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**Women and hunting -
A phenomenon based on individualization**

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SOC 413, 41-60 p
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Topic/Background:

There exists research about hunting. There also exists research about men. And there exists even more research about individualization.

But there exists none or only few data about women that hunt. And nobody, as I found, has ever connected this issue to the problematic of individualization.

But that does not mean that hunting women should not get any attention, in what connection ever.

Objective:

The task of this thesis is to connect hunting women to the individualization process in first case and gender role in second case. It is to show that the history of hunting has changed significantly during the latest years.

Design:

The plan of this thesis is to analyze five interviews and two magazines with focus on following question: Is the fact that women hunt possible to explain with the individualization process?

Conclusion/Results:

Hunting has changed recently. More and more women start hunting. Reasons and starting point why that is fact can for example be taken out of individualization theories. Women start hunting because society is changing and how they are getting individualized.

Key words: Hunting, Women, Ulrich Beck, Individualization Theory.

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2 Introduction

Hunters and collectors. Who has not heard of those words in school? That the first people have been nomads, moving where they found food, people know as well as that they started to settle down later. Started to build villages, communities. And who has been hunting? The men. Also that is a well known fact. Women's task was the cooking, the family and the first kinds of 'housework'. Until the Middle Age hunting was almost exclusively something men did. Women were only spectators. This changed with the falconry where women started to take part in the hunting process, but as a class specific behaviour.

But is hunting still a man's domain? With this work I want to show that more and more women discover hunting for themselves and why they do it. And I want to let those women come to word.

This work is divided into four main parts. In the first part, the theory part, I will introduce the theories important for the subject. I will give an overview over the history of hunting, in general as well as in Sweden. Secondly I will present the main theory, which is the individualization theory of Ulrich Beck. Furthermore I will show two more theories, Judith Butler's gender perspective and Norbert Elias' concept of civilization, to give two more examples of how the issue can, and will partly, be looked at. The second part will deal with the methods used for my work. I will give reasons of choice and following I will explain the method of the interview and how to treat text as data, as the two methods exploited for this thesis. The third part will give an overview over the fieldwork done. I will introduce the interviewees and how the interviews were carried out. Moreover I will connect the collected interview data to the theories explained in chapter two and to the two magazines, which serve as data as well. The fifth and last part will give the conclusion drawn out of the material analyzed in the chapter before.

3 Theories

In this chapter of my thesis I want to introduce three different theoretical perspectives about the human being and their behaviour and additionally fresh up the knowledge about the history of man, which includes hunting as an, if not the most, important aspect.

In what way did hunting change during the years? Did it change at all? And if, is the fact that women are hunting a result of the modernization and the accompanying individualization and civilization processes? Or is it more to see in the changing of gender structures? Or does it not at all have anything to do with it? Those questions I would like to answer with the help of Beck's individualization concept. I will focus on this concept but I will draw a thin line between Beck and Butler's view of gender studies as well as to Elias' civilization concept. But I will begin with hunting history and take the phenomenon of the hunt as the starting point for my thesis.

There are few texts on this matter and those are mostly focusing on gender perspective. Women that hunt do not seem to be a common individualization research subject. Also was it hard to find any more detailed numbers of the amount of women hunting. There is not much data available.

In the following part I will present the main aspects of the theories that I decided to use, to explain the phenomenon of women and hunting.

3.1 The history of hunting

First of all: "Man was not born a hunter"¹ because he did not have any of the requirements of a predator, no claws, no developed sense, not enough speed. One suggestion why man started hunting though is that the change in climate caused the need for fur. Cleverness, experiments and long development were the reasons that man became the most dangerous 'predator'.

Over all the ages hunt became more and more advanced and with it man's weapons. Even later the use of animals during a hunt became normalized, such as dogs in the beginning, followed by horses and hawks. Hunting became growingly a matter of status. From the time falconry started, the kind of bird used was showing the social class differences. And ladies of rank were first involved in the falconry, which was two or three thousand years ago and which also was showing social ranking. It was not the normal picture of a woman and only evident in high society.²

With the 17th century women "started to carry guns"³. A phenomenon only visible within the nobility or people of rank. And in the 18th century fashion was a very important issue on a hunt and dresses of high significance, which mirrors that status and money were extremely essential.

¹ Brusewitz (1969), p. 14.

² Cf. Brusewitz (1969), p. 14ff.

³ Brusewitz (1969), p. 95.

Included here was the dog breeding, which started earlier but became a business in the 17th and 18th century. One can almost say, one dog for each game.⁴

The hunting history in the North is generally the same like in a lot of other parts of the world. Hunting was an aspect of every day life, to get food, fur and skin. And that happened not only for self use but to have as payment as well. A first kind of law is found in the early 11th century. It points out the rights a hunter had in that time.

