SUMMARY

English summary of Brå report No 2007:22

Poaching for large predators – conflict in a lawless land?

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The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention – centre for knowledge about crime and crime prevention measures.

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention works to reduce crime and improve levels of safety in society by producing data and disseminating knowledge on crime and crime prevention work.

This report is an abbreviation of the Swedish report *Illegal jakt på stora rovdjur*, report no 2007:22 that can be ordered from Fritzes Kundservice, 106 47 Stockholm.
Phone +46 (0)8–690 91 90, fax +46 (0)8–690 91 91, e-mail order.fritzes@nj.se

Production:
Brottsförebyggande rådet, Information och förlag, Box 1386, 111 93 Stockholm.
Phone +46 (0)8–401 87 00, fax +46 (0)8–411 90 75, e-mail info@bra.se
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Abstract

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) has, in collaboration with Stockholm University, conducted a wide-ranging investigation into the phenomenon of predator poaching, and has discovered one of the most complex political issues in Sweden today. From the analysis of all cases reported to the police of suspected illegal killing of wolves, lynxes, bears, wolverines and golden eagles during the period 1995–2005, a total of 344 cases, and the path from report to possible investigation and verdict, it emerges that only a very small percentage of the perpetrators of this type of poaching are convicted. The perpetrators who are convicted are given the lowest penalties possible. Among those who perceive the renewed spread of large predators as a problem – primarily hunters and livestock owners – there is strong support for predator poaching which makes supervision and investigation extremely hard for both administrative and investigative authorities. According to interviews, participating observations and a questionnaire that Brå has conducted, the support emanates from considerable dissatisfaction with the current national predator policy. The dissatisfaction can also be witnessed in the way that predators are portrayed, both in local daily newspapers and in hunting magazines, where neutralising and legitimising arguments are available for those who are motivated to commit these crimes. The crime preventive measures that have to be implemented to change this situation are therefore primarily targeted at achieving greater acceptance for the existing predator policy.

Introduction and method

The presence and the renewed spread of large predators, i.e. bears, wolves, lynxes, wolverines and golden eagles, in Sweden's forests and mountains is a politically charged issue that involves numerous groups of interest. The primary reason that the size of the predator species' populations have not responded as expected to the authorities' management measures (protection, protective hunting) is because of poaching, which is judged from zooecological research to have a significant impact on population growth (Dir. 2006:7).

Knowledge about predator poaching has been limited, which has added to making these crimes very difficult to investigate. The aim of this study is to gather knowledge in order to suggest crime preventive measures against the poaching of predators in Sweden. The study is therefore based on the following research questions:

- How many poaching crimes against predators have been reported between the years 1995 and 2005? How many of these reports have resulted in preliminary investigations, prosecutions and convictions?
- Under what circumstances are the crimes committed and to what extent can they be said to be organised? Do the perpetrators have criminal records?
- In areas with dense predator populations, what are the attitude of hunters, reindeer herders and livestock owners towards predators and towards the unlawful hunting of predators? What issues within these groups are relevant to increase acceptance of the national predator policy?
- How are predators portrayed in local newspapers and hunting magazines, and to what extent do they provide neutralisations (justifying or legitimising excuses) for predator poaching?
- From what we have learned, what crime preventive strategies can be formulated? What measures can be implemented outside of the judicial system to prevent these crimes?

In order to answer these questions, a large amount of empirical material has been gathered. This consists of:

- An analysis of all suspected cases of poaching of large predators reported to the police during the period 1995–2005, a total of 344 cases, which have been followed from initial report to possible investigation, prosecution and conviction
- A questionnaire concerning attitudes towards predators, the national predator policy and predator management, which has been sent to 3,200 hunters in four counties with differing predator populations and varying numbers of reported cases
- 25 in-depth interviews with hunters, reindeer herders and livestock owners – interest groups that experience problems with the renewed spread of predators
- 4 participating observations during hunts and reindeer calving
- 23 interviews with officials who have experience of predator investigations
- An analysis of how predators and predator related issues are described in nine local newspapers in three counties and in three hunting magazines.

A questionnaire has been conducted in four counties with different distributions of large predators and with different volumes of reported suspected poaching crimes. These are the counties of Norrbotten, Dalarna, Gävleborg and Östergötland, where both the number of predators and reported cases occur in descending order (most in Norrbotten, fewest in Östergötland).

The sample of 3,200 hunting license owners was obtained from the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency's hunting licence register and divided proportionally according to the number of licence holders in each county.

The questionnaire focused on attitudes towards the national predator policy and the management of predators, the perception of predators as a threat, reasons for poaching predators, an assessment of the extent of poaching in the respondent's home county, proposals for crime prevention measures etc.

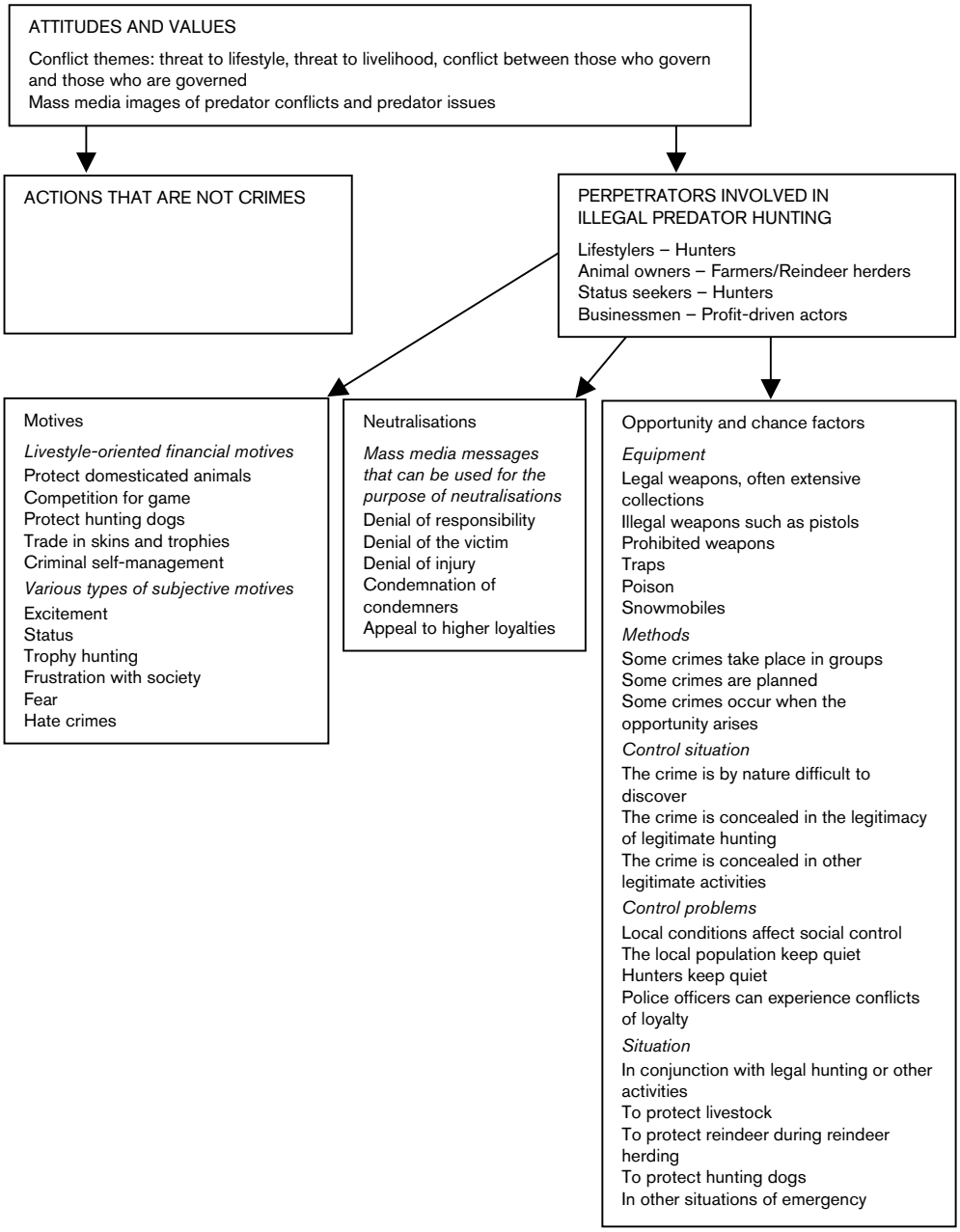
Interviews have also been conducted with hunters, reindeer herders and livestock owners. The ways of approaching the various informants in the semi-structured in-depth interviews have varied, and are the result of a preparatory investigation involving a review of the Internet, interest organisations and different media sources, as well as a number of brief interviews with key individuals and direct enquiries for tips on relevant informants.

