

The social construction of the wolf

A case study of news media's role in sustainability wildlife conservation in regards to the wolf in Sweden

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Abstract

The wolf has been considered functionally and genetically extinct in Sweden for a hundred years, but since the 1970's there has been a gradual revival of the species. This reintroduction of the wolf into the Swedish society has been teemed with great tensions and bad sentiments. This research takes the normative position that news media has a responsibility in communicating the complexities associated with socio-ecological systems and promote dialogue that strife towards mutual understanding and convergence in order to promote sustainable wildlife conservation. Furthermore, in order to emphasise the social construction of knowledge this research also argues that journalists should practice self-reflexivity, instead of only relying on the representation of different stakeholders when attempting to provide with objective information. By looking at newspaper articles and conducting interviews with journalists this research came to the conclusion that the coverage of the wolf is teemed with polarizing language, anthropocentric framing, and political/ managerial discourses that provides with a simplistic account for sustainable wildlife conservation.

Key Words: Sustainable Wildlife Conservation, Wolf, News media, Complexity, Convergence, Discourse, Self-reflexivity, Environmental journalism

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Abbreviations

ENGO- Environmental Non Governmental Organisations

SEPA- Swedish Environmental Protection Agency

NHA- National Hunter's Association

NPA- National Predator Association

SSNC- Swedish Society for Nature Conservation

BRÅ- Brottsförebyggande rådet (The crime prevention agency)

1. Introduction

I believe that I am one of many who start my day by scrolling through news websites in order to keep updated on what is going on in the world. I often use that same information when discussing nature or environment related issues with others around me. In Sweden, the prerequisites to consume news have increased drastically as a result of increased media output (Färdigh et al. 2008: 301). The morning papers are the most widespread source of news, but in later years news consumption from Internet have been on the rise (ibid: 302). According to a statement by the Swedish parliament the role of mass media in contemporary society is to provide the necessary information required in order for citizens to be able to take a position on societal issues. Moreover, the statement include that mass media shall act independently or as a spokesperson (språkrör) to societal interests (Fichtelius: 2008: 32).

The idea is that the 'social contract' is fulfilled when citizens are provided with the information they need in order to make informed decisions and the government in turn is provided with the information it needs to make decisions in the common interest that is responsive to public sentiments (Fichtelius: 2008: : 32). Another important function is that media should act as an arena for public discussion and as a watchdog against abuse of power (Strömbäck: 2005: 332). In this sense media is acting to scrutinize power and inform people of how that power is used or abused. This is the reason for why media is often referred to as 'the fourth estate' of power and a crucial element of a democratic society (Schultz 1998: 1).

Accordingly, media is the major source from where information is communicated and it provides a central public arena through which we become aware of environmental issues (Hansen 2011: 9). It creates the forum in which environmental issues are addressed, contested and possibly resolved (ibid: 9). Consequently, communication is central in regards to how we as citizens come to know, and to know about, the environment and the environmental issues that are deemed relevant at a specific moment in time. However, even though we may forget it, accounts of nature in media follow the same path as other genres presented in public forums, meaning they are affected by inter-contextual discourses and are as such the result of conscious or unconscious ideologically charged stories about nature and animals just as with gender, economy or politics (Ganetz 2012: 10). As viewers we are disposed to believe that we are watching "objective facts" when we are actually observing *representations* of nature or animals (ibid: 10). As such, media does not only report everyday events but also constructs realities by manufacturing knowledge. Different media outlets are governed by different conditions and these conditions in turn affect how information is

conveyed. To put it simply, media is endowed with great power as one of the main constructors of our discursive realities. This means that we need to remain critical to what we are being told and be humble to the socially constructed nature of knowledge production.

On a global scale, top predators are diminishing at a rapid pace. Still, although top predators are the type of species that are most rapidly declining they are also the type of species that are most frequently reintroduced to society (Hayward et al 2009: 3). With this reintroduction there is an increasing risk for human wildlife conflicts. Although the term indicates that the conflict is between wildlife and humans, it frequently involves human-to-human conflicts based on factors such as differences in goals, attitudes, values, feelings, levels of empowerment, and wealth (Madden: 2001: 250). It is between people with historical wounds, cultural misunderstandings, and socio-economic needs, but also about gaps in trust and communication over how to conserve wildlife at the same time as the wellbeing of humans is ensured (Madden: 2001: 250).

A topic that has received extensive news media coverage in Sweden is the wolf and the wolf's impact on society. The wolf is not only a target for protection but also deemed as a source for conflict between rural and urban inhabitants as well as different interest groups (Darpö 2011:1). The Crime Prevention Agency (hereafter BRÅ) released a report which states that despite the fact wolves are relatively few in numbers they represent an un-proportional amount of news material (2007). According to a research conducted in 2012, the debate associated with the wolf outweighs that of the bear, even though the bear recurrently have caused human casualties (Öhlund 2012). The question that emerges is what image news media conveys in regards to wildlife conservation when producing news articles about the wolf, and can the way that news media frames the situation help us to understand the complexities associated with wildlife conservation?

This research assumes that what is currently lacking in the Swedish wildlife conservation discourse in regards to the wolf, is a platform for dialogue where mutual understanding can arise. In this regard, media is privileged in being the communication forum from where people receive their daily dose of information and accordingly has the ability to affect how citizens (or general readers) perceive certain issues. With this privilege, however, comes a responsibility to communicate the complexities associated with wildlife conservation, provide depth and avoid defragmentation of information, polarisation and simplistic accounts of nature.

The normative argument is that media has a responsibility to provide people with information, knowledge and communication that can help to perceive nature in a more multifaceted way. It also entail that journalists declare their role as producers of a constructed reality by practicing self-

reflexivity. Accordingly, I believe that if we want to accomplish sustainable wildlife conservation that is founded on peaceful coexistence between humans and animals, we need to try and reach a level of convergence and mutual understanding.

1.1 Disposition

This paper consists of seven chapters. The first chapter presents introduction, justification for the research, purpose statement and research question, definitions and limitations. The second chapter provides with background of the wolf in Sweden. The third chapter provides with a detailed description of the theoretical framework employed by this research as well as the normative frame from which it assesses environmental journalism. The fourth chapter covers method and methodology, including research design, data collection, method of selection, data analysis, ethical considerations, trustworthiness and discourse analysis method. The fifth chapter presents the results interwoven with analysis based on the aforementioned theoretical framework ending with a discussion. Chapter six summarizes the findings as well as provides with an answer to the research question. The last chapter also makes recommendations for future research.

1.2 Justification

Few topics are able to cause such extensive media coverage in Sweden, as that of the wolves return to the Scandinavian Peninsula. However, despite the extensive attention that this topic has received, the polarisation of the debate has increased and people's faith in the government's ability to handle the situation appears to be limited (SOU: 2013:60). Thus, this research departs from the notion that governance associated with wildlife conservation goes beyond biology conservation know-how since it also includes social management (Stöhr et al. 2013: 14). Cultural perceptions that are continuously being moulded and altered due to continuous social construction and interaction are as important (or maybe even more so) than different levels of governance arrangements (ibid: 14). This can be further illustrated by the fact that Sweden has a relatively small number of wolves per capita, albeit still has one of the fiercest debates concerning its maintenance (Stöhr et al. 2013: 13).

The current state of limited faith in administrative measures to handle the situation of human wolf co-existence seem to be contributing to an increase in illegal poaching activities aimed at eradicating the wolf from the Scandinavian Peninsula (BRÅ 2007). Current figures indicate that at least 20% of the wolves that die are killed through illegal poaching (Darpö: 2011: 2). Although the punishment for illegally killing wolves is harsh, people are still willing to go to great lengths to

accomplish their goal (BRÅ 2007) and the SGT phenomenon (Skjut, gräv och tig- Shoot, dig and keep quite) can itself serve as an indicator that there is something very unsustainable with the current state of wildlife conservation in Sweden in regards to the wolf.

According to the government's proposition "A sustainable politics of predators" (En hållbar rovdjurspolitik- Prop.2012/13:191), one way to accomplish the overarching and long-term goal is to delegate decision-making power to the different county administrative boards and to allow protective hunting in order to avoid damages while at the same time upholding viable populations in accord to the Habitat Directive (Prop.2012/13:191). I believe, however, that how we phrase and communicate our relationship with 'the wild' is an intrinsic part of the social construction of nature and thus has great implications on the sustainable management of wildlife conservation and our attitudes towards it. Hence, it is my understanding that the Swedish society is in need of redefining what role 'nature' ought to have in contemporary society in order to be able to reach a level of convergence regarding what we want to accomplish with sustainable wildlife conservation in regards to the wolf.

1.3 Purpose Statement and Research question

The purpose of this study is to engender understanding regarding the role of news media towards sustainable wildlife conservation in regard to the case of the Swedish wolf. This is accomplished by looking at news media and how the wolf is represented in certain selected news media outlets in order to comprehend how they convey the complexities surrounding wolf conservation in Sweden. Accordingly, this research attempts to answer the question:

How can we understand the role of news media towards sustainable wildlife conservation in regard to the case of the wolf in Sweden?

1. What are the most prominent representations in news media discourse regarding wolves in the wild in Sweden?
2. To what extent is Swedish news media conveying the complexities of wildlife conservation in regard to the wolf?

1.4 Definitions

When I am referring to the ability to convey complexity, I am referring to the ability to be able to appreciate and explain the interrelationship between different aspects that make up an issue,

such as sustainable wildlife conservation. In other words complexity entails a study of a phenomenon that emerges from a collection of interacting objects (Johnson 2007). As we all live in a complex world with a complex nature we are also in need of complex thought (Neef 2005: 14). That means avoiding defragmentation of knowledge and break with the assumption that “nature can be described, analysed and controlled in simple terms that correlate with a traditional linear logic” (ibid: 14). I believe that communicating complexity is essential if we are to understand the dynamics of evolving coupled socio-ecological systems (Perrings: 2007)

1.5 Limitations

When I was searching for suitable newspapers I wanted to find representatives from both the private and the public sector. The truth is, however, that Swedish Public Service provides their information, primarily in the form of TV and Radio, which were two media forums that I did not incorporate in this research. Looking at the difference between public and private news media could have provided with greater analytical edge. However, due to time and space constraints this research chose to primarily focus on news articles published on three different newspaper’s online versions during a period of three years. Perhaps this research could set the foundation for other media forms like TV and radio to be followed up in order to incorporate the whole media spectrum regarding the issue at hand. I excluded articles that covered wolves in zoos and wolves that were hit by traffic as I believe that they are not as representative for looking at wildlife conservation. Lastly I also made the decision to exclude debate articles, since I was more interested to look at the journalistic characteristics of news reporting. However, this does not include debate editorials written by journalists.

2 Background

2.1 History of the Wolf in Sweden

The wolf is believed to have wandered to the Scandinavian Peninsula as the ice retreated 10,000 years ago, about the same time as humans started to settle in the land (Rovdjurscentret 2004a). However, the expansion of human activities gradually led to wolves and humans crossing paths. Records show that during 1200’s, the Swedish county laws stated that farmers were ordained to participate in hunting of wolves (Vargskall) and those who rejected were accordingly fined. In 1647 the monarchy implemented so called “skottpengar” which is the term for rewards for shooting beast or pests (ibid: 2004a). One important cause for the detrimental human impact on the Scandinavian wolf tribes was in 1789 when farmers received the legal right to hunt on their own

lands for a determined time each year. This caused a great decline in the wolves natural prey of moose and deer (ibid 2004a). This in turn increased attacks on domestic animals, again increasing resentment of wolves among herders and farmers. The result contributed to a successive shooting of wolves that eventually caused the wolf to become both functionally and genetically extinct (Darpö: 2011: 1).

During many years people learned to live and conduct rural activities with only memories of the wolf. No one knows how many wolves that have been in the forests during this time, but they have not been enough to have any noticeable 'impact' on human activities. However, since 1964 new social attitudes towards wildlife and conservation developed (Stöhr et al. 2011: 1) and consequently the wolf has since been labelled an endangered animal under national law, EU law and International law (Darpö 2011: 1). By the late 1970's, a number of wolves most likely migrated from the Finnish Russian populations and settled in the northernmost part of Sweden leading to successful reproduction of the tribe (Stöhr et al 2011: 2). The continuous migration of wolves, have led to a steady increase in wolf numbers and consequently range expansion (ibid: 2).

In 1967 Sweden established the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, in Swedish Naturvårdsverket (hereafter SEPA), which is an institution under the national government whose job is to survey how environmental work is proceeding (Naturvårdsverket 2014a). Since 2002 they manage the hunting register and administer the national hunting license (Naturvårdsverket 2014b). The official position of SEPA is that the wolf is a part of the Swedish fauna and that it should be preserved in "viable populations". However what constitutes a viable population is a complex topic and researchers and ENGO's alike have repeatedly contested SEPA's definition. The aim of biodiversity management, according to SEPA, is to preserve biological diversity and to ensure that species exist in long-term viable populations with sufficient genetic variation, while at the same time humans should have access to good nature and cultural environments with rich biological diversity as a foundation for health, quality of life and welfare (Naturvårdsverket 2014d). It is these two goals that sometimes appear to contradict each other, as common arguments against the wolf include that their presence destroy people's quality of life in the rural areas.

When Sweden joined the EU in 1995 the wolf received protected status under the EU Habitat directive (Council Directive 92/43/EEC on the Conservation of natural habitats and of wild fauna and flora), again under the premise of biodiversity. The main purpose of the Directive is to maintain or recreate favourable conservation status for the species and habitats that are listed in the directive and it is the member states that have the obligation to fulfil these requirements (SOU 2013:60). As such, the Swedish government have to conduct their conservation management under the EU

framework. However, the EU and the SEPA have frequently been at odds after a number of ENGO's accused the Swedish government for violating the Habitat Directive. This happened in January 2010 when for the first time Sweden allowed licensed hunting of wolves in accord to proposition 2008/09:210.

The permission for the licensed hunt of 27 wolves in 2010, was based on the argument that sick wolves should be taken out so that new DNA could be introduced by importing new wolves from Finland or Russia, thus combatting the problem of inbreeding as well as to increase acceptance for the wolf from the ones who are most frustrated with its presence (SR 2011). The decision, however, was highly controversial and caused extensive debate, leading up to the involvement of the EU. The result was that the Swedish government eventually had to change licensed hunting to protective hunting. This means that wolves might be shot if they attack domestic animals or cattle or if there is an estimated threat that a wolf in the future may cause harm on humans or animals. Individuals can thus petition for permission to hunt the wolf as a pre-emptive measure (Regeringskansliet 2011).

Currently it is estimated that around 380 wolves reside in Scandinavia (SOU: 2013:60), however, asking the number of wolves that reside in the Swedish forests is very much a political question as the answer can vary depending on whom you ask (Palmqvist et al. 2004: 2). Regardless of the expected increase, the problem is that the genetic base of the population is extremely small and inbreeding coefficients are very high (Darpö: 2011: 2). DNA analysis shows that most of the wolves that currently exist in Sweden are the result of a natural re-colonisation from the neighbouring Finnish/ Russian populations in Karelia and the hope is that individuals from these areas can bring new DNA to the Swedish packs (ibid: 2).

2.2 Opposition to the wolf

Sweden has a long history of portraying the wolf as a threat and as a source of insecurity and fear (Palmqvist et al 2004: 2). As a child my grandfather used to tell me stories from the Norse mythology, where the Fenrisulv, the son of Loki and the giant Angerboda was a wolf so big he scared all the Aesirs in Valhalla. During Ragnarök, the Fenrisulv eats Odin, the king of the Aesirs and in turn gets slain by his son Vidar. That being said, the wolf has also had a positive role in Norse mythology, as two loyal wolves called Gere and Freke always accompany Odin. Later cultural representations can be found in more contemporary literature, such as Selma Lagerlöf's "Gösta Berling's Saga" from 1821, where a sled ride gets terrorized by a pack of wolves. The book describes the wolves as grey creatures howling of bloodlust, with glowing eyes ready to devour human flesh (Lagerlöf 1956: 61).

The reason why the wolf goes by so many names in the Swedish language is the old belief that calling the wolf by its real name would act as summon. Therefore “noanames” were used to trick the animal (Palmqvist et al 2004: 4). This type of practice was common to ward off different creatures, including the devil. It is however the wolf that has the highest number of noanames (Ekblom et al 2008: 13). Different names used to refer to the wolf include “Gråben” (Grey leg/ bone), “Den Grå” (the Grey), “Gråbuse” (Grey trickster) and “Tasse” (Paws). The contemporary Swedish name for wolf “Varg” is itself a noaname for the original name “Ulv” (ibid: 13). These noanames still occur in the coverage of the wolf by contemporary news media (Ekblom et al 2008: 65).

In regards to the contemporary situation where the wolf is seen as a cause for both political tensions as well as tensions between different interest groups, there is a visible distinction in regards to urban and rural demographics (Darpö 2011: 2). In the rural areas, the situation is considered to be particularly problematic as the wolf population grows in numbers. For the indigenous Samish population, the wolf is deemed to threaten their cultural way of life with reindeer herding (ibid: 2). Sheep farmers and cattle owners have also voiced their critique. However, for many this has been resolved through pro-active measures such as electric fencing (ibid: 2).

The main objection against wolves comes from the hunting community (Darpö 2011: 2). One common argument is that increased number of wolves causes a decrease in the number of prey, especially moose and deer. However, wolf predation on dogs is also a topic of great media attention and can be seen as a result of common hunting practices where loose dogs are used. Although many believe that with increased number of wolves comes an increase in attacks, statistics actually state the opposite (Agria 2011). According to several animal insurance companies, it appears that hunters have taken greater precautions causing a decrease in the number of dogs that die as a result of wolf attacks (ibid 2011).

There is also the fear for personal safety, especially fearing for children and other vulnerable members of society. While there may be a general fear for attacks on cattle and other domestic animals, it is important to know that there has not been any known wolf attack *in the wild* on humans since Gysingevargen in 1821 (Rovdjurscentrum 2004a). Gysingevargen was a domesticated wolf that killed nine children after having been released into the wild (ibid 2004a). Some use this case to argue that the wolf is prone to attack people, while others argue that the cause of the behaviour can be attributed to the fact that the wolf was raised by humans and later let out in the wild without being socialized by a wolf tribe. There have been fatal attacks on humans by wolves in captivity; however, this research argues that one has to make a distinction between attacks by wild wolves and wolves that are raised alongside humans.

Another cause for resentment of the wolf is the perception that the management of the wolf is associated with a symbolic loss of impact on decision-making, as decisions concerning hunting and the size of the wolf population are mostly taken in the urban areas (BRÅ 2007). It is this symbolic loss that is often associated with increased illegal hunting activities and poaching in the rural areas (ibid 2007). It is common to see debate editorials and different organisations who are critical to the wolf, to use arguments that Stockholm or Brussels should not have any saying on what is going on the Swedish countryside.

3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 Environmental Communication

When communicating environmental challenges there is a level of complexity to account for. Besides accounting for the complexities associated with socio-ecological systems, there is also the dilemma of “Who has the right to speak for nature and who should define the interest of society in relation to the natural world?” (Cox 2006: xviii). It is in the domain of public debates that the public can mediate among all the different voices that attempts to define how society should relate to the natural domain (ibid: xviii). So what does communication have to do with nature or the study of environmental problems? According to Robert Cox “... whatever else “nature” and the “environment” may be they are also words and therefore *ideas* and ideas have consequences” (2006: 16). This statement becomes relevant when looking at the polarized perceptions of the wolf that often is highlighted in popular news media (BRÅ 2007, Cinque 2003). However, even though nature may create impressions and forge ideas within us, nature itself is ethically and politically silent (Cox 2006: 165). It is we who place it in certain meanings and contexts.

This research assumes that communication can transform destructive perceptions and activities to constructive ones, given the ‘right tools’ and facilitate mutual understanding. As such, it is not necessarily a matter of speaking on behalf of ‘nature’ but more a matter of not giving ‘nature’ a voice that limits our understanding of its complexity. It is important to remember that news media does not only act as producers of information or voices in their own coverage of specific issues, but also as conduits for other voices (Cox 2006: 28). The agenda setting role of media is thus not only about selling what the public should focus on, but also what lenses the public use when they view it.

3.2 Environmental Journalism

There are some similarities between scientific research, especially regarding natural science, and journalism considering that both seeks to account for some level of ‘objective reality’. The

difference is how the pursuit of this is operationalized. Within most forms of news reporting there is little space for declaring methodology, epistemology or other practices associated with academic research. Brian Cooper from the BBC once stated the following: “Science values detail, precision, the impersonal, the technical, the lasting, facts, numbers and being right. Journalism values brevity, approximation, the personal, the colloquial, the immediate, stories, words and being right now. There are going to be tensions” (The Independent 2011). However, I do not agree with that it needs to be this way.

This research assumes that scientific journalism is *essential* in order to make scientific research available to a greater number of people, including those with limited experience of the subject. David Dickson argues that both journalists as well as other types of science communicators all face the task of providing readers with facts that empower them to engage properly in matters that involves scientific research in order to “ensure that decisions emerging from such dialogue are taken in a way that is both appropriately democratic and informed” (2005). I believe that this is not only essential in order to avoid technocracy of scientific research, but that it can also benefit scientific research to include the general public. Furthermore, it is an essential aspect of media’s responsibility of acting both informative and empowering.

In order to explicitly account for complex scientific research in regards to the environment, one can employ environmental journalism. Environmental journalism can thus act as one of many conduits for environmental communication (Cox 2006: 28). Just like with scientific journalism there are many different perceptions and opinion regarding what environmental journalism should entail. This research argues that environmental journalism should act like scientific journalism but with an extra twist:

- Just like scientific journalism there should be an attempt to make complexity comprehensible by communicating scientific research, especially in regards to socio-ecological systems. This includes providing with a holistic perception of how different aspects relate to each other.
- It should practice some degree of environmental advocacy by questioning anthropocentric accounts of nature. This is part of the ‘Critical Rhetoric’, which can be defined as “questioning or denunciation of a behaviour, policy, societal value or ideology” (Cox 2006: 248).
- Lastly it should pursue a degree of convergence, both in regards to how we relate to the world around us as well as the world within our society, in order to avoid sentiments of conflict and polarity when covering controversial topics.