<i>“Den äger hare, som griper den,</i>	<i>[One owns the hare, that grabbs it,]</i>
<i>Den äger räv, som driver upp den,</i>	<i>[One owns the fox, that chases it up,]</i>
<i>Den äger varg, som vinner den,</i>	<i>[One owns the wolf, that wins it,]</i>
<i>Den äger björn, som jagar den,</i>	<i>[One owns the boar, that hunts it,]</i>
<i>Den äger älg, som fäller den,</i>	<i>[One owns the moose, that kills it,]</i>
<i>Den äger utter, som tager den ur å.</i>	<i>[One owns the otter, that takes it from the creak.]”⁵</i>

Hunting in Sweden was often necessary to survive for the poor farmer people until the 18th century but a general changing in the society structures made it loose significance on the whole. But also in Sweden the hunt as a symbol of class was of importance. In the time of the Middle Age the kings and knights saw hunting as popular free time activity. Hunting meant in this case often on horses and with dogs that chased the game. That lower people than kings and knights should hunt deer and small game was strictly forbidden and there existed only a few exceptions in northern Sweden and Finland. In contrast to this was standing the hunt on predators like boar and wolf, which were regarded as a big problem. For this the government even paid out money to the hunters to protect tame animals in the forests, like sheep, goats, cows or pigs.⁶ Hunting as a privilege stopped in the year 1789 with Gustav III, who decided that all farmers should have the right to hunt their own land. This brought a problem for the amount of game, especially deer, when people started to hunt without structure and took time before the government could constitute some rules, like hunting times and punishment for poachers. Nowadays hunting is the only way to regulate deer populations which otherwise could grow too much and bring damage

⁴ Cf. Brausewitz (1969), p. 104ff.

⁵ Christoffersson, p. 11 [my translation].

⁶ Cf. Christoffersson, p. 11f.

for nature.⁷ This was the time when *Svenska Jägareförbundet* was founded, 3rd of April 1830. This organization was given the task to lead and organize hunt and game protection by the government. Also researches on different kinds of game as well as on nature are done by *Svenska Jägareförbundet*.⁸

During the last years in Sweden the percentage of women that started hunting rose with 44 percent, onto 5,9 percent, since 1999. But that is only the number of women that is member of *Svenska Jägareförbundet*. Anyway women are only a small party within this organization and *Svenska Jägareförbundet* is working actively to help rising this number of women that are interested in hunting. *JAQT* (Jagande Aktiva Qvinnor I Tiden) was founded to help this idea to get forms and women that want to start hunting as well as experienced women shall have a opportunity to meet. It shall be possible for everybody to get contacts and experienced members are welcome to share their knowledge. The first female network celebrates the 10th birthday this year and was founded under the name *Kvinnor & Jakt*.⁹

3.2 Ulrich Beck's individualisation concept

Beck's idea of a reflexive modernization, in which individualization takes part, is not only a picture of the general structural transformation but describing that the relations between social structures and social agents are changing, means a social transformation within modernity. Agents must alter to fit into the changing structures of the modernization process.¹⁰ "Reflexive modernization means not less but more modernity, a modernity radicalized *against* the paths and categories of the classical industrial setting."¹¹

The term detraditionalization marks an important fact in Beck's individualization process. That means traditional factors are getting softened. This leads to the trend that class dependant lifestyles and status withdraw into the background.¹²

Beck is basing his studies onto Germany and has as thesis that the German model of social differences has stayed relatively stable. But "*the living conditions of the population have changed*

⁷ Cf. Christofferson, p. 12.

⁸ Cf. Svenska Jägareförbundet, p. 4, 11.

⁹ Cf. Kjellsson (a), Kjellsson (b), JAQT, p. 3f.

¹⁰ Cf. Beck (1992), p. 2ff.

¹¹ Beck (1992), p. 14.

¹² Cf. Beck (1992), p. 87ff.

*dramatically*¹³, which includes social changes like education, income and more. Those transformations, with the lack of traditional assistance and the dissipation of subculture class identities, have led to an individualization and diversification of lifestyles. People must rely on themselves because they do not have this traditional network any longer that could always assist before. To survive they can only count on themselves, economically as well as on other aspects. The labour market is gaining importance as the “‘Motor’ of Individualization”¹⁴.

There are negative aspects of the individualization, which I will just name here. Unemployment and poverty. But this will not be of any interest for me because hunting is a hobby that requires money. Additionally I will only name the three factors named by Ulrich Beck, which shall help him to explain that individualization partly is a product of the labour market. Those would be education, mobility and competition¹⁵, which complete and reinforce each other and in this way cause a process of individualization. Those two aspects are not of big interest for my work because they are focusing on the economical side, but I will name them here to show that the concept offers more explanations than I can illustrate in this research paper.

But the fact that social ties are getting less important and an own personal destiny comes into view¹⁶, which is named in connection with those three factors, will be of further significance for me later when talking about hunting networks. To build networks and get the social ties seems to be an important issue in the hunting.

Individualization is grounded on other developments like the rising living standard or the higher income. Everybody can have an own car and can go to the yearly holiday. Women’s movement, means that they are not longer dependent on their husbands, can illustrate the process of individualisation. Women can construct and live their own lives, “inside” as well as “outside the family”¹⁷.¹⁸

Beck is as well pointing out which consequences modernization and individualization have on the family and so also on men and women as individuals. He names it the “private ‘relationship conflict’”¹⁹ and describes it in three theses, the feudal character of the industrial

¹³ Beck (1992), p. 91.

¹⁴ Beck (1992), p. 92.

¹⁵ Cf. Beck (1992), p. 93ff.

¹⁶ Cf. Beck (192), p. 94.

¹⁷ Beck (1992), p. 95.

¹⁸ Cf. Beck (1992), p. 91ff.