The interviews have been nonstuctured. There have been no questions guidelines, rather the interviews have taken the form of discussions, where the investigator has steered the conversation onto subjects relating to predators and the predator policy. The interviews have been emotionally charged situations, where the discussions have occasionally agitated yet always engaged the informants. The topic has frequently proven to be very sensitive, as it touches in part on criminal activities.

In order to gain more in-depth knowledge about the attitudes, behaviour and actions of the individuals, various ethnographic methods have been used in combination with each other. The interviews came to constitute a foundation for continued ethnographic investigations in the form of participating observations in various hunting teams, as well as in a Sami village in the southern mountain chain.

During 2005, at the initiative of National Police Board (RPS), Brå conducted a pilot study on the poaching of predators (Brå, 2005a). The purpose of the pilot study was to create a platform for the current study. The results from the investigation are summarised in the model in the figure below.

Figure: Model for analysing predator poaching.



Attitudes towards predators, predator management and poaching

According to the theory behind our model, it is important to understand motivation and opportunity structures in order to create crime preventive strategies in the form of reduced opportunities to commit crimes.

When discussing which factors affect why people choose to comply with laws, there are three in particular that researchers tend to look at (Tyler, 1990; Winter & May, 2001):

1. Fear of sanctions
2. Social control
3. Normative conviction

From these starting points, it is important to try to understand how members of different interest groups that are affected by predators perceive the predator policy and the legislation. Their attitudes and values can be said to constitute the environment in which the legislation has to operate. If we can understand their attitudes and values, we can also understand why or why not the legislation and management are perceived as legitimate in the areas that are affected by the national predator policy. In this study, the perspective is limited to those groups that can be assumed to experience the greatest problems with predators. We are consequently not trying to generate an understanding of the opinions of the majority of the population in regions inhabited by predators.

In our interviews with hunters, professional hunters and reindeer herders, three clear areas of conflict emerge with regard to the renewed spread of predators: 1) the threat to lifestyle, 2) the threat to livelihood, and 3) the relationship between those who govern and those who are governed. The feeling of exclusion and powerlessness is a central aspect in the third point. It is open to speculation whether or not this relationship between the governing powers and the governed constitutes a uniting element among those groups that have a vested interest in countering the renewed spread of predators. This can also be important as regards poaching, causing the focus to be moved from criminality to issues regarding living and working conditions in the countryside in regions that are home to predators. Poaching by certain groups can be seen as an act of protest against a greater threat (power, the authorities), rather than just a transgression of legislation.

Conflict topic: the threat to lifestyle

In our interview material, it is clear that predators are viewed as a threat to a lifestyle where people can move about freely on the land, run their businesses and not need to worry about predators.

In some cases, the hunters we have interviewed stress that predators are a threat to man; this opinion is always in referens to wolves.

> Interviewee: The wolf is as big as a large German shepherd dog, and you can't defend yourself against something like that. And not long ago it said in the newspaper that somebody had been attacked. And they're coming into our communities now. In Lima, wolves crossed the bridge by Lima church last winter. People are scared to death!
> Brå: So is the wolf dangerous to people then?
> Interviewee: Yes, in some situations. You might come across a female with pups…

In the questionnaire, the majority of hunters admittedly responded that predators constituted a fairly small threat or no threat at all. However, it may appear remarkable that hunters in areas with wolf territories still perceive wolves to be more dangerous than bears. In Dalarna and Gävleborg, around 30 percent of the hunters responded that they perceived wolves to be a threat to the safety of the inhabitants, compared to around 18 percent for bears. People generally tend to be more afraid of wolves than bears (Linell & Bjerke, 2002:9). However, hunters have better knowledge and more experience of the species than people in general, which is why the results are surprising. This attitude towards wolves is probably an expression of the wolf's symbolic value and that people have a worse opinion of the wolf than of the bear for other reasons (Linell & Bjerke, 2002:92). These reasons might include scepticism towards the authorities and feelings of power-

lessness that are conjured up in a debate where wolves are portrayed as a great threat to hunting dogs and a major competitor for hunted game.

Several hunters state that hunting is very important for their quality of life, and that they are not prepared to share more of the game with predators. The quote bellow is an example of an attitude shared by many:

> Interviewee: The situation regarding elk has become much worse, as the wolves take their calves. We have had to reduce our hunting team now, as we didn't meet our quota last year.
> Brå: I see, so there is a competition for the elk meat?
> Interviewee: Yes. Exactly.

Conflict topic: the threat to livelihood

The renewed spread of predators is now entailing costs for those who keep livestock and conduct hunting commercially. The financial aspect is stressed by the professional hunters we have interviewed.

> Interviewee: As soon as there is a financial loss, people begin hunting illegally. And the same will happen on the farms. If the predators take all the game, there will be nothing left to hunt. No, we have to find a balance that feels reasonable. […] The professional hunters are concerned. It is our job to manage the game populations, after all. But with the current predator policy, this will be impossible. Our jobs will also disappear in the long run. The predators are eating the game, so we have no population left to regulate. The livelihood of the professional hunter is disappearing.

