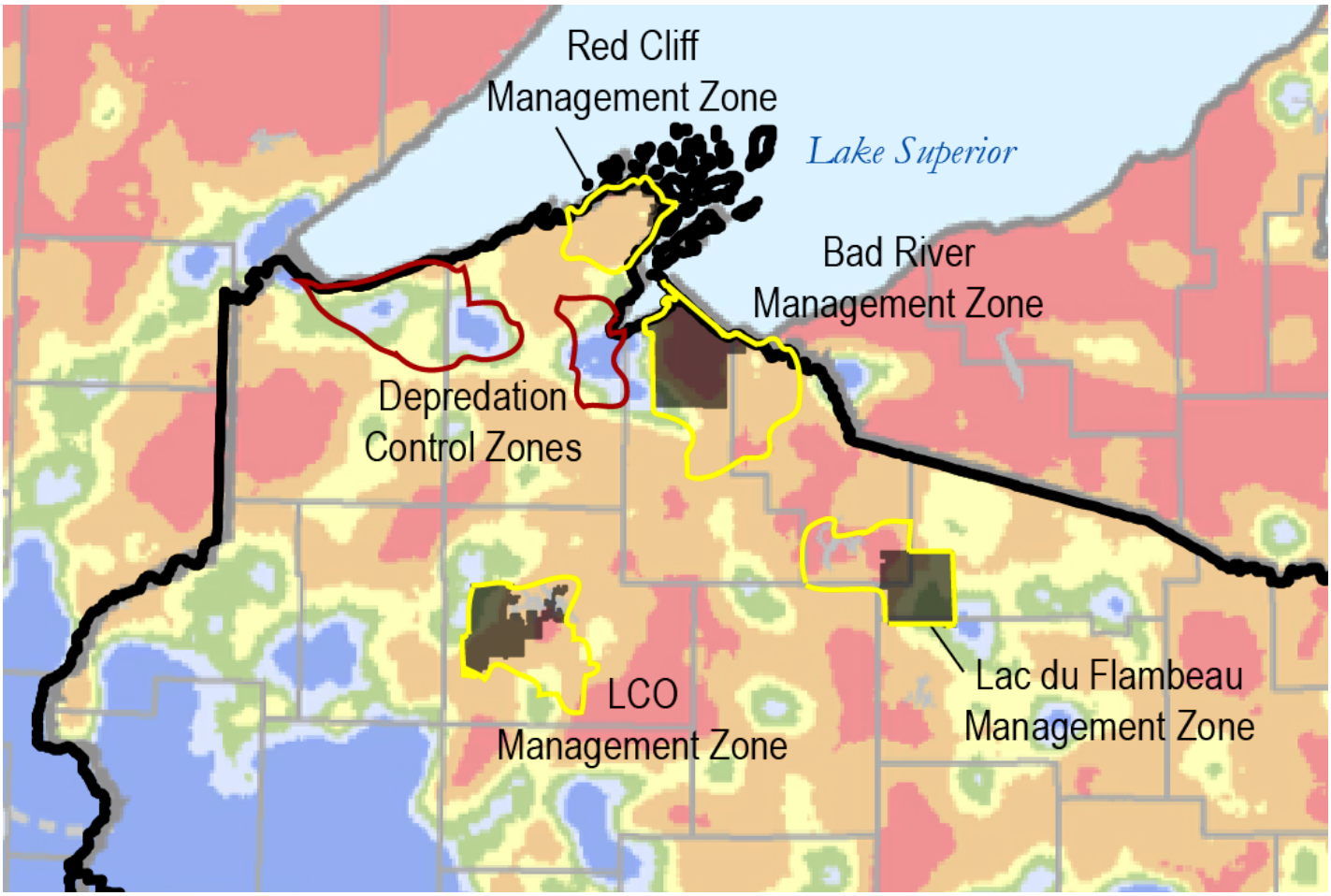

Figure 12: Map depicting buffer zones as modified to Mladenoff's suitable habitat model. Created by Emily Swenson.

