How the hunter became the hunted

A discourse analysis on how hunters cope with the emerged resistance against hunting practices in the Netherlands

E.J. (Eugenie) van Heijgen
Wageningen University
Department of Environmental Sciences
Cultural Geography Chair Group
Supervisor: dr. ir. Martijn Duineveld
Examinator: prof. Claudio Minca

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For quality of life

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eugenievanheijgen@hotmail.com

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'Though the landscape was beautiful. The sky was uniformly blue, lighter towards the horizon, the oblique sun starting to turn everything in balanced pastel shades, the tops of the trees stood out sharply against the sky. Somethimes you wondered whether a forest landscape in wintertime wasn't more beautiful and mysterious than during Summer. Rien Poortvliet believed so. High winterly trees surrounding a neglected mansion with many outbuildings, and around it strips of forest with pastures, that was for Nielen since his youth the symbol of the hunt, that peculiar mixture of childhood sentiments, mystery, romance, passion, filled and unfulfilled dreams, exitement and respected traditions of old.'

Wil Huygen (1999), Nielen & Co, p. 13.

Front page: a shot deer at 'De Hoge Veluwe National Park' being 'doodgeblazen' as last honor by hunter Wil Huygen and gamekeeper Jan Venema. Picture by©Jan den Besten.

Acknowledgements

First of all I would like to say that it has been a great pleasure working on this thesis. It was not a barrier to the finish line of completing my masters, as it might be for some students: I was very fortunate to decide to dedicate both my master theses on the subject of hunting, enabling me to work on this topic for an entire year. It felt like I was unraveling a 'mystery' and very slowly came closer to the answer. I could never have foreseen how the development of this thesis would evolve, but I can truly say I am very happy with the result. Going in so much depth on a certain topic made me realize how little I knew, but also how little I know now. New questions arise, making me anxious to explore this 'mystery' even further.

First of all I would like to thank Jason Lavender for the inspiration he gave me on this subject. If it wasn't for him, taking me to a traditional fox hunt in England, I might never have come up with the idea of working on this topic. Also I would like to thank prof. dr. ir. Theo Spek for his help and support during the process of working not only on the research I've done for my master Landscape History, but also on this thesis. Furthermore I would like to thank 'Jachtcommissie Diania' of study association Sylvatica for sharing their passion for hunting with me together with their views and idea's. I am also grateful for the enthusiastic support from Seger. E. baron van Voorst tot Voorst, director of 'De Hoge Veluwe National Park'. Drs.ir. Clemens P.G. Driessen I want to thank for his help and advice at the finalization phase of the thesis. Of course I want to thank dr.ir. Martijn Duineveld for his support, his infinite energy and the faith he had in this research. To conclude I would like to thank my whole family and Folkert for their love and care. It has been a great journey.

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Abstract

The word 'hunting' is a value-laden expression in the Netherlands nowadays. It triggers emotion with different groups in society. A diverse set of hunting discourses emerged in which normative expressions of hunting are constituted. Increasingly these discourses developed into two extremes: those in favour of hunting and those in which hunting is considered highly problematic and inhumane. Shifting societal values made this distinction more clear and now hunters, the practitioners of the hunt, seem to be in a position where they have to legitimize why they hunt. Hunters have tried to cope with this in many different ways. Based on an analysis of the genealogy of written and spoken texts, I distinguish different techniques that hunters in the Netherlands developed, both intentionally and unintentionally to deal with the on-going emergence of negative hunting discourses. Influenced by anthropocentric and conservationist discourses, hunters have tried to cope with this resistance against hunting differently throughout history. They applied three prominent discursive techniques. First, 'Identifying the hunter' was a technique applied to strengthen, confirm and acknowledge the existence of the hunting discourse by self-identification, organisational institutionalisation and using silencing and creating awareness as a positioning strategy towards other discourses. Secondly, normative concept construction was used as a discursive technique to create understanding outside the hunting discourse using the concepts 'faunabeheer' (Faunamanagement), but also by unifying their own subjects through the concept of 'weidelijkheid'. The third used discursive technique is the formation of hunting motives. These became embedded within the hunting discourse, using the motives protection, emotional self-fulfilment, food, economics and sociality as a way of communicating outside their discourse. In the end I argue that distinguishing these techniques of dealing with resistance can be a powerful tool to empirically understand the power struggle within the hunting debate. Also theoretically these discursive techniques of dealing with resistance have proven to act as facilitators for making a discourse dynamic and at the same time enact dialogue between the different discourses.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter provides the reader with a general overview of how hunting is performed in the Netherlands and gives a first insight in the debate about hunting. The problem statement describes how theoretically there is a lack of knowledge on analysing such a debate and that there is a lack of understanding about the hunting debate as well. Also research possibilities are mentioned by introducing the research questions of this research.

1.1 Background

'Bambi, come here. Look! New spring grass. …[Bambi and his mother are eating grass; suddenly she stands in attention]…[ominous music…] *Bambi, quick, the thicket!* [they run] *Faster, faster Bambi! Don't look back! Keep running! Keep running!* [gunshot and then silence] Bambi: *'We made it! We made it mother! Mother? Mother?!'*
(Disney, 1942)

Many generations of people have grown up watching this scene from Disney's movie Bambi. The story is about a young deer growing up in the forest after his mother is shot by hunters. The described scene above is probably the most emotionally laden part of the movie: did you cry when you saw it as a child? I know I did. The hunter in this case is the cause of the emotional response: by killing the mother of Bambi, he is depicted as being the murderer. Watching the scene, the hunter is not illustrated. It has no face, no identity: just the sound of the gunshot embodies the evidence that hunter is the killer of Bambi's mother. Bambi and his mother on the other hand are well defined characters: a loving mother and her playful young son, being harshly separated from each other by a cruel hunter. As in many other Disney movies, anthropomorphic animals are the leading characters, meaning that human emotions are projected on to animals.

The example of the Disney movie Bambi, embodies the tendency in which hunting is no longer an obvious practice; it has become a contested activity to which many people react very emotionally. Nowadays moral arguments from a normative perspective characterize the debate in which the legitimization of hunters motives are questioned (Fischer et al., 2013). Starting in October, until the end of January, hunting is often discussed in news items due to the start of the hunting season. Headlines like 'No hunt, but butchery. Poor forester.' (Hemmen, 2013), or 'Protests against hunting during the Saint-Hubertus celebration at De Moer' (Bartol, 2013) appear, and discussions about wildlife management get started. Nature management organisations constantly concern themselves with the question whether hunting wildlife is righteous and why. For example 'Natuurmonumenten' (Eng. Nature Monuments) started a survey in September 2013 about big wildlife to gain more insight in people's view about the subject. Hunting plays a central role in this discussion. An interesting outcome of this study is that 67 % of 'Natuurmonumenten' adherents believed that wildlife that suffers greatly by food shortage can be killed. On the other hand, intervention to prevent food shortage by shooting wildlife beforehand was not very popular: 42 % was against this, 32 % was pro this intervention method (Hijdra, van der Weide, & Schoo, 2013).

Within the debate, some see hunting as a functional management instrument, while others resent this method by referring to animal cruelty. This on-going debate of pro-and anti-hunt has become very intense: organisations like 'Groenfront!' stir the debate by calling upon followers to detect hunting huts and put them on a map. The Trust 'de Faunabescherming' (Eng. Fauna protection), asks their members to 'report wrongdoing' during the hunt when: 1. Hunters behave 'onweidelijk' (Eng. act against the hunting code of conduct) or let animals suffer unneeded, 2. Hunters hunt at places or times when it is not allowed to hunt, 3. Hunters abuse or kill pets, 4. Hunters behave aggressively towards passers- by that take pictures or protest against hunters (Faunabescherming, 2015). This view of the hunter by some has resulted in the following observation: the hunter has become the hunted.

Hunting is an activity that has been practiced since and before the memory of humanity. The eating of food is a primal need for humans and other living beings, and hunting is often seen as a an important evolutionary conduct in the development of the modern human (Liebenberg, 2008; Speth, 1989). 1.8 million years ago, the *Homo ergaster* was the first hominid to develop a social environment around the practice of

hunting (Scarre, 2009). This shows that gradually in human history, hunting became a social matter. In current western society, hunting is no longer perceived as necessary for the survival of men, and evolved due to societal changes into an activity that is highly value laden and contested. Hunting primarily for food is not so common anymore in the Netherlands; nowadays most people can easily get their hands on meat in the supermarket, processed and ready to be cooked. Hunting became a way of managing wildlife in nature area's; the Flora-and Faunawet (Eng. Flora and Fauna law) of 2002 depicts hunting on wildlife not as hunting anymore, but as wildlife management, by not using the word hunting (Ministerie, 2002). According to the Hunting Decree and hunting Regulation, hunting is only permitted on the species hare, pheasant, wild duck, rabbit and wood pigeon as described on the 'wildlist' (list of hunting species). For other types of wildlife another regime of management and damage control is applicable (Klashorst et al., 2009; Ministerie, 2002). Provincial exemption can be provided for these animals based on the provincial wildlife management plan. This management plan is made by a Faunabeheereenheid (Eng. Fauna-management unit): a cooperative body in which farmers, nature organisations, private landowners and hunters are represented (Siebenga, 2008). To be able to hunt, a hunting permit is required. This permit is only granted when the applicant can demonstrate that (s)he is eighteen years or older, successfully completed the hunting exam, has a proof of good behaviour, has a hunting accident insurance, and has no criminal record. To be able to participate in the hunting exam, one must follow a hunting course. When a hunter possesses a hunting permit (s)he must, according to law, obtain the right to hunt by renting a hunting field. In the Netherlands, the right to hunt belongs to the landowner, and he can rent this permission out to hunters (Siebenga, 2008).

This research is about the way hunters have dealt with the emerged resistance against hunting. The thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter one introduces the reader to the topic of this research by providing the problem statement together with the research objective and research questions. Chapter two introduces the theoretical foundation of this research, explaining the concept of discourse. The method used in this research will be further explained in chapter three. The empirical analytic part of this thesis will begin in chapter four, starting with the explanation of identifying the hunter as a discursive technique to act against the anti-hunt discourse. Chapter five is about the construction of normative concepts as a way to withstand the resistance against hunting. How anti-hunt discourses stimulated the formation of motives within hunting community will be described in chapter six. In the abstract analytical chapter seven, the findings of the research are discussed, and chapter eight provides a conclusive chapter in which the research questions are answered.

1.2 Problem statement

Somewhere in the course of history hunting has become a value laden activity in which hunting is seen by some as intolerable. This resulted in a recurrent debate in which hunting practices are condemned and hunters try to protect and secure their activity. This debate has evolved and came into an impasse in which people are either pro- or against hunting. More nuanced, this becomes visible in the way how nature management organisations deal differently with this issue. For example 'De Hoge Veluwe National Park' sees hunting as a necessary and commercial activity, while 'Natuurmonumenten' characterizes hunting as a last resort to prevent animals from suffering. Even though both organisations are concerned with nature conservation, there seems to be a different view prominent. Where does this difference come from? Next to the problem that nature organisations are constantly practicing different management actions and disagree with each other on the subject, hunters themselves have to deal with the struggle being the executors of the practice. How do they manage to deal with this? There is a need to put this debate into a new perspective by creating understanding and awareness between the practitioners of different views without putting value of right and wrong on the subject.

Next to the described societal problem, there seems to be a theoretical problem as well. As I have stated before, moral arguments from a normative perspective characterize the debate in which the legitimization of hunters' motives are questioned (Fischer et al., 2013). This is also visible in the studies that are engaged in the identification of hunting motives (Gunn, 2008; Kellert, 1979; Kheel, 2008; Mattsson, 1989; Minnis, 1996; Rutten, 1992; Schraml & Suda, 1995). Even though the categorization of these motives can be interesting in order to make sense of the hunting world, they fail to describe the underlying societal structures that stimulate the occurrence of these motives. Where do these motives come from? Did they occur just within the hunters society themselves, or are they part of a bigger societal interaction in which hunters have tried to relate to? Within societal debates and conflicts, power and knowledge are intertwined (Flyvbjerg & Sampson, 1998). Without

addressing a normative valuation to the two concepts, constructivists believe that knowledge is always formed within a certain perspective of different normative expressions (Gordon, 2009). Therefore the single study of motives is not sufficient to get an understanding in the debate about hunting. Also the individual analysis of arguments pro- or against hunting is not sufficient in order to gain further insight in the debate. From a Focauldian constructionist take on discourse, this is all dependent on the underlying discursive power and knowledge relations within society. Even though ethical studies have often analysed the moral arguments pro- and against hunting (Callicott, 2008; Gunn, 2008; Kheel, 2008; Varner, 2008), there seems to be a gap of knowledge about the discursive environment in which this debate takes place. More precisely, the environment in which the hunter as a societal sensitive subject emerged, has not yet been analysed. With the emergence of an anti-hunt discourse, hunters needed to react upon this emerged negativity in order protect their activity. This is also very eminent within the debate; hunters seems to be in a position in which they have to legitimize why they hunt (Fischer et al., 2013). These studies however fail to recognize legitimization and justification by hunters as a way of reacting upon an anti-hunt discourse. More often the arguments themselves are described about a certain type of hunting and how that is justified or legitimized in ethical studies (Cahoone, 2009; List & Hargrove, 2004), but also at publications by hunters themselves (Bucher, 1973; Dam, 1953; Kaathoven, 1982; Nuesslein, 1964; Siebenga, 2008).

A constructionist perspective can help to put the on-going debate about hunting in a broader context, helping to better understand the current debate about hunting. By doing so, the way in which hunters have reacted upon the anti-hunt discourse is conceptualised into mechanisms or techniques that hunters intentionally or unintentionally have used. This study endeavours to provide a first explorative analysis about the discursive techniques hunters have used to react upon the negativity about hunting in order to gain further insight in the hunting debate.

1.3 Research objective and research questions

The main objective of this research is:

To identify and analyse the discursive techniques 'hunters' use to deal with the on-going anti-hunt discourses in the Netherlands.

Which is translated into the following main research question:

What discursive techniques do hunters use to cope with the on-going anti-hunt discourses in the Netherlands?

To be able to answer the main research question, the genealogical process of the hunter becoming a sensitive subject has to be analysed. To gain further insight in the way how hunters and also anti-hunt propogandists communicate with each other, the formation of concepts should be studied. Also the way in which hunting motives are evident within the hunting debate should be studied, in order to understand the interaction between discourses. This can be translated in the following sub-research questions:

How did 'the hunter' as a societally sensitive subject emerge?

In what way does the construction of concepts play a part in the hunting debate?

Why do hunting motives have a central position in the hunting debate?

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

In order to create a better understanding about the formation of the research questions, a theoretical outline of discourse theory and resistance and social conflict theory is necessary. This research focusses on a constructionist approach by drawing a relation between the theories and focussing on how the hunting debate is mostly engaged with the struggle of power. The chapter is completed with a conceptual model that visualises the applicability of the concepts within this research.

2.1 Discourse theory

According to Howarth (2000) the concept of discourse originates from a constructionist paradigm. This was coherent to the growing dissatisfaction of prevalent positivistic trends within the social scientific environment. As is the case with other social sciences, also the application of the concept of discourse is dependent on the theoretical background in which it originated. These theoretical backgrounds encompass specific assumptions about the nature of the social world, and the manner in which we make sense out of it. It is therefore important to explore this before giving a definition of the term discourse. Generally, positivists and empiricists see discourse as a framework of cognitive schemata (Howarth & Norval, 2000). Discourses are seen as mainly instrumental devices that may affect the overall perception. Realists on the other hand, assign more importance to the ontological dimensions of discourse theory and analysis. Hereby, the notion that the social world consists of a conglomeration of independent objects with inherent properties and intrinsic causal powers is important. The interaction of these objects cause events and processes in the world (Howarth 2000). Moreover, post-structuralists and post-Marxists have a more comprehensive understanding of discourse, looking at the historical and political structure and function of symbolic systems and social hierarchies.

Michel Foucault has inspired many theorists in his works about power and discourse (Sim, Van Loon, & Appignanesi, 2004). Foucault studied the historical, genealogical context of the production of knowledge together with its meaning. He was engaged with the question how people make sense of each other and the world, and how our knowledge about social, individual and communal meanings are produced through time (Debrauwere, 2007). By means of Foucault and other interpretations of his work (Debrauwere, 2007; Foucault, 1972; Howarth, 2000; Van Assche, Beunen, & Duineveld, 2014), a discourse can be defined as followed: *a structured series of concepts that provide access to a certain part or aspect of reality, while at the same time other aspects or parts are veiled*. Hajer and Versteeg (2005, p. 25) see a discourse as: '*An ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices*'.

According to Foucault, discourses exist of four basic elements (Howarth, 2000). Primarily there are 'objects' on which statements are made. Then there are 'places of speech' where statements are proclaimed. 'Concepts' are involved in the formulation of discourses, from which 'themes and theories' are developed. Discursive objects are created according to which three types of rules are involved. The first rule relates to the range of social relations whereby certain proclamations or symptoms become subject to research and interest. The second rule is the power that authorities have to decide which objects correspond to which discursive formations. The third rule refers to the way whereupon different object are placed with each other by the characteristics they have. The second basic element of which a discourse can exist, namely places of speech, is about the importance that the way in which people received the right to speak due to their education or specialisation is researched. The third basic element, concepts, focusses on the rules that determine seemingly logical relations between expressions. An example would be the determination of which proclamations are accepted or excluded from within a certain discourse. The last basic element, themes or theories, derive within a discourse in which strategies are developed. Sometimes expressions within a discourse are allowed, but are incompatible. In other words, within a discourse one theory is not chosen above the other, but accepting both would be a controversy. Alongside the formation of these four basic elements of which a discourse exists, two Foucauldian concepts should not be forgotten: knowledge and power.

Knowledge and discourse determine subject positions, meaning that knowledge has the power to determine who has the right of speech and who has not. This means that power, knowledge and discourses are

very closely related, because knowledge has the power to make itself 'true' (Debrauwere, 2007). Knowledge about the world does not wait until it is discovered by scientists, but is formed through human interaction with the world. During the formation of knowledge, the angle through which an entity is researched and de values of the researcher plays an important part. Constructivists believe that what is assigned to as knowledge, always is developed from a certain perspective and value judgement (Gordon, 2009). Everybody finds himself within a network of power that is steered by the discourses that are present in society. In this research, knowledge and power are therefore not seen as a normative expression; these concepts only help to show in which manner discourses work.