The conflict between reindeer herding and the national predator policy encompasses questions about frustration and distrust of the authorities, strong feelings against predators and the problems with reindeer herding from a financial perspective. Among other things, the state compensation system is criticised. The reasons for the conflicts are however often difficult to distinguish.

> Interviewee: [Referring to a certain incident] And among the [regional] police there were some who were *really* against us and who thought: Now we can beat the Sami. And the state authorities cannot be relied on… It's just not possible. So there is no point in asking for help.
> Brå: So you take the law into your own hands?
> Interviewee: Yes, of course.
> Brå: But this has to happen in secret, doesn't it?
> Interviewee: You said it, not me…
> Brå: Yes, but that's how I understand it.
> Interviewee: Yes.
> Brå: So that's when you keep quiet and take the risk. But couldn't anything be changed? The law? The rules?
> Interviewee: Well… it's simply a case of getting rid of [the predators]. That will solve the problem. But that's what they find so difficult to understand. No, there is no hatred towards predators here. We don't hate them. Not here.
> Brå: No, but possibly in other regions?
> Interviewee: Yes, and there are some who simply go in for [illegal hunting of predators] wholeheartedly.

Conflict topic: those who govern and those who are governed

In our interview material, the countryside is often set against the big city. There is a belief that people in the city should not have an influence on decisions regarding local issues. This is what one hunter says:

> Interviewee: They don't listen to us. Nobody listens to what those of us here *on site* think. The main reason for people breaking these hunting laws is that they feel overrun by the authorities and by those who make decisions in Stockholm.

Within some groups of hunters, the tone is very bitter when they talk about how they feel they are treated by the authorities.

> Interviewee: We can draw a comparison with what is happening in the Middle East now. The UN decided that: "The Jews are going to have this now. They can form the state of Israel." And they said to the Arabs who lived there: "You have to move. We are going to have your land now." The authorities are doing the same here now. They are occupying our land. "You have to stop hunting. You have to stop running smallholdings. You have to stop everything!" Nobody listens. No authorities or anybody listens. "It's just going to be like this!" Yes, yes it's the same as, as… I can understand the Arabs who fire rockets because they are so angry.

In our interview material, however, there are also examples of hunters who do not have a negative attitude towards wolves, but who point out how difficult it is to express their opinions among other hunters.

The answers from the questionnaire also indicate that there is a conflict between the governed and the governing, as there is considerable distrust regarding the predator policy and the administrative authorities. The results show that the hunters in Dalarna and Gävleborg are more negative towards predators, the predator policy and predator management than the hunters in Norrbotten and Östergötland. The majority of the hunters in Dalarna (70 percent) and Gävleborg (63 percent) believe that the wolf has been reintroduced into the wild by the authorities and that this has been concealed (the wolf was almost extinct in Sweden during the 1970's). In Norrbotten and Östergötland, around 45 percent share this belief. No more than 17 percent of the hunters in any of the counties fully or partially disassociate themselves from this statement. As regards the exchange of information and the dialogue between predator management authorities and the hunting community, this result is admittedly discouraging and the level of distrust on the part of the hunters is made very clear.

Calculations of the extent of poaching

The zooecological research has compiled species reports for the Government's predator investigators during the year 2006; these reports include information about population sizes as well as causes of death among tagged and untagged individuals (game found dead by chance). If we summarise these calculations with regard to the extent of unlawful hunting of predators, we obtain the following picture (www.sou.gov.se/storarovdjur/rapporter.htm):

Species	Calculated annual number of predators that are victims of poaching
Wolf	20–25
Lynx	100–150
Bear	*
Wolverine	approx. 50
Golden eagle	*

*Has not been possible to quantify

Reported criminality and the course of the investigation

We have asked archive personnel in all the local police authorities in the country to go through all reported cases of poaching during the period 1995–2005 – a total of 5,427 cases. We have requested to read (either at the local police authorities or through copies sent to us) those cases relating to the five large predators. These amounted to 344 reports, after eliminating duplicated reports or cases that have been moved between authorities.

Systematically using the police's and the prosecutor's codes for not initiating or abandoning a preliminary investigation is problematic. This is because the codes are given are used differently in different regions, and they are not always used as intended. In the material, there are even occasional cases where predator poaching can be strongly suspected (such as tracks from snowmobile hunts for wolverines, which have ultimately been found stabbed to death), but where the investigation has been dropped with reference to there being no reason to believe that a crime has been committed. However, it has not been possible or appropriate to evaluate the reasons for dropping investigations. Nevertheless, it has been deemed important to distinguish between reported cases that are slightly more substantial than others. Of the 344 reports, 268 cases have been judged as substantial. These cases are included in the coming analyses and will be referred to as "substantial suspicions".

Wolves

We have found 64 reports of suspected wolfpoaching during the period 1995–2005. Of these, 52 are substanstial suspicions. The most common reporters of these cases are private individuals (11), anonymous (9), the county administrative board or the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (9) and researchers (8). In three of the cases that have been reported by named private individuals, the authorities have been pointed out as perpetrators in their wolf-tracking work.

When comparing the number of reports with the numbers from zooecological research the impression is that there are a large number of unreported cases. In our material of reported crimes during 2005 (the last year we have investigated), there is one report of wolf poaching where a body has been found, and a further seven reports relating to signs of wolves being pursued. These 8 reports can be compared to the researchers' calculation of 20-25 wolves killed illegally during the same year. In other words, there are a considerable number of cases of unlawfully killed wolves that are never the subject of police reports.

Lynxes

We have discovered 76 reports of suspected poaching for lynxes. In 16 cases, the police or prosecutor judged has decided to drop the investigation because no

crime is considered to have been committed. This consequently leaves 60 reports involving substantial suspicions of lynxpoaching.

The dark figure for illegal hunting appears to be even larger for lynxes than for wolves, when we look at 60 reported cases where there are substantial suspicions of illegal hunting *over 11 years*, compared with researchers calculations of 100-150 poached lynxes *annually*.

Bears

Out of 118 cases of suspected bear poaching, most are reported either by the hunter himself (26 cases) or by somebody in his vicinity: the hunting team leader (14 cases) or another hunter (6 cases). This is due to the fact that to a large extent these events occur in conjunction with either legal bear hunts, where for example a female bear has been shot and it has later been possible to confirm milk from the teats (it is not permitted to shoot a female with suckling young), or other legal hunting, for example elk hunting, where a member of a hunting team claims to have been attacked by a bear and to have shot it in self defence.

Wolverines

We have found 49 reports of suspected unlawful hunting of wolverines between the years 1995–2005, of which 6 cases have been dropped during investigation.

For wolverines, too, the dark figure is vary large. If we compare 43 reported substantial suspicions *over 11 years*, with the researchers calculations of 50 poached wolverines *in the past year* it becomes evident that a substantial proportion of these crimes are never detected.