3.2.1 Objectivity, Self-reflexivity and Convergence

Reporters of environmental journalism have a particular struggle to maintain genuine objectivity (Cox 2006: 181). Some critics state that what passes for objectivity “is merely the prevailing consensus about what is real in a given time and society” (ibid: 181). “Objective consensus” is a notion that argues that consensus belongs to those with the power to define objectivity (ibid: 181). A common way to attempt to provide with objectivity is to interview the different sides of a story and let them account for their own discursive reality, also known as “a balancing of opposing viewpoints” (Cox 2006: 182). This approach, however, has received criticism as this perception of objectivity does little to challenge already existing discourses, but instead may serve to perpetuate or legitimate already existing power distributions (Palen 1998). One hypothetical example being that media’s choice of representations of stakeholders frames the climate change discourse as being dominated by environmentalists and oil companies, thus excluding the voices of people caught in between. The objectivity-advocacy debate challenges this approach, calling for journalists to “... evaluate competing arguments in an environmental controversy” (Cox 2006: 182). A journalist skilled in sustainability issues could problematize assumptions, thus question concept that we often take for granted.

This research is interested in avoiding simplistic or anthropocentric perceptions of valuing non-human entities. One way of accomplishing this is to act in self-reflective manner. Here, self-reflexivity is defined as the conscious turning of the individual towards her/himself while simultaneously being the observing subject and the observed object, “a process that includes both self-knowledge and self-monitoring” (Mead 1934, Rosenberg 1979, Gecas and Burke 1995 from Pagis 2009: 255). By practicing self-reflexivity, one can arguably provide with greater transparency, as the subjective nature of knowledge production is made visible. It could also help us to reach a greater understanding regarding how sentiments of fear, frustration and conflict emerge.

The story of nature conservation is largely a story about nature’s place in the normative order of modern societies (Haila 2001: 30). There is, however, a level of complexity associated with the knowledge of nature that differs from knowledge of society. Nature conservation requires specification in regards to what is to be preserved and for what specific purpose (Haila 2001: 37). Here, the pursuit of convergence could act as a conscious strategy to avoid polarity and conflict. Convergence is the gradual and on-going path towards reaching some level of shared norms in regards to the normative relationship to nature. Arguably, if we want to have wildlife conservation

and biodiversity protection we need to re-evaluate our relationship with the 'natural domain' inter-subjectively.

3.3 Discourse Theory

In order to determine what are the most prominent representations in the media regarding wildlife conservation and to determine to what extent media is conveying the complexities of wildlife conservation, this research use a discourse analysis approach. This means that this research explores the discursive practices "through which text and talk are produced, consumed or interpreted" (Fairclough 1998: 145 from Jørgensen et al. 2002: 67). The reason being that media is the forum where culture is reproduced at the same time as they are a site where various social groups, institutions and ideologies struggle over the definition and construction of social reality (Gamson et al. 1989: 3).

One crucial element of this research is the assumption that different actors sometimes try to promote different ways of organising society by employing different discourses combined with the fact that sometimes certain social practices appears to us as so natural that we fail to see the alternatives. Jørgensen and Phillips state that: "Discursive change takes place when discursive elements are articulated in new ways" (2002: 76). So meaning is thus fluid and all discourses are contingent and in this context the perception of objectivity is what masks this contingency. The threat is thus that this hides alternative possibilities that otherwise could have become visible to us (Jørgensen et al. 2002: 37).

The overall idea of discourse theory is that when it comes to social phenomenon it is an on-going process that never truly finishes and that meaning can never truly be ultimately fixed (Jørgensen et al. 2002: 24). This opens up for constant social struggles about definitions of society and identity. This process has continuous social effects. The task of a discourse analyst is to plot the course of these struggles. The aim is to explore the meaning at all levels of the social (ibid: 24). Consequently, the aim of a discourse analysis is not to uncover an objective reality but instead to explore how we create this reality so that it appears to be *objective* and *natural* to us (Jørgensen et al. 2002: 33).

3.3.1 Interdiscursivity

When different discourses are affecting each other or are articulated together in a communicative event it is called *interdiscursivity* (Jørgensen et al. 2002: 73). This can be illustrated by

i.e. when the media discourse is influenced by the scientific discourse or the political discourse and vice versa. An intertextual chain is a series of texts where texts incorporate elements from other texts, i.e. scientific report. In the case of the media, the implication of this is that certain discourses tend to have more influence on the production of news than others. As such there is an underlying hierarchy of what discourse have the most influence in society and the production of texts.

3.3.2 Ideological Standpoints

Ideology is not only an overarching aspect of a text but it also influences the “selection and representation of objects, actors, the language, and the discursive strategies employed in a text” (Carvalho 2002: 25). This, however, does not entail that defining the ideological standpoint in a text is a straightforward task. Carvalho argues that in the field of environment “ideology has essentially to do with normative and political standpoints on the relation between man (woman) and nature” (2000: 25). I believe that this is of great relevance when attempting to determine what are the most prominent representations in news media regarding the wolf and to determine to what extent media is conveying the complexities of wildlife conservation.

4 Method and Methodology

4.1 Research Design

The epistemological foundation of this research is social constructivism, thus rejecting a purely positivist research outlook. Applying a philosophical standpoint that embraces the ontology of multiple perceptions of reality as well as the notion that knowledge is created within the scope of inter-subjective frameworks helps this research find an epistemological context (Moses et al. 2007: 194). Following Alvin Goldman’s definitions, knowledge here is too be understood as simply what is believed, or what beliefs are “institutionalized” in a specific community or cultural context (Goldman 1999: 7). The community can be deemed as both the journalistic community as well as the society in general, as they are both producers and absorbers of information, interchangeably. Accordingly, knowledge is thus subjective, constructed and based on shared signs and symbols that are recognized by members of a specific culture (Grbich 2007:8).

This research employs a qualitative approach using the case study of news coverage of the wolf in three newspapers during three years of publications. Data was constituted through the process of collecting newspaper articles, which are sorted and presented in the form of a Matrix in the Appendix. This information was then complemented with three semi-structured interviews. I found a qualitative approach to be suitable in order to be able to put the collected data in wider

cultural context and generate proper understanding by conducting in-depth examination of a specific case (Ragin et al. 2011: 111). As I am studying written material, a qualitative research strategy helped me to bring meaning to the collected data “in terms of the meaning people bring to them” (Denzin et al. 2005: 3). By looking at news media’s role in wildlife conservation in regards to the Swedish wolf, I believe that have been able to appreciate the complexity of the issue by taking into consideration people’s perceptions, attitudes, experiences, beliefs, opinions and values.

This research relies on the method of retroduction, that an entails interplay of induction and deduction (Ragin et al. 2011: 76). At the initial stage this research employed an inductive approach as data was collected and compared to the research questions, making it possible to define patterns and themes (Mikkelsen 2005: 169). This meant that theory had limited influence on the data collection process (Bryman 2012: 27). The result, however, was then applied deductively by being compared to already existing theoretical paradigms. The continuation was a further analysis and data review, including conducting semi-structures interviews in order to bring further insight to the collected data. Consequently, the result was a continuous moving between data and ideas, and accordingly induction and deduction. By moving between induction and deduction the research received flexibility in regards to linking data and theory in a dynamic process (Ragin et al 2011: 176).

4.2 Data Collection

Newspaper articles that have been deemed to encompass a greater variety of context from where the news has been produced, both regional and national newspapers, are used as source material. Additionally, in regards to the national newspapers one paper represents Sweden’s most popular tabloid newspaper, namely Aftonbladet, and the other is Sweden’s most popular morning paper, namely Dagens Nyheter (hereafter DN) (SCB 2011). The last newspaper is Värmlands Folkblad (hereafter VF), which is a local newspaper from one of the areas where the wolf discussion has been most inflamed.

By typing in the word “varg” (wolf) in each respective search engine, I collected and listed news articles published between 2010.01.01-2012.12.31. All in all it became 576 news articles, however, the amount of articles published in each newspaper varied a lot with the most published in DN, the second VF and the least in Aftonbladet. The news articles were collected in an excel format and organised under the headings: “Social actors”, “Experts”, “Themes” and “Sub themes”. The research also incorporated framing or phrasing that I found relevant for the research question. Columns and Editorials were read but only incorporated if they were able to provide with input that

provided with some new angle or challenged the themes in the news articles. The relevant editorials and columns are presented in the bibliography.

In order to find out what kind of professional or academic background that exists among the different editorial staff, brief interviews were conducted with journalists covering the wolf. This was done by calling directly to the different news bureaus and asking who would be a suitable candidate for my questions. Since I had already collected the articles I could see who were the most frequent writers on the topic. However, many had changed departments or were no longer employed at the specific news bureau, so I had to rely on whom the staff found could answer my questions. Receiving some information regarding what expertise that exists among the staff I believe is crucial in order to get a deeper understanding regarding the prerequisites to provide with news material that correspond to my stated normative position, as well as to determine to what extent this topic is prioritized. The interviews were very brief and conducted in the form of semi-structured. Semi structured interviewing entails that I can keep more of an open mind about the contours regarding what I need to know about as I have the flexibility to follow up with further questions if deemed appropriate (Bryman: 2012: 212).

4.3 Method of Selection

In order to attempt a good level of representation, data was collected from both national as well as one regional newspaper. The two national newspapers constituted two of the most well read newspapers in Sweden during the time that the data collection began 2010 (SCB 2011). In order to avoid data that could skew the results away from wildlife conservation in Sweden, articles that covered foreign events, road accidents and wolves in zoos (assuming that they were unrelated to strategies to plant pups from zoos into the wild which then fell under wildlife conservation management) were excluded. Additional information, such as phrasings and framings were noted down so that they could be presented separately. This included polarizing value-laden language, such as i.e. “wolf lovers/ wolf haters” and in what way the wolf was described as being of value (what context and what language was used to describe it). Moreover, I also looked at whether anthropocentric framing was used and to what extent there was a clear journalistic voice commenting on the events, including statements made by different social actors.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

When conducting the interviews I made the participants aware of the fact that I am conducting a research at Lund’s University. I let them know what the research is about and what its purpose is

(Bryman 2012: 153). I also let them know that their participation is voluntary and that they can be anonymous. The only thing that is disclosed is their employment and title.

4.5 Trustworthiness

Since this research is calling for a level of self-reflexivity in journalism, it may be prudent to disclose my own predispositions conducting this research. I want to disclose that I am myself a product of my geographical upbringing. I was raised in a town in the Southern part of Sweden that never had any open discussions regarding the wolf. Most of the people I knew had a positive outlook on the wolf's return to Sweden. I should also point out that I have no experiences of journalism but merely a regular consumer of newspaper articles. Prior to this research, I have frequently read both DN and Aftonbladet, but not VF since Värmland is a region far away from where I grew up. Baring this in mind, the collected data has been triangulated with interviews as well as already existing bodies of research regarding the issue at hand. My contribution to this particular field of research is that I take a normative position in regards to media having a responsibility in providing people with information, knowledge and communication that can help to perceive nature in a more multifaceted way and that journalists declare their role as producers of a constructed reality.

4.6 Discourse Analysis Method

4.6.1 Social Actors

This research focuses primarily on which actor/ actors are active in a specific article. This means who are actively speaking in the article. By defining which actors are being heard this research attempts to illustrate the community that is active in framing the discourse. Actors are accordingly divided in Hunters, Politicians, Members of ENGO's, Civilians, Police/ Law Enforcement Agency, Business Community, Academia, Zoo Personal, Public Institutions (I.e. SEPA and the Local Administrative Boards), as well as other possible actors that are prominent in the discourse. There have been some problematic aspects associated with defining the groups of certain actors as one actor can belong to two groups at the same time, i.e politician and hunter. When that happens the actor is defined in regards to the context. In what role is the actor speaking in, i.e. is she/ he speaking on behalf of a hunter or a politician.

4.6.2 Experts

Media produce knowledge by adhering to the socio-cultural context where they target their readers. As such the people that a specific newspaper refers to as "experts" are mapped out in order

to determine their context and contribution to the discourse. This is done in order to establish “framing power” (Carvalho 2000: 22), meaning what power they have to influence a discourse. In this research, the definition of expert is narrowed down to only incorporate those who are explicitly referred to as “experts” in the text. This is to avoid speculating whether an individual is framed as an expert or not. This also means that an expert does not have to be a part of a certain discipline, but can be anyone that the different newspapers have labelled so. However, the background of the expert is still of interest as it can provide us with some insight regarding what inter-discursive activities define the way the wolf is framed in the media. As such, two or three most influential “experts” (that is the most frequently used individuals) is further explored in order to find which context the newspaper receive/ produce information.

4.6.3 Discursive Strategy

Carvalho defines discursive strategies as “a form of discursive manipulation of reality by social actors including journalists” (2000: 23). This entails a degree of intervention of a constructed reality in order to achieve certain effect or goal. This activity is not necessarily a conscious action, but can be result of the context that the information is produced. This is a way to make complicated issues more tangible. This conduct is an important part of the act of “framing a certain reality” (Carvalho 2000: 24). Carvalho states “Positioning is a discursive strategy that involves constructing social actors into a certain relationship with others” (2000: 24). This may or may not entitle these actors to act in certain ways. Positioning may also be considered as “a wider process of constitution of the identity of the subject through discourse” (ibid: 24). This is also connected to the concept of legitimation as this consists of justifying and sanctioning certain actions/ power on the basis of i.e. normative reasons (ibid: 24). Accordingly, the same can be used as a method to de-legitimize something.

In this context, this research looks at whether actors are represented in a way that makes them the sole providers of a discursive reality. A way of doing this is i.e. when an actor gets to speak freely without being questioned by the journalist him/ herself. A common way for journalists to give the impression of being objective or neutral is to allow one actor to speak and then another actor to question the statements made by the first actor. However, the problem is that this does not necessarily provide with a nuanced description of “reality”, but may just act to further reinforce polarity since the only representation of information already comes from two opposing sides. It is primarily the approach of not questioning or problematizing problematic statements that is looked at.

4.6.4 Framing

According to Carvalho there are three ways of looking at framing. The first way of looking at frame emphasise perceptions and views frames “as patterns for organizing our cognition of reality” (Carvalho 2000: 7). This has to do with our disposition to resort to different frames in order to make sense of an otherwise complex reality. As we absorb information from the world around us, our mind interprets these in a context that makes sense to us. The second way of viewing frame is linked to the structuration of a discourse. In this way frames are viewed as structures that are present in discourse: “A frame is, in this sense, an underlying idea that directs the construction of texts” (ibid: 7). In the production of texts, this act involves selection in the form of inclusion and exclusion of facts opinions and value judgements and composition, which is the arrangement of these elements with the purpose of producing a certain meaning (ibid: 7). Framing devices can include metaphors, catchphrases and depictions as well as different forms of reasoning devices such as appealing to moral principles.

One thing that is looked upon is whether the journalist or actor is using polarizing phrases that reinforce a sense of polarity without problematizing it. Another thing that is looked at is how the wolf is framed. How is the wolf valued, and how is it being described? In what framework is the wolf acting and what words or concepts are associated with it? The research also looks at harsh language like i.e. whether there is a use of language that act to make the information comprehensible by comparing it to something else.

4.6.5 Themes

Since nature conservation is a topic that is highly complex and involves many dimensions, I believe that it is important to investigate what choices are made in regards to what aspect of a story the author has chosen to portray, as sometimes what has not been said tells us more than what things have been said. Accordingly, this research is looking at different topics or themes. Objects of discourse are not always obvious and as such it is not always easy to identify them. However, if properly done it constitutes an important step towards deconstructing and understanding the role of discourses (Carvalho 2000: 22). Broader objects can be matters of politics, ecology or economics while the more specific ones can be threats associated with the management of the wolf or ecological impact of the wolf. Carvalho also suggests looking at how the broader object relate to the specific ones.

Since this research attempts to investigate the level of complexity, specific attention is put to information that highlight original and novel input, that is, information that is not often repeated in

the discourse and whether the journalist or actor problematizes common perceptions or common made statement and assumptions.

5 Results and Analysis

5.1 Who frames wildlife conservation in news media?

5.1.1 Social Actors Representation

The most commonly employed actors in all newspapers were representatives from public institutions, most often the different county administrative boards, SEPA and less frequently different veterinarians assisting the management plan (Appendix I). This group is represented in red in the figures below titled "Civil Servants". When issues relating to the wolf were covered in different news articles the trend was to interview representative from the administrative boards from the region where the particular event had occurred. The same actors were also vocal in administrative discussions, such as where to plant pups with different genetic structures or whether a certain individual ought to be moved to another area. Hunters on the other hand, were active in regards to individual testimonies on experiences relating to hunting and as individuals impacted by wolf attacks as well as politically active interest groups (particularly the National Hunting Association (hereafter the NCA). Hunters were also vocal as protesters, and sometimes as recipients of different types of threats.

The group that often were placed in opposition to hunters were different ENGO's, most often the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (hereafter the SSNC) and the National Predator Association (hereafter the NPA). They were vocal when the article referred to either political decisions on management such as defining the number of individuals to constitute a viable population, how many wolves that should be targeted for hunting, and in particular the occurrences surrounding the reporting of the Swedish government's wolf politics to the EU for violating the Habitat Directive. They were often placed as 'spokespersons' for the wolves interest, still, their argumentation often surround what possible impacts different decisions has on the genetic qualities of the wolf tribes and whether the government's decision do or do not comply to EU standards.

Figure 1. Aftonbladet

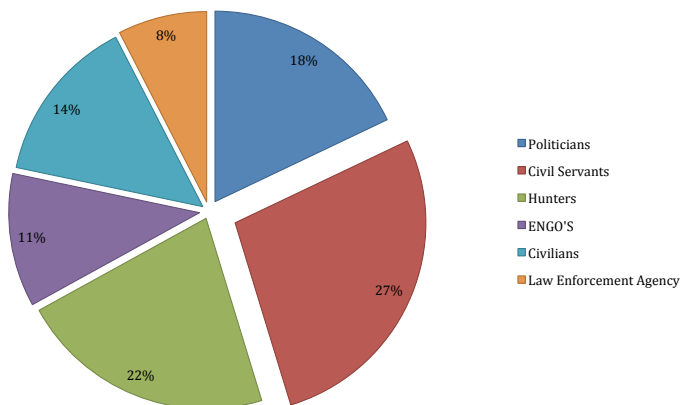


Figure 2. Dagens Nyheter

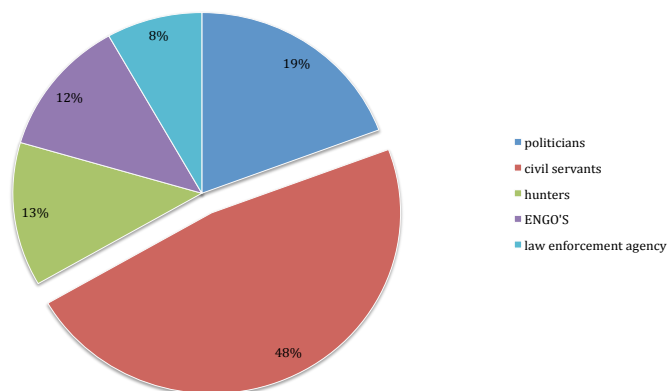
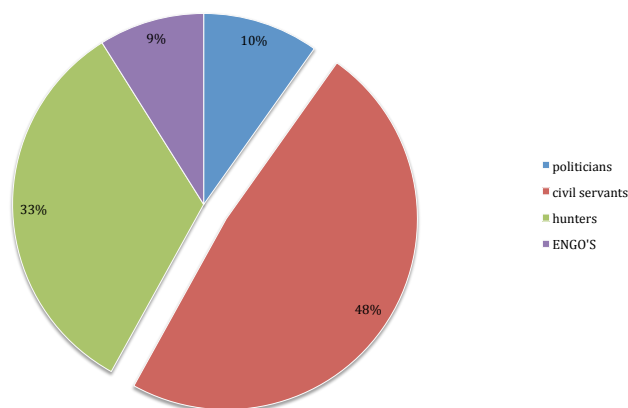


Figure 3. Värmlands Folkblad



Source: Appendix I

What I found interesting is that it was very common, if not the rule, that the stakeholders or social actors was given free room to speak without being questioned or having their arguments problematized by the journalist. This led to some odd statements being put forward as uncontroversial accounts of an event (these types of statements will be further delved into later in the research). Another interesting aspect was that it was common to put two different stakeholders in opposition to one another, making the two argue for their own particular discursive reality without being challenged by a journalistic voice. Having two opposing sides representing their position on the issue does not constitute objectivity, but only serves to perpetuate the notion that the discourse is made up by two polar opposites. This way of presenting the different actors may only serve to reinforce the perception that the wolf debate is defined by two polar opposites in continuous struggle against each other. Öhlund came to a similar conclusion in her research from 2012, stating

that media's portrayal of the debate gives the impression that some interests are more dominant than others. She also found that the way that the different sides were represented indicates a polarization of the different viewpoints that do not necessarily represent reality (Öhlund 2012).

5.1.2 Themes

In order to make sense of the themes as visible in Appendix II it is important to emphasize the surrounding occurrences that inspired the articles. In the beginning of 2010 the government initiated licensed hunting of wolves for the first time since the wolf received protective status. As such, many articles covered the event, often from different hunter's perspective as several individuals were given the opportunity to give their personal account for the occurrences surrounding the hunt. Since the decision to allow the licensed hunting of wolves was a controversial one, news coverage also include political and opinionated articles.

In the beginning of 2011 there was another licensed hunt, however, in this hunt there were fewer wolves to be targeted and the novelty of the first hunt had ceased. In-between these event, most frequent coverage included sightings, attacks on domestic animals and cattle/ sheep, calls for protective hunt, management plans including how to improve the genetics of the Swedish wolf tribe and where to place individual wolves within the country, politics surrounding how different politicians want to manage wolves, opinions, protests and occasionally threats directed at either hunters, wolf activist, politicians or civil servants (Appendix II).