But how do discourses become visible in our world? This is closely related to the change in philosophical thinking about characteristics of the world envisioned by language, language and its features itself, and how our world is created by the meaning of language. Language works in a paradoxical manner: we use language to give meaning to our environment like objects or experiences, and through this process we also extract meaning again from the object. Language is therefore not a display of reality, it merely facilitates forms of life to which a subjective experience can be asserted, social activities can take place, and where power relationships interact. Language is not only about the naming of objects, it can also be seen as a medium through which narratives obtain meaning (Hajer, 2006). Narratives provide frames in which situations can be interpreted and is able to link objects, actors and institutions with each other (Sandercock, 2003; Van Assche et al., 2014). They can be described as meaningful stories representing the world through discourse by the way we want it to look like. Therefore a discourse analysis does not seek the truth: it looks at who claims to speak the truth and how this is justified by claims of authority (Carver, 2002). Narratives can consist of the same elements as discourses like objects, places of speech and concepts and theories. Complementary, metaphors can play a powerful role in the embedding of narratives. They indicate a figurative resemblance, which can say a lot about the importance and context of the term (De Boer, 2006). How these elements and characteristics are related will be explained in the conceptual framework.

2.2 Resistance and social conflict theory

Next to the theory of discourse, further insight in the theory of resistance and social conflict can help to analyse the way hunters resist to the emergence of anti- hunt discourses. Power and resistance are ontologically correlative terms, meaning that both terms have the same capacity: the capacity to create social change (Heller, 1996). Foucault distinguishes between two forms of power: relatively crudely imposed disciplinary power and the more subtle pastoral power that operates more subversively and indirectly (Bevir, 1999). Because social systems exist only in the actions of those who embody them, distributed forms of pastoral power are constantly threatened by the unpredictable ways people enact them (Butler, 1993). Also, social and cultural systems are never entirely complete, always including 'outsides' that define their boundaries (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). Schutz (2004) argues that those who embody aspects of the 'outside' of such systems paradoxically also constantly threaten the 'truth' of these systems because they show that alternatives are possible. In this way conflict and resistance can emerge. Conflict can be used as a synonym for contradictory and uncooperative. Some say that society can make progress because conflicts exist as a driving force. Social conflicts act as the integrators of social rules. In the process of conflicts, new rules are constantly being created (Jia, Yang, Wang, Hong, & You, 2011). But not only rules are created within the construct of society. Different rules exist within different discourses, enabling a cause of resistance due to different meanings being assigned to different objects. For example the objictification of a wild animal such as a roe deer is emotional: people might find the animal beautiful. Hunters believe that as well as animal welfare propagandists. The enactment of this emotion is performed differently within both discourses: hunters sometimes kill the animal, others try to find them in the forest lands. Because the same object, the row deer, enables different actions of meaning within different discourses, conflicts can occur.

Resistance, as a form of conflict, enables actors to act against authority of the forces that limit our creative self-representation. This means that people are free to reject and transform what is presented to us as our nature according to Foucault (Chan, 2000). Foucault believes that self- consciousness is an essential catalysts for resistance, meaning that we may transgress the limits and internal constraints of subjectification to re-present ourselves creatively and refuse who we are (Chan, 2000). In this way, the concept of resistance is embodied in the manner people represent themselves by self-defining discursive practices that forms people into subjects. How does this become empirically present? Seemingly any type of exercising power

triggers a form of resistance, but only becomes visible when subjects are created within discursive practices. For example, struggles about material or political resources, but also about culture and ideology that Scott (1990) calls hidden transcripts, can provide the foundation for action in open forms of social movement and therefore change. We do however have to keep in mind that we do not overlook other relations of power such as the difference between intentional and conscious and unintentional and unconscious acts of resistance (Dick, 2008). When spoken of discursive resistance strategies or techniques to act against a certain actor, this can therefore be intentional or unintentional. Also the performative expression of 'effective' resistance can be challenged, and is therefore not examined during this research.

2.3 Conceptual framework

To qualify this research, figure 1 represents a conceptual framework in which the main theoretical categories and concepts are presented. It is a visualisation of the relationship between these concepts and how they practice the foundation of this thesis. For now, this model represents a conceptual general overview of the theoretical concepts used in this research. At the end of this thesis, a more complete framework will be presented when the empirical material has been analysed. In this model, two imaginative discourses are presented. Every discourse exists of four elements, namely objects and subjects, places of speech, concepts and themes or theories. For example the hunting discourse objectifies the subject 'hunter'. They have certain places of speech through organisational and scientific institutions, but also in a smaller social context such as in the hunting group itself. Concepts may be evident such as 'wildlife' but also there is a great majority of hunters jargon present in the discourse. An example of a theme present in the hunters discourse is the view that hunting is needed in order to protect the species they hunt. This is shortly what a discourse can consist of, and shows that these basic elements of discourse interlink with each other. For example 'fauna management' is a concept within the hunting discourse, but also embodies other themes and theories, places of speech and different objects. Therefore these basic elements should not be seen as a static whole, on the contrary, they represent how dynamic a discourse is. This is the reason why during this research no specific attention is given to the four categories: they blend into each other in which the categories are automatically specified.

Discourses overlap one another, which does not unconditionally result in conflict. When forces are identified that limit the self-representation within a discourse, this may lead to the embodiment of resistance acts, in the model described as resistance techniques. In this research the anti-hunt discourse is the trigger of conflict and has developed because they sometimes cover the same object, place of speech, themes or concepts such as the animal deer. When this results in limitation of self-representation, in this case the performance of the hunt, conflict may occur. Resistance or discursive techniques may be used in order to shift certain power relations.
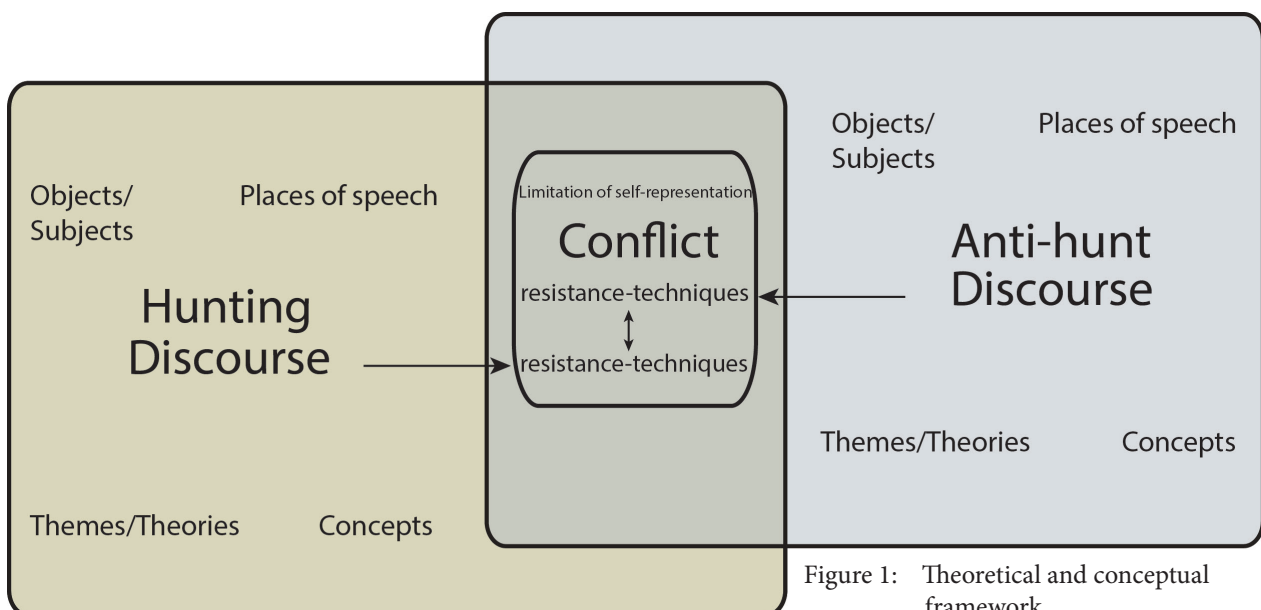

Figure 1:   Theoretical and conceptual framework

Chapter 3: Method

This chapter describes the method used during the research. At first, the perspective from which the execution of the study is approached will be explained. Next, the manner in which data is obtained will be described, after which more information is provided about the way the empirical material is analysed. At the end, the quality of the research and its barriers and constraints will be discussed by analysing the validity, reliability, and constraints of the research next to explaining the position of the researcher.

3.1 Methodology

This research is based on the empirical material obtained from qualitative research methods. This can be seen as a type of explanatory research inside a non-structured setting. This is mainly about the analysis of a certain attitude, opinion or perspective in relation to a problem (Kumar, 2011). This position is also evident within discourse analysis, as discourse analysts are engaged in the question how, under which circumstances and because of what reason discourses occur, are contested and change (Howarth, 2000). Discourse analysis is used to analyse discussions about certain objects. This is done through the examination of the use of language. Studying the meaning of the use of language is what it is based on (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). Language is the embodiment of discourse and enables us to give meaning to the world around us, whether these are objects or experiences. Just as language, discourses change continuously. They transform and reproduce itself by making different 'truths' (Van Assche et al., 2014). Nonetheless, discourse analysis does not seek the truth, but who claims to speak the truth (Carver, 2002). The goal of this research is to describe, understand and explain discursive processes, instead of creating empirical generalisations or testing universal hypothesis. This thesis therefore aims to not be normative or descriptive about what is right or wrong: it merely depicts what others might find right or wrong in order to create an understanding of the debate about hunting.

Why is discourse analysis a useful concept to work with? The analysis of discursive constructs like narratives, stories and metaphors is according to Hajer (2006) of significance when studying social-historical developments in which expressions are produced and received. In this way, methodological correct ways to analyse the discursive production of meaning occur, combined with the analysis of social-political practices from where social constructions are developed together with the actors that facilitate these expressions. However, we have to keep in mind that people do not assign the same meaning to messages; the sender of the message often means something different than the receiver interprets. Written communication is based on interpretive reading, thinking along and weighing of expressions and the extent to which they sound 'right'. Discourse analysis visualises this phenomenon (Hajer, 2006).

3.2 Data collection

Wodak and Meyer (2009, p. 28) describe that the collection of data cannot be seen as a specific phase that first has to be completed before starting the discourse analysis. After the collection of information, the first analysis was carried out in which indicators for certain concepts were studied together with the placement of the concepts into categories. After that, further data was collected. In this way, the collection of data was never completed, because new questions may occur that can only be used when new data is being collected (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Text can be seen as a product of linguistic action (Wodak, 2000, p. 10). Two different types of text are used in this research: written text and verbal text. Written text exists of many different types of language, as long as it is fixed on paper. In order to get a broad overview of the discursive environment, written texts are researched in for example books, scientific articles, websites, forums, magazines and newspaper articles. Verbal text is about the examination of presentations, debates, conversations and interviews. Both types of text have been collected during this research. Verbal text is collected at the start of this research in order to receive a general insight in the current debate. I have attended for example the Aardhuissymposium 'Wild:

vrije baan of aan banden? (Eng. Wildlife: free path or restrained) organised by the Koninklijke Nederlandse Bosbouw Vereniging (Eng. Royal Dutch Forestry Organisation) on the 6th of march, 2014. Furthermore I have attended a debate about hunting organised by youth group Dwars, followers of the political party Groenlinks at the 4th of December 2013. In addition I have conducted an in-depth semi-structured interview with the director of Stichting Het Nationale Park De Hoge Veluwe , Seger. E. baron van Voorst tot Voorst and a group interview with the hunting board of Jachtcommissie Diana being part of the study association of Sylvatica. Both interviews were semi-structured, using a topic list during the interview in order to keep track of the subject. During the interviews, I have tried to be as neutral as possible, by not asking probing questions or other value-laden expressions. The interviews have been conducted at the end of the research, as a way of testing whether the identified discursive techniques were correct. After that, citations of the interviews were intertwined in the research analysis.

The selection of written text is based on the ambition of collecting a wide range of data from scientific knowledge to practical knowledge. During the research many different sorts of data have been used, although bound to the certain restrictions of the research. Not all data is accessible to the me and also some actors are more prominently present in the debate about hunting. For example the Koninklijke Nederlandse Jachtvereniging (Eng. Royal Dutch Hunting Society) has taken a prominent place in the availability of data, being the representative of many hunters in the Netherlands. The more 'sound' an actor creates, consequently the more it becomes visible to the outer world and to me as a researcher.

3.3 Data analysis

This research has been conducted in accordance to methods to identify, originate and analyse transformation of certain discourses. By analysing discursive strategies, discursive practices can be distinguished, helping to identify relevant discourses. During this research, the following questions were used as a guideline to analyse the empirical data in order to identify discursive practices based on research by Hajer and Versteeg (2005) and Wodak and Meyer (2009):

1. How is hunting being referred to? How are hunters being called? How are non-hunters being called? (This refers to the way metaphors and narratives are created);
2. What characteristics, properties and qualities are ascribed to the actors? (For example the normative use of words);
3. According to which arguments and argument schemes do authors promote their view on hunting?;
4. From what perspective or focal point are these appointments, ascriptions and arguments expressed? (For example what paradigm underlies this expression like aesthetic, anthropocentric or ecocentric views);
5. Are these expressions openly formulated and are they intensified or mitigated?

These questions help to answer the sub-research questions explained in chapter 1, and can be seen as tools to analyse the data. The historical context in which a discursive strategies develop is analysed using the following core dimensions within the discourse historical method (Leeuwen van & Wodak, 1999):
1. The content of the data;
2. The used discursive stategies;
3. The verbal and written realisation of this content and strategies.
The historic dimension of discursive practices is used in two manners within the discourse historic methodology. First, all available information about the historic background and the original sources are studied in which discursive events are embedded.[1] Secondly, the data has been analysed on what kind of genres of discourses are under the influence of diachronic change. Next to the identification of discourses and the study of their origin, it is kept in mind that some discourses are more prominently visible than others. Hajer (2006) provides a two-stepped method to measure the influence of a discourse. First, the influence of a discourse becomes visible when many people use a certain discourse to conceptualise the world, which is called discourse structuralism. Secondly the influence of a discourse becomes visible when it is embodied in institutions or organisational practices. This is also called discourse institutionalism. Within this research this is used as a tool to identify the dominance of a certain discourse.

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[1] This has been excuted in my other thesis about the Veluwe as hunting landscape (Van Heijgen, 2015)

3.4 Research quality, barriers and constraints

3.4.1 Validity and reliability

When applying qualitative research, questions are raised when using the terms validity and reliability. Validity refers to the opportunity of research instruments to produce an outcome like the researcher programmed it. Reliability is about the consistence of the outcome when it is repeated multiple times. Both terms are however difficult in qualitative research, especially because many different methods and procedures are used, making standardisation hard to apply (Kumar, 2011). According to Wodak and Meyer (2009) the traditional quantitative terms like validity, reliability and objectivity are important for qualitative social research, but should be slightly adjusted. Kumar (2011) describes four indicators to test the validity and reliability in qualitative research: 1. Credibility, 2. Transferability, 3. Dependability, 4. Confirmability. Credibility and dependability is about how credible the research results are from the perspective of the participant in the research. In this case this is about the way hunters refer to the identified strategies and especially about the way the information obtained from interviewees contemplates to the way they envisioned their answers. Therefore during the research the question: What is meant by the speaker? What is meant by the author? Is always prominent to ensure the credibility of the research. Transferability is about the way the results of qualitative research can be generalised and used in a different context or environment. Generally speaking this is difficult to realise within qualitative research. However, describing this research process if a way of trying to mitigate this phenomenon, as well as confirming the results.

Methodologically speaking, the change of bias can be minimalized, but also the simplification of information should be prevented. Within discourse analysis the term triangulation is used as a way of preventing bias during the research as much as possible. Wodak (2000) puts forward how this can be implemented by distuingishing 4 levels of context: .1 Direct use of language, 2. The intertextual and interdiscursive relation between expressions, texts and genres and discourses, 3. The linguistic variables that describe the context of a situation, 4. The broad social-political context in which discursive practices are embedded. Continuous switching between these levels should reduce the risk of bias and is recommended by Wodak and Meyer (2009) to ensure reliability in the study.

3.4.2 Position researcher

As author of this thesis it is essential to recognize the influence I might have on the results. The position of the researcher can influence the method, production of knowledge and the interpretation of the entire research. However, looking from a constructivist and postmodernist approach, everybody's personal background and experience creates a pair of glasses through which he or she looks at the world. Researchers, even when they might intent not to, have one as well. Therefore it is important to shortly describe how my 'glasses' look like.

During my bachelor Forest-and Nature conservation I have become familiar with management of forests, nature and landscapes. Hunting within this study was not expressed as a problem: it was needed as a way om managing nature, because otherwise our deciduous forests would decline due to overgrazing. Later, during my study in Social Spatial Analysis, it became clear that people have a certain emotional connection to their environment, resulting in an emotional reaction on practices such as hunting. Hunting was no longer a neutral practice to manage the forest, it became a value laden subject . Why these value laden emotions appear and where these come from, I will personally always try to view from a broader perspective. I approach these values from an interdisciplinary and diachronic perspective, stimulated by my study in Landscape History. These perspectives are undoubtly visible within this thesis. Hunting as a value laden subject is difficult to study: many people have an opinion about the subject, and as a researcher I inevitably have an opinion about the subject as well. I believe that hunting is a valuable and important cultural heritage: it is probably one of the oldest professions human beings have and still practice. The ethics and moral of what is allowed and what is not; history tells us that this constantly changes within the development of new discursive environments. I believe that we use the landscape because it is useful to us as human beings, whether this is for aesthetic reasons, or practical uses such as food. You could say that this is an anthropocentric approach. Hunting I therefore see as a practice that is useful: whether it is for food supply, wildlife management, and yes, also for pleasure. I believe that hunting as a cultural tradition and ancient craft has the right to exist, leaving the

debate aside for now. Why have I explained my opinion about hunting? This is simply because by being aware of my own opinion, myself and the reader of this thesis can decide what to do with this information. By naming it, you will be aware of your enemy or pitfall, by ignoring it, you will fall right in it. Therefore I see the expression of my own opinion as a way of realising objectivity. I want to understand the debate, and not let my own opinion get in the way of an objective research, even though true objectivity is difficult to realise due to the imbedded ideology and convictions of the researcher (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 32). However, due to this knowledge I have been able to take a step back once and a while during this research and prevent it from being a unilateral research.