¹⁹ Beck (1992), p. 104.

society, the tendencies of individualization in the life contexts of men and women, and the identification of conflicts that come with the possibilities of choice. It might be a problem for men and women to live together and have families. Industrial society with the social forms it creates, detraditionalization of family and class antagonisms, is the reason for those problems that might show. Being a part of modernity those antagonisms do not pause and appear inside the family, too. Sacrifice on one hand and mobility and personal contest on the other show the nature of the modernization process, a “separation of family and production”²⁰. Differences in pay or career and a system of inequalities concerning “gender fates”²¹ show up in this context. But with the modernity the private sphere is becoming reflexive. That means that people in the institution of parenthood try to reunify the private and the working life.

So the individualization, which removed class culture, is as well freeing people from gender means that the individual aspect is standing in contrary to the relation of sexes. Everybody has a “life of their own”²² on one hand and looking for a partnership on the other. Beck presents five aspects that express the degree of the emancipation of women and which also affect the family life. First of all the rising of the life expectancy which Arthur E. Imhof has named the “*demographic liberation of women*”²³. With this comes that women have a life after getting and raising up their babies. The second aspect is the restructured housework which includes the technical automation of that work as well and mark the time after the Second World War. The third point has to do with the family planning. Whether a women wants to have children, how many that should be or if she wants a child at all is up to each women alone. The fourth viewpoint shows the fragility of the marriage and the family life. Women are no longer dependent on the money, they are working self and statistics show a growing number of divorces. Fifth, the women in general are standing out through a strong career motivation.

Furthermore all the possibilities one has to choose bring the conflict within the partnership. Like Beck mentioned the making of own decisions, which comes with individualization, can lead to problems, risks. Anything is possible but you almost cannot *not* choose. But the risky part of the modernization and individualization shall not be part of my work.²⁴

²⁰ Beck (1992), p. 107.

²¹ Ibidem.

²² Beck (1992), p. 105.

²³ Beck (1992), p. 110.

²⁴ Cf. Beck (1992), p. 116ff.

3.3 A reading of Elias' civilization process

Norbert Elias term of civilization can describe very different facts. It can be seen as regarding living conditions, relations between people and almost anything that people can do. It describes the self-confidence of the Occident, argues Elias. Everything that this type of society thinks being better, superior, is collected in this term in first case.²⁵

Elias interest is concerning the subject of every-day-life phenomena and how in this context norms, etiquette rules, habits and more have developed in historical processes.²⁶ Civilization means to be a process or at least result of a process, something that always is going forward.²⁷

Elias is differentiating the terms civilization and culture, which stand close to each other but do not exactly stand for the same. Especially the history of the development of the two terms is different, looking onto Germany, France and England. This thought of Elias I will not follow further because I do not see a use for my work in this discussion.²⁸ Instead I want to show how Elias sees a transformation in the human behaviour with the term civilization as the starting point.

Civilization according to Elias always contains a flavour of Christianity and the idea of the crusade because the concept of being superior developed in that time of history.²⁹ The term civilization, with its meaning, got hardened fast in the heads of the people and was as well standing for a transformation within the life of people. The behaviour of the people, including the way to look at other people as well as how to use body language. How to sit or to greet.³⁰ And Elias is quoting Erasmus von Rotterdam, who has already early studied the human behaviours. That Erasmus von Rotterdam in his explanations to that time is bothering our sense of embarrassment we have today, is one feature of the civilization process, points Elias out. It is showing how people change and how "uncivilised"³¹ people were then.

And how did the occidental civilization change from one standard to the other, asks Elias³².

He borrows Bourdieu's expression of the *habitus* to describe those special personal characteristics that one individual has together with all the other persons in its social group with

²⁵ Cf. Elias (1978), p. 1f.

²⁶ Cf. Miegel, Johansson (2002), p. 117.

²⁷ Cf. Elias (1978), p. 3.

²⁸ Cf. Elias (1978), p. 7-64.

²⁹ Cf. Elias (1978), p. 65.

³⁰ Cf. Elias (1978), p. 67f.

³¹ Elias (1978), p. 73 (my translation).

³² Cf. Elias (1978), p. 74.

using etiquette books of different history epochs. He is especially anxious to compare habits that are closely connected to the biological body functions, like for example to eat and to drink.

He explains that the behaviour of people have changed gradually from the middle age till now, it became more refined and improved. And some things have been placed outside the social life. According to Elias do people begin more and more to take care of themselves and their behaviour, which started in the higher classes.³³ The courts are getting the birth place of good manners and ways to behave.³⁴ Furthermore people are getting more dependent on each other over the borders of any status, which marks the process of individualization.

The family, continues Elias, got one of the most important roles in the life of the people. Only here can they do completely what they need to without hiding it, like it is necessary in social life. The private life is reaching more importance.³⁵

3.4 Gender and Judith Butler

Gender studies have as their starting point that men and women are different and that the characteristics of men and women are constructed. This can be traced back to history and the development of special social and cultural expectations belonging to either men or women that do not have anything do to with the biological aspects of being male or female. And because special expectations are fixt to men and women there is a separation between sex and gender as matter of research. And this distinction of gender and sex brings difficulties because one is a biological and the other a constructed phenomena.

Nevertheless gender studies examine social and cultural made differences of how sexes are seen in diverse societies and cultures. Further they want to find out the consequences those distinctions have on the people.

There exist several feministic perspectives and I will name seven here. This would be the liberal feminism, the marxistic feminism, the radical feminism, the psychoanalytic feminism, the existentialistic feminism, the socialistic feminism and the post modern feminism.³⁶

³³ Cf. Miegel, Johansson (2002), p. 122ff.

³⁴ Cf. Elias (1978), p. 96.

³⁵ Cf. Elias (1978), p. 222.