What I found noteworthy throughout the data collection was the absence of diversity of themes, as the majority of the news articles covered management, politics, hunting, genetics and so on. The impression thus became that the way the wolf was covered was a reflection of the political discourse of the wolf. Other themes such as sightings or wolf attacks served more as 'islands of information' where the information was brief and often involved emotional responses and again, comments on political decisions taken on the issue. Overall, the information remained shallow as little context or problematization was offered.

A further limitation of depth in the news articles was the ocean of news articles that only covered one specific event at a time, many being merely paragraph-sized. What struck me is that if a person is trying to get a deeper understanding of the complexities associated with the wolf, they risk getting lost in short stories with limited space for information. I thus came to the conclusion that what is provided, in regards to depth and content is more a matter of quantity than quality.

5.1.3 Scientific Representation

In regards to representation from academia the articles provided with a variety of fields of research¹. Even though the extent of the material was more than what I previously thought it would be, the representations of the different fields of research did not depart significantly from the themes previously mentioned. The themes of discussion still constituted genetics and other topics that did little to add anything that challenged the political or natural science discourse (Appendix III). Several references were made to research conducted by the research institution SKANDULV. SKANDULV is the Scandinavian wolf research project and is referred to by both media and politicians (Prop. 2012/13:191). The main purpose of the research conducted by SKANDULV is to investigate population dynamics, geographical expansion of the population and genetics, social behaviour and predation as well as human dimensions wolf ecology. This includes depredation and human attitudes (SKANDULV 2014a). However, looking through the publications released on their webpage as well as statements made in the selected article, I again struggled to find any noticeable deeper discussions regarding anything besides genetics, ecology and institutional management (SKANDULV 2014b).

In both DN and Aftonbladet the most common cited expert was Olof Liberg- programme coordinator from SKANDULV (often simply referred to as 'Varg expert': wolf expert). Another expert was Gunnar Glöersen: predator expert at the National Hunting Association (hereafter the NHA). In VF, the most frequently cited expert was Lars Furulund from the county administrative board (Appendix III). Common subject of discussion included providing information that relates to the management plan, i.e. inform, critique or discuss current political decisions made on whether or not to allow licensed or protective hunt, how many wolves to hunt, how many to preserve, whether to move wolves within the country, import wolves from other countries, plant puppies in the wild from zoos and so on.

The following quote was taken from Aftonbladet in the beginning of 2010, and it is Olof Liberg that is interviewed in regards to the licensed hunting of wolves that took place at the time:

"I love all of nature and most of all the wolf which I am researching on. It is a marvellous animal, exiting and impressive. But everyone has to understand that not everyone thinks that way and that wolves actually cause serious problems. The romantics have to realize that it actually is that way otherwise the debate becomes skewed. It would be like the

Scientific Journal of Evolutionary Biology", "Scientific Journal of Biological Conservation", "Animal Conservation", Proceedings of the Royal Society", the "European Journal of Wildlife research" as well as the database of "Public Library of Science" (Appendix III).

rural inhabitants would have opinions regarding road tolls in Stockholm... Nature is no longer so natural. Humans are everywhere. To let the wolf tribe free would be a disaster. The wolf is an extremely smart animal and a great predator and they would go closer to human habitation. In a modern civilized society you cannot let a predator tribe free. We have hunted predators throughout all time and must continue to do so” (Olof Liberg Aft.2010.01.04).

The statement is unquestioned by the reporter and I believe it serves to reinforce the perception that the wolf’s existence is a matter of institutional management comparable to decisions on road tax in urban areas. I find it problematic that an expert defines wildlife as something in contrast to ‘human civilization’, as I would prefer that he instead bring up the complexities associated with socio-ecological relationships instead of again reinforcing the perception that there is a dichotomy between the two. He also reinforces the perception that there is a polarity in the way that wolf is talked about, referring to some actors as “romantics”. The title of “expert” grants a person with a certain kind of legitimacy in speaking about a particular topic and although I do not doubt that Olof Liberg knows a lot about the field of his research, it appears that his contribution to reaching a level of convergence is limited.

5.2 Pursuing Convergence

5.2.1 The War in the Forest

One method to make a story comprehensible is to use game or war rhetoric as a way to illustrate the harsh sentiments and to emphasise drama (BRÅ 2007). There are several articles using game or war related methods to illustrate the story. One story covering the political activities leading up to the decision to allow licensed hunting for the first time, emphasises how different ideological convictions (manifested in hunter vs. non-hunter) affects the decision-making. The article makes it clear that Andreas Carlgren (then environmental minister) is not a hunter, but Eskil Erlandsson agricultural minister on the other hand is. He is accordingly referred to as the “hunting minister” due to his influence to ensure that the licensed hunting of wolves truly became a reality (Aft.2010:01.13). The article states that:

“Eskil Erlandsson became the victor of the battle. The environmental minister accepted a roof of 210 wolves” (Journalist Aft.2010:01.13).

BRÅ came up with a similar result in their report from 2007, where they covered how the wolf was framed in regional press. The report stated that a lot of game and war rhetoric has been used like “The Samish are on the warpath” and “the hunters organization victorious” and so on (2007). The authors of the study concluded the picture provided lacks nuance and combined with increased media coverage there is a possibility that this forum can affect both public opinions and the reader’s perception of reality (BRÅ 2007). One can argue that using language that hints towards war and conflict is a problematic way to initiate a public constructive dialogue on wildlife conservation, as it appeals to people’s sense of drama and flare instead of understanding.

“The war in the forest” (Titel Aft.2011.01.14)

“EU takes up the fight against Swedish wolf hunt” (Titel Aft.2011.01.27)

“THE WOLF IS THE WINNER” (Titel Aft. 2011.02.14)

“Life threatened for his resistance” (Titel Aft.2010.01.05).

“The wolves won” (Titel Aft.2011.01.16)

5.2.2 Polarizing Language

There are several examples of using polarized language (wolf haters vs. Wolf lovers) that also serve to paint a picture of unquestioned division of sentiments towards the issue. Although these phrases were primarily used by different interviewed actors, there were also instances when the same phrases were used by the journalist him/ herself. That arguably does little to convey the complexities surrounding wildlife conservation as it divides the discussant or active actors in two opposing groups, as well as determining the same actor’s relationship with the wolf as either an object of hate or affection.

“The debate has been hot since the licensed hunting of wolves initiated: In one corner the hunt mongers and in the other the Wolf friends” (Journalist Aft.2010.01.04).

“Wolf lovers mapped out on the Internet” (Title Aft.2011.11.08).

“...the division appears more likely to be increasing between wolf friends and wolf antagonists” (Journalist DN.2011.01.23).

“I would prefer to not talk about the wolf problem. The person who says something negative about the wolf becomes in the eyes of many a wolf hater. Wolf with a natural behaviour should stay. But problem wolves that walk in amongst the houses should be taken away” (Hunter Aft.2012.04.04).

5.3 Communicating Complexities

5.3.1 ‘The problem-wolf’

The latter quote points towards another problematic concept, namely the phrase “problem wolf”. Here the journalist makes no attempt to try and ask what we define as a “problem wolf”. It becomes a “natural” phrase that is used many times. A wolf that cannot “integrate” or “stay natural” should be taken away. Very little questions are made regarding our behaviour and whether our society is “natural” or “problematic”. This approach becomes awkward considering the fact that wolf attacks on domestic animals is a re-current phenomenon. One man that was interviewed in relation to a dog being attacked by a wolf stated that:

“When they start to attack domestic animals I believe that it has gone too far. Last autumn a dog was taken in the yard. That is not normal wolf behaviour” (Dog owner Aft.2012.04.08)

Even the public institutions themselves use the same rhetoric. The person responsible for predator issues at the county administrative board in Halland stated the following:

“As long as the animal is calm and acts rationally we will not plan anything, if not, it can be possible that we will try to sedate it” (County Administrative Board DN.2011.04.15)

What constitutes a wolf “acting rationally” is neither defined nor problematized by the actor himself nor the journalist but accepted as unproblematic statement. Another example is when wolves that wander close to human habitation are regarded as being “lost” or “confused”. The wolf’s place is thus made clear and that is that they should remain separate from the human sphere. If they do not comply then they are accordingly “lost”:

“The drama with a lost wolf in central Helsingborg ended happily with a natural nap in the forest” (Journalist DN.2011.04.11)

“The hunt of the confused/ strayed wolf in Helsingborg has been stopped. The wolf has been reported to go into the woods to rest. So now the police and the county

administrative board about their attempts to capture the beast” (Journalist Aft.2011.04.11)

“Lost wolf wandered to Halland” (Title DN.2011.04.15)

The perception that the wolf somehow is lost if it moves to other territories can be associated with the fact that the current management plan often involves force-moving wolves in order to minimise their impact on cattle and to ensure that “genetically important” animals have territories in areas where they have a greater chance to have genetically viable offspring. Moving wolves within Sweden is a costly and controversial affair that is frequently covered in news media. This is thus reflected as common theme including wolves migrating to areas where they are not supposed to be, resulting in the sedation and relocation of the animal. However, wolves are territorial, making it difficult to force a wolf to stay in an area pre-determined by the government (Rovdjurscenter 2014b). The selected news media outlets do cover the potential unsustainability of this approach, but again, mostly in the matter of the financial costs.

5.3.2 ‘The Cunning wolf’

It is common to refer to the wolf as intelligent and cunning, especially when the hunters struggle to fill the quota of wolves that are targeted for hunting:

“We are out hunting. But I guess you can say that the wolf is in the lead” (Hunter Aft.2011.02.13)

“If the wolves got the way they wanted we would have a mild winter with bare land. Then it would be much more difficult to find them” (Hunter DN 2011.01.15)

“The wolf can hunt all year around and we can only hunt a few weeks during autumn” (Hunter DN.2010.01.05).

“...smart wolves fled to Norway” (Journalist DN.2011.01.16)

These types of phrasings relate to another issue that appear to be common in contemporary news media’s way of communicating about issues relating to non-human entities and that is by employing anthropomorphism. The term anthropomorphism can be defined in many ways, but in this context I am referring to the act of ascribing human qualities to animal behaviours. Mitchell et al. defines it as subjects’ providing a ranking of a particular psychological state for an animal that is

similar to that of a human (1997: 178). What I find problematic with employing anthropomorphic descriptions is that it may serve to illustrate the wolf as having human like mentality. So the wolf becomes almost like a human and can thus receive humanlike judgements and their behaviour accordingly appears 'irrational' or 'cruel' in human standards. This kind of formulation arguably does little to increase our perception of the complexities associated with wildlife conservation. Instead it reinforces the perception that the wolf has a consciousness that is akin to how humans relate to the world around them. A perception that corresponds to the expectation that wolves act "normal" and "rationally" and that these qualities is what determines whether they have a right to live or not.

5.3.3 The Genetically Valuable Wolf

The wolf as a part of an ecosystem, or as a creature with intrinsic value is rarely emphasized. In fact, the most common way to determine the wolf's worth is through its genetics:

"The wolf has clawed (rivit) several reindeers in the area around Gällivare and since it is deemed as genetically valuable, the SEPA wanted to move it instead of shooting it"
(Journalist DN.2011.04.09)

"The Nature Observer from the county administrative board felled the wolf by Kölåsen, around 25 km west of Lofsdalen. The wolf is of Scandinavian descent and is regarded as genetically valuable for the Swedish wolf tribe" (Journalist Aft.2012.11.13)

"The father of the puppies is deemed to be genetically very valuable for the inbred Swedish tribe since he is the son to a wolf of Finnish-Russian origin of the so called Galven territory of Hälsingland" (Journalist DN.2010.05.13).

"It is the third time in one year that the wolf is moved away from the reindeer area. The wolf that has Finnish-Russian descent is important from a genetic point of view for the Swedish wolf tribe" (Journalist DN.2012.02.27).

5.3.4 The Nationalized Wolf

It may seem odd that the wolf's nationality is of importance when writing about the wolf, but it is often used as a way to highlight genetic qualities. Still, emphasising that the wolf is Norwegian, Finnish, Russian or Swedish does again emphasise the perception that animals somehow have a nationality and that their legal status is associated with this nationality. This could for example be

seen when wolves fled to Norway during the wolf hunt or when people claim that the wolves do not belong here because they are not really 'Swedish'.

"Finnish and Russian wolves soon among the Swedish" (Titel DN.2011.02.21)

"Proposal: Adopt wolves from Russia" (Titel Aft.2010.11.14)

The wolves are not only defined in terms of nationality but also in term of which region they are from

"Jämtlandish wolf moved to Örebro" (Title DN.2011.03.21)

"Gällivarwolf moved to Dalarna" (Title DN.2011.04.09)

"Scaniawolf sighted outside of Halmstad" (Title DN 2011.04.16)

5.3.5 The Individualized Wolf

More than being referred to in accord to genetic quality or nationality, sometime individual wolf's fate is followed in newspapers even naming the individual wolf. This aspect can be related back to the use of anthropomorphic framing. The names are also a result of the area where they are located. The Kynna wolf was a wolf that migrated from Norway in order to come to Sweden where she attacked sheep and accordingly became the target for protective hunting. Her story was followed in several articles where she was described as "taunting" the hunters (DN 2011:10:13). The leader of the hunting team was quoted as saying "It is cunning predator that is more intelligent than us" (ibid). The articles are often short and serve more as an update on her status and her whereabouts. The article covering her death stated that:

"The so-called Kynna wolf has wandered on to the hunting grounds of the beyond (De sälla jaktmarkerna). At around 15:30 Saturday, a hunting team from Älmhult shot the she wolf according to the county administrative board from Kronoberg. During the three weeks long protective hunt she managed to escape. On Thursday the SEPA gave permission to prolonged protective hunt and this time the hunters where more effective" (Journalist DN.2011.11.12).

Her story even continued after her death

“The Norwegian wolf Kynna, who last autumn was shot in Southern Småland after a three week long protective hunt, is soon back in her former hunting grounds... The wolf pelt is now to be stuffed in order to become one of the main attractions in a permanent exhibition at Huseby bruk” (DN 2012.04.21)

5.4 The Editorial Climate

One journalist at DN stated that there is a great interest in having a deeper normative discussion in regard to sustainable nature conservation in the context of the wolf, but the standard format in traditional news articles make it difficult to go into greater depth on this issue (Interview 2). During the later years since 2000's there have been a number of economic cut backs and the staff is now smaller than before. Normative discussions and complexities associated with issues such as biodiversity are usually held in debate forums, editorial columns and in scientific editorials. The reason why biodiversity is often depicted in a political context is because political decisions are very important as it affect how nature conservation is conducted, but it is also relatable for a wider audience (Interview 2). As previously stated, it is a way to make the topic relevant to a greater number of people who may not have any direct experiences of the wolf.

The interviewee also stated that there are no principal hindrances in news media against taking up the issue of biodiversity in a more complex manner, but that a general “hindrance” is the journalistic dramaturgy, which needs clear conflict and preferably black and white connections. In later years another hindrance are the dwindling resources that entail that very few journalist have time to delve deeper in a way that would be required (Interview 2). One representative from VF stated that they do not have the resources necessary and that reporting of wolves are primarily a journalistic affair and not the job of specific experts (Interview 1). In regards to Aftonbladet, when I raised the issue of existing competencies among their editorial staff it is noteworthy that the answer I received was “We do not really have anyone with particular expertise on that topic” (interview 3).

5.5 Columns and Editorials

5.5.1 Wolves and Xenophobia

Overall it can be stated again that a lot of the editorials and column featured the political aspect, conflict and opinions. However, there were some interesting alternative points that were brought up. One chronicler (in a debate editorial) wrote: “The wolves are the Muslims of the forest. The Muslims have become the wolves of the suburbs” (Ezpeleta 2010) Again the theme of the article was political; however, the point was that there is xenophobia in politics that is now also

incorporating groups that want to completely eradicate the wolf. He states that the problem is lack of knowledge, fear of loss of culture and prejudices that can be equated to the current problem of fear of “islamisation” (ibid 2010). Cinque stated that in her research the different debate forums discussing the wolf, people expressed fear of losing their own history and the values as contemporary society keep changing (Cinque 2003). Although the argument may not have been straightforward I find it interesting to compare solutions to wildlife conservation be compared to perceptions of “integration” on behalf of rising xenophobia. This can relate back to the practice of stating individual wolves different ‘nationalities’. Is this perhaps again a way in which the wolf becomes ‘humanized’ and adopted into the social structure of human society? I found phrasings that further illustrated this in the following news article: “The wolf seeks protection in Norway” (Title DN.2011.01.16).

5.5.2 Wildlife Conservation and Biodiversity Preservation

One editorial confronts the news media discourse of the wolf by primarily stating that the wolf does not care about nationality (Kazmierska 2011). However, the same chronicle has some problematic aspects as it uses polarizing language such as “wolf huggers” and makes the assumption that a “natural” co-existence with wolves automatically necessitates hunting, arguing that natural symbiosis means treating wolves as hunters themselves. She problematize perceptions of wildlife conservation associated with ‘stewardship mentality’ by stating that the current debate involves ‘uncomfortable’ ways of referring to the wolf as being like a small child in need of human cares. She also questions the concept of ecological equilibrium stating that we have yet to have defined what we mean by this, as this balance have been altered many times before (Kazmierska 2011).

There are a number of voices that bring up the fact that there appear to be an underlying confusion in regards to what biodiversity protection really should be. Another editorial in DN questions the concept of biodiversity, emphasising that it is itself a human concept (Brynolf 2011). In another column in DN the question was posed whether it is futile to protect a number of “charismatic” species whilst ignoring the greater number of less famous, albeit perhaps more important, ones (Jewert 2010). I believe that it is important that wildlife conservation and biodiversity protections as concepts are problematized, but again the discussions were often held under the guise of political or managerial themes that often neglected to strive towards any level of reach convergence. The trend was rather to further play on people’s emotions using harsh language and conflict related phrasing.

6 Discussion

6.1 A Silent Voice

I find it to be problematic that the journalistic voice is often silent; leading to information being presented without problematization. Here is where self-reflexivity could have served well to emphasize that the occurrences surrounding the wolf is something that requires inter-subjective dialogue, as regardless of the intent of promoting objectivity, news account will always entail social construction. Historically, Sweden has gone from being a poor agricultural to an industrial country with a highly institutionalized system that is internationally famous. It may be presumptuous to draw a correlation between Swedish exceptional faith in public institutions and the way we relate and perceive the natural domain, but as a reader of popular news media it does not appear to be that far-fetched.

People's generalizations about language are made on the basis of the discourse they participate in. However, this discourse is then in turn affected by the application of this knowledge when maintaining/ creating a new discourse (Johnstone: 2008: 3). This dialectal relationship thus affects how people interpret information, and people who are interpreting information in turn reproduce the same kind of information and on it goes. I believe that what happens when news media attempts to inform people of the occurrences surrounding wildlife conservation in regard to the wolf is that they define sustainable wildlife conservation as the government defines it, namely as a matter of genetics, location and viable populations. This is then what is told to the people, who again reflect the same perceptions back on news media. When academia was present it was mostly in terms of natural science. Although I believe that knowledge is always good, I believe it is time that this discourse takes us beyond knowing in order to instead generate understanding (Neef 2005: 15)

It is important to emphasise that this is not a matter of critiquing individual news papers since they themselves are caught up in how society defines the issues they cover. According to Foucault, power is knowledge and knowledge is power and consequently power (just as discourses) spreads across different social agents i.e. social groups, structures, or other actors with particular interests (Phillips et al. 2002). This further indicates the importance that the journalists themselves should carry a certain level of knowledge and expertise regarding the complexities associated with sustainable wildlife conservation since they have the ability to challenge the discourse that different stakeholders reproduce. As such, when stating that journalists have the responsibility to question existing power relations that also includes questioning the discourses themselves. Still news media frames the wolf not only as a problem to human activities but also as a problematic species that has a hard time integrating to Swedish society.

6.2 The Market Mechanism

It would be difficult to discuss media's choice of framing and discursive strategies, without mentioning the underlying market mechanisms. Like the journalist from DN mentioned, their department had been affected by economic cutbacks, which had impact on who got to report on issues relating to the wolf. He/ She also mentioned that the format does not allow them to go into further depth on the issue, and that the dramaturgy and political framing are all part of making news relatable to a wider audience and thus facilitate the consumption of news. Just as the value of wolves can be socially defined by its genetic makeup, News-worthiness can be measured by its ability to attract readers or viewers (Cox 2006: 175). The question is whether news media is doomed to only provide with shallow account of intricate and complex issues in the world that citizens need to be informed about in order to make enlightened decisions in the society they live in?

Is everything in the end a matter of financial resources or about public attitudes? After all, news articles that covers different sports events and different individual athletes has in many newspapers its very own section. Imagine if people where that engaged in sustainability issues and biodiversity management. Imagine if people where that eager to consume and challenge that type of information. Since the relationship between media and readers is a two way street, the way we consume media can affect what they in turn serve us. Accordingly, if we wanted it they would have an incentive to produce it.

On the topic "The Journalist responsibility" Kerstin Brunnberg argues that it is every editorial leader's responsibility to nurture knowledge and competence among the co-workers. She believes that the answer to the question regarding how media can be relevant, credible and popular is purely a matter of competence, as critical questioning requires extensive knowledge (Brunnberg 2006: 65). What I find interesting is that she states that what is worrisome with contemporary media is not what goes wrong when reporting, but what does not get published (ibid: 73). I argue that media is obliged to not only 'give us what we want' but to let us know what we can have. Consequently I believe that there are few things in this world as worth having as a harmonious relationship within our community and with our natural surroundings.

7 Conclusion

This research set out to investigate news media's role in sustainable wildlife conservation in regards to the Swedish wolf. The intent was to explore how the wolf has been framed and presented in contemporary news media, by looking at the representation of social actors, whether polarizing

language or conflict related dramaturgy was used, as well as to look in what way the wolf is considered to have a value in itself. The research's normative position in regards to news media was that they have a responsibility to equip citizens/ readers with the necessary tools in order to make informed decisions in a democratic society. By looking at environmental communication and environmental journalism, this research defined three features necessary to accomplish this, namely 1) communicating complexity, 2) avoiding anthropocentric framing, and 3) encouraging the pursuit of social convergence. This research also argues that by practicing self-reflexivity journalists can move beyond simplistic notions of objectivity and declare their role as producers of a constructed reality.