3.4.3 Constraints

During the research I had to tackle some constraints. Of course the difficulties described above where taken into account. It was difficult to look at the debate as objective as possible, because this thesis is all about the valuation of language. I noticed that the subject was so value laden that it was not difficult at all to find defence or resistance mechanisms used by hunters. When talking to people about the subject, discursive strategies became almost instantly visible for me. Even though in this research these strategies are described as reactions upon an anti-hunt discourse, this does not mean that these reactions are always a direct response to discourses. Because discourses interrelate with each other, it was sometimes difficult to locate the real cause of certain phenomena.

Another difficulty I experienced during the research is the language barrier. Doing a discourse analysis on Dutch language is sometimes difficult to translate into English. Sometimes if a Dutch word is translated into English it does not always cover the concept. For example hunting animals are in English often called 'game'. This however is not the correct translation for the Dutch term, as 'game' refers to hunting as a sport, with a different historical origin. So this research was a constant weighing of the usage of terms, covering the terms as much as possible.

The objectification of social groups within this research has been a constraint as well. For example the usage of the concepts hunters and non-hunters. A group of hunters exist of many individuals, having their own ways, manners and expressions. They are part of many different discourses; a hunter of hares can also be a doctor having three children living in the 'bible belt' of the Netherlands. Then why generalise hunters? Within for example a hunting discourse, people make sense of their group of belonging somewhere, and convey that outside the boundaries of their discourse. I, being an outsider from this discourse, can only pick up these expressions by this group of hunters. This might have a biasing effect, but is also part of the discourse analysis as well. Identifying discourses in the end means generalising groups of people to make sense out of this research. Therefore I would like to express here that it has never been the intention of the research to generalise hunters: only to be able to identify general conclusions it is sometimes necessary. As we can see from the methodological framework, the way to which hunters are revered to is closely related to the characterisations and argumentation schemes that others use to identify hunters or hunters use themselves.

As I have described already, I am not part of the hunters society. I do not hunt, and have no personal relations with hunters. Therefore I envisioned myself as being an outsider. Some constraints are attached to this. At first, consequently, I do not have access to all information within the hunting discourse. This is the same for the anti-hunt discourses. The empirical data available to me therefore determined the general outcome of this research.

Chapter 4: Identifying the 'hunter'

Since the Middle ages, hunting became a privilege for the wealthy dukes and counts. After the Middle ages, historians state that the Netherlands economically flourished during the 'Golden age', in which the power and wealth was brought into the hands of 'Stadhouders' (eng. Stadholders) (Tenten, 2003). Depending on their region, these Stadholders together with the nobility were entitled to hunt. The hunter was a privileged person, especially in relation to the farmers who were bound to adhere to the Stadholder's proclaimed placards. This is where hunters became a subject of being different from others.

In this chapter insight is provided in the conceptualisation of 'they and us' within a hunters discourse. Furthermore this chapter describes how organisational institutionalisation was part of a indentification strategy to withstand the anti-hunt discourse. Finally the strategy of 'silencing' and 'creating awareness' will be discussed as an act of resistance against the anti-hunt discourse.

4.1 Defining the hunters 'self'

A very visible way in which this hunting discourse emerged, is the manner in which hunters have positioned themselves towards others, as well as how others positioned themselves towards hunters. This controversy resulted in the development of two extremes in which people seem to be either pro or against hunting. Both extremes use personification in the form of 'they' and 'us' in order to identify themselves, and dissociate from others. This is not a static objectification of the 'self' and the 'other': once a particular goal is achieved, a new issue will be developed within a certain discourse, that requires a reframing of 'us' and 'them'(Schutz, 2004). Enemies are created being fluid and strategic, allowing a community to act as a coherent collective (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). This is apparent in many publications; take for example this quote from an interview in magazine 'De Nederlandse Jager' (eng. The Dutch Hunter):

> *'But we stand for something, pure hunt, 'weidelijk', life itself, that determines everything in our lives'.*
> Later he responds to the question 'Do they ask for it?':
> *'You cannot blame them. People who have become so dissociated from nature …'*
> (Hornung, 2013, pp. 10-11)

4.1.1 Being a hunter

But how did this distinction of hunter versus others came into existence? To be able to answer this question, we have to consider the development of a form of 'othering' as part of a discursive strategy to enable hunters to identify themselves as being hunters. The emergence of hunters being part of a social group is only possible when they have been confronted with others behaving differently from themselves. This distinction has been relatively clear to people who practice the hunt in their way: legalized hunters call themselves the hunter because they are by right legitimized to hunt. In the old days these people were member of the knighthood (Nl. Ridderschap). Later on, these people were the ones who were in possession of a hunting permit. Those who do not fall into this legal category are mostly called poachers nowadays by hunters who own a hunting permit (Dahles, 1990, p. 65). This shows the importance of law in understanding the discursive emergence of the 'hunter' as a subject or narrative. In the 17th century, you did not have to be a hunter to participate in the hunt. People attended to a hunt, even though they had to be introduced by a fellow companion. Somewhere in history this changed: people had to become hunters. The term 'hunter' was rarely used in the 17th century, only people who acted on behalf of a profession were mentioned this way.[2] This changed when the law on

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2   This statement is based on a detailed study I did on the influence of hunting on the landscape of the Veluwe-area in the Netherlands (Van Heijgen, 2015). Archives such as the Gelders Archief and Nationaal Archief show documents that only mention hunters in the context of a status, function or profession such as 'Jagermeester'.

hunting was altered, starting in 1814 with the arrival of the 'Jachtwet'. Law sees reality according to schemes that are grounded on the distinction legal/illegal (Van Assche et al., 2014), meaning that the subject of being a hunter was strictly regulated by law. This way of defining the hunter's identity consists of narratives within law, as law consists merely out of language. This is by no means neutral or impartial, having a positive outcome for some, and a negative outcome for others (Wetherell & Taylor, 2001). The way in which this law is shaped is therefore subject to social practices of discourse. Within these social practices a certain perspective may be predominant. Luhmann (1995) describes these social practices as function systems. The 'jachtwet' of 1814 decided that all who wanted to hunt, had to be in the possession of a hunting permit. Landowners also had to demarcate their patch of land in order to exclude it from the public hunting grounds (Frederiks, 1909). This is a result of how a social boundary can become a spatial boundary, and might have been the trigger of later, new social boundaries (Elias & Scotson, 1994). It can be said that this is a moment in history where hunters were officially labelled as hunters and had to acknowledge themselves as hunters in relation to law. Next to the fact that landowners had to have a permit, another causation for acknowledgement of being a hunter is the emergence of public hunting grounds, in which other people who were in the possession of a hunting permit could hunt (Frederiks, 1909). Before, this was only possible to those who were landowners. Therefore this change in hunting rights might have been the start of an emerging dichotomy between hunters and non-hunting people. The word 'hunter' during the turn of the century was so emotionally laden, that members during the Annual Meeting of the KNJV suggested to take away the word 'hunter' from the name of the organisation (Broekmans, 2004b). In the end this proposal was not granted, but it shows how tense the discursive pressure on this narrative was, and still is.

When it comes to protection law towards animals, this was first established for animals living in the wild, or more precisely, animals that were able to provide hunting enjoyment. Ignoring the motives of this hunting success (it could have been for hunting enjoyment, but also tasty meat), starting from the middle-ages until the 16th century, these animals received protection by law. Decrees and placards were enacted to protect the wildlife population. These placards did not only clarify who was allowed to hunt or which animals were huntable, they also stated when the hunt could take place, how many animals were allowed to be killed and what methods were to be used (Davids, 1989). Moreover, this was not applicable to all animal species. No rules existed for animals causing damage to crops that were of no interest to hunters. Wolfs, foxes, rats, crows and many other species were allowed to be hunted down by everybody.

4.1.2 Poachers as not being the hunter

Not only law played an important role in the identification process of the hunter. If a group wants to identify oneself, they have to be able to identify what they are not by juxtaposing themselves with other objects (Foucault, 1972). In this way a group situates itself in relation to others and is able to identify itself when others behave differently. Poachers visualise this separation. For example, hunters do not see poachers as hunters:

'A 'weidelijk' hunter will always choose life before death, but he will also not hesitate to intervene if necessary. He chooses ethic before greed, and animal welfare before self-interest. Who stops doing this is no longer a hunter; he becomes a poacher.'(Schneeweisz & van Dooren, 2011, pp. 104-105)

Next to this moral distinction, one can also be named a poacher in juridical terms:

'When we use the word 'hunt' in our country, we refer to the illegal hunt on wildlife. Everything that is done illegally is robbery or poaching.'(Dahles, 1990, p. p. 156)

The origin of this dissimilarity can be found somewhere during the middle-ages, in a time when hunting was no longer permissible to everybody and became a privilege for powerful individuals. These powerful people made regulations and rules in relation to hunting, thereby creating a situation in which legislation decided who was allowed to hunt, when and in what way. Starting from the 16th century, but probably already before that time, poaching was considered a serious crime.[3] Not only peasants committed crimes: also the wealthy legalized hunters hunted on the land of others, as you can find in the archives of GA (Gelders Archief, Eng. Gelders Archive). An interesting notion is that these people were not referred to as poachers; only farmers and in later times people from the working class were called this way (Dahles, 1990; Vissering, 2004).

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[3]   Just to take an example, in the Archive of the Province of Gelderland many notifications of poaching can be found in the 'regesten' about 'stroopen' starting at the second half of the 16 th century.

4.1.3 Identifying different hunters

The separation between hunter and poacher has not always been as clear as stated here above. According to Broekmans (2004b) during the foundation of the NJV: the Dutch Hunting Society in 1904 (Nl. Nederlandse Jagers Vereniging), one of the first actions was to have stricter penalties for poaching. It is noted that part of the members of the NJV saw 'broodjagers', freely translated as breadhunters, as poachers because of their hunting methods. Dahles (1990) confirms this differentiation, adding two other types of hunters. Next to 'bread'-hunters, she distinguished 'heerjagers' (Eng. Gentleman hunters) and 'Boerjagers' (Eng. Peasant hunters). At the start of the 20th century, both gentleman hunters and bread hunters existed. The appellative 'heerjager' was used to indicate hunters who were part of the landowners class and hunted for sport. Bread hunters where called 'bread' hunters, because they hunted to sell the meat, mainly for economic reasons (Dahles, 1990). Here you can see a differentiation between two types of hunters; both who do not want to be associated with each other. We have to take into account that heerjagers did not call themselves this way. They just denoted themselves as 'hunter', therefore not acknowledging other types of hunters. These were, as stated above, just seen as poachers. Later in the 20th century the name peasant hunter came into existence, although not known in all parts of the country (Dahles, 1990). This type of hunter distanced themselves from heerjagers, because of the negative association with 'plezierjacht' (eng. Pleasure hunt) that was being part of the development of an anti-hunt discourse as we will see later on.

Starting from 1923 until approximately 1970, a new group of hunters emerged. The hunting law changed in 1923, abolishing the hunting privileges of the elite. Now landowning people could rent out their hunting rights to other hunters. This attracted many people from the city who did not own their own land, but wanted to participate in the hunt. The 'older' elite hunters started to distance themselves from these type of hunters by calling them 'gentleman' hunters, just the same as they had been named by others in the 19th century (Dahles, 1990). Since the 70s this negativity towards other hunters was softened, aiming to unify the hunting society. The writer at 'de Nederlandse Jager' Cartouche convoked that beaters, people who walked around the field to drive the game out and were not considered as hunters, needed to be treated with respect. He argued that making beaters 'ambassadors' of the hunt, they will help forming a group against the anti-hunt movement:

> '*So let us provide the opportunity for people who yearn for this kind of nature experience, at least they are no hunting opponent anymore. They might become protagonists of our group. After all, a good beater will see himself a hunter as much as we do.*'(Broekmans, 2004a, p. 62)

This quote shows how members of the KNJV were assigned to change their views about who could be called a hunter or not. Cleary this was a strategy to form a wider group of hunters in order to withstand the emerged resistance. In the field in practice this was shown by accepting female and younger beaters into the hunting party and minimizing the hierarchical difference between hunters and beaters. Broekmans (2004a, p. 62) states that this is still visible nowadays in the sociable atmosphere that beaters and hunters have in each other's company. Also hunting is becoming more popular amongst women nowadays (Group interview Jachtcommissie Diana, 2015).

Currently meanings of these different types of narratives have changed. The normative expression such as Heerjager is not used anymore, as is the same for broodjager and boerjager. Currently within the definition of being a hunter, the concept of humane hunting is often used to characterise a hunter. In cases where the animal suffers and has no fare chance of escape is often not seen as the 'hunters' way. People who practice this type of hunt is often not denoted as being a hunter (Dam, 1953; Rutten, 1992). In this case it becomes clear that within different discourses different meanings are assigned to the 'hunter'.

4.1.4 Emergence of animal welfare discourse

The introduction of this thesis has already made it clear that there is an ungoing debate present in society about hunting. To gain further insight into the concept of 'they and us', we have to figure out who are denoted to be the 'others' within the hunting discourse. A short description of the genealogical process in which the anti-hunting discourse has emerged will clarify this.

As I have argued above, at the beginning of the 19th century a transformation was triggered in which an opening was made for other people who were not landowners to hunt as well. This resulted in a stronger definition of who was a hunter and who was not. The discourse in which people do not appreciate hunting

and find it problematic has a long genealogical origin. Animal activists or animal welfare scientists nowadays, ascribe the development towards an animal welfare discourse to the dissociation of human relations towards animals (Davids, 1989; Thomas, 1990). They believe that by the intensification of the practical usage of animals, humans could not afford to have emotional relations with animals any more (Davids, 1989). This belief originated from the Greek and Roman image that animals have a purpose to humans, in which humans are the top of the natural hierarchical ladder. This anthropocentric approach is also visible within the development of Christian conviction that god owns nature, and that we as humans have to take care of it (Schouten, 2005). Thomas (1990) takes this a step further by associating the fact that people eat animal flesh according to Christian belief, because of the floods, after which humans became carnivorous. In this way it was legitimized to kill animals. During the late middle-ages, animal exploitation was intensified, which is seen as an important trigger for the transformation towards animal welfare discourse. Slowly the anthropocentric discourse started to be influenced by different societal developments. After the 16th century people were getting more interested in animals due to the emergence of naturalistic scientific disciplines. Even though this resulted into a new classification system which was less anthropocentric oriented, this order was still hierarchal and based on animals as a symbol. Later during the age of the Enlightenment, nature, and the animals within it, became an object which could be studied and understood. As a revolt against the scientific rationalization of nature and as a reaction to the Industrial Revolution, the Romantic period emerged. During this time, poets and travellers begun to see nature as a mirror of oneself, to which they started to assign human feelings to nature (Schouten, 2005; Thomas, 1990). The discursive structure in which animals are given an emotional state is still very apparent nowadays, and has been an important development to enable the formation of an animal welfare discourse. The first place where this transformation became visible was in England. Due to the larger societal difference, the professional middle class wanted to stop the aristocratic unsympathetic animal cruelty displays (Thomas, 1990). This resulted in 1824 with the establishment of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA), and many more followed (Ryder, 1989). Here it is evident that animal cruelty was in a way a metaphor for addressing the societal inequality.

In the Netherlands, some of the discursive strategies were missing. According to Davids (1989), this was caused by the lack of conflicting opinions. In the Netherlands the middleclass and aristocracy did not experience the same amount of conflict as for example in the UK, therefore the emergence of animal welfare groups was not an act against the elite (Davids, 1989). This is also clear because the first members of the 'Nederlandse Vereniging' (Eng. Dutch Society that was originated in 1864), mainly consisted of elite members (Davids, 1989, p. 108). The animal welfare discourse has been institutionalised in many organisations nowadays such as 'Stichting Kritisch Faunabeheer','Vereniging Das en Boom' and international organisations such as Greenpeace, WWF and the International Fund for Animal Welfare.

The animal welfare discourse is visible within all categories of social systems as identified by Luhmann (1995). Interactions take place in the form of debates, many organisations have developed, and the animal welfare discourse is reproduced in different function systems. Examples are the political party 'Partij voor de Dieren'(Eng. Party for the Animals), the scientific discipline Animal Ethics and the emergence of the animals rights movement. Having identified this dominant discourse, it is not the aim of this research to investigate the discursive development of the animal welfare discourse, and therefore will not be explained here further. What we are interested in, is the way in which this discourse relates to the emerged resistance against hunters. We can get an insight in this by looking at how people refer to hunters within this discursive structure.

4.1.5 The hunter from an outsiders perspective

The animal welfare discourse is not a specific discourse on hunting, and deals more with animals in general. This became visible in 1975, when the organisation 'Kritisch Faunabeheer' (Eng. Critical Fauna-conservation) was founded. This organisation apparently filled a gap that other organisations within the animal welfare discourse did not represent: fauna protection. Now the trust is called 'Faunabescherming' (Eng. wildlife-protection), working with the starting point: 'To represent the interests of wild animals, with the goal of ethical and scientifically sound wildlife policy' (Faunabescherming, 2014). Because this trust is a very tangible outcome of the resistance against hunters, their magazine 'Argus' can be used to identify how they refer to hunters, next to statements from newspapers and animal activists:

'Satisfied, the trigger-happy hunter continued…' (Kattens, 1976, p. 10)

'Kill for the sake of killing … if he willfully destroys one of the works of God, we call him a Pleasure Hunter'(Krutch, 1976, p. 7)

This is only a small example of the way hunters used to be called by Argus. It is noticeable that 'hunters' very often have an adjective attached to them like in the above used quotes. Also certain characteristics are assigned to them:

'…because hunters usually find the open hunting season not enough to satisfy their uncontrollable lust'(Niesen, 2014, p. 6)

'The hunter is a neotonist' (Janssen, 6 december 2014)

Also the motivational purposes of hunters are questioned and mentioned often, next to the questioning of their knowledge:

'…but whether the number of 36,000 registered hunters in our country and the way in which men perform their hobby, leads to an effective control, is left unanswered.' (Gallacher, 1976).

Harm Niesen, representative of the Fauna-protection (NL: Faunabescherming), distances hunters from the seemingly 'knowledgeable' people, ecologists:

'Cooperation between hunters and ecologists is in our opinion completely out of the question. Hunters have no idea of ecology and they also have no interest in it. Their hobby is hunting, not ecology. We are not against research into the effects of hunting in the broadest sense of the word, on the contrary. Thirty years ago we broke there for a lance, because careful investigation will clarify how harmful hunting is for an ecosystem. Always, and not only for the actual hunted species. Precisely the KNJV has always blocked that type of investigation. If they so suddenly sponsor a chair, there is every reason to distrust. The KNJV has a clear interest in hunting as a way of managing. Because of the funding I suspect that the chair will do research as a scientific basis for hunting. I fear that hunting will be seen as a solution even more' (Holtjer, 2008, p. 7).