Golden eagles

Over the investigated period, 28 suspected cases of golden eagle poaching were reported, of which two cases were dropped during investigation. In ten of the reports, no preliminary investigation was initiated because the chance of finding the perpetrator was considered too small. Most of the reports are from people who have found a dead golden eagle, either intact or in pieces.

Unidentified

In 13 of the reports, we have not been able to categorise what species of predator the report refers to, and in some cases it is doubtful whether the case refers to a predator at all. If we exclude those cases where the investigators did not have reason to assume that a crime had been committed, we are left with 9 reports of a more substantial nature. Four of the cases relate to various types of traps, which can be used for several of the predator species.

Predator attacks on domesticated animals in or close to enclosures are rare

One fact that may seem remarkable when analysing all the reports during the period 1995–2005 is that there are only 8 reported cases where predators have attacked domesticated animals (excluding hunting dogs) in or close to enclosures or in the vicinity of private homes. Two of these cases relate to dogs that have been attacked, although not hunting dogs. The fact that so few cases have been reported to the police certainly does not mean that predators and the livestock industry have a problem-free relationship. But we had expected that the number of cases reported to the police would be in relation to the discussion that has been conducted regarding livestock owners' need to protect their animals from predator attacks (it is one of the primary topics when discussing the need for new legislation).

Self-reported crimes common among prosecutions

Out of 344 reports, only 33 have resulted in legal proceedings being taken, and one case has been terminated as a result of the suspect having accepted a summary fine issued by the prosecuting authority. In 18 of the 33 cases tried in court, the hunter has either reported himself to the police or been reported by somebody in the hunting team. Convictions have been made in district courts in 16 cases, in courts of appeal in 14 cases and in the Supreme Court in two cases. Over the 11 years covered by the study, there are consequently only 19 instances of convictions where a total of 21 people have been convicted of poaching or possession of unlawfully taken wildlife,. In approximately half of these cases – 10 out of 19 – the incidents were reported by the perpetrators themselves.

Table: Number of legal proceedings and convictions per year

	Prosecutions	Convictions
1995	3	2
1996	1	1
1997	4	2
1998	0	0
1999	4	3
2000	3	1
2001	5	1
2002	6	5
2003	4	3
2004	2	0
2005	2	1
Total	34	19

Convictions result in the most lenient penalties

During the period 1 January 1995–31 June 2001, the penalty for predator poaching ranged from fines to a prison sentence of at most 2 years. During 2001, the penalties were increased to imprisonment ranging from *at least 6 months* to *a maximum of 4 years*. Emphasising the fact that the crime had a high penal value was a way for the legislator to pronounce that predator poaching is considered a serious crime (Government bill 2000/01:57). After analysing the convictions we can state that since then, nobody has been sentenced to anything more than the most lenient punishment (six months imprisonment). The courts have even awarded lower penalties than the Hunting Act prescribes as the minimum penalty for predator poaching. It is open to speculation whether this is because the penalties have had such a deterrent effect that more serious violations have not been committed. How ever, it is not very probable considering the assessments made by researchers of the extent of poaching, perhaps above all the hunting of wolves, lynxes and wolverines. In addition, we have not seen any qualitative differences when it comes to the reports before and after the tightening of the penalties. The introduction of the condition "particularly painful hunting method", in the assessment of whether the crime should be deemed to be serious, has also not had any particular impact as far as we can tell. Signs of painful hunting methods still come to light in the police investigations, but no perpetrators in any of the judgements we have examined have been convicted with regard to this.

Summary of reporting frequency and convictions

If we compare the calculations from zooecological research regarding the extent of unlawful predator hunting with the number of reported suspected crimes and the number of legal proceedings and convictions, we can see that the likelihood of being convicted for predator poaching is very low.

Table: Reports, prosecutions and convictions divided by predator species, 1995–2005.

	Wolves	Lynxes	Bears	Wolverines	Golden eagles
No. of reports	64	76	118	49	28
Of which concrete reports	52	60	82	43	26
Prosecutions	5	9	17	3	2
Convictions	4	7	6	2	1
Research's calculation of the extent of illegal hunting over the past inventory year	20–25	100–150		approx. 50	

Note: One prosecution is related to three predator species.

It can be concluded that there is basically no risk whatsoever in conducting unlawful hunting, especially when it comes to wolverines and golden eagles. This is probably due to the fact that these species live in extensive and often inaccessible areas, and the small size of the animals makes it easier to conceal the crime compared to the other species.

From a the perspective of reducing crime, it is also unsatisfactory that preparing and attempting to kill predators unlawfully is not criminalised. This makes it relatively simple for perpetrators to conceal their poaching, as the same equipment and hunting methods are often used in legal hunting. This also means that a perpetrator can change his mind at a relatively late stage and not be held accountable, as the crime has not been carried out.

> Official: I have asked [the police] what we should do if we see them standing by a [wolf's] den; should we let them shoot a pup before we approach?

Who, why and how?

Perpetrators

In the pilot study, it was stated that the perpetrators who have been convicted of predator poaching, in a majority of cases, belong to the hunting community (Brå, 2005). In 18 of the 34 cases that have led to criminal proceedings, the suspected perpetrators have been active hunters, in 12 cases reindeer herders/owners and in 2 cases that have earned massive media coverage owners of other animals. In 3 cases they have not had any clear link to any of these categories.

The explanatory model for illegal hunting of predators that is described in the pilot study includes four categories of perpetrators: *Lifestylers, livestock owners*, *status seekers* and *businessmen*. This subdivision was an attempt to categorise both convicted individuals on the basis of the court material, as well as those individuals who commit crimes but who have not been convicted on the basis of information from interviewed officials. This categorisation is largely based on information from people who work with predators and predator related issues. The categories are applicable in our study, although they may merge in some cases.

If we look at the number of convictions, livestock owners make up the largest group with nine convictions. If we divide livestock owners into owners of domesticated animals held within enclosures, for whom § 28 of the Hunting Ordinance applies (they are allowed under certain circumstances to shoot predators that attack their livestock), and reindeer owners, seven of the convictions are related to reindeer herding and only two to owners of other animals. Active hunters, who could be categorised as lifestylers, can be seen in seven convictions. The majority of those convicted and suspected individuals are holders of hunting licences, which means they belong to hunting organisations. Perpetrators with business-related motives other than those related to livestock are difficult to categorise on the basis of the material investigated, and basically only appear in four of the convictions we have examined. In one conviction, several categories of perpetrator are included

The perpetrators and suspects of predator poachinghave a criminal record that is largely on a par with that of the general population.

Motives

In the pilot study, a distinction was made between lifestyle-oriented financial motives and subjective motives. Financial motives, for example, may be the belief that predators cause great expenses for livestock owners in the form of animal losses, or that predators risk reducing the profitability of professional hunting. In the case of livestock owners, the motives are certainly strong as they are linked to lifestyle. The subjective motives that are mentioned in the research include excitement, societal frustration, trophy-hunting and status (Eliason, 2004; Forsyth and Marckese, 1993a). Frustration with society can also be linked to lifestyle and ethnicity, which makes this a potentially very strong motive for predator poaching. In addition to these motives, we have identified a further two motives in our empirical material: criminal self-management, i.e. private agreements of remuneration for killed predators and hatred of predators.