Further, Wydeven has suggested particular zones beyond just those surrounding the reservations. One of which we deemed necessary to include are the small zones in the northwest part of the state. We have labeled these as "Depredation Control Zones." Each year they would undergo intense harvest (have higher quotas than the surrounding region) on the basis that a large number of depredation incidents continue to take place here (Wydeven, personal interview,

2013). We believe that this addition to the buffer zone compromise considers those groups who are more commonly affected by depredations (such as bear hunters and their hounds around this area). Randy Jurewicz also explained that prior to the first hunt, a wolf management zone plan had been drafted that included these higher quota zones, but they were later removed (Jurewicz, personal interview, 2013). In Wydeven's plan, he had also drafted zero-quota areas around some of the state's parks, National Forests, wildlife preserves, and military bases. These concerns are outside of the scope of our research, but it is important to address their existence in Wydeven's plan.

An additional buffer modification that we have made is connecting the edges of the protected areas to National Forests. The Chequamegon-Nicolet National Forest is located in sections throughout the northern part of the state. Though wolves can be hunted within the forest, they cannot be trapped (trapping accounts for a large portion of the harvested wolves in the state) (Wydeven, personal interview, 2013). We hope that the connections to sections of the National Forest could act as corridors, allowing wolves to pass between the fragmented, suitable habitat areas. In figure X, below, the corridors to National Forest areas are clearly displayed.

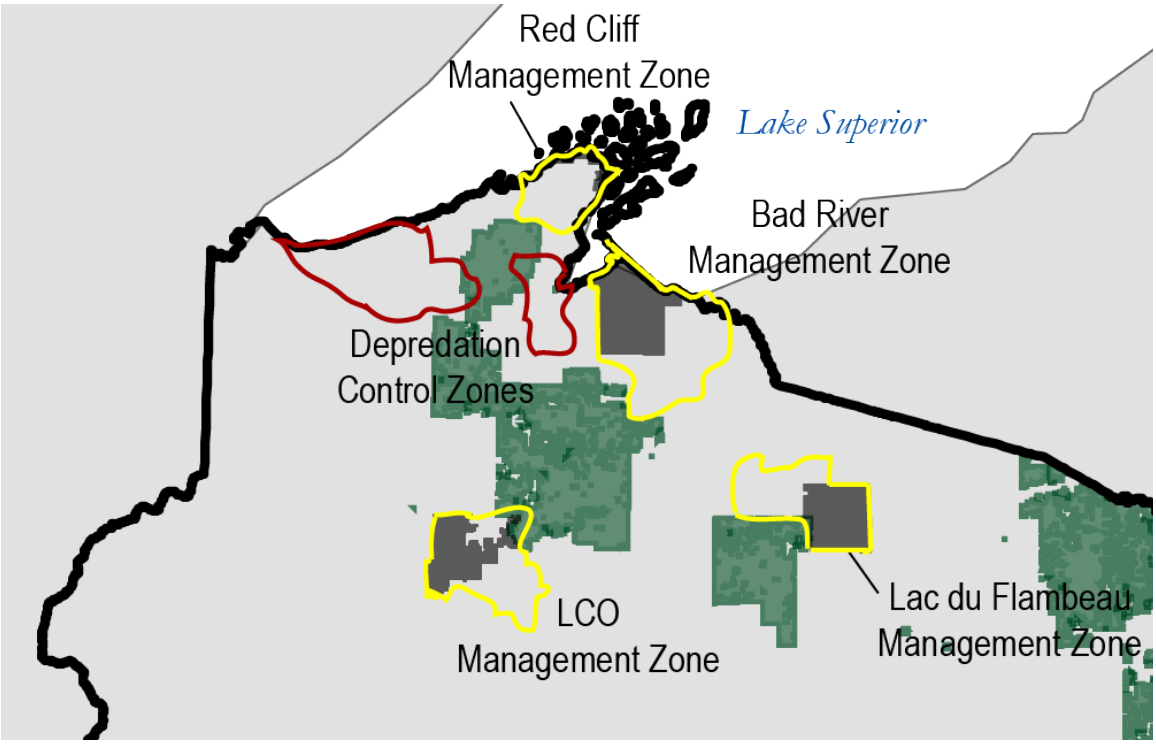

Figure 13: Map depicting the Chequamegon-Nicolet National Forest areas (in green) and its connectivity to the proposed buffer zones. Created by Emily Swenson.