This is something that is still apparent nowadays:

'Hunters say they contest disturbance of game for the farmer, prevent traffic accidents and manage wildlife populations. Not studied, never proven, says ecologist and hunter Geert Groot Bruinderink (65). No, it's because of the fun.'(Janssen, 6 december 2014)

Sometimes, narratives that are used by hunters are questioned and reversed as Marianne Thieme, representative of the Party for the Animals, states in one of her blogs:

'In the Netherlands we have had a debate on poaching. I have argued that poachers are unlincensed hunters and licensed hunters are poachers. Recently, hunters were caught in the illegal killing of pigs and other hunters while illegally shooting a deer during the overnight hours. Indeed, last week the toplobbyist of the Dutch hunters, the director of the Royal Dutch Hunters Association (KNJV), was caught together with a hunting companion illegally using a 'lokfluit'. The duo tried to quickly hide the 'lokfluit' in the reeds, but decisive action of the Frisian police still caused a 'heterdaadje' (Eng. Caught in action). The KNJV director has been placed on non-active, but the incident is indicative of the moral in the field. Little oversight, many offenses. It represents a new example of the fact that although animals are protected by law, they still cannot count on any real protection. The State still holds fast to the idea that they together with hunters will counteract poaching … to be continued'(Thieme, 2014)

This small selection of statements shows different variations of how hunters are depicted, referred to and what characteristics they are assigned to by people within the anti-hunt discourse. For example they are seen as people who like to kill animals, are not-knowledgeable people, and are trigger happy. This anti-hunt discourse states that it is morally wrong to wilfully kill animals, and focusses on the wrongdoing by hunters to fully consciously kill animals for enjoyment.

4.1.6 The outsider from a hunters perspective

Within the 'they and us' concept, it is important to get a grip on when people within the hunting discourse are defined as 'they'. As we have seen before, these people could be framed, having discursive influences from the animal welfare discourse. In the eyes of the 'hunter' they are led by emotional responses:

'When the critical wildlife managers and their followers the animal protectors come along themselves, all hope is gone. They are soon in line to publicly emphasize the 'feeling sorry' thought (Siebenga, 2008, p. 72).

Another common used concept, is that these people are stated as being dissociated from nature. These statements are originated from the discursive strategy in which fauna-conservation is eminent and mainly takes place within the debate of nature conservation and animal welfare in relation to livestock. For example opponents of hunting are characterised as:

'People do not understand anymore what the debate around nature conservation is about. They do not understand that they are nature' (Hornung, 2013, p. 11).

A narrative which comes close to this belief is that hunters portray themselves as having a certain intimacy with nature. For example to quote Leopold, part of the contemporary environmental movement:

'The deer hunter habitually watches the next bend; de duck hunter watches the skyline; the bird hunter watches the dog; the non-hunter does not watch' (Leopold, 1970, p. 224)

This reflects the certain feeling that hunters look at their environment and interact with it and non- hunters do not. Nowadays this would not be said in the same manner, as within the environmental movement many other hobbies have emerged to observe the environment (take for example photography). However, the feeling is still eminent that hunters feel more closely bonded with the animal than other non-hunters (Schneeweisz & van Dooren, 2011). This also relates to the difference in scientific discourse. The forestry sector believes that managing wildlife is necessary in order to prevent damage on forest regeneration, while the discipline of ecology sometimes believes that people should not intervene with wildlife, such as in the 'wilderness' area 'Oostvaarderseplassen'. Hunters refer to this distinction in the following way:

'The people that want to have a wilderness, meaning just letting everything be, believe that everything will be alright. Those people are really against hunting' (Group interview Jachtcommissie Diana, 2015).

'At 'De Hoge Veluwe National Park' hunting is the tail end of management. We look at the carrying capacity of the land; how many deer and how many pigs can the ground carry. We aim at a high biodiversity, if you want to have a high biodiversity, you have to start gardening. All that stuff about wilderness nature they should not come and tell us, we are not interested in that. We are no wilderness nature in our urbanized country. That means we all have to intervene.' (Van Voorst tot Voorst, 2015)

Not only within the discursive analysis the opponents of hunting are characterised as being part of the animal welfare discourse. Also within the hunting narrative 'they' are being identified as a small radical group associated with animal welfare:

'Why the hatred of animal protectionists against hunters? The ads and actions of the 'animal protection front' are reminiscent of a fanatical sect, with an ideology in which you have to believe in penalty of condemnation. What moves them?' (Siebenga, 2008, p. p. 73)

'Well, we can talk a lot about hunting. But the annoying part is that hunters are always placed in taboos by that small group of fanatics, because that is what it is, it is not a big movement' (Van Voorst tot Voorst, 2015)

Also this small group is being identified as causing a lot of 'noise', while not everybody seems to be within the anti-hunt discourse:

'There is a very small group fanatic and they make a lot of commotion, involving the press and winning a small trial, but the vast majority of people is not anti-hunt' (Van Voorst tot Voorst, 2015)

Furthermore, hunters and non-hunters feel that there is a big difference between people originated or living in the countryside and people who live in the city. This means that distancing also relates to places and peoples environment. For example Koelewijn (2014) interviews Pauline de Bok, a writer and hunter who lives in the city and in the countryside. She depicts a difference between the 'city me' and the 'countryside me'. Young hunters from the committee 'Diana' refer to the same:

'Old hunters that are used to having enough wildlife and being able to decide for themselves how and what to do in the field; that was common in the old days, but not anymore. The reason for this is probably because people started to live in the cities, making the connection with the countryside bigger. The impression of milk coming out of a factory, a bit of that idea. Also media plays a big part. If you are never involved in hunting and you only hear negative stuff, than yes, they are very easily influenced' (Group interview Jachtcommissie Diana, 2015).

Also people who do not hunt feel the difference, looking at the statement of Jort Kelder about hunting in the Dutch news programme DWDD at 2 December 2014:

'As people from the city we cannot judge about the practices of farmers and nobility'

This 'they and us' distinction resulted into a debate in which hunters have to defend themselves for being hunters. It is made clear that the origin of this debate lies in the emergence of the 'they and us' discursive concept, for no debate would be there if there was not a distinction between social groups. Having explained the origin of this debate from a discursive point of view, I now try to analyse how this dissociation resulted in the silencing and institutionalisation of hunters in order to deal with the emerged negativity around hunting.

4.2 Organisational institutionalisation of the hunting discourse

Individuals interested in certain topics, such as hunting, are not represented in governance, unless they are included in this process as actors. Actors are transformed in and through the interactions with other actors, and can have an influence on decision-making within institutions (Van Assche et al., 2014, p. 35). The formation of actors and institutions is influenced by discursive strategies, highly related to the concept of 'power' and 'knowledge'. Within the Foucauldian tradition, 'power' can be described as a conglomeration of force relationships that work everywhere and in every direction (Foucault, 1998). Power as such has no positive or negative value; only the value that people attach to power relations assigns meaning to these constructs. Knowledge is always influenced by power and vice versa. According to Foucault (1974), knowledge is produced within a moving discourse that transforms and competes with other discourses. Institutional processes can reflect the embodiment of these discourses, also visualising dominant discourses. Hajer (2006) calls this appearance discourse institutionalism. Institutionalisation can also be called the codification of discourse (Van Assche et al., 2014). It is shown here how institutionalisation became used as a discursive technique to act against the anti-hunt movement.

4.2.1 Nimrod and KNJV

In 1874, the first hunting organisation in the Netherlands was founded: the Dutch Hunting Society Nimrod (Nl. Nederlandse Jachtvereniging Nimrod). The set-up of this association reflected the intentionality of the organisation, namely to represent an elite group of hunters. The membership contribution was relatively high and the society therefore kept a very socially exclusive character (Dahles, 1990). The board of Nimrod did not want to permit all hunters to join the association, hence a new organisation was founded in 1904. This organisation was represented by provincial organisations within one national association: the Dutch Hunting Society (NL: Nederlandsche Jagersvereniging). It co-existed with the organisation which was now called Nimrod. Later, in 1940, both organisations merged into one Dutch Hunting Society. Since 1895 the magazine

'The Dutch Hunter' was founded and represented both associations (Dahles, 1990).

Having shortly described the historical institutionalisation process in which hunters organised themselves, we further have to explore the discursive environment in which the process occurred. Within the 'they and us' concept, truth is being assigned to those who are part of the hunting group. At first this was seen in Nimrod, representing only one part of the societal aristocratic hunting group. They organised themselves and in this process, they actively excluded others for example through voting by ballot (Dahles, 1990). The foundation of this organisation is merely a reaction to the emerging anti-hunt discourse: it more reflects a development of its time, in which democracy increased, allowing compassionate people to institutionalize their concerns including their interests (Boersema, 2001). The emergence of the Dutch Hunting Society in 1904 (NL: NJV) shows a different discursive strategy. According to the statutes, this organisation wanted to represent the interests and rights of all hunters (DNJ, 1904). This demonstrates how there was a discursive shift within the hunters society in which the elite could no longer 'stand on their own'; the protective strategy of the Dutch Hunting Society was to unify hunters to create one voice. The emergence of the association can also be seen as a strategy to join forces against the planned change in hunting law (Dahles, 1990).

Nowadays the intention of the Dutch Hunting Society is relatively similar to that of the one stated in the statute of 1904, namely representing the interests and rights of hunters. An addition is that the organisation aims to 'working together with all actors that feel connected with responsible management and utilization of the Dutch landscape'. The unification process of hunters is in this statement still very visible, even though the objects are expanded from the relatively small group of hunters, to aiming at all people who claim to feel responsible for the Dutch landscape.

4.2.2 'Flora en Faunawet'

The practice of hunting has been regulated within hunting law for a long time. In 2002 this law was abolished and hunting was integrated into the 'Flora en Faunawet' (Eng. Flora and Fauna law). Now hunting can only take place on the species hare, pheasant, wild duck, rabbit and the common wood pigeon. Other species are only shot in relation to management or damage protection. So we could say that, according to this law, hunting on for example bigger game such as deer and boar, is not hunting. Provinces can decide to grant exemption on certain species within a fauna management- plan made by a fauna-management unit. This fauna-management unit consists of people representing nature management organisations, farmers, private landowners and hunters (Siebenga, 2008). The kill of the animal is in this case executed under the name of management, and not of hunting according to this law. The term 'afschot' (meaning something similar to 'culling') is used when these animals are killed. 'Afschot' is performed by a wildlife-management unit (NL: wildbeheereenheid) consisting of local hunters and gamekeepers (KNJV, 2014f). Hunters who are in the possession of a hunting permit and hunting rights are allowed to hunt.

The 'Flora en Faunawet' aims at the protection of species, partly in recognition of the intrinsic value of animals belonging thereto (Faunawet, 1998). The adaptation of the term 'intrinsic value' into this law is part of a narrative that has been eminent within the nature conservation discourse. Also translated into ethics, this narrative is most commonly used to identify human-animal relations (Keulartz & Swart, 2010). Within the environmental discourse a nature conservation discourse has emerged, which can be explained as an anthropomorphic way that people relate to their environment (Tam, Lee, & Chao, 2013). Environmentalists and conservationists have had a prominent impact on European and Dutch policy making, having a technocratic impact at the beginning of the process, such as in the implementation process of Natura 2000 (Ferranti, Turnhout, Beunen, & Behagel, 2013). The 'Flora en Faunawet' can be seen as the governmental implementation of the birds and habitat directive at a national level.

The usage of the narrative hunting seemed to be dislocated within the environmentalist and conservationist discourse. To deal with this apparent displacement, a new discursive environment emerged in which management and conservation are used as metaphors for hunting. In this new discursive environment, hunting became institutionalised within new organisational bodies such as fauna-management units and wildlife-management units. This process should not be seen as an active strategy used by hunters to deal with the emerged negativity around the practice of hunting. It moved along with the discursive change to which hunters, but also non hunters were subjected to. As we will see later on, once these institutions where set up, hunters did start to use this discourse as a way to validate their hunting practices; management therefore became a hunting motive.

4.3 Silencing

In the time when only the upper class of society hunted, others were not referred to as hunters. The ones who did kill wildlife were called poachers, or in later times were referred to as 'breadhunter' as described before. During the 60s, the anti-hunt discourse began to take form (Schneeweisz & van Dooren, 2011). One of the first reactions to this was to ignore the actual existence of the discourse by denial and was reduced to silence. One of the reasons for this silencing discursive strategy can be explained by the elite origin. Foucault argues in a different context in which the subject of sexuality, silence became the rule. He appoints this silencing as part of the 'hypocrisy of our bourgeois societies' (Foucault, 1980, p. 4). In order to have a better understanding of the discursive development of silencing as a strategy to deal with the negativity around hunting, we have to analyse how this strategy emerged.

4.3.1 An elite origin

Starting from the middle-ages, hunting became a practice for the elite. However, this did not apply to all forms of hunting. Duck decoys were used by farmers to earn some extra money, as well for many others types of catching practices (Veen, 1982). However, by that time these practices were not considered hunting; it was a profession (Veen, 1982). Also people were allowed to kill animals who caused damage to crops and were of no interest to hunters. People were allowed to kill foxes for example, but hunting red deer was a privilege for the sovereign and his followers. Therefore, the elite hunters selectively choose what was considered hunting and what was not. In de 17th century within provinces such as Gelderland, only the knighthood was allowed to hunt. In this way hunting became a very socially exclusive practice within the elite system, also creating a practice in which traditions were highly valued. In other provinces such as Holland, correspondingly another societal group became interested in the hunt: the bourgeoisie. In the 18th century many of these 'new riches' bought estates in the countryside practicing the hunt there (Storms-Smeets, 2011). As you can see, within a timespan starting from the middle-ages until the 18th century, hunting became socially dominated by the elite. Within this hunting discourse, one rhetoric strategy was to ignore any form of resistance. The existence of any anti-hunt discourse was not acknowledged within the hunting discourse and was therefore silenced.

In the second half of the 19th century something changed. In the Netherlands the population had grown rapidly, resulting in a higher demand for agricultural products. Together with industrialisation and infrastructural growth, the economy expanded (Bouwer, 2008). Agriculture became an important aspect of the Dutch economy, and within the government it became evident to protect these lands. In 1873 the government wanted to enable farmers to protect their lands against wildlife, by proposing a new law. Hunters feared for the total extermination of wildlife species, so they started to organise themselves (Van Voorst tot Voorst, 1876). People who were mostly harmed by these political circumstances were the elite hunters. A year later the Dutch Hunting association Nimrod was founded (Dahles, 1990). It can be said that institutionalisation played a notable role in the visualisation of the elite image hunters have according to some, due to the presence of elite figures in this institutionalisation process.

The reason for the presence of these prominent figures within the hunting discourse can be found in the origin of the conservationist movement, resulting in the foundation of environmental organisations. Not only in the Netherlands, also in the Unites States this took form in different environmental organisations (Kemmerer, 2006, p. 147). Following the ideology of Aldo Leopold, hunting was viewed as a primary reason to preserve wilderness in the USA (Kemmerer, 2006, p. 147). An historical analysis shows that the same happened with the concept of nature in the Netherlands on a smaller scale.[4] In the Netherlands types of organisations emerged with a preservation ideology at the start of the 20th century such as 'Natuurmonumenten' (Eng. Nature Monuments) and 'de Vogelbescherming' (Eng. Bird Protection). The initiators of these environmental organisations were in many cases hunter. Take for example J.P. Thijsse. He was the cofounder of 'Natuurmonumenten'. Also Prince Bernard, a royal hunting fanatic, was the founding president of the WWF (Siebenga, 2008).

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[4]   For a more extensive research about how this view emerged in the Netherlands in the Veluwe area as a hunting landscape, I advise to look at my other thesis (Van Heijgen, 2015).

4.3.2 Silencing as strategy

As a reaction to the preliminary resistance against hunting and the start of animal rights movement, hunters started to 'turn quiet'. Silencing is a strategy that can be distinguished in two types: exclusion and stoicism. Exclusion refers to the way in which certain people are excluded from the practice. As we have seen above, the idea of hunting as an elite practice contributed to the idea of hunting as a 'silent' practice. Together with its traditions and rules, hunting has probably always been concealed as a certain mystery practice known to only a few. The closed elite character is sometimes described as a requirement for preservation of the exclusiveness of the hunt (Dahles, 1990). In a way, hunters want to maintain this certain exclusiveness in order to maintain their practice: allowing everybody to hunt could end in the downfall of hunting. Also, many hunters feel that the traditions contribute to a certain respect to the animal and to life (Schneeweisz & van Dooren, 2011). You might even call exclusiveness a part of the tradition. These traditions hold a certain 'outsideness': others do not know how to behave. The area in which hunters hunt even have a code of conduct. Yet many hunters do not see hunting as an elite practice anymore, even though exclusiveness of the hunt is still used in the debate about hunting (Dahles, 1990). In this sense, exclusiveness as a concept should not be seen as something positive or negative: every assemblage of people excludes others, otherwise you will not refer to them as a group. Empirically, grouping is very value laden as we have seen in the discussion amongst hunters and anti-hunters discussed before.