³⁶ Cf. Miegel, Johansson (2002), p. 157ff.

Butler points out that the subject of “women” is no longer understood in permanent and stable conditions and that it is not clear in the debates what it is that forms this category of women. But definite is that when one is a woman one is surely more than only that. And because gender is dealing with facts like ethnic, class or racial modalities of identities it will always be of political and cultural interest. Further gender is produced and maintained within those connections of culture and politics. Additionally gender is described by Butler as a factor and a dimension of examination as well as marking cultural and biological modifications of a person.

Although gender studies try to refer to the harmony of identity concerning the unity of women is there anyway showing up a split, a difference between sex and gender. Judith Butler is picking up the fact that “gender is culturally constructed”³⁷ so there exists a distinction between the “sexed body”³⁸ and the culturally constructed gender. Butler expresses that gender reflects the sex or is constrained by it. The body is the place where this difference of sexes gets visible and the gender you will see through society’s eyes. The problems coming along with such a rough splitting of the matter is that of the defining. If sex also would be not a given but a constructed thing it would be difficult to “define gender as the cultural interpretation of sexes, if sex itself is a gendered category.”³⁹ Sex is established whereby gender is the category that has the cultural importance, the surface on which culture can act politically neutral. So gender is tightly connected to the surrounded culture and not only connected but also influenced. In other words gender is generating a person’s identity through action in the surrounding circumstances.

In any way female identity is standing always in contrast to the masculine domination. It shows the binary relation in which masculine and feminine terms are set apart and that this differentiation is connected “through the practices of heterosexual desires.”⁴⁰ Heterosexuality describes as a historical, complex system of discourse and power.

Now it is time to make a summary of the three different theories that I described in this chapter and tie them together.

All three authors have the society of a starting point which is influencing the individual. And with the changing of the surrounding society over the years the individual is changing as well.

³⁷ Butler (1990), p. 6

³⁸ Ibidem.

³⁹ Butler (1990), p. 7.

⁴⁰ Butler (1990), p. 23.

Both Beck and Butler point out that the individuals are writing their life stories themselves with making their own decisions in a situation where women are no longer restricted by gender roles (Beck) and through action in the surrounding circumstances, which makes gender not given but self created (Butler). Butler is not focusing on a difference between men and women when she is arguing that action does gender. And Beck does see everybody as a result of individualization whereas women are specially affected. The traditional roles of women are important points for both of them.

Elias is looking onto the individual as well that is changed by ongoing processes in society. But his major interest is that people orientate themselves on the 'higher classes' in their process of transformation.

4 Methods

In this section I want to focus on the methods that are used for my thesis. I will explain why I chose them and what those methods involve. I will introduce the method of the interview and what to do when you have text as data. This shall help the reader to be able to get an impression of the study, means how it was done. This work will be built up on interviews and for additional information I chose an analysis of two magazines for women, which are *JAQT – kvinnligt nätverk* and *Damernas Värld*, to confirm or weaken the results won through the interviews.

4.1 Why I chose them

One of the first reasons for me to chose the interview for my small research process was that I want to catch feelings and emotions from the people. People that are “involved in *a particular situation*”⁴¹, in my case the hunt. Furthermore the interview is “focused on the subjective experiences of the person”⁴² and leads to “*their definition of the situation*”⁴³.

The depth interview, as one kind of interview, offers the researcher gratifying basic information of deepness and complexity for further theoretical analysis of how individuals see a special

⁴¹ Merton, Fiske, Kendall (1990), p. 3.

⁴² Ibidem.

⁴³ Ibidem.

theme. I want to get those deep and detailed information, want them to tell me about their experiences with hunting, out of what reason they started and more with their own words. To let the women talk is in this case easier than finding and asking the right questions. And even if the theme is not a very sensitive one it is anyway individually shaped and consequently has the need to let the person tell about private thoughts and experiences. And the women might have very different reasons why they hunt and probably different every day life situations. I used the semi structured interview to be able to control the conversation at least in that way to get the answers to my questions in the end but anyway get a deep insight. A questionnaire that I used was fulfilling the task of a guideline and help, so that the conversation would stick to the theme.

Furthermore as a student the costs are always of importance and those are quite low with an interview. First of all not that much equipment is required and the utensils needed are not hard to get. You need a recorder to tape the interview and for the notes during the interview paper and pen are sufficient. So the costs are on a low level.

It is said that this in-depth-interview, that I used as well, is often operate with to complete data that is already collected with other methods. I hope to turn that around. My aim is to collect the necessary data through the interviews and then compare with the data I can gather from the magazines. I chose the analysis of *JAQT* and one article out of *Damernas Värld* because an observation in the field was not possible in this short amount of time. And even if I know a couple of women that are hunting I have only once seen one hunting so far.

Both methods, interview and text analysis, are qualitative methods so there is no data based on numbers and calculations like quantitative data is. "Qualitative analysis consists of two phases: the *purification of observation* and *unriddling*."⁴⁴

4.2 The interview

Even if an interview has a lot in common with a conversation it is much more than that. Following I want to describe what an interview actually is and how one uses it, according to Martyn Denscombe.

⁴⁴ Alasuutri (1995), p. 13.