The research was conducted by looking at two of Sweden's most popular news papers, as well as a regional news paper from one of the most affected areas in regards to the wolf's presence and the ensuing debate. The result showed that the most prominent stakeholders were from public institutions, politicians and different interest groups. The reporting of the wolf was often in context of political or institutional decision-making, including occurrences surrounding licensed or protective hunting and disagreements between the government and the EU. Other contexts included individual sightings, threats, protests and so on. Polarizing language was often used, such as "wolf huggers" and "wolf haters" and conflict related rhetoric was also used for dramatic effect. Stakeholders were often presented, either holding a monologue or placed in contrast to an opposing stakeholder. The journalistic voice was primarily silent, causing the stakeholders to be the primary providers of the discursive reality.

Anthropocentric and anthropomorphic framing and rhetoric was used, often referring the wolf as "lost", "irrational" or "cunning", again without any problematization of these concepts by the journalist. Furthermore, the scientific interdiscursivity employed remained within the domain of either natural science or governance, thus again reinforcing the already existing discourse, regarding wildlife conservation being a matter of natural science research or politics. Since the journalistic voice was mostly silent there was no level of self-reflexivity active in the news reporting.

The research came to the conclusion that news media's perception of wildlife conservation in regards to the wolf is a reflection of how the issue is framed by the political establishment and the domain of natural science. The way discourse is created however, is not a one-way street. Society affects media, media affects society, politics affect society, and so forth. As such, the society can express their desires for news reporting that deals with nature conservation with more depth through consumer power, but due to media's responsibility to equip citizens with the necessary tools to be able to make enlightened decisions, I conclude that media has the primary responsibility to be the front runners by questioning existing discourses on wildlife conservation.

This research focused on what messages are reproduced by news media outlets and could therefore not incorporate how exactly their wider public defines the same topic. Therefore, suggestions for further research would be to look at debate forums to see how people who are active in the debate view and frame the issue. It would also be interesting to explore in more depth how wildlife conservation is perceived and discussed in different political settings, in order to determine to what extent the concept is problematized in higher decision-making entities.

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Appendix I

Social actor representation

Aftonbladet

- Number of articles: 90
- Number of articles interviewing stakeholders: 77

6 most commonly used stakeholders

Politicians (local, regional, national and international)	19 articles
ENGO's (SSNCA, Predator Association and the APU)	12 articles
Civilians	15 articles
Law Enforcement Agency (including police, prosecutors, lawyers and so on)	8 articles
Local administrators/ State Institutions/ State veterinarians/ Governor	29 articles
Hunters (Including members from the NHA and other hunting organisations)	23 articles

Dagens Nyheter

- Number of articles: 307
- Number of articles interviewing stakeholders: 149

6 most commonly used stakeholders

Politicians (local, regional, national and international)	33 articles
ENGO's (SSNCA, Predator Association and the APU)	21 articles
Law Enforcement Agency (including police, prosecutors, lawyers and so on)	14 articles
Local administrators/ State Institutions/ State veterinarians/ Governor	81 articles
Hunters (Including members from the NHA and other hunting organisations)	22 articles
Academia and scientists/ researchers (Except Skandulv)	10 articles

Värmlands folkblad

- Number of articles: 179
- Number of articles interviewing stakeholders: 96

6 most commonly used stakeholders

Politicians (local, regional, national and international)	11 articles
ENGO's (i.e. SSNCA, Predator Association and the APU)	10 articles
Civilians	6 articles
Law Enforcement Agency (including police, prosecutors, lawyers and so on)	14 articles
Local administrators/ State Institutions/ Veterinarians/ Governor	54 articles
Hunters (Including members from the NHA and other hunting organisations)	37 articles

Appendix II

Articles and Themes

Stakeholder
1. Politicians (local, regional, national and international)
2. ENGO's (SSNCA, Predator Association and the APU)
3. Civilians
4. Law Enforcement Agency (including police, prosecutors, lawyers and so on)
5. SKANDULV
6. Local administrators/ State Institutions/ Veterinarians/ Governor
7. Hunters (Including members from the NHA and other hunting organisations)
8. other NGO's
9. Journalist
10. Buisnuess sector
11. Academia and scientists/ researchers
12. Radical NGO's (i.e. Jägarnas Riksförbund)
13 Zoo
14 Farmers organization and landowners

Aftonbladet						
Aft. 2010	Nr	Title	Stakeholders	"Experts"	Theme	Sub Theme
2010.01.02	1	Vargjakt anmäls till EU	2, 6		Politics	Management
2010.01.02	2	"Speciell känsla att fälla en varg"	7		Hunt	Politics/ Opinion
2010.01.03	3	Överskjutning av varg i Dalarna	6, 6		Management	Hunt
2010.01.04	4	"Det blev kaos"	6, 6, 7, 8		Management	Hunt
2010.01.04	5	"Folk i stan borde inte uttala sig om vargen"	3		Opinion	Fear/ frustration

2010.01.04	6	"Att döda varg är ett nödvändigt ont"	5	Olof Liberg		
2010.01.04	7	De sköt mot tre vargar – bara en dog	7, 6		Management	Hunt
2010.01.04	8	Vad tycker ni om årets vargjakt?	1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1		Politics	
2010.01.24	9	Här övar de på att döda	1, 2, 6		Corruption	Politics
2010.01.05	10	Jägare hotas till livet	7, 7, 7, 7		Threats	Hunt
2010.01.05	11	Utredning om jaktbrott läggs ner	4		Hunt	Poaching
2010.01.07	12	Ja till både jakt och fler vargar	1, 7, 8		Opinion	
2010.01.08	13	Vargarna som sköts var friska	7, 7, 5	Olof Liberg	Genetics	Hunt
2010.01.13	14	Forskarna – och Carlgren – ville ha 500 till 1 000 vargar	1, 1, 1, 7	Gunnar Glöersen	Politics	Management
2010.01.15	15	Tillät vargjakt för att få plantera in nya	1		Management	Opinions
2010.01.28	16	Ännu fler vargar skjutna – i dag	6		Hunt	Poaching
2010.02. 01	17	Jägare misstänkt för jaktbrott – skadesköt varg	4		Poaching	
2010.01.29	18	Varg? Nej, tack!	1, 1		Politics	Opinion
2010. 02.16	19	Han vill porta alla vargarna	1, 1, 7, 3		Politics	Opinion
2010.02.17	20	Varg i Härjedalen sköts			Hunt	
2010.02.19	21	Carlgren hotar stoppa vargjakten			Management	Opinion
2010.03.12	22	Jakt på varg även nästa år	1, 6		Management	Hunt
2010.04.07	23	"Alla vargar ska skjutas"	7, 9		Poaching	Opinion
2010.04.30	24	Vargjakten: Tjänstemän mordhotade	6		Threats	Hunt
2010.04.30	25	Attacken mot SVT: s vargfilm	9		Opinion	
2010.05.02	27	Nätverk med målet att utplåna vargarna	9, 7		Poaching	
2010.08.03	28	Varg i Roslagen rev kalv utanför gård	6, 6, 3		Wolf Attack	Management
2010.08.27	29	EU ifrågasätter svensk vargjakt	1, 6		Politics	Management
2010.08.28	30	Illegal jakt på vargar ökar	1, 4, 6, 7, 5	Olof Liberg	Poaching	Management (politics)
2010.08.28	31	Reinfeldt och Borg vill jaga varg	1, 1		Politics	
2010.08.29	32	Målet: Mosa Maria	1, 1		Politics	
2010.09.13	33	Hund på kvällsrastning dödad av varg	3		Wolf Attack	
2010.09.14	34	Vargen åt upp Ludde	3, 5	Olof Liberg	Wolf Attack	Fear
2010.10.30	35	Varg skuten i Värmland	4		Hunt/ poaching	Wolf Attck

2010.11.14	36	Förslaget: Adoptera varg från Ryssland	13		Management	
2010.12.01	37	20 vargar på väg – här ska de leva	6		Management	Genetics
2010.12.17	38	Licensjakt på varg tillåts i år igen	6		Hunt	Management (politics), opinion, genetics
2010.12.17	39	WWF rasar mot licensjakten på varg	2		Management	Hunt
2010.01.05	40	Hötas till livet för motstånd	1		Threat	Politics
2011.01.04	1	Carlgren charged for licensed hunting (freely translated: KU anmäls)			Politics	Hunt
2011.01.11	2	Carlgren: "More wolves in Sweden"	1, 2, 12		Politics/ Opinions	Management
2011.01.14	3	Carlgren KU-anmäls för vargjakten	12, 12, 7, 2		Opinions	Threats
2011.01.14	4	Carlgren: "Fler vargar i Sverige"	7, 1		Hunt	Politics
2011.01.15	5	Kriget i skogen			Wolf Attack	In Perspective
2011.01.15	6	Kan vara över rekordsnabbt	7, 6		Hunt	
2011.01.16	7	Färre hundar föll offer för varg	7, 7		Hunt	
2011.01.16	8	"Vargarna medvetna"	2, 6		Hunt	
2011.01.17	9	Vargen Vann			Hunt	
2011.01.18	10	Två vargar med sändare skjutna			Hunt	
2011.01.27	11	4 vargar kvar – jakten fortsätter idag			Politics	
2011.01.27	12	Vargjakten igång igen i Örebro	1		Management	Politics
2011.02.06	13	EU tar strid mot svensk vargjakt	2		Opinion/ Protest	
2011.02.08	14	Vargar planteras ut – redan i vår	1, 1, 1, 1		Politics	
2011.02.13	15	20 kistor – en för varje varg	7, 6		Hunt	
2011.02.14	16	"Jakten är urskilningslös"	7, 2		Hunt	
2011.02.19	17	Sista vargen jagas i Västmanland	7, 4		Poaching	
2011.04.19	18	VARGEN VINNER	6		Hunt	Management
2011.04.11	19	Varg jagades med snöskoter och slogs ihjäl	6, 6		Individual encounter/ Sighting	Management
2011.04.17	20	Vargarna från årets jakt är undersökta	3, 4		Wolf Attack	
2011.04.17	21	Varg spände musklerna i Helsingborg	5	Olof Liberg	Wolf behaviour	
2011.04.17	22	Vargar attackerade barnfamilj	3,3,3, 6		Wolf Attack	Fear
2011.04.17	21	Vargforskaren: Ett typiskt beteende	3		Opinion	Anger (in perspective)

2011.04.18	22	"Tog barnet och sprang"	6, 3, 3, 3		Wolf Attack	Fear
2011.04.26	23	"Biologisk mångfald är ett påhittat argument"	6, 3		Individual encounter/ Sighting	Suprised
2011.08.23	24	"VÅGADE INTE FLY"			Politics	
2011.08.25	25	Fick sällskap av varg på golfbana	2		Poaching	
2011.10.22	26	Nya turer om svensk vargjakt	3		Wolf Attack	Sad
2011.11.03	27	Inte lika accepterat att skjuta varg längre	1, 2, 4, 7		Threats	Politics
2011.11.08	28	Attackerades av varg – Majja avled av skadorna	1, 7		Threats	fear
2011.11.13	29	Förespråkade varg – fick sten i huvudet	7		Wolf Attack	
2011.04.17	30	Vargälskare blir kartlagda på internet	5		Wolf Behaviour	
2012.01.16	1	"Skjut bort rådjuren – bra för folhälsan"			Positive Impact	Ecosystem services
2012.03.26	2	Försökte döda varg med förgiftade korvar	4		Poaching	
2012.04. 03	3	Rovdjursfrågan avgörs i dag	2, 2		Politics	Management
2012.04. 04	4	300 vargar ska bli 450 – minst	3, 6, 2, 7		Management	Opinion, Politics
2012.04. 08	5	Roddan attackerades av varg	3, 6		Wolf Attack	
2012.04. 24	6	Plötsligt simmar en varg förbi...	3, 6		Individual encounter/ Sighting	Exited
2012.05.08	7	Jägare anhöllna efter helikopterjakt	7		Poaching	
2012.06.17	8	Jägareförbundet kritiserar för utspel	6	Gunnare Glöersen	Opinions	
2012.07.02	9	Så många vargar behöver Sverige	6		Report	Management
2012.09.06	10	"De hittade bara svansen"	3		Wolf Attack	Upset
2012.10.10	11	Vargjakten kan stoppas även nästa år			Hunt	Politics
2012.10.10	12	Troligt vargangrepp i södra Skåne	6		Wolf Attack	
2012.10.21	13	Varg skjuten i Ockelbo			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2012.11.01	14	Skolbarn hölls inne på grund av varg			Individual encounter/ Sighting	Fear
2012.11.12	15	Vargexpert: "På sikt kan vargen bli farlig"	5	Olof Liberg	Wolf Behaviour	
2012.11.13	16	Varg skjuten i Härjedalen			Hunt	
2012.11.13	17	Varg härjade bland skånska får	6		Wolf Attack	
2012.11.14	18	Oskygg varg höll barn inne – nu har den skjutits	6		Hunt	Individual encounter/ Sightin
2012.12.24	19	Naturvårdsverket öppnar för vargjakt			Hunt	Genetics
2012.12.24	20	Vargattack i Skåne			Wolf Attack	

Dagens Nyheter

2010.01.01	1	Historisk vargjakt i gynnsamt väder			Hunt	
2010.01.02	2	Första vargjakten väcker blandade känslor	7, 7, 7		Hunt	Emotions: Historical perspectives: Politics
2010.01.02	3	Flera vargar har skjutits	7, 6		Hunt	
2010.01.02	4	Naturskyddsföreningen anmäler vargjakt till EU	2		Politics	Hunt
2010.01.02	5	Jakten över snabbare än väntat	6, 7	Gunnar Glöersen	Hunt	Management
2010.01.03	6	Dalarna överskrider vargkvot	6, 6	Stig Åke Svennson	Hunt	Management
2010.01.04	7	Kritik om hetsig vargjakt	6, 7	Stig Åke Svennson	Hunt	Management
2010.01.05	8	Jaktbrott under vargjakten utreds	4, 6		Poaching	Hunt, Threats
2010.01.07	9	Anmälningar om jaktbrott avskrivs			Poaching	
2010.01.07	10	En varg återstår i licensjakten	6, 6		Hunt	
2010.01.07	11	Rovdjursföreningen kritisk mot skjutning av alfapar	6, 2		Loss of Alpha	Hunt. Politics, Research
2010.01.12	12	Friska vargar trots inavel	6		Health	
2010.01.12	13	Inavel hos få av de skjutna vargarna	6, 5, 6, 11	Olof Liberg	Genetics	Politics, Hunt, Opinion
2010.01.13	14	Vargtestiklar skars bort av jägare	6, 5	Olof Liberg	Genetics	Politics, Hunt, Opinion
2010.01.13	15	Carlgren försvarar vargjakten	1, 5,	Olof Liberg	Genetics	Politics, Hunt, Opinion, Management
2010.01.15	17	Forskare: Fler vargar borde skjutits	5, 1	Olof Liberg	Hunt/ Management	Politics, Opinion
2010.01.16	18	Olaglig vargjakt hävdar miljövänner	2,2,2		Hunt/ Management	Politics
2010.01.16	19	Vargarna hade 4.500 efter sig	7		Hunt	
2010. 01.20	20	Alla skjutna vargar i gott skick	6		Health	
2010.01.28	21	Forskar visar: Vargstammen för liten	11		Research	Genetics, Politics
2010.01.28	22	”Vårt beslut bygger på andra grunder”	6		Research	Genetics, Management
2010.01.28	23	Tjugo vargar ska tillföras den svenska stammen	1, 6		Management	Genetics, Politics
2010.01.28	24	Överskjutning av varg – igen	6, 4		Poaching/ Hunt	Management
2010.01.29	25	Skyddsjakt på varg i Jämtland			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2010.01.29	26	Rödgröna oeniga om vargjakt	1, 1, 1		Politics	
2010.01.29	27	Varg skjuten i Härjedalen			Hunt	

2010.02. 01	28	Jägarna betalar svensk viltforskning	11, 11		Research	Corruption/ Management
2010.02. 01	29	”Vi oroar oss för våra djur”	6, 2, 3, 3	Tom Arnbom	Reproduction	Emotions: Fear/ Exitement
2010.02. 01	30	Grovt jaktbrott misstänks efter fynd i Dalaskog	4		Poaching	
2010.02.09	31	Varg tjuvskjuten i Värmland			Poaching	
2010.02.12	32	Svenskarna rädda för björn och vildsvin	11		Emotions	Inter-Animal Perspective
2010.02.16	33	Nordanstig ska hållas vargfritt	1, 1		Politics	
2010.02.19	34	Varghona skjuten i Härjedalen			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2010.03.01	35	Varg på spåret	10		Wolf tourism	
2010. 03.04	36	Miljöministern hotar stoppa vargjakten	1		Management	
2010.03.11	37	Vargskador på tamdjur vanligast			Economic costs	Wolf Attack
2010.04. 07	40	Rovdjursstammarnas storlek utreds	1		Management	
2010.04. 14	41	Oklart var nya vargar ska hämtas	5	Olof Liberg	Management	Genetics/ Location
2010.04.29	42	Vill stoppa varg i Härjedalen	1		Politics	Opinion
2010.04.30	43	Vargkonflikt når ny hatnivå	6		Threats	Opinion
2010.05.04	44	Jägare vill ha dialog om vargjakt			Dialogue	
2010.05.10	45	Europas vargar har bytt skepnad			Wolf History	Evolution
2010.05.13	46	Vargungar födda i Stockholms län		Olof Liberg	Reproduction	
2010.05.15	47	Valpar i svensk-norska vargflockar			Reproduction	
2010.05.21	48	Död varg hittad vid Vänern			Drowned	
2010.06.09	49	Polisen utreder märkt vargs död			Poaching	
2010.06.10	50	Vargstammens framtida storlek utreds			Research	Management
2010.06.29	51	Jakt rubbar vargars sociala liv			Wolves social life	Hunt
2010.07.04	52	Värmländska tjänstemän beväpnas	6		Wolf Defense	
2010.07.16	53	Vargattacker mot får			Wolf Attacks	
2010.07.27	54	Falsa skyltar varnar för varg			Opinions	
2010.08.03	55	Kalv dödad av varg			Wolf Attacks	
2010.08.26	56	EU kräver svar om svensk vargjakt			Politics	Hunt, Manegement
2010.08.27	57	Varg skjuten i Dalarna			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2010.08.27	58	Närgången varg skjuts i Värmland			Individual encounters/ sightings	

2010.08.28	59	Illegal jakt på vargar ökar	1, 4		Poaching	
2010.08.28	60	Reinfeldt försvarar vargjakten	1		Politics	Hunt
2010.08.28	61	Närgången varg i Mårbacka skjuten	6		Hunt	
2010.09.10	62	Varg försvann med liten hund	6		Wolf Attacks	
2010.09.21	63	Varg rev bagge i Småland			Wolf Attacks	
2010.10.11	64	Stockholmare vill leva med varg	11		Opinions	
2010.10.30	65	Varg angrep hund – sköts ihjäl			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2010.11.29	66	Utländsk massprotest mot svensk vargjakt	6, 6		Opinions	Politics
2010.11.29	67	Vargprotester gav klagorekord hos JO			Opinions	Hunt
2010.12.01	68	Spår efter tre vargar funna nära Stockholm	6		Individual encounters/ sightings	
2010.12.01	69	Östliga vargar kan importeras	6		Import	Management
2010.12.02	70	Jakt på 20 till 29 vargar i vinter			Hunt	Management, Politics
2010.12.07	71	Vargar drunknade efter nedsövning			Drowned	
2010.12.17	72	20 vargar får fällas i vinter	6		Hunt	Management
2010.12.20	73	Vargar skjutna i skydds jakt			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2010.12.20	74	Jägare bojkottar vargjakt	7		Protest	Hunt
2010.12.23	75	EU ifrågasätter Sveriges vargpolitik	1,1,2		Politics	Hunt/ Management
2010.12.24	76	EU kritiserar Sverige för vargjakt	1, 2		Politics	Hunt/ Management
2011.01.07	1	EU skärper tonen om svensk vargjakt	1		Politics	Hunt, Management, International Perspective
2011.01.13	2	Vargjakten kan hamna i EU:s domstol	1		Politics	Hunt
2011.01.14	3	Vargaktivister på grova bilder	4, 2		Opinion	Hunt, Threats
2011.01.15	4	Färre hundar föll offer för varg			Wolf Attack	In Perspective
2011.01.15	5	Nu är vargjakten igång	7		Hunt	Management
2011.01.15	6	Vargkonflikten extra svår i Sverige	5	Olof Liberg	In Perspective	International
2011.01.16	7	Vargen söker skydd i Norge	2, 7		Hunt	Threats
2011.01.17	8	Flera alfadjur skjutna i vargjakten		Olof Liberg	Hunt	Management
2011.01.17	9	EU brottsanmälser svensk vargjakt	1		Politics	Hunt, (management)
2011.01.17	10	Varghanne skjuten i skydds jakt			Hunt	
2011.01.18	11	Vargjakt avlyst i Örebro län			Hunt	