With the emerged negativity around hunting around 1960, a disclosure was derived between groups of people with different views. On the one hand there was the already existing KNJV, and on the other hand there was Kritisch Faunabeheer (Eng. Critical Faunamanagement) founded in 1976. One of the techniques used by the KNJV, was to silence the occurrence of this new institutional body:

> '*We have to responsibly, decently but effectively oppose to this anti-hunt smear committed under the pretext of critical wildlife management. Therefore we need to cooperate with sport fishing, egg finders, farmers, horticulturists and all sensible Dutchmen'*. (Broekmans, 2004b, p. 17)

The call sounds exhilarating, however the chosen strategy of the KNJV was to react reticently. Therefore this can be seen as another silencing strategy: stoicism. Nowadays this type of strategy is highly disputed within the KNJV: chairman de Boer convokes hunters to 'be transparent and willing to claim responsibility for the things you do'(Hennepe, 2014). The evocative nature of this statement shows that even though silence is claimed not to be the right strategy, it is used among hunters. This silencing technique might not be visible on the surface, only searching for discursive patterns reveals the usage of this technique.[5] Sometimes it is advised that the active role the KNJV has in the debate of hunting should be mitigated by silencing:

> '*The KNJV must think very carefully how to respond. I think they speak too much. They should twitter less. Now with the statement about geese in Overijssel; the first to react is the KNJV. They should not do that. It is a dossier of the Province, let the Province respond, because now hunting is being drawn into the discussion. But that is not what the dossier was about. I think they sit too close on the topic*' (Van Voorst tot Voorst, 2015)

Silencing does not only take place within an organisation such as the KNJV. Politically seen, some practices are more silenced than others. For example, fishing is not often discussed in politics, but deer hunting is. The 'strokability' (NL: aaibaarheid) is often being addressed as a reason for this discursive preference (Zeilmaker, 1996). Within scientific discourses other certain stereotypes of hunters are being addressed. For example, hunting is believed to be a masculine activity in which killing an animal is part of the narrative structure of the hunt (Kheel, 2008), and is sometimes seen as the visualisation of patriarchal oppression of nature (Gunn, 2008). Some even compare the hunting drive to a sexual urge, seemingly impossible to suppress (Young, 1991). However, hunters do not actively relate to these statements, as far as the accessible data has shown.

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5   Take for example the website of the KNJV. This notion is subjective in its nature, but becomes visible when the usage of website material is studied: articles of the DNJ are not digitally available and has a strict disclaimer.

4.4 Creating awareness

Next to the scientification process, hunters and their representative body the KNJV started a shift from within its core members to create more awareness about the emerged anti-hunt lobby. Also they actively promoted hunting towards the outer world by conviction. This technique was aimed at creating more awareness from within and outside the hunting society, and formed therefore a new discursive technique as a reaction upon the anti-hunt movement.

4.4.1 Awareness from within

The Dutch Hunting Society was represented by a magazine called 'the Dutch Hunter' (NL: De Nederlandse jager). After 1945, this magazine represents how evident the anti-hunt discourse became. A new rubric was added called 'Critical notes' in which anti-hunt articles and the regular press was analysed (Broekmans, 2004c). Also Broekmans (2004c) states that the magazine became actively concerned with the defence of hunters 'over the head of readers towards the public'. Consequently hunters were actively convoked to participate in the debate and to think about it. The magazine became used as a means to refute anti-hunt statements expressed by the press or others. This was not only visible in the arrival of a new rubric, it also became more apparent in the articles themselves. Many items were created about the necessity of hunting generating a defensive tone (Broekmans, 2004c). Board members of the Dutch Hunters Society expressed their opinion about hunting in the magazine, next to using familiar figures such as Rien Poortvliet or Smelt Woodland to express their love for hunting (Broekmans, 2004c). Within this discursive change, this is a typical example in which heroes are created in order to secure and reinforce their own discursive environment. They are part of the narrative structure in which an ideology is created where heroes and villains are conceptualised (Van Assche et al., 2014). Where in the 20th century the KNJV took practically an educational position towards her members, in the 21th century this changed with the emergence of the 'Flora en Faunawet'. Hunters were advised to open up towards the outer world, which is still visible nowadays:

> 'The Dutch Hunting society as well as her members have spent a lot of time and energy the last years in informing politicians and other stakeholders about the responsible manner in which hunters operate.' (KNJV, 2014a)

Also the year 2015 is marked to be concerned with this topic, according to chairman Roelf H. de Boer in an interview at the Dutch Hunter magazine:

> 'What you will have to take in mind as a hunter in the Netherlands in 2015, is that you are transparent, and willing to give an account of what you do. That means revealing what you are doing as a hunter. We therefore want to propagate as the Royal Hunting Association: take pride in hunting! Realise how important the role of the hunter in the countryside is and carry that out too. Do not be ashamed of that. That is a very different approach than we in this traditional society long have propagated and I have participated in this myself' (Hennepe, 2014, p. 9)

Also this citation shows the role the KNJV plays in creating awareness towards hunters about the anti-hunt discourse as a discursive defence mechanism.

4.4.2 Awareness towards the outside

The hunting debate is characterized by incomprehension between many different actors. As we have seen before, the hunters society tries to deal with this by creating understanding outside their societal group. In 1969 the KNJV's main task was to convince non-hunting people that professional practiced hunt was part of a good flora-and fauna management (Broekmans, 2004b; Dahles, 1990). Nowadays specifically these strategies are mainly focussed towards political stakeholders and media (Hennepe, 2014, p. 9). Not only institutions actively promote this way of transparency outside their discursive environment; also hunters themselves try to create awareness:

> 'The hunting world has been very closed; you had to be part of it or otherwise you weren't able to get in. Also it was not told to the outside, this is who we are, this is what we do. This has changed now. This way of transparency is not only

done by the KNJV, but we also do this as being a hunter. When we go hunting we have two times a break, and when there are hikers we talk to them and offer them something to drink with us. The step for people to come and talk to us is consequently much smaller'(Group interview Jachtcommissie Diana, 2015)

They also try to create awareness by mingling in the discussion about hunting, recognizing that you cannot convince everybody of your point of view:

'When there are negative noises during the hunt, I always try to enter into a discussion. Earlier I walked away with the though I can never convince these people anyway. Nowadays I engage in the discussion….you cannot convince these people anyway, that is also not needed, but you can improve the image with these people of hunters not killing everything. That they do not agree that we kill animals, I can accept that. You have to, people are not going to agree anyway'(Group interview Jachtcommissie Diana, 2015).

The position that institutional bodies like the KNJV take within the debate are sometimes questioned:

'I have the idea that the KNJV is constantly defending hunting. I think it is not necessary to defend it, but rather making it more public'(Group interview Jachtcommissie Diana, 2015).

Chapter 5: Normative concept construction

Words as such do not have unambiguous meaning: they change over time depending on the discourse in which they are located. Meaning is also subject to the actors that facilitate these words: the sender often signifies something very different than the receiver reads (Hajer, 2006). Therefore, written communication is based on interpretive reading. Within discourse analysis this phenomenon becomes visible. Also, analysis of these meaningful words make visible not what the truth is, but who claims to speak the truth (Carver, 2002). Foucault sees the formulation of concepts as a basic element of which a discourse consists (Howarth, 2000). Therefore a cluster of concepts can help defining a discourse when meaning is assigned to it (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). According to Hajer (2006), this is one of the processes that define the dominance of a discourse: next to institutionalisation, conceptual discourse structuralism measures the influence of a discourse. Because the meaning of concepts change over time, this expresses the importance of the formation of new concepts within a discourse. This process relates to the creation of narratives within a discursive environment next to its relation with metaphors. These narratives and metaphors show which expressions or meanings are accepted or excluded within a discourse (Hajer, 2006). Moreover, these narratives are situated within a discursive environment in which its content, structure and effect are influenced by change (Van Assche, 2012). One strategy within the hunting discourse to deal with the emerged resistance against hunting, was to conceptualise their environment in new or different ways. Here, we will analyse the two concepts of 'weidelijkeheid' and 'faunabeheer' that have been and still are very prominent within the hunting discourse, by looking at their origin and their strategic application.

5.1 'Weidelijkheid'

The hunters society jargon contains many metaphors, synonyms, euphemisms and proverbs. Some authors believe that the reason for the existence of this hunters language, is to legitimize the practice of killing an animal (Burkert, 1983; Dahles, 1990). These authors have claimed this within a certain narrative in which hunters are inclined to legitimize their practice as a manner of dealing with resistance against this practice. As we have seen in the previous chapter, this resistance discourse has not always existed within hunting society. Since the meaning of jargon changes over time, it would take a broader discourse analysis to identify the genealogy of this jargon. However, the emergence of one concept into hunters language can be partly originated from the legitimization process, not for killing an animal, but for legitimize hunting as a practice. This is the term 'weidelijkeid' in Dutch, or 'Weidgerechtigkeit' in German, originated from the German word 'Weide' originally meaning a place where animals search for food (Swaen, 1948). In Germany, during the Middle ages a 'Weidmann' was seen as professional hunter, someone who hunted for his subsistence and was often depicted as a man of physical strength (Kluge, 1934). Craftsmen started the formation of guilts, and so did hunters by organising themselves in the 'Weidmannszunft'. Regulations of 'weidelijk' behaviour were part of the rules of the guilt (Blok, 1981). The usage of the term was part of the distancing process in which German hunters did not want to be associated with the practices of the French (Dahles, 1986). In the 19th century the term gradually transformed into a definition of 'manly virtues' in which 'weidelijk' hunting became an educative and character building activity in Germany (Champenois, 1970; Dahles, 1990).

At the beginning of the 20th century, this concept was introduced in the Netherlands by reinforcement of German influence within the society of hunting. Due to scientific developments and the need for productive land in the sandy areas of the Netherlands, German knowledge about forestry was introduced and applied on a great scale (Bouwer, 2008). Together with this development, hunting became a way of managing wildlife, as we will see later on. At first, the concept was used by elite hunters to mark their social boundaries within the hunting community (Dahles, 1990). Later, which is in total correspondence with the unification process we have identified before, the term was used as a way of unifying hunters: 'weidelijkheid' became a social criterium to whom all hunters needed to apply to in order to be accepted by the hunting community. First this

was a completely unwritten code of conduct. In 1975 the KNJV made an attempt to fix these rules into 'Code of conduct and weidelijkheid norms for the Dutch Hunters'. Dahles (1990) appoints two causes for this fixation of rules. First, with the growing number of hunters the KNJV felt responsible to provide rules. Secondly, there was a need to show the anti-hunt movement that they were not 'murderers', but hunted for management and nature experience.

Even though the rules are anchored on paper, hunters find it difficult to pin down what 'Weidelijkheid' means, as it has an ambiguous meaning. Some refer to actual written rules (see appendix 1). Others see it as a code of conduct towards wildlife. However, comparing the usage of the term with data from twenty years ago, there seems to be a common understanding of the term now (Dahles, 1990). This can be said because there is no longer a debate about 'weidelijkheid' within the hunters society and is used as a guideline in for example the KNJV. This becomes also visible in the educational training for hunters (Kroon, 2004). We have identified that the emergence of the concept 'weidelijkheid' was part of a strategy to deal with the growing resistance against hunting. Did it work? I might not be in the position to make a judgement, but what we can say is that the term is integrated in the hunters jargon of today. Next to this, it provided possibilities to shift along with discursive changes. However, the concept did not manage to cross borders towards the wider public. The term is not or barely used in newspaper articles when hunters defend themselves and also there is no definition of it found in the dictionary. So in the hunters world the term is conceptualised and integrated: in the outer world it is not. The reason might be found in the dichotomy between the hunting discourse in which the narratives and motives do not fit in the anti-hunt discourse; people might not understand the narrative 'weidelijkheid' because they are not hunters and therefore find themselves outside their normative and moral world:

'The term 'weidelijkheid' is a hunters jargon, but to bring it outside, there are many people that do not understand it. Traditions are part of the concept. Through these traditions you show respect towards the animal you have shot' (Group interview Jachtcommissie Diana, 2015).

5.2 'Faunabeheer'

Earlier I mentioned a concept that has emerged only within the hunters discourse. Now it is time to address a concept that has created a greater discursive environment by gaining a normative position in the hunters world and outside it. This is the concept of 'faunabeheer' (Eng. wildlife management) In English there is a difference between the term 'conservation' and 'management', both belonging in the same discursive environment. Even thought 'faunabeheer' is literally translated as wildlife management, it is often used interchangeably with conservation (Torkar & McGregor, 2012). In comparison with the concept of 'weidelijkheid', the concept of 'faunabeheer' has a less old historical foundation. The concept itself is fairly new. However, in order to get an understanding of the concept, we have to consider the emergence of the conservationist discourse. And this is all related to how the relationship between people and nature has been viewed over time (Adams, 2004). The origin of the conservationist discourse can actually be assigned to the start of regulation. When you want to protect something, a rule can safeguard the thing that is precious to you, whether this is institutionalised, written, unwritten, physical, non-physical or takes form in any other power related strategy. What seemingly paradoxical object is precious to a hunter? This is the animal he hunts. Starting from the Middle-ages, but presumably even before that, hunters who had the power to do so, started to regulate hunting. As we have seen before, this was manifested in the demarcation of hunting grounds by adding physical boundaries and making rules (Van Heijgen, 2015). It was important for the hunter to protect animal species he liked, even though by that time the elite did not realise shooting only the vital strong males would decrease the 'health' of the population, especially when hunting deer (van den Hoorn, 1996). But of course this is also seen from a humanistic and anthropocentric approach in which human concepts are assigned to other living creatures. During the Middle-ages and until the second half of the 20th century hunters have tried to protect wildlife from the perspective of mastery over nature, which is identifiable by using the distinction of visions of nature (De Groot, 1992; Verbrugge, Van den Born, & Lenders, 2013). At the start of the 20th century, another discourse became eminent within the conservationist approach: the image of humans as a steward of nature. As we described before, hunters have actively participated in this discourse, seen in the presence of elite hunters in institutions within this discourse. They started to focus on species conservation and protected area management (Mace, 2014) . This marks the period in time in which conservation became an active discourse within hunting society. This resulted in the emergence of new concepts like maintenance of biodiversity and

sustainable wild harvest (Adams, 2004). The term 'beheer' (Eng. Conservation/management) started to come into existence by normative development into language at the beginning of the 20th century (Rientjes, 2002). It was at a later time when fauna-conservation became a metaphor for hunting. Together with the emerged resistance against hunting in the 1960s, the management of nature areas could no longer take place by decision making of a select group of people. The public interest in nature conservation grew, creating a narrative for hunters to work in. This is when hunters started to publicly advocate hunting for fauna-conservation. This was enthusiastically received by the society of 'Kritisch Faunabeheer':

'Types of hunting that are necessary and effective for the purpose of managing our fauna, will be accepted by the trust, even welcomed and promoted: responsible management, that is what matters to us!'(Gallacher, 1976)

An interesting sidenote is that the emergence of the association 'Kritisch Faunabeheer', due to its name, can be positioned within the same conservationist approach as hunters have. Other types of hunting became highly questioned by society, creating an ever bigger tendency to use fauna-conservation as a metaphor for hunting. New concepts were created such as 'afschot' (Eng. something like culling) and 'beheer', both terms that are commonly used within media nowadays. The discursive shift from hunting towards fauna-management is also very visible when the Flora-and Faunawet was introduced. Not only was hunting no longer permitted on for example wild boar without exemption by the province, these animals could now only be shot under the pretext of 'management' or 'damage control' (Ministerie, 2002). Before, damage to agricultural crops caused by wildlife was compensated through the 'Jachtfonds' (Eng. Hunting fund). With the arrival of the Flora- and Faunawet, this was changed into the 'Faunafonds' (Eng. Fauna fund) (van Welie et. al., 2009). This shows how, after the turn of the century, also the term 'fauna' became institutionalised. As we have seen, the concept of 'Faunabeheer' is a result of the conservationist approach, eminent within the hunting discourse. Hunters have therefore developed along with this process, either intentionally or unintentionally to deal with the emerged resistance against hunting.

5.3 Scientific institutionalisation of discourse

Different techniques can be identified that hunters have used to withstand and cope with the emerged anti-hunt discourse. As we have seen in the previous chapters, some of these techniques were passively strategized, while others were not. Here we focus on the active strategy that the society of hunters applied to strengthen or regain a positive image to their own followers, but also to the outer world. This is mostly seen in the institutionalisation process within the hunters society such as de KNJV. As we have seen before, this association has played a prominent part in the unification process within the hunters society. In order to work towards a positive image of hunting as a practice, but also towards the hunting society as a whole, the KNJV has used multiple discursive techniques to achieve this goal. Scientification was used as a way to get truth and knowledge on their side, while lobbying on different scales was used to express narratives of knowledge to the discursive environment.

According to Dahles (1990), the entanglement with nature conservationist interests required for more attention towards scientific research. The discursive technique of scientification is a way to create power relations in which knowledge is being produced. Scientific knowledge is at its core not different from any other form of knowledge: all are interwoven with power (Van Assche et al., 2014). Scientific knowledge however promises a more direct access to reality and is therefore prone to use and abuse in governance (Van Assche et al., 2014). This explains why scientific knowledge the on one hand is such a powerful tool within a discursive technique: it frames certain truths to be objective, rational and professional. On the other hand, it might work contraproductively, because by reacting upon these arguments, the existence of these concepts in being confirmed, counter reacting upon newly produced concepts over and over again (van Dam, Salverda, & During, 2010).

Within the debate concerned with hunting, actors that are either pro or against the practice use, the technique of scientification. We have identified the anti-hunt discourse together with the animal-welfare discourse within scientific disciplines such as ethics, while the hunting discourse is embedded within conservationist approaches in environmental science. Not only the institutionalisation of science displays scientific knowledge as a powerful tool for both parties: both the KNJV and the association for animal welfare (NL: de dierenbescherming) use independent research offices to provide knowledge on more specific topics

(KNJV, 2014b; Pool, 2006).

In what way did the hunters discourse make use of this discursive technique? The origin for this approach can be found in the influence Germany had on the rational forestry and wildlife management. People like Prince Hendrik and G.E.H Tutein Nolthenius, in which the latter had received education in forestry at the University of Dresden and Leipzig, started to introduce this knowledge in the Netherlands (van den Bosch, 1986). Forestry became a subject at the school of agriculture in Wageningen, and was closely linked to the German tradition in which hunting and forestry are closely interconnected. As described before, this scientific discipline gradually became interrelated with the conservationist approach inside the environmental discourse. Within the KNJV this was visible in for example the employment of a biologist in 1975, but also in the stimulation of biological research which was mainly focussed on the effects of hunting on the different wildlife populations (Dahles, 1990). Nowadays, this discursive technique is still very prominent within the hunting society. In 2004 the KNJV took the initiative to institute the special chair in Wildlife Management together with the University of Wageningen. In the rubric of the 'Nederlandse jager' (Eng. the Dutch Hunter) called 'Faunazaken' (Eng. Fauna affairs), attention is paid to research about certain species such as the goose (De Bruin, 2014). Science is highly valued and often expressed to be of great importance within the hunting debate:

> *'And all that hassle what you read about it is emotional nonsense to be honest, because it is not based on facts, and is certainly not scientifically supported, that is my greatest objection against it'*(Van Voorst tot Voorst, 2015).

That this might work contraproductively is envisioned in the following statement:

> *'Hand in hand with hunters, science can contribute towards a positive image. Hunters must listen to scientists how much can be shot, but on the other hand scientists must also listen to hunters because they are must more often in the field* (Group interview Jachtcommissie Diana, 2015)'.