Methods and equipment

In a number of reports, some form of traces are seen, usually snowmobile tracks. Several officials we have interviewed state that, to some extent, a form of poaching takes place whereby groups head out where each person has been assigned a specific task: one person pursues the animal, some individuals cut off the animal's escape routes, somebody drives over the animal's tracks in order to conceal the chase, while others act as lookouts to ensure that nobody witnesses these activities. This type of unlawful hunting occurs primarily in the mountainous regions of the country.

> Official: In the past, people probably didn't worry about concealing what they had done. Nowadays they go out in a team to kill [the predator]. One takes up the fight with the predator, the others destroy the predator's and the snowmobile's tracks so that nobody knows what they have done. They then drive in twists and turns and finally out onto a scooter trail, and they're gone. […] And now they have begun firing full metal jacket ammunition into the stomach of the bear etc., so that it is able to keep moving for a while and then dies far away from the scene of the crime.

It is also evident from a number of reports that predator poaching takes place in conjunction with legal hunts. In the pilot study it was described how perpetrators can be divided into opportunity seekers and opportunity takers (Weisburd & Waring (2001). The opportunity takers are made up of individuals who, should the opportunity arise, would shoot predators unlawfully during a legal hunt, while opportunity seekers actively go out into the forest with the sole aim

of killing predators. The taking of opportunities is described by one hunter we have interviewed, who himself claims to have killed predators, but who has not been subject to a criminal investigation.

> Hunter: […] You have to get rid of the body. You have to remove it as quickly as possible without anybody else seeing it.
> Brå: Are you alone then?
> Hunter: It depends. But if we take the team […] I am involved in, for example. […] If it is an organised hunting weekend when we are actually out hunting elks… And something is shot… There is a bang. Well, the others around have heard the bang and you can say: "I missed!" or "I shot a fox." You then call the others on the phone and say: "There's a wolf lying there" or "There's a lynx lying there". "Yes, yes, I'll come over," they say. And the hunting organisations in Sweden are world champions at keeping their mouths shut.
> Brå: Is that so? You must have great trust in each other!
> Hunter: Yes, it's a bit like we have some kind of hold on each other, since *everyone* is involved. If you shoot an elk illegally, for example, you consciously involve somebody else who shares the meat, and then he is an accomplice and so keeps quiet. Then everyone is an accomplice. And last of all, the person who actually has the greatest legal responsibility, that is the hunting team leader. So to protect him people keep quiet. He may learn about it, but to protect him people keep their mouths shut. And if the team leader is kind and keeps quiet, then I keep quiet.
> Brå: Yes, I see… Holds on each other…
> Hunter: Yes, that is what you have to do. It is important to stick together…
> Brå: Yes, and over time…
> Hunter: Yes, it creates… You could say it's a good thing and a bad thing… There is a very respectful atmosphere in the hunting team. You trust each other and you give consideration to each other, you don't want to hurt yourself… You become very respectful towards each other and help each other. And it is often the case that, normally you only socialise with the people you hunt with during hunting season. So there is a special… Well, you don't have anything in common apart from hunting.
> Official: I actually hunt elk […] in [a county in Central Sweden], and I have been in charge of dogs for years, but we have been lucky enough to have had wolves around us, and that is thanks to the 'Wolf-line'. We have had agreements whereby, if you have a Swedish elkhound, for example, you have to put a red coat or something similar on it, so that it does not get confused with a wolf. And similarly a number of hunting teams have decided that if a shot is heard somewhere, the people in the hunting team won't call on the radio to find out what "John" shot at. Instead it is quiet until he has said what he shot at. If he doesn't say anything, then there wasn't a bang. It's a case of "shoot, shovel and shut up". I firmly believe that wolves are disappearing in this way.

As stated previously, we have systematically analysed only those cases of predator poaching that have been classified as poaching in the police report register. However, through interviews with officials with experience of predator investigations, we have been informed of cases where methods have been used which are difficult for the public prosecutor to prove that they have been intended for predators, for example the use of traps or poison.

Control situation

Our investigation confirms the conclusion from the pilot study, i.e. that the control situation regarding predator poaching is exceptionally difficult. Those areas that have to be monitored are very large and inaccessible. In addition, there is generally a low level of motivation to report crimes of this type, or to act as a witnesses against suspected perpetrators. As has been described, the dark figures are large and there is a considerable difference between the calculations made in zooecological research and the reporting frequency. An example of this can be seen from an interview with a person working within reindeer herding:

> Brå: So what was said then […]? A wolf had been shot here.
> Interviewee: No, it was five wolves.
> Brå: Five!? I thought it was one.
> Interviewee: They had had pups… But they only found one…
> Brå: But what is said in the village after something like that?
> Interviewee: Well, there is fear… that [the authorities] are going to come in and terrorise us. There is no limit to it now, either. They don't even know how many predators there are. And we don't have any resources at our disposal either. And the people who decide these things are sitting somewhere else…

As was also described in the pilot study, there are obvious social risks associated with reporting cases of poaching or being a witness against a suspected perpetrator in a court of law. These risks include social exclusion, revenge and so on. This it something that the officials we have interviewed also agree to. They have told us about people giving hints as to who, where and when, but not daring to say too much, due to potential repercussions .

> Official: [One person] called and snorted that "You might be afraid of having your tyres slashed, but as someone who lives here, I will get my house burned down if I say anything!"

It is also possible that the low level of motivation for reporting or being a witness may be due to the fact that many people in areas with large predator populations consider the predator policy to be unreasonable, or distrust the authorities in general. In several police investigations we have analysed, people the police have spoken to are open about their unwillingness to provide information that can help the criminal investigation.

As has been mentioned many times, the distrust of the administrative authorities is widespread among the interest groups that are affected by the national predator policy. In interviews with officials who have experience of criminal investigations, many accounts emerge of unlawful influence on employees, above all in the county administrative board. For example, there are reports of verbal threats, aggressive telephone calls, vandalism to cars and other property, and threatening gestures with weapons.

> Official: We always experience a great deal of sabotage and threats – officials are legitimate prey for those who want to push the boundaries. However, at times I am afraid that they will go a little bit too far. At the moment people are loosening the wheel bolts on cars, cutting the cables to boat engines, pouring things into petrol tanks, stuffing things in locks, and so on. It's a bit on and off, and at the moment we are experiencing quite a lot of incidents.

Several police investigators we have spoken to describe their work situation as filled with conflict, even within the police force. They experience that certain colleagues, who have a great interest in hunting, do not always feel that predator poaching is something that should be investigated. As can be seen from the material from the pilot study, there are considerable regional differences between the efforts that are made to investigate these types of crimes. This is confirmed by our interviews, and is naturally problematical for crime-fighting authorities battling with large dark figures and strong conflicts between interest groups.