2011.01.18	12	Vargjakten fortsätter i tre län			Hunt	
2011.01.20	13	Fem vargar jagas fortfarande	6, 7		Hunt	Threats
2011.01.21	14	Forskarkritik mot svensk vargjakt	5, 6, 6	Peter Wabakken	Management	Politics, Hunt, International Perspective, Animal
2011.01.21	15	Tio gånger fler vargar – men ingen jakt	6		International Perspective	Management, Politics
2011.01.23	16	Chatt om vargjakten				
2011.01.26	17	Två vargar kvar att skjuta			Hunt	
2011.01.27	18	Se miljöministerns pressträff om vargstammen			Politics	Hunt
2011.01.27	19	Djurparksvargar sätts ut redan i vår	1, 2		Management (genetics)	Politics
2011.01.27	20	EU inleder process mot vargjakten	1, 1		Politics	Management (genetics)
2011.01.28	21	Utsättning av vargvalpar döms ut	13, 1, 2		Politics	Management
2011.01.28	22	Nej till utsättning av vargvalpar	13		Management (genetics)	
2011.02.02	23	Många vargpar spräckta under jakten	6		Hunt	Wolves social life
2011.02.02	24	Skyddsjakt på skabbsmittad varg	6		Hunt	
2011.02.03	25	Död varg var skjuten tidigare	6		Hunt	Suspected Poaching
2011.02.05	26	Vargjakten snart i sitt slutskede	6		Hunt	Management, Politics
2011.02.05	27	Tolerans – till slut – i vargtätt Minnesota	?	Dan Stark	International Perspective	Animal Perspective
2011.02.05	28	Rysk varg kan stärka svenska stammen			Management	Immigration
2011.02.08	29	Olaglig vargjakt i Bollnäs			Poaching	
2011.02.09	30	Bardot arg på svensk vargjakt	?		Celebrity	Hunt, Politics
2011.02.09	31	Skabbsmittad närgången varg sköts			Hunt	Management
2011.02.13	32	Sista vargen jagas i Västmanland			Hunt	
2011.02.13	33	Trafikskadad varg sköts flera gånger	2, 6,		Traffic accident	Suspected Hunting crime, Opinions
2011.02.14	34	Jakt efter påkörd varg inget brott	4		Suspected Hunting Crime	
2011.02.15	35	Finland vill inte ge bort vargvalpar			Management: Import	(International perspective)
2011.02.15	36	Jakten slut — en varg slapp undan	5, 7	Olof Liberg	Hunt	
2011.02.19	37	Varg blev ihjälslagen			Poaching	
2011.02.21	38	Finsk-rysk varg snart bland svenska			Immigration	
2011.02.22	39	Belöning för tips om vargdödare			Rewards	Poaching
2011.02.24	40	Varg sikad i Flen	6		Individual encounters/ sightings	

2011.02.25	41	Vargar kan läsa våra blickar			Wolf Behaviour	Animal Perspective
2011.02.26	42	Såg varg utanför husknuten	3		Individual encounters/ sightings	Suprised
2011.03.18	43	Naturvårdsverket söker nytt hem för renrivande varg	6		Management (move)	Wolf Attacks
2011.03.21	44	Jämtländsk varg flyttad till Örebro	6		Management (move)	Genetics (immigration)
2011.03.24	45	"Vargproblemen hopar sig för regeringen"	11, 2, 7, 7	Petter Wabakken	Politics/ Management (genetics and hunt)	Opinion
2011.03.28	46	Jakt krävs för minskad inavel	1		Politics	
2011.03.30	47	Hundar troligen angripna av varg i Brottby	6		Wolf Attack	
2011.04.01	48	Lönande tips om vargdödare			Reward	Poaching
2011.04.08	49	Norsk varg bosatte sig i Bergslagen			Immigration	Genetics
2011.04.09	50	Fem vargar hade missbildningar			Genetics	
2011.04.09	51	Gällivarevarg flyttad till Dalarna			Management (move)	Wolf Attacks, Genetics
2011.04.11	52	Vilsen varg ville vila	6, 6		Individual encounters/ sightings	
2011.04.11	53	Utredning vill fördubbla antalet vargar			Reproduction: genetics	Management, Politics
2011.04.11	54	Jägare vill inte tro på fördubblad vargstam	7, 2	Gunnar Glöersen	Opinion	Research
2011.04.12	55	Räkna inte med vargar från Finland	11, 5	Olof Liberg	Management (genetics)	Poaching, Immigration
2011.04.13	56	Vargstammen fortsätter växa	6		Reproduction	Hunt
2011.04.15	57	Vilsen varg har vandrat till Halland	4		Individual encounters/ sightings	
2011.04.15	58	Skånevargen styr kosan norrut	6		Individual encounters/ sightings	
2011.04.16	59	Skånevargen sikad utanför Halmstad			Individual encounters/ sightings	
2011.04.17	60	Vargar attackerade barnfamilj	3, 6		Wolf Attack	
2011.04.17	61	"Extrem revirkänsla bakom vargattack"	5	Olof Liberg	Wolf Behaviour	
2011.04.19	62	"Jag tycker vargen hör hemma här"	2, 3, 7		Opinions	Threats, Demography
2011.04.19	63	Nya rop om skyddsjakt efter attack	7, 6		Wolf Attack	Hunt
2011.04.19	64	Arrendator vill skjuta vargar			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.04.20	65	Ansökan om skyddsjakt på varg			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.04.26	66	Varg oväntad gäst på golfbana			Individual encounters/ sightings	Suprised
2011.04.27	67	Jaktbrott misstänks efter vargfynd			Poaching	

2011.05.04	68	Flyttade vargar har rört på sig			Management (move)	
2011.05.09	69	Nej till skydds jakt på vargarna i Roslagen			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.05.07	70	Norsk vargtik i Kalmar län			Migration	
2011.05.10	71	Människan är naturens lieman			Human Global Impact	
2011.05.13	72	Vandringslust försvårar vargflytt	5	Olof Liberg	Management (move)	Wolf Behaviour
2011.05.15	73	Varg avlivad i Dockasberg	6		Hunt	Possible threat to cattle
2011.05.16	74	Sex får dödade av varg i Småland	6		Wolf Attack	
2011.05.18	75	Jägare kompenseras för vargflytt			Management (move)	Hunt
2011.05.27	76	Flytt av vargvalpar testas			Management (move)	
2011.06.02	77	Norsk varg tillbaka i Småland		Lasse Le Carlsson	Migration	
2011.06.15	78	Ingen skydds jakt på Rialavarg			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.06.16	79	Fortsatt skarp EU kritik om vargjakt	1, 2		Politics	Hunt
2011.06.30	80	Vargvalpsflytt går över förväntan			Management	Politics
2011.07.04	81	Vargattack mot får i Östergötland	6		Wolf Attack	
2011.07.12	82	Fjorton får dödade av varg i Närke			Wolf Attack	
2011.08.05	83	Varg rev får i södra Småland	6		Wolf Attack	
2011.08.08	84	Norge vill prata varg med Sverige			International collaboration	Management
2011.08.08	85	Vargsamarbete på gång i Norden	6		International collaboration	Management
2011.08.12	86	Värdefulla vargar flyttas			Management (move)	International collaboration
2011.08.15	87	Ny vargattack på får i Östergötland			Wolf Attack	Hunt
2011.08.17	88	1.000 vargar utan tjuvjakt	11		Poaching	Management
2011.08.17	89	Ingen vargjakt i vinter	1		Management	Hunt
2011.08.23	91	Nya turer om svensk vargjakt			Hunt/ Management	Politics
2011.08.23	92	Skydds jakt på varg i Östergötland			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.08.25	93	WWF: Minskad tjuvjakt på varg			Poaching	
2011.08.29	94	Två anhöllna för tjuvjakt på varg			Poaching	
2011.09.11	95	Svårt att lösa jaktbrott	4		Poaching	
2011.09.16	96	Lyckad flytt av vargvalpar	13		Management (move)	Genetics

2011.09.19	97	Ingen skydds jakt på småländsk varg			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.09.22	98	Jägare fryser vargsamarbete			Stopped collaboration	Opinions
2011.09.28	99	Vargen sänker jaktarrenden			Economic costs	
2011.09.28	100	Kräver att få jaga varg i trädgården	2, 7		Hunting rights	Fear
2011.10.02	101	Östgötavarg dödade igen			Wolf Attack	
2011.10.04	102	Vargar åker gärna snål skjuts	11, 11 (behavioural ecology)		Wolf Behaviour	
2011.10.06	103	Vill ha skydds jakt på varg i Småland	6		Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.10.10	104	Norsk varg i Småland river			Wolf Attack	
2011.10.11	105	Allt närmare skydds jakt på Kynnavarg			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.10.14	106	Varg i Kronoberg får skjutas	6		Hunt	Wolf Attack (genetics)
2011.10.15	107	Varg i Värmland sköts under älgjakt			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.10.17	108	Sökt varg skjuten i Östergötland	6		Hunt	
2011.10.23	109	Jägare dödade varg i ”hundförsvär”	6		Hunt (suspected poaching)	Wolf Attack
2011.10.27	110	Varför är du rädd för vargen?	11		Fear (Psychology)	
2011.10.28	112	Hit kan vargen komma	6		Management (placement)	
2011.10.28	113	Dödshot mot vargdrabbad fåregare			Threats	Hunt
2011.10.30	114	Varghonan i Småland gäcker jägarna	7		Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.10.31	115	”Tjuvjakten på varg ökar”	6, 6, 6		Poaching	
2011.11.01	116	Vargforskare: Illegala jakten ökar inte alls		Olof Liberg	Poaching	
2011.11.01	117	Hit ska vargarna flyttas			Management (move)	
2011.11.01	118	Länsstyrelsen står inte bakom vargutspel	6		Poaching	
2011.11.01	119	Småländsk vargjakt kan förlängas			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.11.02	120	Varg kan få frist i helgen			Hunt	
2011.11.03	121	Två län oeniga om småländsk vargjakt			Hunt	Management
2011.11.05	122	Anmäls för jäv för yttrande om varg			Corruption	
2011.11.10	123	Vargen Kynna åter ett jagat djur			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.11.10	124	Vargboom kan väntas			Reproduction	
2011.11.12	125	Vargen Kynna skjuten			Hunt	

2011.11.16	126	Utökad skydds jakt på varg	1, 6		Management: Hunt	
2011.11.18	127	Nytt parti vill utrota vargen			Politics	Opinions
2011.11.18	128	”Om fem år vill inte en kotte bo på landsbygden”	1		Politics	Opinions
2011.11.24	129	Varg misstänkt för tio fårs död	6		Wolf Attack	
2011.12.01	130	Museum vill visa upp Kynnas skinn	10		Museum	
2011.12.05	131	Djurvänner vill utreda löshundsjakt			Management: Hunt	
2011.12.05	132	Hundratals i protest mot vargpolitik	6		Politics	Protest
2011.12.13	133	Ville skjuta politiker som vargar			Threats	
2011.12.13	134	Vargar släppta i Västergötland			Hunt	
2011.12.16	135	EU har fortsatt koll på vargjakten	1,1		Politics/ Management	Hunt
2011.12.22	136	Plan för livskraftiga rovdjur			Management	
2011.12.27	137	Kryddad jakthund ska skydda mot varg	7		Protective measures	
2011.12.29	138	Här rullar sig vargen framför kameran		Olof Liberg	Individual encounters/ sightings	Exitement
2012.01.03	1	Flyttad vargtik återvänder norrut	6		Management: move	Reproduction
2012.01.13	2	Stockholm vill fördubbla vargstammen	6		Management: Reproduction	
2012.01.13	3	Fler vargar får fällas i skydds jakt	1, 6		Hunt	Politics
2012.01.16	4	Nej till vargjakt i Dalarna			Management: Hunt	
2012.01.18	5	Flyttvargens sändare hittad			Moved wolf lost	
2012.01.19	6	Varg kan ha jagats av snöskotrar	4		Possible Poaching	
2012.01.20	7	Belöning ska lösa tjuvjakt	2		Reward	
2012.01.24	8	Tätortsvargar tassar runt i Hagfors	1		Individual encounters/ sightings	Hunt
2012.01.26	9	Ingen känns vid förgiftat svin	4		Attempted poaching	
2012.01.28	10	Ny varg sikad i Småland	6		Individual encounters/ sightings	
2012.01.29	11	EU hårdgranskar svensk vargjakt	1		Politics	Management: Hunt: Decrease polarisation
2012.02.01	12	Varg sköts från helikopter			Hunt	
2012.02.03	13	Varg flyttas för tredje gången			Management: move	
2012.02.08	14	Norrtälje-varg har försvunnit	6		Lost wolf	
2012.02.09	15	Varg dödad från helikopter			Hunt	

2012.02.13	16	Ny lag kan stoppa utsättning av vargvalpar	1, 6		Management: Reproduction	Laws, autonomy, secrecy
2012.02.13	17	Skolskjuts som skydd mot varg			Protective measures	Fear
2012.02.15	18	Många vargvalpar i Värmland	6		Reproduction	
2012.02.15	19	Skyddsjakt på skadad varg			Hunt	
2012.02.16	20	Haltande varg får skjutas			Hunt	
2012.02.28	21	Varg i Uppsalatrakten	6		Individual encounters/ sightings	
2012.02.28	22	Flyttad varghona tillbaka i Jämtland			Migration	
2012.03.06	23	Vargflyttning för miljoner	6, 6		Economic impact	Management: move
2012.03.07	24	Fler vargangrepp på tamdjur	6		Wolf Attacks	Economic impact
2012.03.08	25	Jägare vägrar eftersök som protest	7		Opinion: Protest	
2012.03.12	26	Dödade varg – åtalas för tjuvjakt			Poaching	
2012.03.12	27	Vargvalpar vållar motstånd	2, 6		Management: Reproduction, genetics	Politics, opinion
2012.03.13	28	Ryska vargar kan flyttas till svenska djurparker	6		Management: Import, Genetics: Health	
2012.03.13	29	Omkring 300 vargar i landet			Population	
2012.03.13	30	Antik syn på vargen lever än	11		Emotions: Fears: Attitudes	
2012.03.22	31	Nej till jakt på finskrysk vargtik			Hunt	
2012.03.29	32	Ingen flytt av vargvalpar i vår			Management: move	Import
2012.04.03	33	Markägare som underlättar för vargar kan få ersättning	6		Management: genetics: hunt: move: migration: importation	
2012.04.03	34	"Stora brister i rovdjursutredningen"	7, 14		Management	Opinions, emotions
2012.04.11	35	Varggranskare i dubbla roller	6, 6		Corruption	
2012.04.11	36	Spår hittade efter ny vargunge i Riala	6		Wolf social life/ health/ reproduction	
2012.04.11	37	Utan varg exploderar älgstammen			Positive Impact: Ecosystem services	
2012.04.12	38	Vargar dödar många sjuka älgar			Positive Impact: Ecosystem services	
2012.04.17	39	Tre vargar får skjutas i Dalarna			Hunt	
2012.04.18	40	Besiktande jägare inte jävig	6		Management	
2012.04.20	41	Vargar skjutna under skyddsjakt			Hunt	
2012.04.21	42	Kynna snart tillbaka i Småland			Museum	
2012.04.24	43	Bonde sköt varg i fårhage			Wolf Attacks	Hunt

2012.04.25	44	Simmande varg i Mälaren	3, 6	Johan Månsson	Individual encounters/ sightings	exitement
2012.05.06	45	Död varg kan vara förgiftad	4		suspected poaching	
2012.05.08	46	Fyra anhållna för vargjakt			suspected poaching	
2012.05.09	47	Fyra häktade för tjuvjakt på varg			Poaching	
2012.05.10	48	Fyra jägare häktade i Dalarna			Poaching	
2012.05.12	49	Ny varg rev får i södra Småland	6		Wolf Attacks	
2012.05.16	50	Vargvarning i Skåne			Move/ Migration	
2012.05.19	51	Sköt varg som jagade får	4		Hunt	
2012.05.31	52	Analys ska fastställa hur få vargar får bli			Politics	Management
2012.06.07	53	Kommitté för utökat varguppdrag			Management	Politics
2012.06.09	54	Varg sprider oro hos motionärer	7		Individual encounters/ sightings	
2012.06.19	55	Skyddsjakt på tre vargar i Värmland			Hunt	
2012.06.22	56	Skyddsjakt på varg i Östhammar	6		Hunt	Wolf Attack
2012.06.26	57	M vill lätta rovdjurstrycket	1		Politics	
2012.07.02	58	Forskare: 100 vargar behövs			Report	Management
2012.08.06	59	Varg dödade 31 får nära Stockholm			Wolf Attacks	
2012.08.23	60	Våld i djurens namn			Threats	Extremism
2012.08.24	61	Urban ungvarg flyttade till Jämtland			Individual encounters/ sightings	
2012.09.11	62	Vargstammen kan ha stagnerat			Population	
2012.10.01	63	Varg dödade småländska får			Wolf Attacks	
2012.10.08	64	Varg dödades vid älgjakt			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2012.10.10	65	Naturvårdsverket: Ingen vargjakt nu heller	6, 1		Politics	Management: Hunt, genetics
2012.10.10	66	Troligt vargangrepp i södra Skåne	6		Wolf Attacks	
2012.10.16	67	Nya problem för värdefull vargtik			Individual encounters/ sightings	Management: move
2012.10.18	68	Varglikt djur siktat i Uppsala	6, 6		Individual encounters/ sightings	
2012.10.19	69	Minst 380 vargar behövs			Managment plan	Population
2012.10.19	70	"Detta kan riskera utrotning av vargstammen"	1, 2, 2,2,7	Tom Arnbom	Managment plan	Population
2012.10.19	71	Varglikt djur i Uppsala troligen varg	4, 6		Individual encounters/	"Vargfrossa"

					sightings	
2012.10.21	72	Varg skjuten i Ockelbo			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2012.11.01	73	Varg rev hund utanför Jönköping			Wolf Attacks	
2012.11.05	74	Viktig vargtik har bildat revir			Individual encounters/ sightings	
2012.11.08	75	Varg får stanna i renbete			Management: Move	
2012.11.13	76	Varg sågs i centrala Örebro	4		Individual encounters/ sightings	
2012.11.13	77	Varg skjuten i Härjedalen			Hunt	
2012.11.13	78	Varg härjade bland Ravlundafåren			Wolf Attacks	
2012.11.13	79	En varg fälld och ännu en på gång			Hunt	
2012.11.14	80	Söderbärke-varg skjuten			Hunt	
2012.11.20	81	Skyddsjakt på varg i Idre			Hunt	
2012.12.06	82	Vargar spårade i Vallentuna	6		Individual encounters/ sightings	
2012.12.12	83	Varg fotograferad i Lilla Beddinge			Individual encounters/ sightings	
2012.12.17	84	Naturvårdsverket öppnar för vargjakt	6, 2, 1		Management: Hunt	
2012.12.19	85	Tre vargar avlivade i Jämtland			Hunt	
2012.12.20	86	Svenskar motståndare till vargjakt			Opinion	
2012.12.20	87	EU sågar planer på svensk vargjakt	1, 2, 7		Politics	Management: Hunt
2012.12.21	88	Ännu en varg avlivad i Jämtland			Hunt	
2012.12.22	89	32 vargar får skjutas nästa år			Management: Hunt	
2012.12.23	90	Vargen kommer till Sydsverige	6, 6, 5	Olog Liberg	Move/ migration	Negative impacts, opinion, poaching
2012.12.24	91	Troligt vargangrepp i Skåne			Wolf Attacks	
2012.12.27	92	Sköt hund i huvudet – trodde det var en varg			????	
2012.12.27	93	Skjuten varg utreds av polisen			Poaching	

Värmlands Folkblad

/F 2010	Nr	News article topics/ title	Stakeholders	"Experts"	Theme	Sub Theme/s
2010.01.01	1	1 000 jägare drar i dag ut i Värmlandsskogarna	6		Hunt	
2010.01.02	2	Vargjakten avblåst	6		Hunt	
2010.01.04	3	Några timmar – så var nio djur fällda	7, 7		Hunt	

2010.01.04	4	Skjutna vargar besiktigade	6		Control	
2010.01.04	5	"Jag är stolt och nöjd över hur det sköts"			Hunt	Management
2010.01.05	6	Göteborgare tycker att Torsby ska bli vargmetropol			Wolf Tourism	
2010.01.05	7	Vargjägare mordhotades – jakten upprör	7, 7, 6, 9	Gunnar Glöersen	Threats	
2010.01.05	8	– Både länsstyrelsen och jägarna ska ha beröm för välskött vargjakt	7	Gunnar Glöersen	Hunt management	
2010.01.06	9	Inga vargföräldradjur skjutna		Olof Liberg	Hunt	
2010.01.05	10	Polisen undersöker misstanke om jaktbrott	4		Suspected crime	
2010.01.07	11	Inga vargar föräldralösa efter jakten		Olof Liberg	Management	
2010.01.07	12	Riksjägarna ville skjuta 103 djur i stället för 27			No wolves	
2010.01.08	13	Klar majoritet stödde licensjakten			Opinion	Politics
2010.01.09	14	Jaktvårdskrets vill skjuta sjuk varg i By			Mercy kill	
2010.01.12	15	Skabbvarg skjuten i Svenneby	4, 6		Hunt: Mercy	Poaching?
2010.01.15	16	Vargexpert vill avliva utvalda valpar		Anders Bjärvall		
2010.01.21	17	De flesta skjutna vargarna var i god kondition			Management: Wolf health: Genetics	
2012.01.28	18	Vargskyttar offentliga	7, 4, 6	Gunnar Glöersen	Hunters names public	Management
2012.01.28	19	Sista vargen skjuten			Hunt	
2012.01.29	20	Flytt av vargar förbereds			Politics: Management	Hunt/ Genetics
2012.01.29	21	"Bra att man inte har för bråttom"	7	Gunnar Glöersen	Politics: Management	
2012.01.29	22	SNF kräver omedelbart stopp för vargjakten	2		Politics: Management/ Hunt	
2010.02.09	23	Varg tjuvskjuten	4, 6		Poaching	
2010.02.10	24	– Hjälp polisen att få fast tjuvjägarna!	7			
2010.02.18	25	Länsstyrelsen får besluta om förlängd skyddsjakt	7		Management	
2010.02.22	26	Vargjakten påverkade inte synen på jagandet			Opinion	
2010.02.22	27	Ingen varg kunde märkas i Värmland	6		Management: Mark	
2010.02.27	28	Vargfrågan i SVT-dokumentär	9		Documentary	Opinions
2010.03.05	29	Ministern skärper tonen – varg ska planteras ut			Politics: Management/ Hunt/ genetics/ move	
2010.03.05	30	Nu är vargjakten EU-anmäl	2		Politics	
2010.03.06	31	Arne "chansar" med vargar			Photographer	