Our buffer zone proposal serves as a geographic solution to issues of culture, politics, and science. The buffer zones would seek to maintain wolf populations where they are culturally significant surrounding reservations while simultaneously helping to curtail high populations where they have become problematic to farming and game hunting culture. Politically, the zones consider treaty rights, allowing both sovereigns control over wolf management, and promoting cooperation. The use of science has allowed the buffer zones to be placed in meaningful locations, where they will allow research biologists to have controls while studying the effects of the hunt. As Randy Jurewicz said, "studying hunted verses unhunted wolves will provide information on reproduction, recruitment, and the wolves' ability to

biologically compensate for the harvest" (Jurewicz, personal interview, 2013). Moderation has been imposed that does not favor any specific group, but rather takes into consideration the interests of all.

MOVING FORWARD

Through our research and interviews with key players involved with Wisconsin wolves and Ojibwe, we discovered there are three new management plans underway. Each is coming from different views and is focusing on different aspects of modern wolf management so it is likely that the plans will differ in some areas but overall each has the same goal; to come up with a strategy to best manage wolves in Wisconsin.

One plan is up and coming from the tribes gathering traditional stories dealing with the wolf and using that cultural relationship to develop their position on the topic. Peter David describes the plan as follows, "The tribes right now are developing a document like a management plan (no name yet), although that's not the right word, they don't look at it as 'management.' They are trying to go back and gather all the traditional stories that involve the wolf, and sort of catalog all of them and use them to describe the relationship, and then based on that relationship this is our position on hunting, this is our position on depredation control, etc. I think it will be very interesting to have this sort of cultural underpinning laid out and explicitly stated" (David, Personal Interview, 2013). It is important to recognize the

wolf's biological *and* cultural role in the state and this 'management' plan will be crucial to the tribes in preserving that significance.

The second coming from the WDNR working to establish a new management plan less emphasized on a specific population goal and more specific policies and details on management and the public harvest season. The Department of Natural Resources is choosing to be less focused on a population goal because of the issues found with having one in the 1999 Wolf Management Plan. The '99 plan mentions a population goal of 350 wolves but this was interpreted by much of the public as a population *cap.* Adrian Wydeven says 350 was never intended to be a cap, merely a goal for the state to strive for and frankly was pretty far off at the time. The DNR is hoping to have the new wolf management plan finalized before the start of the 2014-15 harvest season. As of now Wydeven says the overall goal for the new management plan is "to maintain a healthy, viable population of wolves, satisfying cultural significance of wolves, while minimizing conflict" (Wydeven, Personal Interview, 2013).

The third plan is coming from the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Tribe of Chippewa Indians and is known as the Ma'iingan (Wolf) Management Plan. The plan is tribally recognized and acknowledges the cultural significance of the Ma'iingan to the Anishinabe and lists them as a "Tribally Protected Species." The plan does not intend to manage a maximum number of wolves, but instead will manage in a way to prevent conflict and mitigation on and around the Bad River Reservation. The plan will also recognize buffer zones as a way to help preserve and support the Bad River wolf population and if put into effect this area will be acknowledged as the Bad

River Wolf Management Zone, *not* a buffer zone. The Ma'iingan (Wolf) Management Plan also focuses on using techniques other than lethal control when conflict does arise. Lacey Hill mentions, "There's a stronger focus on educating private landowners because with the right techniques and management landowners have the potential to greatly reduce conflict. It is important to focus more on education and outreach because of the negative stigma on predatory animals" (Hill, Personal Interview, 2013). Although it has been tribally accepted and the community responded well to the plan, it is still not recognized by the Department of Natural Resources. The tribe does have the right to manage the wolves; however they are still waiting for consultation from the DNR.

Although each of the three management plans is coming from a different agency or affiliation, there is not much conflict apparent from the initial policies and ideas for each. Every plan mentions the importance of education, population management and the cultural significance of wolves. This gives rise to the hope of perhaps compromise or at least recognition of each plan being reached and avoiding litigation and/or marginalization of the Ojibwe.