This type of collecting data for the research process can bring very detailed data from only a couple of persons or not that deep going information from a lot of people. If the researcher wants to get data that is based on feelings, experiences and emotions as well as the handling of sensitive questions he might choose the interview. Because here people can talk themselves and give information one cannot get with a questionnaire because this experiences might be very individual or sensitive. There exist different forms of the interview, basing on the different goals researchers wants to achieve. The structured interview, the semi structured interview and the unstructured one. The border between the two last ones is gliding and not exact to point on. The difference is that the informer shall almost speak completely free without much help of the interviewer in the unstructured interview. In the semi structured one the researcher still has a small list with questions that shall be answered.

Interviews can be performed as a personal or a group interview. The personal interview is the most common one. Additionally are there different methods for the actual collecting of the data. The researcher can make notes during the interview or he/she can record everything. Notes are of course influenced by the researcher's viewpoint and moreover you can in the end interpret the notes wrong. But in connection to the recorded interview they might be of advantage because they can for example include surroundings and atmosphere. Non-verbal communication can on the other hand not be caught by the record the researcher has done. There are always positive and negative aspects to every method. So a combination of both notes and recording would be helpful to best gain sufficient information.

The advantages of an interview are many and diverse. Interviews can give deep and detailed information and can give the interviewer valuable views into the theme. Additionally there is not very much equipment needed for an interview and it is a very flexible method of collecting data. Moreover the researcher is getting data after the interviewee's priorities which might be helpful.⁴⁵

4.3 Text as data

Also text can work as source of data like observation or interview. Here the researcher must valuate the sources that he/she has to disposal and additionally judge the credibility of it.

⁴⁵ Cf. Denscombe (2000), p. 130ff.

The sources can occur in different forms. Books and magazines are the most common text sources that one uses for analysis. But also newspaper, internet, letters and more can be used in this sense.

Anyway the evaluation of written sources follows also some points that the researcher must pay attention to. Is the source authentic and credible? Is it representative within its kind?⁴⁶

I will concentrate myself on two magazines, *JAQT* and *Damernas Värld Nr. 13 2006*. *JAQT* concerns the topic of women and hunting and has been a supplement to the magazine *Svensk Jakt*. *Damernas Värld* is one of many magazines for women, which has all topics from make up, food and holiday trips to perfumes, cloth and all kinds of reports. The report interesting me is called *kvinnor som skjutter skarpt*, where three female hunters are interviewed.

I am not interested in making a text analysis like method books may describe it. I will not go into one text and for example count words or make a traditional analysis of the contents. There exist many different ways one can analyse a text⁴⁷, including a focus on grammar and more. But I could not use the data that would stand at the end of a text analyses like that.

What I require is information to add to my data. I want to support a statement that the interviewees made with information I find in the magazines.

5 Results and Analysis

In the fifth chapter I will first introduce the five interviewees with some short information and I will explain how the interviews were done generally.

Following I will present results out of the interviews and connect those to the theories made earlier. Moreover the two newspapers, *JAQT* and *Damernas Värld*, will give a source of information, which shall be added to the data from the interviews. This way I want to analyse the data I collected through interviews and magazines.

⁴⁶ Cf. Denscombe (2000), p. 187ff.

⁴⁷ See: Schlobinski (1996) or Plett (1979).

5.1 The interviewees and the interviews

During my research I was talking to five women about their experiences with hunting, who I could get in contact with through friends or who I knew self. Additionally the so called snowball selection⁴⁸ was helping to find more possible interviewees.

There are different reasons for this number of people. The first one is that it was difficult to find more, which had different motives itself. The most common one was that people did not have time to meet me. So short before Christmas and New Year there was a lot to do either at work or with other preparations at home. But I also was facing the problem that I did not even get an answer on my question if someone would have time to take part in the interview. The second reason for the amount of people was my limited area of interaction. I would have had the chance to find more interviewees if I could have included entire Sweden instead of a small part of Skåne. One of the biggest problems that I had to face was the aspect of time. With more time a lot more would have been possible. But all in all I think that I could collect quite good data also with only five participants.

I will continue now with a short presentation of the interviewees.

- Anna(1), 30 years old, is living alone in a flat in a small city and has a boyfriend whom she is seeing in the weekends. She has a master in agricultural science and is working as a consultant in the farming sector. She made the hunting licence when she was 24 and she is actively and regularly hunting since 5 years.
- Marie(2) is 51 years of age, single and living together with her two daughters, who are 9 and 20 years old, in a house in a city. She is nurse from the beginning and she had a lot to do with research, development and training already then. Now she is working with global development and training in an international company. Marie made her hunting licence 5 years ago and is hunting regularly. She is member of a network.
- Katharina(3) is 37 years of age. She has a husband and two daughters, who are 3 and 11, and they all are living on a farm on the countryside. She has made her education in managing a farm, then she became a travel courier and now she has her own shoe shop. She never made a hunting licence but hunted already when she was a child. Now as adult she is not hunting anymore.

⁴⁸ Cf. Svenning (1996), *Metodboken*, p. 104.

- Maria(4) is also 51 years old. She has two children, a son 28 and a daughter 24, who are not living at home anymore. She is living on the farm she has together with her husband and is as well running it together with him. She started to hunt 1975 or 76, when it was not necessary to have a hunting licence, and is still hunting actively and a lot. The licence she made 1983 and she is active member in a network.
- Britt(5), 46 years, is single but living together with her son, 6, and her daughter, 4. She is working with business management. Britt started hunting when she was about 18 years old and made her hunting licence at a later point. She almost stopped hunting since the children are there but now and then she is still going out.