2010.03.11	32	Vargar orsakar mest problem	6		Wolf Attacks: Economic Impact	Animal Perspective
2010.03.16	33	Värmlandsvarg på film i stadshuset			Photographer	
2010.03.31	34	Jägare hotar att JO-anmäla	7, 4	Gunnar Glöersen	Fear of threats	
2010.04.02	35	Länsstyrelsen kritisk till uppgift om 18 vargar		Lars Furuholm	Inventory	
2010.04.21	36	Intern jägarkritik			Internal Struggle	
2010.04.24	37	De ska bestämma hur viltet ska förvaltas			Management	
2010.04.29	38	Systematisk tjuvjakt på varg	Illegal hunters		Poaching	Opinion
2010.05.03	39	Glöersen tror inte på hemligt nätverk	7	Gunnar Glöersen		
2010.05.05	40	Jägareförbundet vill ha bred dialog			Dialogue	
2010.05.09	41	Polisen tipsades om hemliga vargnätverket	7	Gunnar Glöersen		
2010.05.14	42	Majoritet av jägare nöjda med vargjakten			Opinion	Research
2010.06. 09	43	Död varg hittades av skogsarbetare	4		Dead wolf	
2010.06.10	44	Nyskogavargen utreds som jaktbrott	4		Dead wolf	
2010.06.22	45	Fångade varg på bild	3		Individual encounters/ sightsings	
2010.07.03	46	Tveksamt om det blir nya vargar i Värmland	6	Lars Furuholm	Management: Wolf move	
2010.07.03	47	Tjänstemän beväpnar sig	6	Lars Furuholm	Protection against wolves	
2010.08.06	48	Åtta får rivna i vargattack			Wolf Attack	Economic loss
2010.08.11	49	USA-modell kan ge svar på vargfrågan		Lars Furuholm	Management in an international perspective	
2010.08.12	50	Avkomma till rysk varg kan ha slagit sig ned i Värmland		Olof Liberg	Migration: Genetics	
2010.08.14	51	Vill skjuta en ”mycket oskygg” varg			Hunt	
2010.08.19	52	Vill ändra rovdjurspolitiken			Opinion	
2010.08.19	53	Varg synlig i kohage - ansöker om skyddsjakt			Hunt	
2010.08.27	54	Vargjakten ifrågasätts av EU-kommissionen		Gunnar Glöersen	Politics	
2010.08.27	55	Varg ska skjutas i Mårbacka		Lars Furuholm	Hunt	
2010.09.14	56	Vargattack på gård mellan Filipstad och Forshyttan – nio får dödades	6	Lars Furuholm	Wolf Attack	
2010.09.28	57	Ansökan om skyddsjakt efter vargangrepp			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2010.10.09	58	Ny hemsida för rovdjursrapportering	6	Lars Furuholm	Observations: Website	
2010.10.13	59	Jakthund vargdödad			Wolf Attack	

2010.10.19	60	Länsstyrelsen JO-anmäls för skydds jakt på varg			Critique of management	
2010.10.22	61	Djurägare ersätts med 18 375 kronor			Compensation	
2010.10.22	62	Ström av JO-anmälningar mot skydds jakt på vargar			Critique of management	
2010.10.27	63	Vargrivet lamm ersätts			Compensation	
2010.10.30	64		4		Hunt, poaching?	
2010.11.03	65	Varg skjuten i Värnäs			Management: move/ genetics	Economic costs
2010.11.05	66	Valpar från djurparker bästa sättet få in nytt vargblod			Jägarnas Riksförbund: Opinion	
2010.11.09	67	Jägare säger nej till varginplantering			Opinion	
2010.11.25	68	Rovdjursföreningen kräver nej till vargjakt	2, 2		Management critique: politics, threats	
2010.12.08	69	Naturvårdsverket JO-anmält för vargjakten			Compensation	Wolf attack
2010.12.17	70	Ersättning för vargangrepp	6		Managmenet: Hunt	
2010.12.18	71	Fortsatt licensjakt på varg – sex får skjutas i Värmland	2, 7, 6	Lars Furuholm, Gunnar Glöersen	Management Critique Opinion	
2010.12.22	71	Kritik från naturskydd – och jägare		Olof Liberg	Genetics, Management	
2011.01.02	1	Ingen vargjakt väster om Torsby			Hunt: Conservation: Genetics	
2011.01.05	2	Filipstadsjägare bojkottar vargjakt	6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt: Protest: Opinion	
2011.01.11	3	Hårdare tag mot illegal vargjakt	6	Lars Furuholm	Poaching	Politics
2011.01.11	4	Varggrupp hotar att störa vargjakten	2, 7		Protest	
2011.01.14	5	Spårningen får börja idag	6, 6, 7, 7	Lars Furuholm	Hunt	
2011.01.14	6	Ingen jakt i Skugg- höjdenreviret			Hunt	
2011.01.15	7	Lyckades fånga varg på bild			Individual encounter/ Sighting: Picture	
2011.01.15	8	Svenska Rovdjursföreningen kräver jaktstopp			Politics: Hunt	
2011.01.15	9	Aktivister störde vargjakten	7		Protest	
2011.01.16	10	Årets första vargar skjutna			Hunt	
2011.01.16	11	Halva vargkvoten kvar	7, 6		Hunt	
2011.01.17	12	Lugnare jaktstart i år även för länsstyrelsen	6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt	Management
2011.01.17	13	Jägarna fick vänta länge på vargen	7, 7, 7, 7		Hunt	

2011.01.17	14	Jägare utsatta för hot	7, 7, 7		Threats	Hunt
2011.01.17	15	Missnöje ledde till bojkott	7		Protest	Threats/ Hunt
2011.01.17	16	Varg nummer fyra skjuten – två kvar på licensen	6, 6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt	Management
2011.01.18	17	Årets femte varg skjuten – eller inte?	6, 6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt	Management
2011.01.20	18	Två vargar återstår fortfarande	6, 7	Lars Furuholm, Gunnar Glöersen	Hunt	
2011.01.20	19	Vargjakten på sparlåga	6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt	
2011.01.24	20	Femte vargen skjuten			Hunt	
2011.01.26	21	Sista vargen skjuten	6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt	
2011.01.27	22	Vargvalpar sätts ut i april	1		Repopulate	Politics
2011.01.27	23	Oklart om det blir några nya vargar i Värmland	6	Lars Furuholm	Repopulate	Politics
2011.01.27	24	”Ett beslut som inte ska hetsas fram”	7	Gunnar Glöersen	Opinion: Management	Politics
2011.02.02	25	Närgången skabbvarg ska skjutas			Hunt	
2011.02.03	26	Svårt att hitta plats att sätta ut varg i Värmland		Lars Furuholm	Management: repopulation	
2011.02.05	27	Möjlig fördubbling av vargstammen i Värmland		Lars Furuholm	Managment: reproduction	
2011.02.09	28	Skabbvarg skjuten på nära håll		Lars Furuholm	Hunt	Management: Repopulation
2011.02.13	29	Jaktbrott vid eftersök av varg?	6, 4, 6, 6		Hunt/ suspected poaching	
2011.02.14	30	Ingen förundersökning om misstänkt jaktbrott	4	Lars Furuholm	Hunt/ suspected poaching	
2011.02.24	31	Jägare kritiserar miljöministern	7		Opinion: Hunt	
2011.02.25	32	Jägare säger nej till eftersök	7, 7, 4		Protest	
2011.03.11	33	Hund dödad av varg i Lakene	6		Wolf Attack	
2011.03.16	34	Fem vargar fångade på bild	3		Individual encounter/ Sighting: Picture	In Awe
2011.03.26	35	Färre vargdödade hundar	6	Lars Furuholm	Wolf Attack	
2011.03.28	36	Flyttvargen inne i Värmland	6	Lars Furuholm	Wolf migration: genetics	
2011.04. 11	37	Jägare rasar mot vargrapport	6, 7, 2		Opinions, Politics, managment	
2011.05.06	38	Skånevargen är värmlänning	6, 6 Silvia	Nils Carlsson,	Migration: Wolf behaviour	

2011.05.12	39	Licensjakten på varg bromsade inte tjuvskyttarna	4, 4	Lars Furuholm	Poaching: politics	
2011.05.14	40	"Tjuvjakt har visst minskat"	7, 7	Gunnar Glöersen	Poaching: politics	
2011.07.14	41	Tio får dödades av varg			Wolf Attack	
2011.08.17	42	Ingen vargjakt i vinter			Hunt: Politics	
2011.08.18	43	Ingen licensjakt på varg i vinter			Hunt: Politics	
2011.08.18	44	Hund togs av vargen – precis utanför huset	3, 3	Lars Furuholm	Wolf Attack	sorrow
2011.08.18	45	Centern kritisk till vargbeslut	1		Politics: Hunt	
2011.08.25	46	Kraftig minskning av illegal vargjakt	7	Gunnar Glöersen	Poaching, politics,	opinion
2011.09.07	47	Hopp om enighet i rovdjursfrågan	7, 6, 2, 1	Lars Furuholm	Politics: Hunt, population	
2011.09.20	48	Jägarupprop för minskad vargstam – Naturskyddsföreningen kritisk till utspelet	2, 7		Protest	
2011.09.30	49	Jägareförbundet i Dalarna vill jaga varg i trädgårdar	7		Hunt: Autonomy	
2011.10.15	50	Varg skjuten av älgjägare			Hunt	Wolf Attack
2011.10.17	51	Jägaren berättar om vargattacken	7	Gunnar Glöersen	Hunt: Wolf Attack: Fear/ chock	
2011.10.17	52	Ännu en påskjuten varg vid älgjakt	6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt: Wolf Attack	
2011.10.19	53	Påskjutna vargen ännu försvunnen	6		Hunt: Wolf: Search	
2011.10.24	54	Varg påskjuten efter hundattack			Wolf Attack: Hunt	
2011.10.28	55	Jägare vill skjuta alla vargar i Jangenreviret	7, 7		Hunt: Economic costs	
2011.11.01	56	Värmland säger nej till inplanterade vargar			No to import	
2011.11.07	57	Hund dödad av varg		Lars Furuholm	Wolf Attack	
2011.11.12	58	Länsstyrelsen: "Vargboomen är här"		Lars Furuholm, Olof Liberg	Repopulation	
2011.11.15	59	Samsyn om rovdjur efterlyses	7, 7, 6 ,1, 1, 1, 1	Lars Furuholm, Gunnar Glöersen	Negotiations: management: Politics	
2011.11.16	60	Oro för varg kan räcka för skyddsjakt			Management: Hunt: Politics: Autonomy	
2011.11.17	61	Expert är skeptisk till ändrad skyddsjakt på varg	6	Lars Furuholm	Management: Hunt: Politics: Autonomy	
2011.11.21	62	Filipstadsjägare får vänta på besked om vargjakt	6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt: Wolf Attack	
2011.11.29	63	Varg misstänks ha dödat	4		Suspected poaching	
2011.11.29	64	Miljöminister Ek i möte om vargen	1, 1		Politics	

2011.12.06	65	500 krävde ny rovdjurspolitik	7, 7, 7, 6- LRF		Protest: Politics: Management: Autonomy: Population	
2011.12.13	66	Väntläge råder för vargjaktsansökningar	6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt: wolf attack	
2012.01.05	1	Jägarnas Riksförbund vill utrota vargen	7, 7, 6, 2	Gunnar Glöersen	Jägarnas Riksförbund: Protest	
2012.01.19	2	Eftersöksjägare säger upp sig			Protest	
2012.01.24	3	Vargvalpar ska placeras i Värmland	6	Lars Furuholm	Management: repopulation	
2012.01.24	4	Nytt vargrevir i Hagfors	1		Sightings. New territory	Fear: hunt
2012.02.07	5	Hagfors vill ha skyddsjakt på vargar	6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt, sightings	
2012.02.08	6	Fensbolsvargen får skjutas	6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt	
2012.02.14	7	Lag stoppar utplantering av varg	7	Gunnar Glöersen	Protest: repopulation, politics	
2012.02.14	8	– Sannolikheten att vi får nej är stor	6		Protest: repopulation, politics	
2012.02.14	9	Dalapolitiker tycker Värmland ska bestämma om varg	1		Politics: repopulation	
2012.02.16	10	Jagad Torsbyvarg har dragit sin kos	6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt	
2012.02.17	11	Djurparker skeptiska till valputplacering	6	Lars Furuholm	Repopulation	
2012.02.24	12	Vargflock synlig i Asphyttan	3		Individual encounters/ Sightings	Caution
2012.02.27	13	Ingen mer skyddsjakt på Torsbyvarg	6	Lars Furuholm	Wolf left, hunt	
2012.02.29	14	Nej till vargjakt i Hagfors	6	Lars Furuholm	Hunt	
2012.03.02	15	Djurparker ställer sig bakom utplantering av varg	13		Repopulation	
2012.03.02	16	Länsstyrelsen betalar för viltskador			Compensation	
2012.03.20	17	Regeringen förtydligar sig om vargjakten			Politics	Management: Hunt, repopulation (import)
2012.03.20	18	Kommunalråd talar på extremmöte mot varg	1		Opinions: Politics	
2012.03.20	19	Djurfälla påträffad i Koppomstrakten – jaktbrott misstänks			Poaching	
2012.03.22	20	Rovdjur inget terrorhot – arrangörerna backar	1, 3		Politics, opinion	
2012.03.26	21	500 på rovdjursmanifestation	1, 3, 7, 7		Protest	
2012.04.03	22	Utredare vill ha fler vargar			Management, politics	
2012.04.04	23	Furuholm: "Svåraste frågan har undvikits"	6	Lars Furuholm	Management: Population	
2012.04.04	24	Bönder och jägare gör tummen ner	LRF 7		Opinion: management	

2012.04.11	25	Rovdjursblogg släcktes ner efter personangrepp			Slander, Opinion	
2012.04.18	26	Tre nya revir har tillkommit – och tre försvunnit	6	Lars Furuholm	Territories	Less impact
2012.05.07	27	Död varg hittad – kan ha förgiftats	4		Poaching	
2012.05.08	28	Varg dödade hund			Wolf Attack	
2012.05.30	29	Kadaver efter misstänkt varg hittat			Dead wolf	
2012.06.20	30	Död varg hittad utanför Filipstad			Dead wolf	
2012.06.21	31	Skydds jakt på varg kritiseras			Management: Hunt: Opinion	
2012.06.21	32	Död djurkropp var varg			Dead wolf	
2012.07.16	33	Åtta uthängda på ”varghatarsajt”			Slander, Opinion	
2012.08.06	34	Hundar angripna av varg hemma på gården	3		Wolf Attack	fear
2012.09.28	35	Vargspaning i stadsmiljö	6	Lars Furuholm	Looking for wolf	
2012.10.11	36	”Vargjaksfrågan har blivit ett politiskt spel”	7, 1, 1	Gunnar Glöersen	Politics	
2012.11.05	37	Manifestation mot rovdjur längs 62:an			Protest	
2012.11.16	38	Nu tar Maria över ansvaret för Värmlands rovdjur	6, 6		New manager	
2012.11.21	39	Tandlöse Elvis blev troligen vargmat			Wolf Attack	
2012.11.28	40	420 000 för att stärka vargstammen	6		Management,	Economic cost, Immigration
2012.12.19	41	Protester mot vargjaksplaner	2		Opinion: management	
2012.12.27	42	Misstänkt tjuvjakt på varg			Poaching	

Appendix III

References to academia

Aftonbladet

Topic	Content	Academic field	Institutions	Publication
Shoot the deers- good for public health (Aft. 2012:Nr 1)	Wolves and lynx can have a positive impact by mitigating the tick problem	Professor in Infektionsmedicin	Uppsala University	

Dagens Nyheter

Topic	Content	Academic field	Institutions	Publication
The national predator association is critical to shooting alpha pare (DN 2010:Nr 11)	The shooting of alpha can have impact on wolves social behaviours	Brainerd et al. (2006)*	Brainerd et al. (2006)*	"Effects of Breeder Loss on Wolves" Journal of Wildlife Management
Inbreeding is rare among the shot wolves (DN 2010:Nr 13)	States that preventing inbreeding is not a viable argument for hunt	Evolutionary Biology	Uppsala university	
Scientists show: Wolf population is too small (DN 2010:Nr 21)	Sweden's predator investigation has come to wrongful conclusion regarding the Swedish wolf tribe that now is too small and in the risk of suffer severe genetically caused diseases	- Zoologist/ Bone pathologist - Scientist of the wolf population in Isle Royale (USA)	- National museum of Natural History in Stockholm - Technological university of Michigan	
20 wolves should be added to the Swedish tribe (DN 2010:Nr 23)	Questions the notion that licensed hunting is an efficient tool to increase acceptance of the wolf		- SLU - Lund university - Uppsala university - Species databank - National Museum of Natural History in Stockholm	
Hunters are paying for Swedish wildlife research (DN 2010:Nr 28)	The Swedish hunting association controls all or parts of Swedish wildlife research	Population-Genetics	- Grimsö research centre, - NCA - Stockholms universitet	

Swedes afraid of bears and wild boars (DN 2010:Nr 32)	Swedes has as of late become more afraid of wildlife	Wildlife Ecology	SLU	
European wolves has changed their appearance (DN 2010:Nr 45)	The European wolf has changed dramatically in terms of genetics throughout the years			The scientific journal BMC evolutionary biology
Hunt impacts wolves social lives (DN 2010:Nr 51)	Loss of alpha causes behavioural changes in wolves	Biologist/ Geneticist	Trent University	Scientific journal biological conservation
People from Stockholm want to live with wolves (DN 2010:Nr 64)	Attitudes to wolves in regards to demographics: "Co-existence improves with quick decisions regarding protective hunt and regional influence"	Wildlife Ecology	SLU	
Scientists critical to Swedish wolf hunt (DN 2011:Nr 14)	"I can no longer explain Swedish wolf management": Norway and Sweden need better co-ordination. Its all politics	Wolf researcher	Skandulv	
Wolves can read our gaze (DN 2011:Nr 41)	Wolves are surprisingly good cognitive abilities at an early age		University of Wiena	Public library of science
Do not count on wolves from Finland (DN 2011:Nr55)	The wolves are too weak to be able to migrate to the extent that has been expected			
Humanity is nature's grim reaper (DN 2011:Nr 71)	The most common cause of death among animals is humans. More than half of all big or average sized animals that die in nature dies by human hand (Shot, traps or hit by cars)	• Biologists • Wildlife ecologist	• New York State Museum,	Animal Conservation
1000 wolves without poaching (DN 2011:Nr 88)	Without poaching the Swedish wolf tribe been 1000 individuals		• Grimsö research station • Bergslagen	Proceedings of the Royal society

			• LTH	
Wolves are prone to free-ride (DN 2011:Nr 102)	Wolf hunting patterns/ Behaviour	- Scientist of the wolf population in Isle Royale (USA) - Behavioural ecology		
Why are you scared of the wolf? (DN 2011:Nr 110)		Environmental Psychology		
Antique perception of the wolf still exists (DN 2012:Nr 30)	The way we perceive the wolf can help us to understand the conflict	- Historian of ideas - Ide historia	Stockholm university	
Without wolves to moose population will explode (DN 2012:Nr 37)	Top predators hugely important for the ecosystem The research not necessarily applicable to Swedish conditions	- Ecologists, - Wolf researcher	- Oregon State University, USA, - SLU	European Journal of wildlife research

Värmlands Folkblad

Topic	Content	Academic field	Institutions	Publication
The majority of hunters satisfied with the wolf hunt (VF 2010:Nr 42)	Research that challenges common perceptions in the media: Most hunters want to have a sustainable wolf management	Research on Public Sector	Center for research on public sector at Göteborg University	

Expert Knowledge

Aftonbladet		
Olof Liberg	Programme coordinator and wolf expert Skandulv	6
Gunnar Glöersen	Predator Expert at the National Hunter's Association	2

Dagens Nyheter		
Olof Liberg	Programme coordinator and wolf expert Skandulv	15
Gunnar Glöersen	Predator Expert at the National Hunter's Association	2
Stig Åke Svennson	Predator Expert at the county administrative board Dalarna	2
Tom Arnbom	Predator Expert WWF	2
Peter Wabakken	The most prominent researcher at Skandulv	2
Dan Stark	Wolf Expert from Minnesota, USA	1
Lasse Le Carlsson	Predator expert at the county administrative board Blekinge	1
Johan Månsson	Predator expert at the county administrative board Uppsala	1

Värmland Folkblad		
Lars Furuholm	Predator expert at the county administrative board Värmland	44
Gunnar Glöersen	Predator Expert at the National Hunter's Association	15
Olof Liberg	Programme coordinator and wolf expert Skandulv	4
Anders Bjärvall	Predator expert at the NCA	1

Appendix IV

1 Interview 1

Journalist from Värmlands folkblad

Date: 2014-04-14

Kl 10:30

Question: Is there anyone in your department that specialises in issues relating to nature conservation that actively writes about the wolf?

Answer: No. The expertise varies, but most of the reporting relating to the wolf is done purely by journalists from the northern parts that are primarily engaged in making observations in i.e. Wolf attacks. We do not have the resources. Other news accounts related to the wolf we receive from other newspapers.

2 Interview 2

Dagens nyheter

Kl 11:20

Question: Is there anyone in your department that specialises in issues relating to nature conservation that actively writes about the wolf?

Answer: We have had one expert who was specialized in climate change and similar environmental issues, however we do not have any particular expertise regarding sustainable wildlife conservation in regards to the wolf at the moment. There is a great interest in having a deeper normative discussion in regard to sustainable nature conservation in the context of the wolf, but the format in traditional news articles make it difficult to go into greater depth on this issue.

Question: Why are there fewer people in the staff with specialization?

Answer: During the later years since 2000's there have been a number of economic cut backs and the staff is now smaller than before.

Question: What do you believe to be the greatest hindrance in conveying information regarding sustainability issues in wildlife conservation in regards to the wolf, within traditional news reporting?

Answer: There is no principle hindrance in news media regarding raising the issue of biodiversity in a more complex way, but a general "hindrance" is the journalistic dramaturgy that requires clear conflicts and preferably black and white connections. In later years the shrinking resources have constituted a hindrance that entail that many journalists do not have the time to delve into an issue in a way that would be necessary. The reason why biodiversity is often depicted in a political context is because political decisions are very important as it affect how nature conservation is conducted, but it is also relatable for a wider audience.