Media images of predators

In order for a crime to be committed, it is necessary to have a motivated perpetrator, opportunity and neutralising arguments. This analysis investigates whether people who poach for predators can find neutralising arguments for

their actions by reading local newspapers and hunting magazines. Underlying the media analysis is the belief that the media's way of portraying predators has an impact on the way predators and poaching are viewed in general. With many crimes, neutralisations or motives are rarely formulated by the perpetrator himself, but are often found "ready-made" in contemporary culture. For this reason, the media plays an important role in conveying neutralising arguments. This does not mean that the media could in any way be accused of encouraging criminal offences. It is the role of the media as a conveyor of portrayals of predators – which in turn can lead to neutralisations – that is of interest.

In order to access all predator related articles, we have analysed all articles containing one or more of the following words: wolf, bear, lynx, wolverine, golden eagle or predator. For the analysis of the daily press, the decision was taken to look at various local, daily newspapers whose circulation area coincides with geographic areas that are currently home to established predator populations; these areas are Dalarna, represented by the newspapers *Falu Kuriren, Dala-Demokraten* and *Dalabygden*, Gävleborg, represented by the newspapers *Gefle Dagblad, Arbetarbladet* and *Hälsinge Kuriren*, and Norrbotten, represented by the newspapers *Norrbottens-Kuriren, Norrländska Socialdemokraten* and *Piteå-Tidningen*. Sweden's largest national daily newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, has also been selected to give an idea of how predator issues are portrayed on a national level.

Three periods were selected when something in particular had occurred that related to predators. We assumed that such incidents would be preceded or followed by a debate in the daily press, where various parties and interest groups would be given space to vent their opinions on predators. In other words the incidents were selected strategically to provide as many articles as possible. In addition, the media coverage was followed for week-long periods at each of the three events in order to cover the course of the debate over several days. In the pilot study it was found that it is not possible to tie poaching to any particular social group; the only link that can be made is that the people who are involved in predator poaching have access to hunting weapons. We have assumed that these individuals are interested in hunting. For this reason we have chosen to analyse the portrayals of predators that are conveyed in hunting magazines. Due to limited resources, it was not possible to include all the hunting magazines that are published in Sweden in the study, and for this reason we decided to restrict ourselves to the magazines published by the two hunting associations (The Swedish Association for Hunting and Wildlife Management [Svenska jägareförbundet] and the National association for hunters [Jägarnas Riksförbund]), *Svensk Jakt*, *Svensk Jakt Nyheter* (which is distributed together with *Svensk Jakt*) and *Jakt & Jägare*. Another reason for selecting the two hunting associations' magazines was to compare how the two associations, through their magazines, present predators and predator related issues. The sample consists of one year's worth of issues of all three magazines.

It is important to emphasise that the purpose is not in any way to obstruct the daily press and hunting magazines from having opinions on, or criticising, the Swedish legislation and predator policy, nor tacitly to criticise individuals, as was claimed by the hunting magazines included in the study at the time when the results from the pilot study were published (Jakt & Jägare, no. 12, 2005 and Svensk Jakt, no. 11, 2005).

The analysis is based on a combination of quantitative and qualitative variables. This has made it possible to investigate quantitatively how much space is given to articles about predators, which predators are mentioned most often, which topic is given the greatest focus, as well as a number of other variables. In the qualitative text analysis, we have focused on analysing which portrayals of

predators and which predator-related problems are conveyed by the media, as well as which neutralising arguments emerge.

Results

Both the daily newspapers and hunting magazines that were studied present an overwhelmingly negative picture of predators. This is for example done through extensive criticism of the national predator policy. Conflicts arise primarily between those in power and various groups of the population who want to look after their interests. The conflict is closely related to that of the above mentioned between those who govern and those who are governed. Many different predator-related issues are discussed, with the most popular topics including demands for legislative changes and demands to increase regional influence over predator related decisions.. In the local and regional daily press, there are large differences between the regions but not so much between the newspapers from the same regions.. The newspapers in Dalarna county have the most comprehensive portrayal, followed by the papers in Norrbotten. The newspapers in Gävleborg county constitute an exception, as the number of articles is closer to that found in *Dagens Nyheter*. The content of the articles reflects the fact that different interest groups are given different amounts of space depending on the geographic area. More space is devoted to the Sami in Norbotten's newspapers, while hunters express themselves more often in the newspapers in Dalarna and Gävleborg. The consequence is that specific issues relating for example to the impact of predators on reindeer herding or the threat that predators represent to hunting dogs do not appear in all the newspapers. However, the general picture and the grounds for criticism are more or less the same in all newspapers.

The three hunting magazines that were studied all devote considerable space to predator-related articles too. The majority of these articles can be found under the news genre. *Svensk Jakt* also has many instructive articles and themed articles, while *Jakt & Jägare* has a more narrative presentation, although there are several themed articles here as well. *Svensk Jakt Nyheter* is more reminiscent of a daily newspaper, and it basically only presents news articles. Even though *Svensk Jakt Nyheter* is the journal the devotes most space (26 percent) to predators measured in terms of editorial space, *Jakt & Jägare* publishes most articles about predators. This is partly due to the fact that *Jakt & Jägare* publishes more short news articles than the other magazines. One difference is that *Jakt & Jägare* publishes a lot more pictures of domesticated animals that have been attacked by predators, in particular dogs. As a large proportion of the content is based on different predator conflicts and the portrayal of predators is so negative, it is hardly surprising that neutralising arguments can be found in the material.

The discussions in the local newspapers and hunting magazines are very similar, and arguments that can be traced to all neutralisation techniques (denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of the victim, condemnation of condemners and as appeal to higher loyalties) can be found, although to slightly varying extents. Neutralisations related to the categories *condemnation of condemners* and *appeal to higher loyalties* are more common than the others. This may be a sign that a large part of the problem experienced when it comes to predators is a the lack of trust in the authorities and an unclear legislation that lacks legitimacy.

The results show that the media's portrayal of predators is negative, and for susceptible individuals this can influence attitudes both towards predators and towards poaching. Arguments are presented which can be used to neutralise and legitimise the killing of predators, and that along with the factors *motive* and *opportunity* contribute to these crimes being committed. The fact that neither the daily press nor the magazines in the study give a more nuanced picture of

predators, and that they also constitute sources of neutralising arguments, demonstrates that the role of the media ought to be borne in mind when discussing the issue of predator poaching.

Conclusions

Conflicts regarding predators are expressed by a strong dissatisfaction with the national predator policy and the administrative authorities

Interviews with hunters, reindeer herders and livestock owners give the impression of three areas of conflict as regards the renewed spread of predators: predators as a threat to lifestyle, primarily as competition for game but also due to fears for personal safety; predators as a threat to livelihood, financial losses for reindeer herders and professional hunters and; predators as a symbol of the conflict between those who govern and those who are governed, expressed through disagreements about the level of decision-making regarding protective hunting and the size of predator populations.