CONCLUSION

With relationships between the tribes and the state suffering, it is critical that a compromise is made. Both sovereigns- the Tribes and the State- will benefit by embracing cooperative management sooner, rather than later. With much of the opposition rooted in fixed cultural, political, and scientific beliefs, each side must

reconcile to include the beliefs of the other. This means that the State will have to accept that wolves are significant to the Tribes, and that the Tribes need to have meaningful influence on decision-making. Additionally, the Tribes will have to accept that they cannot maintain all of the off-reservation wolves. The use of moderation allows for the creation of a geographic compromise that addresses the concerns of both the Tribes and stakeholders within the State. If implemented, this solution could aid in resolving and potentially avoid lengthy and expensive litigation. As far as the future of wolf management goes in Wisconsin, we'll have to take a line out of the book of Peter David and say, "we'll just have to wait and see…".

FUTURE RESEARCH

As the semester went on, we discovered there was much more information and possible research available than we could ever even imagine pursuing. We found it very difficult to narrow down our research focus on only *certain* aspects of The Ojibwe and their relationship to wolves in Wisconsin, as we were often finding ourselves tempted to dive into another area of study.

There are still a lot of unknowns about the first and now second public wolf harvest in Wisconsin. We still are unaware of the full effects the first season had on the population when the pack structure and breeding units are taken into consideration. When this biological data is available it would make for a great addition to our research or frankly could be a separate research project itself. It

would be interesting to see if harvest quotas would be affected by this new found data or not and how each harvest season will result in different findings. Future research is going to coincide with each wolf harvest season and must reflect those changes from year to year.

If we were given more time for our research we would also like to investigate on a more personal level with the Ojibwe and conduct interviews and perhaps primary research on the reservations. We were limited by time as developing a trusting relationship with the tribes is essential in order to conduct this type of research, to ensure a mutual respect and understanding is continually present throughout.

These are just a few of the many ideas we would have liked to trail while we conducted our research as there are endless chances for future research within our project. Overall, nearly every aspect we discussed in our research paper has the opportunity to be further explored, however time simply did not permit us to do so.

LIMITATIONS

As an undergraduate research group, we were limited by time. We drafted, planned, and carried out an entire research project within the span of a semester. We consistently found ourselves wishing we could have more time, knowing that we could have shared so many more conversations and dug through so many more archives if only that were the case. All of us have jobs and classes and extra-curricular activities and lives outside of school that require our temporal

involvement which also took away from the already short period that we were given. Specific to our project, we did not have the time to establish relationships with Ojibwe tribal members. The foundation of friendship and trust is imperative to being granted access to interviews and on-reservation experiences for many of Ojibwe culture. Because our project is continually changing (the second wolf hunt has been taking place throughout our research) we have been forced to keep up with changes while simultaneously attempting to catalog it all within our paper.

Secondly, due to the controversial nature of our topic, it was often difficult to acquire data that we needed. Much of it is protected by the state. DNR employees even told us that if we had done our research on squirrels or ruffed grouse that we would have had a far easier time gathering the information that we needed. On that note, people in positions of power were often hesitant to talk with us, or censored their conversation when they did. We are amateurs to this field of research, which certainly limited our abilities to connect with all of the people we had wanted to (though we did have the opportunity to talk to most!).

We were also limited by money. We took trips to committee meetings and to the reservation and they came out of our own pockets. Though this is not a complaint and we wanted to do these things, but it certainly would have been less of a limitation if we were able to do more. And doing more is all we really wish that we had the chance to do!

PRIVACY STATEMENT:

Consent for Participation in Interview Research

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Emily Swenson, Corey Jean, and Summer Wilson, undergraduate students at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. I understand that the project is designed to gather information about the Wisconsin's Native American Nations' influence on decision-making in regards to the state wolf harvest. I will be one of approximately 10 people being interviewed for this research.

1. My participation in this project is voluntary. I may decline to participate or withdraw from the interview at any time.

2. I understand that most interviewees in will find the discussion interesting and thought-provoking. If, however, I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.

3. Notes will be written during the interview. I have the right to review the notes taken.

4. I understand that I have the right to anonymity, if I state this to the interviewers. In this case, the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure.

5. I have the right to review the final product of this research before it is submitted for publication. If I feel that any of the content misrepresents me or what I have said, I can ask that it be removed. This request will indefinitely be honored by the researchers.

6. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

7. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

For further information, please contact:
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Summer Wilson by email at sjwilson5@wisc.edu or by phone at 715-557-1210

Corey Jean by email at cjean@wisc.edu

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