Question: If I would want to get a deeper and more complex account of wildlife conservation in regard to the wolf in your newspaper, where should I go?

Answer: Normative discussions and complexities associated with issues such as biodiversity are usually held in debate forums, editorial columns and in scientific editorials.

3 Interview 3

Aftonbladet

Date: 2014-04-29-2014-05.14

I called the department and was directed to several different journalists but none considered themselves to be suitable to answer my questions. I have been calling frequently for three months without being able to reach any particular journalist who where willing to talk to me. What I found noteworthy is that when I was asking for anyone with specific expertise, especially relating to complexity and socio-ecological systems or something similar, working on covering the wolf, the person exclaimed "We do not really have anyone with particular expertise on that topic".

Appendix V

AFTONBLADET

Aft. 2010	Original title	Link
2010.01.02	Vargjakt anmäls till EU	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12052983.ab
2010.01.02	”Speciell känsla att fälla en varg”	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12053124.ab
2010.01.03	Överskjutning av varg i Dalarna	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12056629.ab
2010.01.04	”Det blev kaos”	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12057248.ab
2010.01.04	”Folk i stan borde inte uttala sig om vargen”	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12057581.ab
2010.01.04	"Att döda varg är ett nödvändigt ont"	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12057586.ab
2010.01.04	De sköt mot tre vargar – bara en dog	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12056623.ab
2010.01.04	Vad tycker ni om årets vargjakt?	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12063259.ab
2010.01.24	Här övar de på att döda	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12106828.ab
2010.01.05	Jägare hotas till livet	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12058957.ab
2010.01.05	Utredning om jaktbrott läggs ner	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12063404.ab
2010.01.07	Ja till både jakt och fler vargar	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12068714.ab
2010.01.08	Vargarna som sköts var friska	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12080025.ab
2010.01.13	Forskarna – och Carlgren – ville ha 500 till 1 000 vargar	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12085493.ab
2010.01.15	Tillät vargjakt för att få plantera in nya	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12120406.ab
2010.01.28	Ännu fler vargar skjutna – i dag	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12117344.ab
2010.02. 01	Jägare misstänkt för jaktbrott – skadesköt varg	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12121066.ab
2010.01.29	Varg? Nej, tack!	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12166174.ab
2010. 02.16	Han vill porta alla vargarna	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12169115.ab
2010.02.17	Varg i Härjedalen sköts	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12177575.ab
2010.02.19	Carlgren hotar stoppa vargjakten	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12220927.ab
2010.03.12	Jakt på varg även nästa år	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12265529.ab
2010.04.07	”Alla vargar ska skutas”	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12295190.ab
2010.04.30	Vargjakten: Tjänstemän mordhotade	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12294694.ab
2010.04.30	Attacken mot SVT: s vargfilm	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12296715.ab

2010.05.02	Nätverk med målet att utplåna vargarna	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12296785.ab
2010.08.03	Varg i Roslagen rev kalv utanför gård	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12413640.ab
2010.08.27	EU ifrågasätter svensk vargjakt	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12442970.ab
2010.08.28	Illegal jakt på vargar ökar	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12444499.ab
2010.08.28	Reinfeldt och Borg vill jaga varg	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12444889.ab
2010.08.29	Målet: Mosa Maria	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/valet2010/article12445677.ab
2010.09.13	Hund på kvällsrastning dödad av varg	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12486968.ab
2010.09.14	Vargen åt upp Ludde	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12490519.ab
2010.10.30	Varg skjuten i Värmland	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12625005.ab
2010.11.14	Förslaget: Adoptera varg från Ryssland	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12662826.ab
2010.12.01	20 vargar på väg – här ska de leva	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12686681.ab
2010.12.17	Licensjakt på varg tillåts i år igen	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12708490.ab
2010.12.17	WWF rasar mot licensjakten på varg	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12708440.ab
2010.01.05	Hotas till livet för motstånd	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12085499.ab
2011.01.04	Carlgren KU-anmäls för vargjakten	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12454134.ab
2011.01.11	Carlgren: ”Fler vargar i Sverige”	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12472153.ab
2011.01.14	Kriget i skogen	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12482809.ab
2011.01.14	Kan vara över rekordsnabbt	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12482902.ab
2011.01.15	Färre hundar föll offer för varg	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12484719.ab
2011.01.15	"Vargarna medvetna"	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12486945.ab
2011.01.16	Vargen Vann	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12487424.ab
2011.01.16	Två vargar med sändare skjutna	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12490542.ab
2011.01.17	4 vargar kvar – jakten fortsätter idag	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12491120.ab
2011.01.18	Vargjakten igång igen i Örebro	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12494184.ab
2011.01.27	EU tar strid mot svensk vargjakt	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12518539.ab
2011.01.27	Vargar planteras ut – redan i vår	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12519647.ab
2011.02.06	20 kistor – en för varje varg	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12550817.ab
2011.02.08	"Jakten är urskiljningslös"	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12559888.ab
2011.02.13	Sista vargen jagas i Västmanland	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12573703.ab
2011.02.14	VARGEN VINNAR	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12578285.ab

2011.02.19	Varg jagades med snöskoter och slogs ihjäl	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12596289.ab
2011.04.19	Vargarna från årets jakt är undersökta	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12856867.ab
2011.04.11	Varg spände musklerna i Helsingborg	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12862287.ab
2011.04.17	Vargar attackerade barnfamilj	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12895096.ab
2011.04.17	Vargforskaren: Ett typiskt beteende	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12895420.ab
2011.04.17	”Tog barnet och sprang”	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12895546.ab
2011.04.17	”Biologisk mångfald är ett påhittat argument”	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12896074.ab
2011.04.18	"VÅGADE INTE FLY"	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12897308.ab
2011.04.26	Fick sällskap av varg på golfbana	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12935059.ab
2011.08.23	Nya turer om svensk vargjakt	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article13509973.ab
2011.08.25	Inte lika accepterat att skjuta varg längre	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article13523750.ab
2011.10.22	Attackerades av varg – Majja avled av skadorna	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article13823481.ab
2011.11.03	Förespråkade varg – fick sten i huvudet	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article13879041.ab
2011.11.08	Vargälskare blir kartlagda på internet	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article13899080.ab
2011.11.13	Trizze slets till döds av vargar	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article13927715.ab
2011.04.17	Hunden borde ha varit kopplad	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12895274.ab
2012.01.16	”Skjut bort rådjuren – bra för folhälsan”	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article14219657.ab
2012.03.26	Försökte döda varg med förgiftade korvar	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article14581846.ab
2012.04. 03	Rovdjursfrågan avgörs i dag	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article14625836.ab
2012.04. 04	300 vargar ska bli 450 – minst	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article14630207.ab
2012.04. 08	Roddan attackerades av varg	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article14648346.ab
2012.04. 24	Plötsligt simmar en varg förbi...	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article14736001.ab
2012.05.08	Jägare anhållna efter helikopterjakt	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article14795665.ab
2012.06.17	Jägareförbundet kritiseras för utspel	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article14994165.ab
2012.07.02	Så många vargar behöver Sverige	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15064409.ab
2012.09.06	”De hittade bara svansen”	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15400394.ab
2012.10.10	Vargjakten kan stoppas även nästa år	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15582925.ab
2012.10.10	Troligt vargangrepp i södra Skåne	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15586706.ab
2012.10.21	Varg skjuten i Ockelbo	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15646316.ab
2012.11.01	Skolbarn hölls inne på grund av varg	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15765295.ab

2012.11.12	Vargexpert: ”På sikt kan vargen bli farlig”	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15765299.ab
2012.11.13	Varg skjuten i Härjedalen	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15768145.ab
2012.11.13	Varg härjade bland skånska får	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15769125.ab
2012.11.14	Oskygg varg höll barn inne – nu har den skjutits	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15775783.ab
2012.12.24	Naturvårdsverket öppnar för vargjakt	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15944115.ab
2012.12.24	Vargattack i Skåne	http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15978992.ab

Dagens Nyheter

DN. 2010	Original title	Link
2010.01.01	Historisk vargjakt i gynnsamt väder	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/historisk-vargjakt-i-gynnsamt-vader/
2010.01.02	Första vargjakten väcker blandade känslor	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/forsta-vargjakten-vacker-blandade-kanslor/
2010.01.02	Flera vargar har skjutits	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/flera-vargar-har-skjutits/
2010.01.02	Naturskyddsföreningen anmäler vargjakt till EU	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/naturskyddsforeningen-anmaler-vargjakt-till-eu/
2010.01.02	Jakten över snabbare än väntat	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jakten-over-snabbare-an-vantat/
2010.01.03	Dalarna överskrider vargkvot	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/dalarna-overskrider-vargkvot/
2010.01.04	Kritik om hetsig vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/kritik-om-hetsig-vargjakt/
2010.01.05	Jaktbrott under vargjakten utreds	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jaktbrott-under-vargjakten-utreds/
2010.01.07	Anmälningar om jaktbrott avskrivs	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/anmalningar-om-jaktbrott-avskrivs/
2010.01.07	En varg återstår i licensjakten	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/en-varg-aterstar-i-licensjakten/
2010.01.07	Rovdjursföreningen kritisk mot skjutning av alfapar	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/rovdjursforeningen-kritisk-mot-skjutning-av-alfapar/
2010.01.12	Friska vargar trots inavel	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/friska-vargar-trots-inavel/
2010.01.12	Inavel hos få av de skjutna vargarna	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/inavel-hos-fa-av-de-skjutna-vargarna/
2010.01.13	Vargtestiklar skars bort av jägare	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargtestiklar-skars-bort-av-jagare/
2010.01.13	Carlgren försvarar vargjakten	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/carlgren-forsvarar-vargjakten/
2010.01.15	Forskare: Fler vargar borde skjutits	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/forskare-fler-vargar-borde-skjutits/
2010.01.16	Olaglig vargjakt hävdar miljövännar	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/olaglig-vargjakt-havdar-miljovanner/
2010.01.16	Vargarna hade 4.500 efter sig	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargarna-hade-4500-efter-sig/
2010. 01.20	Alla skjutna vargar i gott skick	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/alla-skjutna-vargar-i-gott-skick/

2010.01.28	Forskar visar: Vargstammen för liten	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/forskar-visar-vargstammen-for-liten/
2010.01.28	”Vårt beslut bygger på andra grunder”	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vart-beslut-bygger-pa-andra-grunder/
2010.01.28	Tjugo vargar ska tillföras den svenska stammen	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/tjugo-vargar-ska-tillforas-den-svenska-stammen/
2010.01.28	Överskjutning av varg – igen	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/overskjutning-av-varg-igen/
2010.01.29	Skydds jakt på varg i Jämtland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/skydds-jakt-pa-varg-i-jamtland/
2010.01.29	Rödgröna oeniga om vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/valet-2010/rodgrona-oeniga-om-vargjakt/
2010.01.29	Varg skjuten i Härjedalen	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varg-skjuten-i-harjedalen-1/
2010.02. 01	Jägarna betalar svensk viltforskning	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/vetenskap/jagarna-betalar-svensk-viltforskning/
2010.02. 01	”Vi oroar oss för våra djur”	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vi-oroar-oss-for-vara-djur/
2010.02. 01	Grovt jaktbrott misstänks efter fynd i Dalaskog	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/grovt-jaktbrott-misstanks-efter-fynd-i-dalaskog/
2010.02.09	Varg tjuvskjuten i Värmland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varg-tjuvskjuten-i-varmland/
2010.02.12	Svenskarna rädda för björn och vildsvin	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/svenskarna-radda-for-bjorn-och-vildsvin/
2010.02.16	Nordanstig ska hållas vargfritt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/nordanstig-ska-hallas-vargfritt/
2010.02.19	Varghona skjuten i Härjedalen	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varghona-skjuten-i-harjedalen/
2010.03.01	Varg på spåret	http://www.dn.se/resor/varg-pa-sparet/
2010. 03.04	Miljöministern hotar stoppa vargjakten	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/miljoministern-hotar-stoppa-vargjakten/
2010.03.11	Vargskador på tamdjur vanligast	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargskador-pa-tamdjur-vanligast/
2010.04. 07	Rovdjursstammarnas storlek utreds	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/rovdjursstammarnas-storlek-utreds/
2010.04. 14	Oklart var nya vargar ska hämtas	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/oklart-var-nya-vargar-ska-hamtas/
2010.04.29	Vill stoppa varg i Härjedalen	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vill-stoppa-varg-i-harjedalen/
2010.04.30	Vargkonflikt når ny hatnivå	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargkonflikt-nar-ny-hatniva/
2010.05.04	Jägare vill ha dialog om vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jagare-vill-ha-dialog-om-vargjakt/
2010.05.10	Europas vargar har bytt skepnad	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/vetenskap/europas-vargar-har-bytt-skepnad/
2010.05.13	Vargungar födda i Stockholms län	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargungar-fodda-i-stockholms-lan/
2010.05.15	Valpar i svensk-norska vargflockar	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/valpar-i-svensk-norska-vargflockar/
2010.05.21	Död varg hittad vid Väneren	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/dod-varg-hittad-vid-vanern/
2010.06.09	Polisen utreder märkt vargs död	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/polisen-utreder-markt-vargs-dod/
2010.06.10	Vargstammens framtida storlek utreds	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargstammens-framtida-storlek-utreds/
2010.06.29	Jakt rubbar vargars sociala liv	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jakt-rubbar-vargars-sociala-liv/
2010.07.04	Värmländska tjänstemän beväpnas	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varmlandska-tjansteman-bevapnas/

2010.07.16	Vargattacker mot får	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargattacker-mot-far/
2010.07.27	Falska skyltar varnar för varg	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/falska-skyltar-varnar-for-varg/
2010.08.03	Kalv dödad av varg	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/kalv-dodad-av-varg/
2010.08.26	EU kräver svar om svensk vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/eu-kraver-svar-om-svensk-vargjakt/
2010.08.27	Varg skjuten i Dalarna	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varg-skjuten-i-dalarna/
2010.08.27	Närgången varg skjuts i Värmland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/nargangen-varg-skjuts-i-varmland/
2010.08.28	Illegal jakt på vargar ökar	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/illegal-jakt-pa-vargar-okar/
2010.08.28	Reinfeldt försvarar vargjakten	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/valet-2010/reinfeldt-forsvarar-vargjakten/
2010.08.28	Närgången varg i Mårbacka skjuten	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/nargangen-varg-i-marbacka-skjuten/
2010.09.10	Varg försvann med liten hund	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varg-forsvann-med-liten-hund/
2010.09.21	Varg rev bagge i Småland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varg-rev-bagge-i-smaland/
2010.10.11	Stockholmare vill leva med varg	http://www.dn.se/sthlm/stockholmare-vill-leva-med-varg/
2010.10.30	Varg angrep hund – sköts ihjäl	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varg-angrep-hund-skots-ihjal/
2010.11.29	Utländsk massprotest mot svensk vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/utlandsk-massprotest-mot-svensk-vargjakt/
2010.11.29	Vargprotester gav klagorekord hos JO	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargprotester-gav-klagorekord-hos-jo/
2010.12.01	Spår efter tre vargar funna nära Stockholm	http://www.dn.se/sthlm/spar-efter-tre-vargar-funna-nara-stockholm/
2010.12.01	Östliga vargar kan importeras	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/ostliga-vargar-kan-importeras/
2010.12.02	Jakt på 20 till 29 vargar i vinter	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jakt-pa-20-till-29-vargar-i-vinter/
2010.12.07	Vargar drunknade efter nedsövning	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargar-drunknade-efter-nedsovning/
2010.12.17	20 vargar får fällas i vinter	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/20-vargar-far-fallas-i-vinter/
2010.12.20	Vargar skjutna i skydds jakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargar-skjutna-i-skydds-jakt/
2010.12.20	Jägare bojkottar vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jagare-bojkottar-vargjakt/
2010.12.23	EU ifrågasätter Sveriges vargpolitik	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/eu-ifragasatter-sveriges-vargpolitik/
2010.12.24	EU kritiserar Sverige för vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/eu-kritiserar-sverige-for-vargjakt/
2011.01.07	EU skärper tonen om svensk vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/eu-skarper-tonen-om-svensk-vargjakt/
2011.01.13	Vargjakten kan hamna i EU:s domstol	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargjakten-kan-hamna-i-eus-domstol/
2011.01.14	Vargaktivister på grova bilder	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargaktivister-pa-grova-bilder/
2011.01.15	Färre hundar föll offer för varg	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/farre-hundar-foll-offer-for-varg/
2011.01.15	Nu är vargjakten igång	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/nu-ar-vargjakten-igang/
2011.01.15	Vargkonflikten extra svår i Sverige	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargkonflikten-extra-svar-i-sverige/

2011.01.16	Vargen söker skydd i Norge	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargen-soker-skydd-i-norge/
2011.01.17	Flera alfadjur skjutna i vargjakten	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/flera-alfadjur-skjutna-i-vargjakten/
2011.01.17	EU brottsanmälsers svensk vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/eu-brottsanmaler-svensk-vargjakt/
2011.01.17	Varghane skjutna i skydds jakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varghane-skjuten-i-skydds jakt/
2011.01.18	Vargjakt avlyst i Örebro län	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargjakt-avlyst-i-orebro-lan/
2011.01.18	Vargjakten fortsätter i tre län	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargjakten-fortsatter-i-tre-lan/
2011.01.20	Fem vargar jagas fortfarande	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/fem-vargar-jagas-fortfarande/
2011.01.21	Forskarkritik mot svensk vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/forskarkritik-mot-svensk-vargjakt/
2011.01.21	Tio gånger fler vargar – men ingen jakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/tio-ganger-fler-vargar-men-ingen-jakt/
2011.01.23	Chatt om vargjakten	http://www.dn.se/chattar/chattarkiv/chatt-om-vargjakten/
2011.01.26	Two vargar kvar att skjuta	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/tva-vargar-kvar-att-skjuta/
2011.01.27	Se miljöministerns pressträff om vargstammen	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/se-miljoministerns-presstraff-om-vargstammen/
2011.01.27	Djurparksvargar sätts ut redan i vår	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/djurparksvargar-satts-ut-redan-i-var/
2011.01.27	EU inleder process mot vargjakten	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/eu-inleder-process-mot-vargjakten/
2011.01.28	Utsättning av vargvalpar döms ut	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/utsattning-av-vargvalpar-doms-ut/
2011.01.28	Nej till utsättning av vargvalpar	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/nej-till-utsattning-av-vargvalpar/
2011.02.02	Många varpar spräckta under jakten	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/manga-varpar-sprackta-under-jakten/
2011.02.02	Skydds jakt på skabbsmittad varg	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/skydds jakt-pa-skabbsmittad-varg/
2011.02.03	Död varg var skjuten tidigare	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/dod-varg-var-skjuten-tidigare/
2011.02.05	Vargjakten snart i sitt slutskede	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargjakten-snart-i-sitt-slutskede/
2011.02.05	Tolerans – till slut – i vargtätt Minnesota	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/tolerans-till-slut-i-vargtatt-minnesota/
2011.02.05	Rysk varg kan stärka svenska stammen	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/rysk-varg-kan-starka-svenska-stammen/
2011.02.08	Olaglig vargjakt i Bollnäs	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/olaglig-vargjakt-i-bollnas/
2011.02.09	Bardot arg på svensk vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/bardot-arg-pa-svensk-vargjakt/
2011.02.09	Skabbsmittad närgående varg sköts	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/skabbsmittad-nargangen-varg-skots/
2011.02.13	Sista vargen jagas i Västmanland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/sista-vargen-jagas-i-vastmanland/
2011.02.13	Trafikskadad varg sköts flera gånger	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/trafikskadad-varg-skots-flera-ganger/
2011.02.14	Jakt efter påkörd varg inget brott	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jakt-efter-pakord-varg-ingen-brott/
2011.02.15	Finland vill inte ge bort vargvalpar	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/finland-vill-inte-ge-bort-vargvalpar/
2011.02.15	Jakten slut — en varg slapp undan	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jakten-slut-en-varg-slapp-undan/

2011.02.19	Varg blev ihjälslagen	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varg-blev-ihjalslagen/
2011.02.21	Finsk-rysk varg snart bland svenska	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/finsk-rysk-varg-snart-bland-svenska/
2011.02.22	Belöning för tips om vargdödare	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/beloning-for-tips-om-vargdodare/
2011.02.24	Varg sikad i Flen	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varg-siktad-i-flen/
2011.02.25	Vargar kan läsa våra blickar	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargar-kan-lasa-vara-blickar/
2011.02.26	Såg varg utanför husknuten	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/sag-varg-utanfor-husknuten/
2011.03.18	Naturvårdsverket söker nytt hem för renrivande varg	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/naturvardsverket-soker-nytt-hem-for-renrivande-varg/
2011.03.21	Jämtländsk varg flyttad till Örebro	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jamtlandsk-varg-flyttad-till-orebro/
2011.03.24	”Vargproblemen hopar sig för regeringen”	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargproblemen-hopar-sig-for-regeringen/
2011.03.28	Jakt krävs för minskad inavel	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jakt-kravs-for-minskad-inavel/
2011.03.30	Hundar troligen angripna av varg i Brottby	http://www.dn.se/sthlm/hundar-troligen-angripna-av-varg-i-brottby/
2011.04.01	Lönande tips om vargdödare	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/lonande-tips-om-vargdodare/
2011.04.08	Norsk varg bosatte sig i Bergslagen	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/norsk-varg-bosatte-sig-i-bergslagen/
2011.04.09	Fem vargar hade missbildningar	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/fem-vargar-hade-missbildningar/
2011.04.09	Gällivarevarg flyttad till Dalarna	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/gallivarevarg-flyttad-till-dalarna/
2011.04.11	Vilsen varg ville vila	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vilsen-varg-ville-vila/
2011.04.11	Utredning vill fördubbla antalet vargar	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/utredning-vill-fordubbla-antalet-vargar/
2011.04.11	Jägare vill inte tro på fördubblad vargstam	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jagare-vill-inte-tro-pa-fordubblad-vargstam/
2011.04.12	Räkna inte med vargar från Finland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/rakna-inte-med-vargar-fran-finland/
2011.04.13	Vargstammen fortsätter växa	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargstammen-fortsatter-vaxa/
2011.04.15	Vilsen varg har vandrat till Halland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vilsen-varg-har-vandrat-till-halland/
2011.04.15	Skånevargen styr kosan norrut	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/skanevargen-styr-kosan-norrut/
2011.04.16	Skånevargen sikad utanför Halmstad	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/skanevargen-siktad-utanfor-halmstad/
2011.04.17	Vargar attackerade barnfamilj	http://www.dn.se/sthlm/vargar-attackerade-barnfamilj/
2011.04.17	”Extrem revirkänsla bakom vargattack”	http://www.dn.se/sthlm/extrem-revirkansla-bakom-vargattack/
2011.04.19	”Jag tycker vargen hör hemma här”	http://www.dn.se/sthlm/jag-tycker-vargen-hor-hemma-har/
2011.04.19	Nya rop om skydds jakt efter attack	http://www.dn.se/sthlm/nya-rop-om-skydds-jakt-efter-attack/
2011.04.19	Arrendator vill skjuta vargar	http://www.dn.se/sthlm/arrendator-vill-skjuta-vargar/
2011.04.20	Ansökan om skydds jakt på varg	http://www.dn.se/sthlm/ansokan-om-skydds-jakt-pa-varg/
2011.04.26	Varg oväntad gäst på golfbana	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varg-ovantad-gast-pa-golfbana/