This shows a seemingly clear dichotomy between who speaks the 'truth' and who does not. This scientific struggle is envisioned in a vicious circle in which new knowledge is created, generating new discursive power techniques. It shows that organisational institutionalisation is not the only institutional technique used to deal with the anti-hunt discourse. By enacting scientific disciplines to occur, hunting has been institutionalised for the sake of 'faunabeheer'. This concept became embedded within the hunters discourse, but also outside it due to its scientific power. The concept of 'weidelijkheid' does not reach outside its discourse and the reason for this can be found in the institutionalisation process of the concept. It does not, in relation to the concept 'faunabeheer', have a scientific 'truth' interlinked with it, making the concept less powerful in the hunting debate. We could say that the reason for this is because the concept has been less institutionalised scientifically as well as organisationally, and therefore can exercise less power.

Chapter 6: Formation of hunting motives

The debate about hunting is characterised by arguments in which hunters have to validate why they hunt. From an animal ethics perspective, Kheel (2008) distinguished a typology of hunters to identify the several strategies hunters used to justify their hunting. The 'happy hunter' hunts for the enjoyment and pleasure , the 'holist hunter' for the purpose of maintaining the balance of nature, and the 'holy hunter' hunts in order to attain a spiritual state (Kheel, 2008).This example demonstrates the discursive process within animal ethics, in which hunters are objectified, mostly oriented on motivational purposes of the justification of hunting. Also others studies have tried to determine the motivational strategies that hunters use (Mattsson, 1989; Schraml & Suda, 1995). For example Rutten (1992) mentions three objectives that provide the basis for the practice of hunting: 1. Food, 2. Protection, 3. Management and regulation. Fischer et al. (2013) distinguish the following hunting motives: commercial, food, trophy, rural lifestyle, cultural, nature, recreation, human instinct. In a study by Kellert (1979) in the United States and Sweden three types of hunting were identified: 1. Traditional indigenous hunting, 2. hunting for meat and recreation, 3. hunting for sport and recreation.

How did this tendency in which hunters use the formation of motives as a strategy to the emerged negativity around hunting appear? Again, this all interrelates with the emergence of the anti-hunt discourse. In order to act against it, hunters had to put forward counterarguments legitimizing the hunt. The formulation and explicate making of these counterarguments, are part of the way how people exercise power in order to obtain truth on its side; it can be seen as one of the most important discursive power techniques (Duineveld, 2012). These counterarguments become visible in the physical world in the shaping of hunting motives. This does not mean that certain hunting motives did not exist before the emergence of the anti-hunt discourse. On the contrary, hunting is used in history for many reasons like food and sports. Even though this shows a continuity in history, it also shows a disconnection between the meaning of certain narratives. In the time when the anti-hunt discourse did not exist within the hunters society, people hunted for a certain reason like food or sports. This was the reason why they hunted. Yet, this does not justify or motivate why they hunted. Justification is about showing that an action is right or ought to be done (Scott, 1988). This normative expression therefore frames a context in which discursive changes and motives are being produced. This explains why we focus in this paragraph on the justification and motivational discursive strategy: motives are commonly used to defend and justify the interests and esteem of the self-concept and the social group (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). The reason why people hunt as such does not have to be part of a discursive power technique: how people motivate and justify their hunting practices to the outer world is. This is exemplified by the following statement:

'The formation of motives is I think a way in which it is envisioned outside. I will not say for myself, I hunt because I have for example an economic value. For me that is not the point. I like hunting, and everybody can know that. It is not the killing; I like everything around it. Many people from the anti- hunt do not understand that; that I like to hunt. Therefore I understand that you must find other ways to formulate it towards the outerworld. But to seek the value in every hunter, I think that is nonsense'(Group interview Jachtcommissie Diana, 2015).

We have to try to understand that these developments and focus on hunters 'with a motive', are all part of a discursive emphasis on the justification of hunting. This resulted in structure where hunters find themselves within a discourse of justification of hunting related to motivational purposes. As we have seen before in the development of the elite narrative within hunting, hunters have not always actively dealt with the emerged negativity around hunting. We can notice that many arguments within the anti-hunting discourse are about the incomprehension of what drives a hunter to kill an animal. Hunters have reacted upon this development, first by silencing as we have seen before, later in changing, carrying out and defending their motives. This motivational lack of understanding within the anti-hunt discourse is very eminent within the debate of hunting. In this chapter I create an insight in the motivational strategy's that hunters applied to withstand the anti- hunt movement such as protection of wildlife and the self, emotional self-fulfilment, food, economics and sociality.

6.1 Protection

One of the eminent motives hunters that have propagated, is the aim to protect wildlife species and to protect people. Both protectionist motives can be seen in a broader perspective as being part of an environmental discourse in which conservation became important. As we have seen with the emergence of the concept 'fauna-conservation', environmentalists tried to deal with the tightened pressure of human beings on their surroundings. Within this discursive group of environmentalists, scientific disciplines have evolved discerning and studying the 'Anthropocene' and human-nature relationships (Lorimer, 2012; Verbrugge et al., 2013). The implementation of these narratives within scientific disciplines is evident in the formation of theories, exemplifying another discourse in which strategies are being created (Howarth & Norval, 2000). These new narratives were translated into the creation of discursive hunting motives, as we will see here.

6.1.1 Protection of wildlife

The protection of wildlife as a hunting motive was first originated from an existing practice in which hunters protected the animals they hunted, in order to keep hunting. Therefore the reason for protection was keepsaking the possibility to hunt. This is one of the first ways in which wild animals have been protected throughout history. In order to be able to hunt, the animals had to be sustained in such a manner that hunting pleasure would be guaranteed. This way of wildlife management, originated from the Middle-ages, transformed into a discourse in which hunting is seen as a way of conserving nature. Later the environmentalist discourse was integrated into the hunters society, in which people felt responsible for the extinction of animal species (Adams, 2004).Within this discourse, environmentalists believe that hunters have to deal with species that can damage habitats for themselves and other species when they exceed the carrying capacity. With the absence of natural predators for larger wildlife, many feel that hunting should be permitted when biologically necessary (Varner, 2008). One example is the explanation by Siebenga (2008, p. 100) entitled 'Animal Welfare':

'An important reason for managing roe deer is the damage they inflict upon the species itself. Because of the lack of space and food, mortality will occur amongst roe deer. Too many roe deer on a small area leads to turmoil and stress, even when there is no food shortage.'

Within environmental ethics, this subject has been discussed and analysed a lot (Kemmerer, 2006). Most of these writers state that hunting is sometimes justified in order to protect endangered species and threatened ecosystems where destructive species have been introduced or natural predators have been exterminated (Gunn 2008). Even though this motive seems to be accepted within the animal welfare discourse, there is a dichotomy between their moral principle and the application of this principle in practice. Both the hunters and anti-hunters within the utilitarian discourse use the same moral and therefore discursive principle: we have a moral obligation to minimize pain (Varner, 2008). Practicing this principle is however implemented in different ways: hunters claim to do this by killing animals in order to sustain a population, anti-hunters by proclaiming not to kill individuals at all. This discursive structure of individual protection versus species protection takes form at Kritisch Faunabeheer in 1975. Their chairman stated that people should not differentiate between species and specimen. All animals are valuable. He compares this with hunters who make a distinction between individuals and the specie, killing the individuals, but claiming to conserve the species (Gallacher, 1976). That this view is still eminent nowadays amongst hunters is shown from the following statement:

'Humans and animals have to share the limited space in the Netherlands. Hunters then intervene prematurely. We do this to keep the population healthy and to tune the capacity of the area, to make traffic safer and to allow farmers to harvest. A hunter does not work reactive but proactive, while looking at the species and not to the individual'
(Eigeman, 2013, p. 46).

Of course this ethical discussion is much more complex than as described here, and I would recommend reading Animal Liberation by Peter Singer (1975) and The Case for Animal Rights by Tom Regan (1983) to form a proper idea of the paradigm. What is important here, is that within the motive of the protection of wildlife, there seems to be a moral common ground within the different actors within the debate (Fischer et al., 2013). As Varner (2008) states, both advocates of animal welfare and wildlife managers agree at the level of moral principle; they disagree over the factual implementation. Because of the lack of other methods, for example

nonlethal wildlife population control measures, Varner believes that there is no better option than to support this type of hunting from the anti-hunt discourse. I would add to this that there still can be a difference within individual perspectives from a anthropocentric or ecocentric oriented discourse, explaining why many anti-hunters use the argument that all animals are valuable. This seemingly non-existent dichotomy between both discourses in relation to wildlife management, could explain why this discursive strategy of the protection of wildlife is transformed into a motive for hunting. This motive does not depict the hunter as a trigger happy character and it seeks intentionally or unintentionally common ground with the anti-hunt discourse by using the same moral principle: the protection of animals from a human perspective. This moral overlap between hunters, non-hunters and hunting critics might provide the opportunity to create a starting point for conflict management (Fischer et al., 2013). This seeking for common ground can be exemplified by the following statement:

'Many people only see hunters when they walk outside with a gun, hearing a gunshot. They do not see that we do a lot for wildlife protection: the construction of fields with herbs, create cover and shelter, make hedges and so on'
(Group interview Jachtcommissie Diana, 2015).

The discursive strategy of hunting to protect wildlife can therefore be seen as an opposite from the distancing strategy of hunters to deal with the negativity around hunting, due to the active attitude towards the anti-hunt discourse. Even though wildlife management can be identified as a motive for hunting, hunters themselves feel that there is more to hunting than only wildlife management:

'Hunting feels more than nature management. It is not about the shooting. The feeling around it is more than nature management' (Group interview Jachtcommissie Diana, 2015)

6.1.2 Self-protection

Not only hunting for wildlife protection as a motivational response to the anti-hunt discourse was used by hunters. Another evident motive is the protection of human beings. Where the conservation of animals is about the protection of others, self-protection refers to the way in which humans deal with threats to themselves and their surroundings. Writers that are concerned with ethics that sympathise with animal liberation usually accept killing only in situations where human survival is at stake (Gunn, 2008). This is about the direct destructive effect an animal can have on the existence of a human being. For example, this is visible in a documentary about wild boars wherein a child voice is talking about wild boars:

'I saw them wondering around the schoolyard. I was afraid. A schoolmate of mine was so afraid he peed his pants. Boars do not belong in a schoolyard, they can kill you' (Baptist, 2013).

This direct lethal effect animals could have on humans, is dependent on the wildlife species. Animals like wild boar are much more commonly seen as dangerous than for example red deer (Hijdra et al., 2013). Nevertheless, the capability of wild animals to kill human beings is not often used by hunters as a motive. The indirect influence that animals have on the existence of humans is more often used as a motivational strategy to hunt. The origin of this strategy can be found in Neolithic when humans started to build permanent houses, domesticate livestock and grow crops. In order to maintain this way of life, threats had to be eliminated. Next to changing the landscape for the usage of men, hunting was part of this process. Even though many discursive changes in society led to different forms of life, in essence not much has changed since the Neolithic; we still build permanent houses, have livestock and grow crops. People also still protect themselves from threats, which becomes apparent in the practice of hunting. For example:

'Wildlife does not have a natural predator anymore. Wolfs are gone. And too much wildlife on the same spot causes a lot of damage to crops' (Koelewijn, 2014)

Problems are often assigned to the contact of wildlife with people:

'Wild boars migrate to the outer regions, but then they encounter humans'(Baptist, 2013)

Not only damage to crops is a used motive to hunt animals. Damage to forest lands and infrastructural problems in relation to traffic collision with wildlife are an issue that is dealt with on a political scale (Spek, 2014). As can be seen in the 'Flora-en Faunawet', damage control is just as conservation not described as hunting but mentioned in a different category. This definition actually denies the fact that hunters execute conservation and damage control activities. This ambiguity becomes clear in the following statement from a forester within an anti-hunt discourse:

'Many hunters do not want culling to be the last control measure because it will portray them as damage controllers. But in fact they already are, after all the current culling of hares, rabbits and for example roe deer is focussed on preventing damage.'(Donker, 2014)

This exemplifies that on a political level, hunting is justified in order to prevent damage to human beings. This also problematized the usage of other motives for hunting, because hunting for damage control became dominant. This also has been a discussion within the KNJV according to Van Voorst tot Voorst (2015), and he personally feels that the story of a hunter as damage controller has gotten out of hand. Hunters themselves believe that it is necessary to hunt as a means to minimize damage, but do not actively propagate it as a reason for hunting (Holland & Alkemade, 2013). It is merely described as a motive.

6.1.3 Protection of biodiversity

Hunting to protect wildlife and humans is not the only motive addressed for hunting. This is not very prominently visible within the hunting discourse, but De Hoge Veluwe National Park addresses this as the core reason for hunting. Therefore it is shortly described here in this sub-paragraph.

'If we do not shoot deer, this will be at the expense of rare plant species and forest regeneration. That is for us the reason to hunt'(Van Voorst tot Voorst, 2015).

Here, hunting is described as a management tool to achieve a certain goal, namely the conservation of the biodiversity in the park. Also this motive is closely related to the conservationist approach, visible within many of the protectionist motives. The difference in conservationist approaches becomes visible in the following statement where the park is compared with the 'Oostvaarderseplassen':

'Pigs eat 90% grasses, and 10 % proteins. The proteins the pigs like are precisely often the heavily protected red list species. Those are facts. That means that we keep the populations of wild boar low to have no biodiversity loss. So for all these animals there is room in the park: we are no Oostvaarderseplassen. We have healthy animals, all our animals have enough to eat, why? Because there are so few of them. We have enough wildlife for the terrain and the public, but not more than that. Our goal is not the hunt, our goals is biodiversity' (Van Voorst tot Voorst, 2015).

6.2 Emotional self-fulfilment

Within the hunting discourse you will find tendencies in which hunters want to state that they hunt for their pleasure. Because of the emergent negative notion of hunter's being 'pleasure hunters', often other motives are used to legitimize hunting such as 'benuttingsjacht' as we will see later on. But not by everybody. Some state that people hunt because they like it, and they advise others to acknowledge this (Koelewijn, 2014). The title of this paragraph does not correspond to the notion of the value laden narrative 'pleasure hunter' as used within the anti-hunt discourse. Within the hunting discourse, hunting triggers and sometimes is an emotional state of mind, and pleasure can be the result. Within the arguments that hunters use as a motivational strategy, hunting is often represented as a cultural and spiritual asset, a biological drive, and a return to the natural world (Kheel, 2008).

Hunting as an emotional self-fulfilling motive does not often exist within the anti-hunt discourse. It is rather an existing motive within the hunting discourse, as a narrative to communicate with each other about the hunt. The reason for this can be found in the hierarchy of knowledge. Hunting as an emotional and

subjective motive seems to be subordinate to universal scientific and objective motives. In comparison with the motive protection, which is embedded in the scientific discourse fauna conservation, emotional motives are often negatively described by a counterparty to debunk arguments (Duineveld, 2012, pp. 41-42). Therefore, emotional motives are not seen as a strong motive and are not often used by hunters towards people within the anti-hunt discourse. This does not mean that these motives are not practiced: on the contrary, within the hunting discourse many narratives and metaphors are used to describe the emotional passion hunters have for the action. Within the hunting discourse the following hunting motives can be distinguished.

6.2.1 Spiritual motive

When reading hunting journals such as Nielen & Co. by Huygen (2003) you get an insight in how hunting is seen as a spiritual sensation. An example is the quote used at the start of this thesis report:

'Though the landscape was beautiful. The sky was uniformly blue, lighter towards the horizon, the oblique sun starting to turn everything in balanced pastel shades, the tops of the trees stood out sharply against the sky. Sometimes you wondered whether a forest landscape in wintertime wasn't more beautiful and mysterious than during Summer. Rien Poortvliet believed so. High winterly trees surrounding a neglected mansion with many outbuildings, and around it strips of forest with pastures, that was for Nielen since his youth the symbol of the hunt, that peculiar mixture of childhood sentiments, mystery, romance, passion, filled and unfulfilled dreams, exitement and respected traditions of old.'
(Huygen, 2003, p. 13) .

The passion of hunting is often seen as difficult to describe, but closely links to the awareness of 'being':

'The passion of the hunt is and remains an intangible phenomenon: it is life itself…On all these moments you realize: you do not hunt to shoot, you shoot to hunt.' (Schneeweisz & van Dooren, 2011, p. 31)

'Killing a living animal, it does something to me as a human being' (Holland & Alkemade, 2013)

The spiritual motive is the most difficult to get a grip of as a non-hunter. Many hunters have tried to describe their passion for hunting from a spiritual and emotional state of mind, which is mostly kept within the hunting discourse itself.

6.2.2 Biological/natural world

Hunters claim to have a closer relation to the natural world; they proclaim to have the knowledge and therefore the power to say so:

'A fact is that the hunter, in comparison with the non-hunter, stands in a direct relationship with the wild animal. He knows the pranks of the fox, and reads the tracks of a row deer. He can think like an animal, put himself in the behaviour of its prey. He hunts like wild animals hunt. And that feeling of being 'one of them' is one of the most beautiful and existential experience a human can undergo' (Schneeweisz & van Dooren, 2011, p. 31)

'Nobody knows as much about the animal that he/she kills as the hunter'(Koelewijn, 2014).

That hunters portray themselves as having a certain intimacy with nature, and others have not, is exemplified by this quote cited before by one whom is viewed by many as the father of the contemporary environmental movement:

'The deer hunter habitually watches the next bend; de duck hunter watches the skyline; the bird hunter watches the dog; the non-hunter does not watch'(Leopold, 1970, p. 224)

Hunters describe their relationship with the natural world as an escape from modern society in which people seem to have dislocated themselves from nature (Schneeweisz & van Dooren, 2011, p. 31). Next to hunting as

a normative expression of naturalness of the individual hunter, it is also expressed as an action to improve the physiological well-being of the hunter.

6.2.3 Ethics

Another emotional motive is that hunters have a moral drive to hunt : 'We are morally obliged to the animal to prevent unnecessary suffering' (Baptist, 2013). Also non-hunters feel this way when asked the question 'should wildlife who suffer severely due to food shortage be shot? in a research by Natuurmonumenten (Hijdra et al., 2013): 67,3 % is in favour of this method. This shows how ethical narrations can play an important role as a motive within the anti-hunt and hunting discourse. This however does not mean that this type of research is not under the influence of discourse, on the contrary, it confirms that nature management organisations also create narratives in which motives and subjects are generated. The projection of human feelings upon animals is very evident in these motivational narratives. Some hunters narrow the ethical discussion down to the basic right or wrong doing of an action:

'Human beings kill animals. What is actually wrong with that?'(Koelewijn, 2014).