The interviews happened at the working place in two occasions and in the home of the interviewees in the other three. The shortest interview was about 40 minutes long and the longest one took almost one and a half hour. I had a questionnaire with 15 questions with me, which should help me as guidelines, but I tried to hold the conversation free and guide back to the theme when it was necessary. The questionnaire includes two main topics which are general information about the interviewee and questions concerning hunting. Here I was asking about their own opinions as well as about other peoples opinions, own experiences, stereotypes and I asked them to talk about feelings as well. In total I can say that all five women liked to talk about their hobby and it was not at all problematic to get any answers.

I taped the conversation so that after doing the interview I could write down what was said, which was a very time intensive task, to have a permanent and complete documentation of the data.⁴⁹ Furthermore is it much easier to work with the data when it is written down and additionally I could already get into “close contact”⁵⁰ with the data in the writing process.

5.2 Results, Theories and Magazines

In this section I want to show the results that I got out of the interviews in form of quotations in most cases. In the second step I will then make a connection to the three theories described earlier in this work and the magazine *JAQT* as well as to the article *Kvinnor som skjuter skarpt*.

⁴⁹ Cf. Denscombe (2000), p. 145.

⁵⁰ Denscombe (2000), p. 155 (my translation).

To form your life with your own decisions or how did you come to start hunting?

“Well, I’m coming from farming and nature. I’m used to be out in the nature and so on. It is fairly natural to me.” (1)

“It is a kind of a lifestyle in a way and if you are free you try to ... you try to get out. [...] I thought that it was fairly much fun to go to that course. [...] I thought that it was fun. Interest to start ... well, that was maybe not that I had decided to start hunting but I wanted to know more about that with animals and nature and how that is connected to each other.” (2)

“I am born into hunting.” (3)

“It was so that we were outside a lot, that we were in the forest. ... Well, we were out a lot and went around together in the forest. [...] I thought was fun to be with him (the father when he was out hunting).” (4)

“My interest in hunting actually started ... my father shot with pistol. And so I started to shoot with pistol as I started school. [...] And then I married a farmer and he hunted a lot. That’s how I got interest in it.” (5)

A short impression out of the interviews is showing how different the view onto the start of the hobby is under the interviewees. And at the same time it is maybe not that diverse like it may seem. It is possible to see a tendency into one direction.

“I think that a lot of girls hunt because they have someone, either boyfriend or someone from the family, who has pulled them with. I can’t imagine that one thinks: Oh, I really would like to shoot an animal so I should start to hunt. I think that people have someone who pulls them with into it. But also to be with. Not to be outside the group.” (1)

“I think I got a bit influenced when I met my husband. I don’t think that I would have been hunting, not that much anyway, if I had met a city person instead.” (5)

Also Christa Dörring, who is veterinarian and hunter and is telling about her experiences in *Damernas Värld*, has a father who was hunting actively.⁵¹ And so has Trine Bengtsson, 35 and professional hunter. “My father is a hunter and I started to go out with him on hunts since I was 8 years old.”⁵²

⁵¹ Cf. Gysing, *Damernas Värld*, p. 60.

⁵² Gysing, *Damernas Värld*, p. 63 (my translation).

And the answers with the same background we can also find in *JAQT* in an article which is called “like the mother, so the daughter”⁵³. The mother, Ewa Klingspor, explains that she always has been with when her father was out and that she learnt a lot of him as well. And then the mother gave the tradition to her daughter who is self hunting a lot and like her mother active in a female network.

Maybe it is possible to refer to what Beck says about the transformation within modernity, that agents must adjust themselves to fit into the changing structures of the modernization process.⁵⁴ People get new interests. People are getting individualized. They are helping actively to form the modernization process, for example with getting in to new areas that were left to special groups of the society earlier. “I think there is a trend that more and more look for a possibility to be in nature. That is obvious in fashion and lifestyles,” says Nanna Åkerlund-Klingspor in *JAQT*. “I started to hunt when my parents moved out onto a farm [...]. Then it awoke a lot of attention with a woman that hunted”⁵⁵, points Alexandra Wingårdh out in *Damernas Värld*. And Beck continues that people are forming their own life stories because they are making their own decisions, like Åkerlund-Klingspor points out, too. Women decide, out of what reasons ever, to start hunting for example.

“I only think it is of course natural that anybody can hunt. If they want it.” (3)

“... I don't care about that. I don't care but like I said, I do what I think is fun and I am standing for it.” (5)

For Christa Dörring shall life be in harmony with nature and hunt is a natural part of it.⁵⁶ A natural thing.

The status in hunting or what does hunting mean to you?

“I hunt most because I think it is social, nice. Nice to be out and I think that it is fun to socialise with people. And that is a nice form to socialise. [...] And hunting itself is fun because there is such an excitement in it” (1)

“For me it is the whole concept with it, partly to be out [...] and partly I think that this with the rising understanding, rising understanding for the connection between nature and animals

⁵³ Lewander (a), *JAQT*, p. 8 (my translation).

⁵⁴ Cf. page 6.

⁵⁵ Gysing, *Damernas Värld*, p. 64 (my translation).