2011.04.27	Jaktbrott misstänks efter vargfynd	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jaktbrott-misstanks-efter-vargfynd/
2011.05.04	Flyttade vargar har rört på sig	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/flyttade-vargar-har-rort-pa-sig/
2011.05.09	Nej till skydds jakt på vargarna i Roslagen	http://www.dn.se/sthlm/nej-till-skydds jakt-pa-vargarna-i-roslagen/
2011.05.07	Norsk vargtik i Kalmar län	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/norsk-vargtik-i-kalmar-lan/
2011.05.10	Människan är naturens lieman	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/vetenskap/manniskan-ar-naturens-lieman/
2011.05.13	Vandringslust försvårar vargflytt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vandringslust-forsvarar-vargflytt/
2011.05.15	Varg avlivad i Dockasberg	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varg-avlivad-i-dockasberg/
2011.05.16	Sex får dödade av varg i Småland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/sex-far-dodade-av-varg-i-smaland/
2011.05.18	Jägare kompenseras för vargflytt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jagare-kompenseras-for-vargflytt/
2011.05.27	Flytt av vargvalpar testas	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/flytt-av-vargvalpar-testas/
2011.06.02	Norsk varg tillbaka i Småland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/norsk-varg-tillbaka-i-smaland/
2011.06.15	Ingen skydds jakt på Rialavarg	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/ingen-skydds jakt-pa-rialavarg/
2011.06.16	Fortsatt skarp EU kritik om vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/fortsatt-skarp-eu-kritik-om-vargjakt/
2011.06.30	Vargvalpsflytt går över förväntan	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargvalpsflytt-gar-over-forvantan/
2011.07.04	Vargattack mot får i Östergötland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargattack-mot-far-i-ostergotland/
2011.07.12	Fjorton får dödade av varg i Närke	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/fjorton-far-dodade-av-varg-i-narke/
2011.08.05	Varg rev får i södra Småland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/varg-rev-far-i-sodra-smaland/
2011.08.08	Norge vill prata varg med Sverige	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/norge-vill-prata-varg-med-sverige/
2011.08.08	Vargsamarbete på gång i Norden	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargsamarbete-pa-gang-i-norden/
2011.08.12	Värdefulla vargar flyttas	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vardefulla-vargar-flyttas/
2011.08.15	Ny vargattack på får i Östergötland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/ny-vargattack-pa-far-i-ostergotland/
2011.08.17	1.000 vargar utan tjuvjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/1000-vargar-utan-tjuvjakt/
2011.08.17	Ingen vargjakt i vinter	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/ingen-vargjakt-i-vinter/
2011.08.23	Nya turer om svensk vargjakt	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/nya-turer-om-svensk-vargjakt/
2011.08.23	Skydds jakt på varg i Östergötland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/skydds jakt-pa-varg-i-ostergotland/
2011.08.25	WWF: Minskad tjuvjakt på varg	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/wwf-minskad-tjuvjakt-pa-varg/
2011.08.29	Två anhallna för tjuvjakt på varg	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/tva-anhallna-for-tjuvjakt-pa-varg/
2011.09.11	Svårt att lösa jaktbrott	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/svart-att-losa-jaktbrott-1/
2011.09.16	Lyckad flytt av vargvalpar	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/lyckad-flytt-av-vargvalpar/
2011.09.19	Ingen skydds jakt på småländsk varg	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/ingen-skydds jakt-pa-smalandsk-varg/

2011.09.22	Jägare fryser vargsamarbete	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/jagare-fryser-vargsamarbete/
2011.09.28	Vargen sänker jaktarrenden	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargen-sanker-jaktarrenden/
2011.09.28	Kräver att få jaga varg i trädgården	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/kraver-att-fa-jaga-varg-i-tradgarden/
2011.10.02	Östgotavarg dödade igen	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/ostgotavarg-dodade-igen/
2011.10.04	Vargar åker gärna snalskjuts	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vargar-aker-garna-snalskjuts/
2011.10.06	Vill ha skyddsjakt på varg i Småland	http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/vill-ha-skyddsjakt-pa-varg-i-smaland/
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2010.06.09	Död varg hittades av skogsarbetare	http://www.vf.se/node/67054
2010.06.10	Nyskogavargen utreds som jaktbrott	http://www.vf.se/node/67237
2010.06.22	Fångade varg på bild	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/fangade-varg-pa-bild
2010.07.03	Tveksamt om det blir nya vargar i Värmland	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/tveksamt-om-det-blir-nya-vargar-i-varmland
2010.07.03	Tjänstemän beväpnar sig	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/karlstad/tjansteman-bevapnar-sig
2010.08.06	Åtta får rivna i vargattack	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/atta-far-rivna-i-vargattack
2010.08.11	USA-modell kan ge svar på vargfrågan	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/karlstad/usa-modell-kan-ge-svar-pa-vargfragan
2010.08.12	Avkomma till rysk varg kan ha slagit sig ned i Värmland	http://www.vf.se/forstasidan/avkomma-till-rysk-varg-kan-ha-slagit-sig-ned-i-varmland
2010.08.14	Vill skjuta en ”mycket oskygg” varg	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/sunne/vill-skjuta-en-”mycket-oskygg”-varg
2010.08.19	Vill ändra rovdjurspolitiken	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/arjang/vill-andra-rovdjurspolitiken
2010.08.19	Varg synlig i kohage - ansöker om skyddsjakt	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/sunne/varg-synlig-i-kohage-ansoker-om-skyddsjakt
2010.08.27	Vargjakten ifrågasätts av EU-kommissionen	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/vargjakten-ifragasatts-av-eu-kommissionen
2010.08.27	Varg ska skjutas i Mårbacka	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/sunne/varg-ska-skjutas-i-marbacka
2010.09.14	Vargattack på gård mellan Filipstad och Forshyttan – nio får dödades	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/vargattack-pa-gard-mellan-filipstad-och-forshyttan---nio-far-dodades
2010.09.28	Ansökan om skyddsjakt efter vargangrepp	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/ansokan-om-skyddsjakt-efter-vargangrepp
2010.10.09	Ny hemsida för rovdjursrapportering	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/ny-hemsida-rovdjursrapportering
2010.10.13	Jakthund vargdödad	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/jakthund-vargdodad
2010.10.19	Länsstyrelsen JO-anmäls för skyddsjakt på varg	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/lansstyrelsen-jo-anmals-skyddsjakt-pa-varg
2010.10.22	Djurägare ersätts med 18 375 kronor	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/djuragare-ersatts-med-18-375-kronor
2010.10.22	Ström av JO-anmälningar mot skyddsjakt på vargar	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/strom-av-jo-anmalningar-mot-skyddsjakt-pa-vargar
2010.10.27	Vargrivet lamm ersätts	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/vargrivet-lamm-ersatts
2010.10.30	Varg skjuten i Värnäs	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/varg-skjuten-i-varnas
2010.11.03	Valpar från djurparker bästa sättet få in nytt vargblod	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/valpar-fran-djurparker-basta-sattet-fa-nytt-vargblod
2010.11.05	Jägare säger nej till varginplantering	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/jagare-sager-nej-till-varginplantering
2010.11.09	Rovdjursföreningen kräver nej till vargjakt	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/karlstad/rovdjursforeningen-kraver-nej-till-vargjakt
2010.11.25	Naturvårdsverket JO-anmält för vargjakten	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/naturvardsverket-jo-anmalt-vargjakten
2010.12.08	Ersättning för vargangrepp	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/ersattning-vargangrepp
2010.12.17	Fortsatt licensjakt på varg – sex får skjutas i Värmland	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/fortsatt-licensjakt-pa-varg---sex-far-skjutas-i-varmland
2010.12.18	Kritik från naturskydd – och jägare	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/kritik-fran-naturskydd---och-jagare

2010.12.22	Första utländska vargungen född	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/forsta-utlandska-vargungen-fodd
2011.01.02	Ingen vargjakt väster om Torsby	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/ingen-vargjakt-vaster-om-torsby
2011.01.05	Filipstadsjägare bojkottar vargjakt	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/filipstadsjagare-bojkottar-vargjakt
2011.01.11	Hårdare tag mot illegal vargjakt	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/hardare-tag-mot-illegal-vargjakt
2011.01.11	Varggrupp hotar att störa vargjakten	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/varggrupp-hotar-att-stora-vargjakten
2011.01.14	Spårningen får börja idag	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/sparningen-far-borja-idag
2011.01.14	Ingen jakt i Skugg- höjdenreviret	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/ingen-jakt-i-skugg%C2%AD-hojdenreviret
2011.01.15	Lyckades fånga varg på bild	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/munkfors/lyckades-fanga-varg-pa-bild
2011.01.15	Svenska Rovdjursföreningen kräver jaktstopp	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/svenska-rovdjursforeningen-kraver-jaktstopp
2011.01.15	Aktivister störde vargjakten	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/aktivister-storde-vargjakten
2011.01.16	Årets första vargar skjutna	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/munkfors/arets-forsta-vargar-skjutna
2011.01.16	Halva vargkvoten kvar	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/halva-vargkvoten-kvar
2011.01.17	Lugnare jaktstart i år även för länsstyrelsen	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/karlstad/lugnare-jaktstart-i-ar-aven-lansstyrelsen
2011.01.17	Jägarna fick vänta länge på vargen	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/jagarna-fick-vanta-lange-pa-vargen
2011.01.17	Jägare utsatta för hot	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/jagare-utsatta-hot
2011.01.17	Missnöje ledde till bojkott	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/karlstad/missnoje-ledde-till-bojkott
2011.01.17	Varg nummer fyra skjuten – två kvar på licensen	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/eda/varg-nummer-fyra-skjuten---tva-kvar-pa-licensen
2011.01.18	Årets femte varg skjuten – eller inte?	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/sunne/arets-femte-varg-skjuten---eller-inte
2011.01.20	Två vargar återstår fortfarande	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/tva-vargar-aterstar-fortfarande
2011.01.20	Vargjakten på sparläga	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/vargjakten-pa-sparlaga
2011.01.24	Femte vargen skjuten	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/femte-vargen-skjuten
2011.01.26	Sista vargen skjuten	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/arvika/sista-vargen-skjuten
2011.01.27	Vargvalpar sätts ut i april	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/vargvalpar-satts-ut-i-april
2011.01.27	Oklart om det blir några nya vargar i Värmland	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/karlstad/oklart-om-det-blir-nagra-nya-vargar-i-varmland
2011.01.27	”Ett beslut som inte ska hetsas fram”	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/ett-beslut-som-inte-ska-hetsas-fram
2011.02.02	Närgången skabbvarg ska skjutas	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/munkfors/nargangen-skabbvarg-ska-skjutas
2011.02.03	Svårt att hitta plats att sätta ut varg i Värmland	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/svart-att-hitta-plats-att-satta-ut-varg-i-varmland
2011.02.05	Möjlig fördubbling av vargstammen i Värmland	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/mojlig-fordubbling-av-vargstammen-i-varmland
2011.02.09	Skabbvarg skjuten på nära håll	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/munkfors/skabbvarg-skjuten-pa-nara-hall
2011.02.13	Jaktbrott vid eftersök av varg?	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/jaktbrott-vid-eftersok-av-varg

2011.02.14	Ingen förundersökning om misstänkt jaktbrott	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/ingen-forundersokning-om-misstankt-jaktbrott
2011.02.24	Jägare kritiserar miljöministern	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/jagare-kritiserar-miljoministern
2011.02.25	Jägare säger nej till eftersök	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/jagare-sager-nej-till-eftersok
2011.03.11	Hund dödad av varg i Lakene	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/hund-dodad-av-varg-i-lakene
2011.03.16	Fem vargar fångade på bild	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/fem-vargar-fangade-pa-bild
2011.03.26	Färre vargdödade hundar	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/farre-vargdodade-hundar
2011.03.28	Flyttvargen inne i Värmland	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/flyttvargen-inne-i-varmland
2011.04. 11	Jägare rasar mot vargrapport	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/jagare-rasar-mot-vargrapport
2011.05.06	Skånevargen är varmlänning	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/skanevargen-ar-varmlanning
2011.05.12	Licensjakten på varg bromsade inte tjuvskyttarna	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/licensjakten-pa-varg-bromsade-inte-tjuvskyttarna
2011.05.14	"Tjuvjakt har visst minskat"	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/tjuvjakt-har-visst-minskat
2011.07.14	Tio får dödades av varg	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/arjang/tio-far-dodades-av-varg
2011.08.17	Ingen vargjakt i vinter	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/ingen-vargjakt-i-vinter
2011.08.18	Ingen licensjakt på varg i vinter	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/ingen-licensjakt-pa-varg-i-vinter
2011.08.18	Hund togs av vargen – precis utanför huset	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/arvika/hund-togs-av-vargen---precis-utanfor-huset
2011.08.18	Centern kritisk till vargbeslut	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/centern-kritisk-till-vargbeslut
2011.08.25	Kraftig minskning av illegal vargjakt	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/kraftig-minskning-av-illegal-vargjakt
2011.09.07	Hopp om enighet i rovdjursfrågan	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/karlstad/hopp-om-enighet-i-rovdjursfragan
2011.09.20	Jägarupprop för minskad vargstam – Naturskyddsföreningen kritisk till utspelet	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/jagarupprop-minskad-vargstam---naturskyddsforeningen-kritisk-till-utspelet
2011.09.30	Jägareförbundet i Dalarna vill jaga varg i trädgårdar	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/jagareforbundet-i-dalarna-vill-jaga-varg-i-tradgardar
2011.10.15	Varg skjuten av älgjägare	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/varg-skjuten-av-algjagare
2011.10.17	Jägaren berättar om vargattacken	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/jagaren-berattar-om-vargattacken
2011.10.17	Ännu en påskjuten varg vid älgjakt	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/annu-en-paskjuten-varg-vid-algjakt
2011.10.19	Påskjutna vargen ännu försvunnen	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/paskjutna-vargen-annu-forsvunnen
2011.10.24	Varg påskjuten efter hundattack	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/sunne/varg-paskjuten-efter-hundattack
2011.10.28	Jägare vill skjuta alla vargar i Jangenreviret	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/jagare-vill-skjuta-alla-vargar-i-jangenreviret
2011.11.01	Värmland säger nej till inplanterade vargar	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/varmland-sager-nej-till-inplanterade-vargar
2011.11.07	Hund dödad av varg	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/hund-dodad-av-varg
2011.11.12	Länsstyrelsen: ”Vargboomen är här”	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/lansstyrelsen-”vargboomen-ar-har”

2011.11.15	Samsyn om rovdjur efterlyses	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/karlstad/samsyn-om-rovdjur-efterlyses
2011.11.16	Oro för varg kan räcka för skydds jakt	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/oro-varg-kan-racka-skydds-jakt
2011.11.17	Expert är skeptisk till ändrad skydds jakt på varg	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/expert-ar-skeptisk-till-andrad-skydds-jakt-pa-varg
2011.11.21	Filipstadsjägare får vänta på besked om vargjakt	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/filipstadsjagare-far-vanta-pa-besked-om-vargjakt
2011.11.29	Varg misstänks ha dödat	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/varg-misstanks-ha-dodats
2011.11.29	Miljöminister Ek i möte om vargen	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/miljominister-ek-i-mote-om-vargen
2011.12.06	500 krävde ny rovdjurspolitik	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/karlstad/500-kravde-ny-rovdjurspolitik
2011.12.13	Väntläge råder för vargjaktsansökningar	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/vantlage-rader-vargjaktsansokningar
2012.01.05	Jägarnas Riksförbund vill utrota vargen	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/jagarnas-riksforbund-vill-utrota-vargen
2012.01.19	Eftersöksjägare säger upp sig	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/eftersoksjagare-sager-upp-sig
2012.01.24	Vargvalpar ska placeras i Värmland	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/vargvalpar-ska-placeras-i-varmland
2012.01.24	Nytt vargrevir i Hagfors	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/nytt-vargrevir-i-hagfors
2012.02.07	Hagfors vill ha skydds jakt på vargar	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/hagfors-vill-ha-skydds-jakt-pa-vargar
2012.02.08	Fensbolsvargen får skjutas	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/fensbolsvargen-far-skjutas
2012.02.14	Lag stoppar utplantering av varg	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/lag-stoppar-valpflytt
2012.02.14	– Sannolikheten att vi får nej är stor	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/--sannolikheten-att-vi-far-nej-ar-stor
2012.02.14	Dalapolitiker tycker Värmland ska bestämma om varg	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/dalapolitiker-tycker-varmland-ska-bestamma-om-varg
2012.02.16	Jagad Torsbyvarg har dragit sin kos	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/jagad-torsbyvarg-har-dragit-sin-kos
2012.02.17	Djurparker skeptiska till valputplacering	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/djurparker-skeptiska-till-valputplacering
2012.02.24	Vargflock synlig i Asphyttan	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/vargflock-synlig-i-asphyttan
2012.02.27	Ingen mer skydds jakt på Torsbyvarg	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/torsby/ingen-mer-skydds-jakt-pa-torsbyvarg
2012.02.29	Nej till vargjakt i Hagfors	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/nej-till-vargjakt-i-hagfors
2012.03.02	Djurparker ställer sig bakom utplantering av varg	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/djurparker-staller-sig-bakom-utplantering-av-varg
2012.03.02	Länsstyrelsen betalar för viltskador	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/lansstyrelsen-betalar-viltskador
2012.03.20	Regeringen förtydligar sig om vargjakten	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/regeringen-fortydligar-sig-om-vargjakten
2012.03.20	Kommunalråd talar på extremmöte mot varg	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/kommunalrad-talar-pa-extremmote-mot-varg
2012.03.20	Djurfälla påträffad i Koppomstrakten – jaktbrott misstänks	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/eda/djurfalla-patraffad-i-koppomstrakten---jaktbrott-misstanks
2012.03.22	Rovdjur inget terrorhot – arrangörerna backar	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/rovdjur-inget-terrorhot---arrangorerna-backar
2012.03.26	500 på rovdjursmanifestation	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/500-pa-rovdjursmanifestation
2012.04.03	Utredare vill ha fler vargar	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/utredare-vill-ha-fler-vargar

2012.04.04	Furuholm: ”Svåraste frågan har undvikits”	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/furuholm-”svaraste-fragan-har-undvikits”
2012.04.04	Bönder och jägare gör tummen ner	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/bonder-och-jagare-gor-tummen-ner
2012.04.11	Rovdjursblogg släcktes ner efter personangrepp	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/rovdjursblogg-slacktes-ner-efter-personangrepp
2012.04.18	Tre nya revir har tillkommit – och tre försvunnit	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/tre-nya-revir-har-tillkommit—och-tre-forsvunnit
2012.05.07	Död varg hittad – kan ha förgiftats	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/dod-varg-hittad—kan-ha-forgiftats
2012.05.08	Varg dödade hund	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/varg-dodade-hund
2012.05.30	Kadaver efter misstänkt varg hittat	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/karlstad/kadaver-efter-misstankt-varg-hittat
2012.06.20	Död varg hittad utanför Filipstad	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/dod-varg-hittad-utanfor-filipstad
2012.06.21	Skydds jakt på varg kritiseras	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/skydds-jakt-pa-varg-kritiseras
2012.06.21	Död djurkropp var varg	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/karlstad/dod-djurkropp-var-varg
2012.07.16	Åtta uthängda på ”varghatarsajt”	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/atta-uthangda-pa-”varghatarsajt”
2012.08.06	Hundar angripna av varg hemma på gården	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/munkfors/hundar-angripna-av-varg-hemma-pa-garden
2012.09.28	Vargspaning i stadsmiljö	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/filipstad/vargspaning-i-stadsmiljo
2012.10.11	”Vargjaksfrågan har blivit ett politiskt spel”	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/vargjaksfragan-har-blivit-ett-politiskt-spel”
2012.11.05	Manifestation mot rovdjur längs 62:an	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/manifestation-mot-rovdjur-langs-62an
2012.11.16	Nu tar Maria över ansvaret för Värmlands rovdjur	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/nu-tar-maria-over-ansvaret-varmlands-rovdjur
2012.11.21	Tandlöse Elvis blev troligen vargmat	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/tandlose-elvis-blev-troligen-vargmat
2012.11.28	420 000 för att stärka vargstammen	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/420-000-att-starka-vargstammen
2012.12.19	Protester mot vargjaksplaner	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/hagfors/protester-mot-vargjaksplaner
2012.12.27	Misstänkt tjuvjakt på varg	http://www.vf.se/nyheter/allman/misstankt-tjuvjakt-pa-varg