In this way hunters are portrayed as only one group of people who kill animals, and where others such as farmers or pest controllers are also connected to:

'We kill rats by poisoning, pigeons by gasification and chicks by crushing. The killing of a wild boar comes closer to our conscience' (Baptist, 2013).

6.3 Food

The oldest reason why people hunt is the need to obtain food in order to survive (Scarre, 2009). Because of the development of consumerism and other economic and societal discourses, people in modern western society do not need to hunt anymore to stay alive. The increasing welfare in the Middle Ages enabled the elite to develop leisure time, triggering the development of hunting purely for food into hunting for relaxation or recreation. This shift did not occur simply from one reason to the other: even though hunting became a form of elite leisure time, they also still hunted for food, as was the case in the 17th century, the 19th century, and even up till now. Even though the need for food changed during the course of history, hunters have almost always killed the animal to eat it afterwards or divide the meat among drivers, hunters, friends and neighbors (Dahles, 1990). Wildife such as red deer, row deer and boar used to be reserved for the elite, while other animals such as ducks, rabbits and hares could be hunted by other people on the societal ladder. In theory this all has changed now, enabling everybody to hunt and consume the shot animal when in compliance with the rules.

A very eminent motivational strategy used within the hunting discourse nowadays, is the debate about hunting for food. The reason for this prominent existence is that in this discussion the roles have changed in the debate about hunting. Were in other situations actions of hunters are questioned, in this discussion hunting for food is not often questioned within the anti-hunt discourse (with exception to the vegan or vegetarian discourses that are sometimes visible also in the anti-hunt discourse). Hunters and people from outside the hunting society actively used the argument of food in the discussion. In this way, hunting for food became a motive.

6.3.1 Comparison with others

Nowadays food as a motive is often used to describe the difference between other groups of people that deal with the consumption of animals and other discourses that emerged around these debates. The following statements show how this motivational strategy takes form:

'The amount of animals that hunters kill is just a small fraction of the amount of meat that is consumed in the Netherlands. That is a sharp contrast if you compare it to the mega livestock production' (Holland & Alkemade, 2013)

'What is worse? Hunting? Or the bio-industry where pigs who never saw daylight are being fully automatically butchered?' (Koelewijn, 2014, p. 10)

In these examples a comparison is made between the bio-industry and hunting. These statements relate to the animal welfare discourse, in which the hunters claim that their way of dealing with wildlife has a lesser impact on the animal when compared with the bio-industry.

'I do not believe there is a more honest piece of free range meat than wildlife. As a hunter you know your field, and you know when to harvest from it' (Holland & Alkemade, 2013).

Within the discursive environment of sustainability, metaphors like 'free range' and 'harvest' are hereby used to connect with narratives that exist within the anti-hunt discourse:

'We sell venison directly to the consumer…when it is put on the website, within an hour everything is sold out. So all those people in the Netherlands want to eat wildlife. It is clean meat, free range meat, honest meat' (Van Voorst tot Voorst, 2015).

6.3.2 New concept formation

Within the development of food as a motive, new concepts had to emerge to meet with a changing meaning: hunting for food as such does not seem to fit within the current discursive environment, as hunting for food is no longer necessary. The concept of 'wise use' has been scientifically adopted on a large scale and politically embedded in the habitats and bird directive, and provided a concept that could interrelate with the motive of hunting for food:

'In today's Flora and Fauna law rabbit, hare, wild duck, pigeon and pheasant are on the so called wild list. That is to say that it is allowed to hunt on these species for consumption. The hunters thus fulfil the millennia old role of humans as part of nature, and provide balance. Besides it conforms with the application of management and what in European context is called 'wise use', utilization, and consumption of killed animals. Using the culling figures in its long-term database, the KNJV can show that this form of hunting indeed takes place in a sustainable way and that hunters successfully maintain healthy wildlife populations. Hence the saying: 'With hunting more wildlife'. (Boersma, 2014)

Another concept that has emerged very recently in the year 2014, is the term 'benuttingsjacht' (Eng. utilization hunt). This concept was introduced as a reaction to the term 'plezierjacht' (Eng. Pleasure hunt), that is nowadays commonly used in the media. The term of pleasure hunt is mostly positioned within the anti-hunt discourse, and pro-hunters distance themselves from this term (Van Voorst tot Voorst, 2014). Also it has become a normative conceptualisation of hunters with a negative value attached to it:

'Pleasure hunt is a fine term to use for fomenting. In principle everything is pleasure hunt, because you hunt for pleasure otherwise you would not hunt. Why should the hunt on the five species of the wildlist be called pleasure hunt, while hunting for damage control should not? So another concept was introduced instead, and they have chosen utilization hunt.' (Group interview Jachtcommissie Diana, 2015).

With the development of the new law nature-conservation, some adjustments are proposed to eliminate 'pleasure hunting'(Dijksma, 2014). The most argued one is the proposition to allow hunters only to hunt on species that are now on the 'wildlist' when this is decided in the fauna management plan. Hunters feel degraded to a 'shooting servant of the state' and do not want to hunt because they 'must' (KNJV, 2014d).

'I am not a shooting servant of the state: I am really not going to hunt for geese when they press a button saying, you must go and shoot geese now. That I will decide for myself' (Van Voorst tot Voorst, 2015).

With the term of pleasure hunting being institutionalised within politics, hunters reacted upon this by introducing the term utilization hunt. This was a strategically chosen subject, as it interrelates with the wise use concept of sustainable utilization (KNJV, 2014e). It was already introduced two years before by 'De Hoge Veluwe National Park' according to Van Voorst tot Voorst (2015), but only became embedded in the

discourse recently. The usage of the term utilization hunt as a reaction upon political movements is visible in the following statement:

'Hunting is possible in two ways: for management purposes, what we do, and utilization; we do that as well. With us it is a combination of management and utilization. It is fun to shoot a deer…so just tell that it is beautiful to hunt, that you like to hunt, you do not like killing the animal. Hunting is something else than murder. So, when you just explain this to people, you have no problems with that. So actually I never have problems with the hunt. I also do not understand why many people believe there is a huge problem with the hunt in the Netherlands, because the only ones causing that is the government and parliament itself; they make things complicated with needless legislation based on false emotions (Van Voorst tot Voorst, 2015).'

6.4 Economics

Starting from the beginning of the 20th century, hunting as an economical motive became gradually apparent. Discussions focussed on the economic benefit of hunting and whether economic interests would counterweight damage to crops (Woodland, 1919). This strategy is part of the utilitarian perception that was already dominant in the nineteenth century (Rientjes, 2002). The influence of Germany in the development of hunting in the Netherlands at the start of the 20th century can be seen as a trigger for the emerging economic motivational usage. At first the economic value of hunting in Germany was acknowledged on a political level, playing a model part for the Dutch hunters. Also due to the economic depression after the first world war, agriculture became a top of the list priority for the government. In 1917 the Ministry of Agriculture decided that all animals that caused damage to crops should be shot (Broekmans, 2004c). As a reaction to this, the economic motive of hunting became an important tool to withstand the anti-hunt discourse.

In 1919, Smelt Woodland focussed on the revenues of hunting rent, professional gamekeepers, sale of hunting attributes, infrastructural benefiters, beaters and poulterers. The economic motive became manifested in such a way, that hunting as such underwent a change of name. Before, the term 'jachtvermaak' (Eng. hunting pleasure) was used to indicate hunting as a practice. During the 1920s, hunting for economic reasons became important to withstand the anti-hunt discourse, resulting in the appearance of the name 'jachtbedrijf' (Eng. hunting business)(Koenen, 1921). The name itself implies hunting as an economic asset, showing the prominent motive of hunting for economic reasons. Agriculture played an important role in the development of this motive. Not only did the agricultural sector also use the term 'landbouwbedrijf' (Eng. agricultural business) which shows the direct link with the two groups, they also wanted to get rid of the damage wildlife caused to crops. At a first sight, is looks as if both parties have the same objective. However, hunters wanted to protect the wildlife in order to keep hunting, and therefore the agricultural sector became a prominent cluster within the anti-hunt discourse (Broekmans, 2004c).

The economic motive of hunting remained visible, even though on a lesser prominent scale (Kruyt, Li, & Oskam, 1987; van Kammen, 1987). Recently in 2014 the KNJV published a study entitled 'the value of the hunter'(KNJV, 2014b). This research is not only directly linked to the economic value of the hunter of 604 million euro, but also addresses the societal value of the hunter. It is executed as a anticipation method to the new nature conservation law, in which the KNJV wants to stress the value of hunters. This shows that the economic motive has become dominant in the hunting discourse once more, again under the influence of political power relations as we have seen at the beginning of the 20th century.

6.5 Sociality

When hunting started to become a leisurely activity for the elite, hunting became a social affair. This was especially visible in the 17th century, when Dutch society consisted of a small elite and together with foreign, mostly European nobles, social bonds were strengthened during the hunt (Hendrikx, 1999). The hunting party was always accompanied with the presence of a large amount of guests, wanting to discuss political or other important business matters with the responsible body or other participants of the shoot (Dam, 1953). People were invited to these hunting parties to participate a couple of days in which they had enough time to lobby, obtain information and to gain allies. As you can see, people were engaged with the maintenance of a social network, which has been an important function of the hunt up till now.

However, the social structure in which the hunt takes places has changed .As we have mentioned before, the structure within Dutch society changed, gradually allowing the hunting society to change along with it. Nowadays the group is composed of all sorts of people; the hierarchical hunters society now consists of both wealthy and lesser fortunate people, people with prestigious professions and less status bound professions, and people from urban and rural backgrounds (Dahles, 1990).

'There is a large assemblage of different sorts of people… Whilst hunting, there are no social boundaries: everybody is equal. That's what I love about hunting' (Holland & Alkemade, 2013)

This social equality within hunting is sometimes, but not very often, used to show the anti-hunt discourse that hunting is no longer just a rich folk pleasure but is performed at all levels of society. One reason for this hunting as a social motive being not actively strategized, can be that the anti- hunt discourse focusses on the activity of the hunt, and in particular the killing of the animal. The social activity itself does not conflict with the anti-hunt discourse, and therefore as motivational strategy would be subordinate in the discussion. Therefore the motive of hunting as a social activity exists mostly within the hunter society, and is not on the foreground within the anti-hunt discourse. Inside the hunters society the social aspect of the hunt is highly valued:

'The social aspect of being together and telling stories, together working towards the same goal, it's a shining passion' (Holland & Alkemade, 2013).

Chapter 7: Discursive techniques

It became clear during the empirical analytical part of this research that discursive techniques in relation to resistance and power struggles can explain how debates takes form and are practiced. In this chapter it will be described how the identification of the discursive techniques can be a powerful tool to create understanding of power struggles using the empirical analysis of the previous chapters.

7.1 Discursive techniques in response to anti-hunt discourses

Three prominent techniques have been identified that characterize the way hunters have acted upon the anti-hunt discourse. Here it will be explained how these discursive resitance techniques have to power to alter discourse itself, triggering the transformation of discourse, but also to act as facilitators for making a discourse dynamic and at the same time enact dialogue between different discourses.

7.1.1 Defining and identifying the 'self'

The identification process of the hunter is part of the process in which a person is objectified and becomes a subject. This process is activated by power relations or forms of power that makes individuals subjects. They are controlled by others, and depended on others marking a certain identity. In this case we have seen that the hunter is objectified in the process. First, the hunter as an object juxtaposes itself with other objects and positions itself in relation to them. We have seen this in the identification of the hunter, comparing oneself with other hunters, and also identifying what hunters are not. During this social process of subject formation, consequently incompatible other subjects are produced (Heller, 1996). For example hunters have, within the genealogical process of discourse, transformed the subject 'hunter' into different categories such as 'breadhunters' or 'gentleman hunters'. Even though these categories are subjected to similar discourses, the creation of these subjects show how they oppose one another. So in order to identify the subject of the hunter, other subjects are being produced, consequently exercising power between these subjects. Foucault names this process of objectification in which individuals become subjects of power 'dividing practices'(Foucault, 1982). It divides the subject from others, like we have seen with hunters and for example poachers, and it divides the subject internally such as categorizing other hunters. For example 'breadhunters' were seen as the poor, while 'gentleman hunters' were the rich hunters. The emergence of an animal welfare discourse shows even more how dividing practices became embedded in and outside the hunting discourse. This transformed into a struggle against the power of the animal welfare discourse, attaching the hunter to marking its own identity even more. In this case, the hunter came under the control of the animal welfare discourse, tying 'hunters' to their own identity. This resulted in the organisational institutionalisation of the hunting discourse. Within this process, institutions such as Nimrod and the KNJV became a place of speech where the object and the subject could represent itself within their discourse, but also towards the outside. Also on a political scale the 'Flora en Faunawet' triggered the formation of new bodies to which hunters became subjected to. Therefore through a process of re-inventing oneself by objectifying new subjects, institutionalisation was clearly a dynamic self-identification process within the hunting discourse.

During this self-identification process, we have seen that consequently strategies have been applied to strengthen, confirm and acknowledge the existence of the hunting discourse as a way of dealing with other subjects. These two strategies, silencing and creating awareness, are part of the positioning of one discourse towards the other. In this case, silencing was, and is used as a way of ignoring the other discourse, intentionally denying the existence of the anti-hunt discourse. Unintentionally, using this as a strategy it actually acknowledges the existence of the anti-hunt discourse, because without another discourse, there would not be a debate. In history this was a gradual process in which silencing was used as the first reaction upon the animal welfare discourse from which the anti-hunt discourse emerged later on. Nowadays a much used strategy is to create awareness about the anti-hunt discourse within the hunting discourse and outside

it. Within this strategy, the existence of the anti-hunt discourse is actively acknowledged, showing how this became internalised within the current subject of the hunter. This embodies the process in which strategies are used to position objectified subjects in relation to each other from different discourses.

7.1.2 Normative concept construction

The construction and formation of concepts within a certain discourse can be seen as a powerful tool in policy when done in the context of analysing social-historical conditions in which statements are produced and received (Beunen & Hagens, 2009). In other words, concepts have the power to create certain realities and are therefore essential when trying to analyse certain conflicts or power relations. Within the debate of hunting, conceptualisation has also proven to be a powerful technique as a reaction to the anti-hunt discourse. However, the discursive environment of the concept has also proven to be essential in understanding the performativity of a concept. This is exemplified in the difference in the use of the concept 'weidelijkheid' and 'faunabeheer'. The concept 'faunabeheer' was created alongside a conservationist paradigm already existent in and outside the hunters discourse. Seeking common ground with the anti-hunt discourse, organisational power relations actively promoted the hunter as a wildlife protector and manager. The concept of 'faunabeheer' became therefore gradually embedded, having social-historical foundations in the paradigm of conservationism. The usage of the concept became a powerful technique to seek common ground with the anti-hunt discourse, which is evident in the way the concept is institutionalised by for example scientification. In this manner, concept formation can be seen as a technique to move along discursive shifts outside its own discursive environment. The concept of 'weidelijkheid' shows a different way of how concept formations can deal with discursive shifts. 'Weidelijkheid' has been actively integrated in the hunting discourse, but not in other discourses, which shows a difference from the concept of 'faunabeheer'. Can the formation of the concept 'weidelijkheid' then be called a technique to deal with discursive shifts if it is not existent in other discourses? In this case it can, because the concept 'weidelijkheid' has shown to be an important factor in the unification process of the hunters themselves. Therefore, as we have seen before, it contributed to the identification of 'the hunter' and enabling hunters to juxtapose themselves in relation to other discursive objects.

Thus, concepts can exist within different discursive realities proving that how these concepts are embedded within or outside a certain discourse give further understanding in the transformation of discourse. It also shows that studying the performativity of concepts should be done carefully. For example, the concept 'faunabeheer' has become institutionalised through for example scientification, while the concept of 'weidelijkheid' has not been institutionalised: it is not a legal rule, is not researched and does not have an organisational body. However, it is a concept familiar to every hunter and its discursive power should not be underestimated. Therefore it is impossible to say that the formation of the concept 'faunabeheer' is a successful discursive technique as a response on the anti-hunt discourse and the concept 'weidelijkheid' is not; it is more relevant to see how these concepts have become embedded and how they can exercise power in that way.

7.1.3 Discursive motivational justification

The way of justifying the discourse, is embedded in the objects, modes of statement, concepts and thematic choices of the discourse. These are subject to certain rules of formation, meaning the conditions of existence of a discourse, but also its coexistence, maintenance, modification and disappearance (Foucault, 1974). The formation of motives has become so intensely used as a way of altering the conditions of existence of the discourse, that justifying hunting has been firmly embedded within and outside the hunting discourse. Motive is related to action, in this case hunting. You only use a motive when you are consciously doing something others might resist. It does not mean that motives are the actual reason for and activity. Motives can have two different realities: they can exist within a discourse, and they can exist outside a discourse. In the case of the hunting discourse, some motives are used as a way of legitimizing hunting towards others; these motives can be non-existed for the hunter himself. The hunter as a group promotes certain motives, while the individual hunter might not relate to this motive. The reason for this is because motives are used within the hunters discourse as a way of justifying its actions, thus reacting directly upon the anti-hunt discourse. Justification can therefore be seen as a mode of argument, presupposing a difference of views from those who disagree with a certain view or action (Rawls, 1985). It also provides possibilities for actors to come together, as by conviction common ground between actors is searched (Golder, 2013). The production of motives by the hunting discourse can therefore be seen as a strategy to justify the existence of the discourse when the motive is propagated outside

the discourse. This means that not all motives find its origin in the development of motivational strategies against the occurring anti-hunting discourse. Some motives only exist within the hunting discourse, such as emotional self-fulfilling motives, while others gradually changed from a reason to hunt into a motive to represent to the outer world, like the motive of food. For example, many hunters believe that the reason to hunt is because they like it; this however is not used as a motive for hunting outside the boundaries of the discourse. This can also become a problem when motive and reason start to exclude each other. For example, nowadays a new power struggle has occurred in relation to the motive of nature conservation. As we have seen during this research, hunters actively propagated wildlife management as a motive for nature conservation. This motive has become so powerful that it starts to exclude other motives, meaning that hunters are described as only being nature managers. Currently a political debate is proceeding about a new law that enables hunters only to hunt for wildlife management reasons or damage control (Dijksma, 2014). The motive has started to work against the reason to hunt, which might result in the degradation of the power of other motives. The new usage of the term 'benuttingsjacht' as we have seen before is a very clear reaction to this: with this concept subjects in the hunting discourse try to strengthen another motive, namely the motive for food.