Attitudes toward predators show regional differences

Questionnaire results from the investigation of hunters' attitudes towards predators, in Norrbotten, Gävleborg, Dalarna and Östergötland show regional differences. The hunters in Norrbotten are more positive than the hunters in the other counties, while the hunters in Gävleborg and Dalarna are the most negative. One interesting finding is that many hunters believe that the authorities have lied about reintroducing wolves into the Swedish forests.

Few convicted of predator poaching

Out of 344 reports of suspected predator poaching during the 11-year period between 1995–2005, 21 people were convicted in a total of 19 criminal cases. In 2006, zooecological research presented calculations of the number of predators killed as a result of poaching (note: no data is available for bears and golden eagles). According to the calculations, between 170 and 225 wolves, lynxes and wolverines were killed during 2006. Hence, the number of convictions *over 11 years* only amount to a few percent of the number of crimes that are estimated to have been committed *during the past year alone*. Compared with the number of predators that have been killed, the percentage of convicted perpetrators is extremely small.

Perpetrators are sentenced to the lowest penalties possible

Those who have been convicted of predator poaching since the tightening of the penalties in 2001 have been sentenced to 6 months imprisonment i.e. the lowest possible penalty. This is because it is only in three cases that the perpetrators have been found to have killed the predator intentionally. Two of the cases relate to unlawful protective hunting, i.e. livestock owners who have killed predators to protect their animals, and in one case the court took into account the perpetrator's emotional state. In other words, since the penalties were tightened, no one has been convicted of intentionally seeking out predators with the aim of killing them.

Livestock owners rare in the investigations

In only eight of the cases of suspected predator poaching between 1995–2005 have animal farmers killed predators to protect domesticated animals (sheep, dogs). This is a lower number than expected, bearing in mind the symbolic value this situation often has in legislative discussions. This is something that has been demonstrated in our interview material and our questionnaire results.

No perpetrators convicted despite cruel methods

In almost one fifth of the reports (65 of 344) snowmobiles have been used to chase predators. There have also been attempted poisonings although nobody has been convicted of such actions as far as we have been able to establish in this investigation. This means that the tightening of the penalties during 2001, of which one aim was to take into account if cruel methods had been used to kill the animal in question, has never been employed.

Those convicted have often reported themselves to the police

The cases of poaching that lead to convictions are often reported by the perpetrator himself or by for example somebody in the same hunting group. This is the case in ten out of the 19 convictions in the investigations.

Control situation difficult for investigating authorities

Several officials we have interviewed state that it is difficult to get people who have information about poaching to talk about what they know. In addition, officials are routinely threatened and harassed by individuals who do not want predator poaching to be investigated. The predator conflict even affects the organisation internally. In some cases there have even been conflicts of loyalty within the police force, which can be assumed to make the working conditions difficult for investigating officers who consider poaching a serious criminal offence. In some other cases, the co-operation between the investigating authorities is unsatisfactory due to mutual distrust. All in all, these circumstances contribute to a very difficult situation for investigative authorities.

Reports of predators in the media are overwhelmingly negative

The analysis of the content of articles dealing with predators in hunting magazines and local newspapers shows that the media more often than not portrays predators in a negative way. Quotes from sources that are highly critical of predators and predator management/policy are often included. Most critical are articles that mention wolves, the wolf tends to emerge as a symbol for all predators and is often used to represent predators in pictures. Widespread distrust of the authorities also generates a tangible conflict between those who are governed and those who govern.

Neutralising arguments are common in the media

Both the daily newspapers and hunting magazines contain neutralising arguments. These can both influence susceptible individuals' attitudes towards predators, as well as be used to legitimise or excuse poaching. Examples of neutralisations include assertions that the wolf is not threatened by extinction, that many people do not want wolves in Sweden and that the bears only have themselves to blame for becoming unpopular animals because of the way they

behave. The study shows that the media can play an important role as regards attitudes towards predators and poaching.

Proposals for preventative measures against predator poaching

A crime with political overtones

After reviewing the results, we have realised that it is difficult to employ the approach that we normally do which focuses on formulating relatively robust, pragmatic measures. The reason is that predator poaching differs from other criminality. The difference is that the perpetrators may be considered to have the support of various interest groups, or at least to have sympathy for the driving forces and motives that lie behind these serious hunting violations. To have such support for a crime, where the minimum penalty after all is six months' imprisonment, is probably a unique situation in Sweden's modern history. This is the same minimum penalty as for e.g. grand theft, gross fraud and gross fencing, serious crimes that have absolutely no trace of the same support in society as that of predator poaching.

There is also considerable dissatisfaction with the national predator policy, and there is a clear perception that the state authorities do not take enough responsibility for the negative consequences that it sometimes brings for reindeer and livestock owners. It is felt that decisions are taken a long way away from where the problems arise. The predator conflict is therefore a political issue, and would actually not be a matter for crime researchers like us were it not for the fact that poaching poses a serious threat toward the predator populations. Many people view the killing of predators with a conciliatory attitude. There are also people who do not themselves commit these serious hunting violations, but who actively meet the perpetrators halfway by harassing police officers and officials at the county administrative board who are involved in investigations.

From a crime prevention perspective, the problem is the atmosphere that arises through the massive and relentless criticism that is levelled against the national predator policy and that is conveyed in the media's reporting of predator issues. It is naturally not the case that organisations or the media would in any way encourage or even less instigate these crimes. In fact, the organisations that represent hunters, reindeer herders and farmers distance themselves from poaching, although we question whether this standpoint penetrates the intense, recurring criticism of the predator policy. What we are trying to say is that the individuals who choose to poach hardly feel alone and isolated in their attitude towards predators and the predator policy.

With this in mind, it appears to be futile to believe that predator poaching can be restricted solely through the tightening the penalties, increased monitoring and more police officers. Instead, more comprehensive measures are required that influence attitudes and values. We will now discuss why this criminality with political overtones has to be counteracted in part with political means.

A lawless land?

As only a tiny percentage of the crimes in question result in convictions, it can almost be perceived as though we are living in a lawless land. The individuals who have been convicted of killing wolves, for example, have reported themselves to the police in four out of five cases. Those who come before the courts are therefore probably the most law-abiding perpetrators as the majority have

contacted the police themselves. To a large extent, the courts are convicting the "wrong" people, in the sense that those who are convicted hardly constitute a threat to the predator populations, even though they have broken the law. It is possible to draw a few central conclusions from this information. The first and most obvious is that the police and the public prosecutor must work in a different way in order to arrest and punish the "right" poachers. Secondly, and this is even more important: there is an indirect support for poaching predators because of the national predator policy being questioned. This is expressed in the small number of reports that are reported to the police, and the fact that if somebody has seen or heard something, he or she often keeps quiet about it. Interviews with the police show that when they try to investigate hunting crimes, they are met by a complete silence from the inhabitants. The conclusion is that a significantly greater acceptance of the predator policy has to be generated. We cannot have a policy where half of all predator deaths can be explained through serious crimes. If we can achieve greater support for the predator policy and re-establish the trust between people in areas with large predator populations – particularly among hunters and reindeer herders – and the authorities, there will not only be fewer motivated perpetrators, but those who continue to commit crimes in the future will have less and less support from those around them. The wall of silence that at the moment makes investigations practically impossible, will then no longer be as impenetrable as it is today.