⁵⁶ Cf. Gysing, *Damernas Värld*, p. 60.

and everything. That must have been what made me start this course. And then it is that you come out and see a lot of animals. [...] That is so relaxing.” (2)

“Game conservation. For me it is game conservation. It is not slaughter but it is game conservation. [...] Ducks, goose and pheasants, especially pheasant, that is more a game with deadly end, actually. ... A social gathering, that is what it is.” (3)

“Hunting means ... first it is social. Well, there is a lot social atmosphere all around the hunting. And the hunt itself is excitement, in fact.” (4)

“Hunting means ... to take care of the game, actually. To treat the game correctly, with respect. Earlier it meant to shoot and to kill but it is not the meaning that anymore.” (5)

For Trine Bengtsson hunting is a necessary way to take care of the game and to get food onto the table. “Hunt requires also big demands to you as person. Do you want to get out and experience concentration, self-confidence and excitement in combination with nature and animal experiences, then hunting is a fairly fitting thing.”⁵⁷

Believing in Beck would mean that class dependent lifestyles and status withdraw into the background⁵⁸ so that there should not be any sign left of this kind of aspects in the hunting world. And asking the women about their perception of hunting, no word of class or status appears. They obviously do not see hunt as a status symbol in the first case. And a closer look reveals that the class aspect in hunting does not any longer play an important role.

“I would not say that there are only rich people or something like that. I don’t think so” (1)

“Yes, earlier it was. [...] And then it was nothing else than a nobility thing.” (3)

“Not at all for my part. Absolutely not.” (4)

But even if none of the interviewees is hunting because of the status meaning in the act of hunting it is becoming obvious that some of them are aware that there might be this meaning in it anyway.

“Yes. Absolutely, there are (different classes). [...] I think that it is like with all other sports as well. There exist a higher class variant of it and a general variant, that’s how you could say. [...] And then you have those that have own hunting ground and that live on an estate. And those people have another kind of hunt. Often there are actually other people that arrange very much

⁵⁷ Gysing, *Damernas Värld*, p. 63 (my translation).

⁵⁸ Cf. page 6.

to you in that kind of hunt. While you yourself maybe go out and shoot but you have a small group of people who take care of the animals and do all that things.” (2)

“I can remember one time when I was on one of this big hunts (with 13,14) when it was my job to load the gun for one of the ladies that hunted.” (3)

“No, I have not at all thought about that. I have only thought about that for me it is a fun hobby. But I understood that some see it as a class thing. [...] I have experienced that, when you are on an estate hunt, there exists a kind of hierarchy, fairly much hierarchy actually. You are calling each other by last name at some places.” (5)

How does that fit into the picture? Is Beck maybe not right that status and lifestyle vanish? But maybe it is to interpret that they are getting less but not disappear completely. Or maybe it is a better idea to bring Elias into view at this point. He says that people are always influenced by the higher classes when it is about changing the behaviour.⁵⁹ And even when this it getting unconscious this shows that there always exist something that in some aspects must be of ‘higher class’. That might nowadays be to orientate not on class but on some kind of standards, higher standards. This orientation on some higher features is an ongoing process, which is always moving forward. And even if he is more concerning behaviours like eating and drinking he is generalizing this orientation

“Well, even if you don’t have very much money you have a special attitude, you fix things in a special way.” (2)

Old networks or new networks?

“I don’t have a man that I live together with.” (2)

“I am single. [...] We separated in autumn. And since then I am on my own.” (5)

It is getting normal that social networks are not the same that they have been a couple of years ago. In our society it is no longer necessary to have a big family and traditional assistance⁶⁰. People now can and must rely on themselves. Social ties are getting less important, Beck points out⁶¹, because people are more interested in their own destinies.

But is that really so?

⁵⁹ Cf. page 10.

⁶⁰ Cf. page 7.

⁶¹ Cf. page 7.

It is right that there do not exist the big family networks with the deep connections between the members like in the 'old days'. But are social relations really getting unimportant? How is that in hunting?

"It is a nice form to socialise. [...] For me it is completely the social thing with it and it is a fun hobby." (1)

"It is also giving you fairly much peace, fairly fascinating to sit together in the forest and talk. Yes, the social aspect as well." (2)

"But when we have a hunt ourselves then it is only a social gathering. It is only to meet and to have dinner together in the evening." (3)

"You go more together (comparison hunt birds or deer, here birds). [...] Yes, I think it's more social. [...] To meet friends and to have fun together." (5)

Obviously the social aspect in hunting may not be underestimated. Maybe, comparing money and social ties, the money gets a higher position. "A lot of women that travel with me are 50-55 years of age. The children have moved away, they have time and money [...]", says Trine Bengtson, who leads hunting safaris. But I am not sure if the money aspect is sufficient evidence to say that social ties are not of importance longer. Those social aspects in hunting are named of all five interviewed women. And almost all of them agree about that they are even more apparent in bird and small animal hunts. This might be because the drives are shorter and people do not spread over such a big area but are grouping more. So the possibility to socialise is constantly given, whereas hunting deer or pig often means to sit and wait long and lonely and the socialising part is coming after the hunt. And only after the hunt in normal case. And if social connections would not be essential for people why would there be networks? Also in the hunting area there exist networks, even special ones made for women.

"I have heard people talking about it a couple of years ago." (5)

But what is making the women want to be a part in such a network? Would it be reasonable to look only for the aspect of social ties, so to say connections? Or is there another aspect that is central?