The identification of motives in discourse analysis has proven to be a powerful tool in order to recognize power relations within and outside a discursive environment. New environments occur to which discourses interact by for example the formation of new motives. Therefore there is a clear distinction between motive and reason: motive is what is used to justify and legitimize discursive practices, reason is why a subject exercises practices.

7.2 Strategy and technique

From the analysed empirical material three discursive techniques have been abstracted as identified above. During this research the terms technique, strategy and mechanism are used interchangeably. The meaning of these terms are not specified in the theoretical framework before, in order to enable a free interpretation of the discursive environment. Now the empirical material has been analysed, it is time to have a closer look on the specifics of this terminology. Some say that strategy is the unintentional effect produced by non-subjective articulation of different individual and group tactics, in which tactics are seen as intentional actions (Heller, 1996). So the definition of strategy is related to the level of consciousness. However, strategies are not always recognized as being strategies within a certain discourse itself. That is why we also cannot speak of intentional or unintentional strategies: institutional practices might actively propagate a strategy, such as the hunter as a fauna-conservationist or the hunter as a sustainable food supplier, however the hunter will describe himself as 'just' the hunter. This shows that the institutionalisation process of subjects such as the hunter, are the embodiment of the internalisation process in which discursive techniques occur and correlates to the taxonomy of institutions that Foucault identified. He states that the institution's first program is displayed and used as justification, while the strategic configurations are often not clear in the eye of those who occupy a place and play a role there (Cousins & Hussain, 1984). We have seen this happening in the formation of motives: institutions like the KNJV but also scientific disciplines have identified these motives, while the hunter himself has proven not to relate and act upon these motives. Therefore the effect might be different from the intentioned strategy. When you focus on the consciousness of actions within such a debate, you lose insight in the reality effects of these actions. This explains why the term strategy is used from a general perspective, meaning that it can be an intentional or non-intentional technique to deal with conflict.

Concepts, places of speech, themes and theories and objects and subjects constantly change alongside and through these discursive techniques, changing the discourse itself, but also creating others. This research has proven that these discursive techniques to deal with other discourses can be an effective way of understanding discourse transition and recognizes the dynamic process in which conflict triggers the usage of discursive techniques. By analysing these discursive techniques, insight is created in the core of the conflict and the debate showing that it can be a powerful tool for understanding the dialogue between subjects of discourses.

This research is based on the following research question: What discursive techniques do hunters use to cope with the on-going resistance from anti-hunt discourses in the Netherlands? How these techniques conceptually moved within the discursive environment is envisioned in figure 2, completing the conceptual model presented in chapter 2. Within this thesis two prominent discourses have been identified within the debate about hunting. The first discourse can be identified as the hunting discourse, consisting of a society with their own objects, places of speech, concepts and themes and theories. The other discourse that is identified

is the anti-hunt discourse, also consisting of the same theoretical items. This model is merely a simplification of the discourses, as for example it is not presented that the interaction between other discourses also had influence on the identified discourses. For example conservationist discourses affected both discourses, as well as for example the animal welfare discourse influencing the anti-hunt movement. As conceptually displayed in the model, three prominent techniques have been identified that characterize the way hunters have acted upon the anti-hunt discourse: defining the hunters 'self', normative concept construction such as 'faunabeheer' and 'weidelijkheid', and motivational justification of discourse using the motives of protection, emotional self-fulfilment, food, economics and sociality. In comparison with the model presented in chapter two, the arrows firstly pointing from discourse to the struggle of power called conflict, now points back to the discourse itself. As we have noticed in the research, discursive resistance techniques have the power to alter discourse itself, triggering transformation of the discourse. These techniques, for example defining the 'self', facilitates actions in which new objects and subject are created such as 'breadhunters', other places of speech such as the KNJV, new themes and theories like 'faunamanagers' and the construction of concepts such as 'faunabeheer'. They constantly interact within the hunters discourse, endorsing a gradual transformation within the hunters discourse. This shows how the discursive resistance techniques are facilitators for making a discourse dynamic and at the same time enact dialogue between the different discourses.
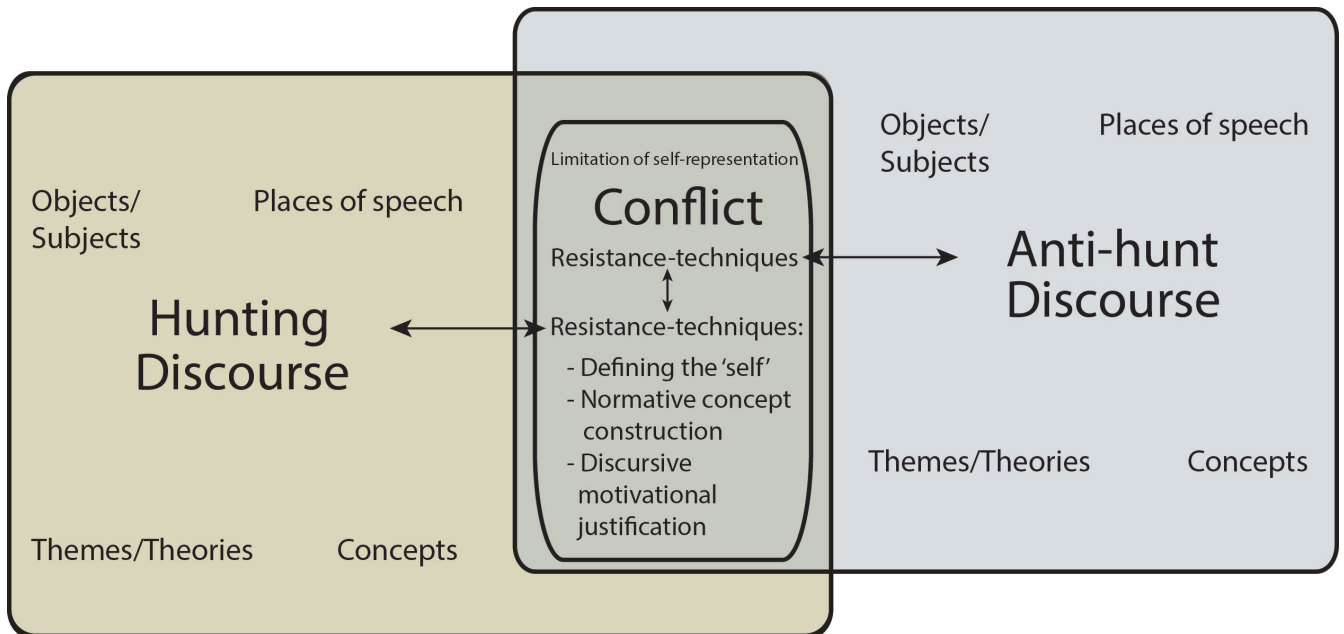

Figure 2: Integrated conceptual model with the research results

Chapter 8: Discussion & Conclusions

At the start of this research the hunter from the scene of the Disney movie Bambi was described as an object without a face and without an identity. This research has provided more insight in the hunter as a subject, and clarifies the power struggle that hunters deal with in response to the emerged negativity around hunting. In this chapter the general conclusions from the research are presented and recommendations are made for future research. First the research will be discussed.

8.1 Discussion

This research has been a first attempt to analyse the current debate in the Netherlands about hunting. The usage of the theoretical discourse analysis provided a good framework to execute the research. First, the theory enabled me to analyse the debate from a wider perspective, acknowledging the context in which the debate takes place. Within the view of social constructivism, discourse analysis assumes that rather having a fixed identity, a specific problem has several meanings which are continuously challenged (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). This view enabled me to identify these several meanings, gaining further insight in the normative and value laden expressions within the hunting debate.

Secondly, the critical stance towards 'truth' within discourse analysis proved to be a useful tool when studying how communication between actors takes place, especially when keeping the Foucaultian concepts of power and knowledge in mind. However, it has been proven difficult to articulate which discourse is dominant within the debate. Both create their own realities, claiming that the other is just a small group of people. This way of identifying discursive techniques in relation to power, is not a useful tool to identify which discourse is dominant or not. Looking from one perspective, the hunter, it cannot create insight in the power intensity or dominance of conflicting discourses. In this case both the hunting discourse and anti-hunt discourse have been institutionalised and used by people to conceptualise the world, therefore being dominant according to the qualities a dominant discourse has according to Hajer (2006). However, in the process of identifying discursive techniques within the hunting discourse, it became evident that dominance of discourses does not play a major part in this process: dominance is merely a construct of reality effects within every discourse and fails to recognize that debates are in fact the struggle of discourses to become dominant, or rather to place a discourse in an intentional or unintentional power position. Identifying dominant discourses within this debate would therefore underestimate the power of struggle itself.

A third opportunity that discourse analysis provides, is the way how meaning can be contextualised within diachronic change. The historical, social and political Foucaultian perspective provided the opportunity to study the underlying statements that are accepted as meaningful in specific conditions. It consequently shows how history itself is not an existent tangible object: it is made by those who exercise history, or in other words, subjects create their own history. This became visible in the objectification process in which the hunter became a subject and became existent in its own discourse. History itself does not exist, but becomes constructed in the process in which subjects abstract meaning from their environment, therefore creating a subject's history instead of history itself. This perspective provides possibilities in performing historical research, acknowledging that only a subject's history can be analysed when subjects are involved.

Comparing the result of this study with those of others presented in the introduction of this research, at first the discursive approach provided a different stance towards the empirical data. While the study of Dahles (1990) has proven to be an excellent source for the historical context of the hunters society, it fails to give insight in the debate which hunters are subjected to. Also the use of qualitative research has confirmed its value, gaining for example deeper insight in the motivational strategies hunters use that have been identified in multiple quantitative studies (Fischer et al., 2013; Schraml & Suda, 1995). Where hunting as an activity is often analysed within ethical analysis, it is only considered with what is morally right and wrong about hunting and killing animals (Cahoone, 2009; Callicott, 2008; Gunn, 2008; Kemmerer, 2006; Kheel, 2008; Lehman, 1988;

List & Hargrove, 2004). This thesis has allowed me to take a step back from these moral positions or emotional assumptions by analysing what is considered wright and wrong by whom, how, when and why, gaining further insight in the contextual communications within the debate about hunting.

Within this hunting debate, three main discursive techniques have been identified as a reaction upon the anti-hunt discourse. The findings of this research do not seek to formulate these techniques as actual truths. They also might not correspond to the techniques hunters identify themselves; they might even reject the concept of discursive strategies to withstand the anti-hunt movement. The findings of this research therefore do not take a stance in the actual debate about hunting: there is no right or wrong in the formulation of the techniques. For that matter, I have attempted to formulate these discursive techniques not as value laden or normative concepts: they simply are a means of making sense of the debate by conceptualising the actual world into the meaning of language. It has proven difficult to take an objective position in this debate due to the emotional and value laden subject: also as researcher of the subject you get entangled in the arguments, statements and feelings related to hunting. By sticking to the methodological framework as described in chapter 3, I have tried to mitigate this bias as much as possible. Also a form of generalisation amongst different actors has inevitably taken place in this research. The distinction between hunters, non-hunters and people who are against hunting is much more nuanced (Minnis, 1996). In this research this typology is only used as a way of conceptualising the debate to extract meaning out of it, which is in this case how the debate is often presented in media and literature.

8.2 Conclusions

The main objective of this research was: to identify and analyse the discursive techniques hunters use to deal with the on-going resistance from anti-hunt discourses in the Netherlands. This thesis has identified discursive techniques that can be divided in the following three themes: identifying the hunter, normative concept construction and formation of hunting motives. These themes can be described as the core elements through which the debate about hunting is characterized, and the ways hunters use and have used them as techniques to cope with the emerged resistance against hunting. When the animal welfare discourse became embedded in Dutch society in the 20th century, this discourse was slowly dispersed and transformed into an anti-hunt movement that took form in the 1960's.

One way of dealing with the emerged resistance is the way how hunters have identified themselves and positioned themselves towards others. A distinction was created between hunters, non-hunters and poachers. With the emergence of the anti-hunt discourse, this self-identification became visible in the institutionalisation of discourses in which hunting ideals became embedded in organisations like Nimrod and later the KNJV, and jurisdictional bodies such as the 'Flora en Faunawet'. Silencing and creating awareness became a positioning strategy towards other discourses, in which other discourses were ignored, but also became acknowledged. During this self- identification process, we have seen that consequently, strategies have been applied to strengthen, confirm and acknowledge the existence of the hunting discourse as a way of dealing with other subjects.

The second technique, the construction of normative concepts, was part of a discursive interaction between the anti-hunt movement and hunters society. The concept of 'weidelijkheid' became a normative social criterion to whom all hunters needed to apply to in order to be accepted by the hunting community. As such, this was part of the embodiment of the unification process within the inner social group of hunters. The concept of wildlife management (NL: Faunabeheer) has been, and is embedded outside the hunters society being part of the conservationist approach and has proved to be a powerful tool through scientification to resist the anti-hunt discursive practices. Theoretically, concepts can thus exist within different discursive realities proving that how these concepts are embedded within or outside a certain discourse give further understanding in the transformation of discourse.

The third discursive technique is about the way in which the emergence of the anti-hunt discourse stimulated the formation of motives within hunting society. The occurrence of hunting for protectionist reasons was already existent within the hunting discourse, but the anti-hunt discourse triggered the formation of protection of wildlife and protection of 'the self' as a motive for hunting. Furthermore, hunting for emotional self-fulfilment is also used as a motivational strategy. This strategy is not existent within the anti-hunt discourse, but rather present as a motive within the hunting discourse as a narrative to communicate with each other. The argument of food is often used as a motivational strategy from the hunters society towards the

outer world, by comparison with other ways of obtaining meat and the reaction upon the formation of new concepts. Another motivational strategy to act upon the emerged resistance against hunting, is the motive to hunt for economic reasons. This strategy has been intensified in the course of history, but is still present nowadays under the influence of political power relations. The last identified motivational strategy is the motive of hunting because of sociality. This motive is not actively strategized outside the hunting society, and is more a motive propagated within the hunting discourse. The identification of motives in discourse analysis has proven to be a powerful tool in order to recognize power relations within and outside a discursive environment.

This research has been a first attempt to analyse the current debate in the Netherlands about hunting using a discourse analysis. The discursive approach of conflict and resistance theory permitted to gain deeper insight in the emergence of the 'hunter' as a societal sensitive subject and their attempt to cope with this. The techniques of dealing with resistance that have been identified, have proven to be a powerful tool to enable dialogue between hunters, non-hunters, and people who resist hunting. Also this research shows how the identification of the discursive techniques provide a theoretical base for analysing debates and acknowledging that these discursive techniques of dealing with resistance are facilitators for making a discourse dynamic.

8.3 Recommendations

This research has focussed on the discursive strategies hunters have applied to cope with the emerged resistance against hunting, therefore focussing only on the subject 'the hunter'. In order to create a further insight in the debate on the whole, it would be very interesting to conduct the same research but then with the subject of the 'non-hunter' or the 'anti-hunter'. Preferably, this research would then focus and go in further depth about how the anti-hunt discourse emerged and how they grew to be an active propagation group against hunting, using the same conceptual and theoretical framework as is used during this research. By completing this knowledge gap, the debate as such can become more unified. Other, more detailed questions that emerged during this research are: What role did the hunter play in the formation of a conservationist approach in wildlife conservation? This research only touched this subject briefly, hypothesising that hunters have played a significant role in the emergence of the conservationist approach, resulting in items like wildlife management and environmentalism. Further research on this topic might create a better insight in the conservationist approach of wildlife conservation which is prominent nowadays. Furthermore the debate about hunting remains present in current society; whether this problem might be solved and how common ground between the actors can be reached might be interesting for future research.

In what way can this research play a part in the actual debate about hunting? At first, the insight this research provides in the debate helps to create an understanding of all parties involved. Without assigning meaning to the results, people might form their own opinion about the subject. People might even realise that the opinions they have, are part of a greater discursive environment that we can sometimes influence, but also is something that we are not always aware of. Therefore this research contributes to creating awareness about how this debate works, looking from the perspective of one subject, in this case the hunter. This research consequently seeks and provides common ground within the debate, showing that acknowledging discursive techniques can provide effective ways to enable dialogue between hunters, non-hunters and people who are against hunting.

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Appendix 1

Code of conduct and 'weidelijkheid' norms for the Dutch Hunters prepared by the KNJV (2014c)

Management of the hunting field
The hunter:
a. protects the flora and fauna in the hunting field against unreasonable and / or unlawful degradation;
b. helps the animal in harsh conditions;
c. hunts in compliance with the provisions of fauna and wildlife management plans;
d. maintains regular contact with land users and other stakeholders and tries to prevent important damage from animals;
e. keeps his knowledge in the field of nature, fauna, management and hunting up to the mark.

Attitude towards animals
The hunter:
a. will use all means to prevent the unnecessary suffering animals;
b. spends all the effort and care to the introduction of shot animals and must have a hunting dog available;
c. takes care of the dead animals in such a way, that it will be optimally used.

Self-control
The hunter:
a. practices the hunt - in the broadest sense of the term - within the requirements of good fauna and wildlife management.
b. shoots only if:
1. he can address the animal enough and can bring it in;
2. the animal exhibits himself deadly hittable and the animal is not more favourable presented towards another hunter.

Safety using the weapon
The hunter:
a. open and unloads his weapon when he does not have to be ready to shoot;
b. passes an obstacle with only one opened and unloaded weapon;
c. uses its weapon in such a way, that it is never directed to a human being;
d. Complies when shooting always to a safety boundary;
e. ensures to be sufficiently skilled when using his weapon(s).

Attitude towards third parties
The hunter:
a. has respect for the rights and property of third parties;
b. promotes through its behaviour in the field a positive image of hunting;
c. Behaves collegial toward other hunters;
d. strictly follows the instructions of the master hunter, gamekeeper or his helpers.

Attitude towards society
The hunter:
a. is prepared to actively participate in providing information about the hunting business;
b. constructively participates in public debates about nature and the laws thereof;
c. working where possible with other nature conservationists;
d. submits to disciplinary law.

For questions about this research you can contact the author by using this email-adress:
eugenievanheijgen@hotmail.com