Dialogue about a new national predator policy

We have neither the expertise nor a mandate to submit proposals for the formulation of a new national predator policy. In order to reduce the extensive poaching, however, it is important for politicians and the authorities to initiate a dialogue with people in areas with large predator populations in order to formulate goals for the predator policy that can be met with greater acceptance than is the case at present.

It is possible to criticise the idea of changing the predator policy. It can be maintained that the state authorities should not yield to the dictates of the minority that hunters and reindeer owners actually are. Against this it can be stated that the predator policy – although democratically appointed – is obviously not working. The figures that have been presented regarding the extent of poaching clearly speak for themselves. Bearing in mind Sweden's international commitments and growing ecological awareness, the conditions ought still to exist to identify a policy that satisfies all parties.

The reintroduction of predators

When more than half of the members in the two largest hunting organisations in the regions with wolf territories believe, according to our survey, that predators have been reintroduced into the forests in secret, it does not matter whether this is a myth or not. This widespread perception should be taken seriously because the belief makes it easier for perpetrators, who can justify and neutralise their actions with the excuse that they are removing something foreign that is not a natural part of Sweden's fauna. This distrust in relation to the authorities' actions is also a factor that helps poachers to gain the support from others. An important step in reducing poaching ought therefore to be to investigate the claims regarding the wolf reintroduction. How this should take place in order for these claims to be put behind us is a matter that should be discussed with the hunting, reindeer and farmer organisations respectively.

Hunters, reindeer herders and livestock owners have to take responsibility

We have taken great care to emphasise that the perpetrators comprise a very small group of people. However, the people who take part in poaching are not "outsiders". If we look at the criminal investigations, regardless of whether they are convictions or acquittals, the perpetrators and suspects are hunters, livestock owners or reindeer herders. The majority of the individuals who have figured in the preliminary investigations have hunting licences. Predator poaching is therefore an issue and a responsibility for hunters, reindeer herders and animal farmers and their organisations collectively.

If these crimes are to reduce in number and if the debate about predators is to calm down, the established hunters, reindeer herders and livestock owners must accept their share of the responsibility and isolate those who commit crimes both centrally and locally. With an amended predator policy where the state authorities meet these groups halfway, it should be fully possible to get these organisations to work actively to prevent poaching.

Hunting the officials

The unlawful influence on officials is further confirmation that something needs to be done. Authority officials are turned into targets for the frustration that exists. It is ultimately an issue of democracy and legal security that the work of the authorities is not obstructed as a result of officials being threatened and harassed.

If a dialogue takes place regarding the predator policy and the interests and responsibilities of the various parties are ventilated, the likely result will be a reduction in the unlawful influence that is exercised, although it is likely that there will always be a few individuals who continue to cause a stir. These people, like those who will continue poaching despite new agreements and policies, must be combated with powerful police methods.

From forest and mountain to prison

Conflicts surrounding the predator policy have also been evident within the police organisation, where we have seen the same conflicts of loyalty that were mentioned in the previous predator investigation (SOU 1999:146, s. 260). It is important for the police force to work to implement the legislation, without being biased by private interests. The police are also faced with great difficulties when investigating these crimes, which are characterised by no one being willing to talk and where foot and paw prints are quickly destroyed by the wind. The battle against these crime therefore has to be escalated to ensure that more people are arrested and convicted. A great deal is also being done within the authorities, such as using helicopters and developing new methods for crime scene investigations, but it is obvious that further efforts are required in order to increase the percentage of convicted perpetrators. One step in the right direction is for the police to work towards evening out the regional differences between working methods that were evident in the pilot study and that were confirmed by our interviews.

However, there will always be perpetrators who aim for zero tolerance towards predators. In a situation where a new national predator policy would gain acceptance, however, there is a chance that these people will become increasingly isolated. These zero tolerance perpetrators, should be met with the same zero tolerance from society by being arrested and convicted of crimes, as well as hav-

ing their weapons confiscated. One way of identifying these people should be the police's intelligence work and long-term work with informants and tip-offs.

Preparations and attempted crimes

The work of the police and public prosecutors to combat poaching would be made easier by criminalising the preparation to kill predators as well as attempts to do this. Criminalisation could increase the risks associated with using illegal traps and poison, for example, which would be a positive development since the risks involved with using these are currently very small. As far as we can judge, this is particularly important when every killed animal of a threatened species, which all five of these predators are, entails a step away from the potential to fulfil international and national obligations to protect endangered wildlife.

There is now a separate criminal code for suspected cases of poaching relating to predators. Earlier predators where grouped together with regular cases of poaching. This means that the official crime statistics now can produce information about these crimes, which increases knowledge about predator poaching. Our suggestion is that the possession of unlawfully taken predators should also be registered under the same criminal code, as this is strongly linked to poaching.

Unlawful protective hunting

In the pilot study that Brå published in 2005, poaching was subdivided into unlawful protective hunting and regular poaching. Unlawful protective hunting referred to cases where typically livestock owners defended their animals against predator attacks, but where the conditions were such that the criteria for protective hunting were not satisfied. These cases of unlawful protective hunting differ significantly from regular poaching, where the sole aim is to kill predators. Some cases of unlawful protective hunting have received enormous attention both in the media and in local communities and has clearly demonstrated the proximity of the issue of poaching to the predator policy. It is no exaggeration that many people have reacted strongly to these convictions, and the cases have been brought up in political debate. It is reasonable to state that a sanction of six months imprisonment for unlawful protective hunting has hardly any societal support, and that the harsh penalties for unlawful protective hunting consequently intensify the predator conflict. The introduction of a separate legislative act for this crime with a more lenient penalty should therefore be considered. This would increase acceptance for the poaching legislation, which can then be used in the way that was intended with the serious penalties being targeted at those individuals who aim to kill predators.

Gentle and tough measures

Brå has invested considerable resources in researching poaching, and has discovered one of the most complicated social phenomena in Sweden. The reason for this is the crime's link to a predator policy that is facing considerable resistance. In order to deal with poaching, comprehensive work is therefore required involving both gentle and tough measures, as we have described above. One key to reducing poaching is to implement a new national predator policy and a system for predator management that has the support of hunters, reindeer herders and livestock owners and their organisations as a whole. However, this also requires for these organisations to put an end to the denial of the nature and extent of poaching, and instead earn the trust to be able to participate in future management of the predator populations.

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