"I could think about going to such a course where you teach yourself shooting and so on. It's not that much prestige in it if it is a group of girls that maybe are not that good. It would be worth if there would stand a group of older men." (1)

“And it’s fairly fun because ... it is without prestige. Everybody is helping each other and there is a friendly attitude and you want to be out and shoot and train. [...]No, I only have positives things to say about it.” (2)

“Maybe you don’t have to prove yourself or something like that for the other men, that I can actually, but it should only be for the same interest in a thing together with other women. Exactly the same like going to spinning [...] and so avoid proving yourself for a man that you can. [...] Yes, I can thing it’s a very good thing when you come from the city and you don’t know anybody that hunts but you think that it’s very fun to hunt. Then it’s a very good thing. And when you start somewhere where it’s only ladies you can feel a little safer.” (3)

“I am member of a female network. [...] I was invited actually, a little like an expert. And I thought that it was fun to meet new people and all have the same interest and that’s hunt. And then it is that all come from different social groups you can say. But all have the same interest and that’s hunt. [...] We meet once a month (for presentations and seminars).” (4)

So it is apparently not only the connection to other people that is the interesting part in such a network. Moreover the possibility to train, to learn more about the theme, which includes not only hunt but as well slaughtering lessons for example, and to be with people of the same kind are other important facts.

In *JAQT* you can get to know what *Svenska Jägareförbundet* wants a network to be, a female network in this case. *JAQT*-networks organize different activities. Exercise shooting, test hunts and different seminars can be those activities. You can also get to know how to slaughter, for example. Exchange within the different networks in the entire country happen shall provide exchange hunts as well as knowledge about the different questions within hunting that are special for special areas.⁶²

About the differences of sexes or what differs male and female hunters?

“I think that they (men) are actually a little tougher.” (1)

Christa Döring explains it almost the same in the article in *Damernas Värld*. “Maybe it’s getting a bit softer when women hunt. Not that much prestige. We don’t have to shoot in any case.”⁶³

⁶² Cf. Kjellsson (b), *JAQT*, p. 4.

⁶³ Gysing, *Damernas Värld*, p. 50 (my translation).

“And then I think that there is a difference in how women and men set priorities to their free time activities. Well, for men there is standing in the calendar: hunt, hunt, hunt. [...] You don’t take yourself that much of your own time.” (2)

And Ewa Klingspor continues that thought. “It’s harder for a girl to be a member of a hunting group for example and we have stricter demands on ourselves.”⁶⁴ And almost the same we can read from Alexandra Wingårth who has her own shooting school. She has the opinion that women still have higher expectations on themselves concerning hunting and shooting. Women are not allowed to make that many mistakes and they are worth when they happen and hang on you quiet a long time.⁶⁵

“They (women) think that it is a fun excitement in hunting and so on. But maybe it is not the killing itself which is so very important. You do it to get the ... kick, the excitement.” (1)

Believing in Butler’s concept there is no difference between man and women like we might think. A sex is obvious and there is not that much one can change about it. It is given by nature. Whereas gender is generating a person’s identity through action in the surrounding conditions⁶⁶. So there are maybe typical male and female things that people do and through changing the roles, with doing typical male things as a women, the traditional view onto gender is changing. “We must also be allowed to make mistakes. Women do neither more nor less mistakes than men”⁶⁷, comments Alexandra Wingårth in a *JAQT* article. And in the article in *Damernas Värld* she is adding that not being man or woman decides over your abilities as a hunter. A good hunter is a person with a good judgement, she says. And Nanna Åkerlund-Klingspor’s words point into the same direction. She is not that engaged like her mother within the networks because she does not think that there should be a difference between men and women.⁶⁸

Beck, in comparison to Butler, makes a clear separation between men and women in the individualization process and within the family. He names it the “private ‘relationship conflict’”⁶⁹. Women too now want to have their lives inside and outside the family and they try to manage working and private live in their relationships. And how does now hunting show itself in this context? Does hunting have consequences on live and family?

⁶⁴ Lewander (a), *JAQT*, p. 9 (my translation).

⁶⁵ Cf. Lewander (b), *JAQT*, p. 15.

⁶⁶ Cf. page 11.

⁶⁷ Lewander (b), *JAQT*, p. 15 (my translation).

⁶⁸ Cf. Lewander (a), *JAQT*, p. 9.

⁶⁹ See, page. 7.

“But I can imagine that in the future, if I and my boyfriend, if we get a baby together then it’s me that stays home. Because he has a bigger interest in hunting I think. And a bigger hunting circle. [...] And that is probably fairly common I guess.” (1)

“Hunting is a valuable free time activity which I like fairly much. [...] First the family. You actually have as basis family and job and home. [...] And cleaning does not come before hunting in the priority list.” (2)

“I grow up with it. It has a fairly big influence on my live.” (3)

“It has a very big influence on my live. That it has. Hunting comes ... it is like the first priority. [...] To be out and take care of the game is what one does a lot. [...] We have that as common interest. And we do a lot together. [...] She (daughter) is very good in handling a gun but she is not hunting. But Markus (son) is actually hunting a lot.” (4)

“Not that much influence any longer. Now I can live without hunting 7 days a week. [...] But the children do get knowledge about it.” (5)

In any case hunting has an influence on the family. And sometimes it is more obvious. Most of the women took it a bit slower when they got children, like Ewa Klingspor⁷⁰, and others almost stopped.

“Priorities change.” (5)

But I could see another aspect in my interviews which showed that men and women differ. Here I mean how men and women that do not have anything to do with hunt look at women that hunt or how the interviewees differ themselves from hunting men.

“I’m absolutely sure that there is a difference. I guess that they think that it’s more strange that a girl can hunt than that a boy is doing so.” (1)

Well, yes, I think that a couple of women have a hard time to understand why you should shoot something. Kill something. Yes. There I think women have a harder time to understand. When you are a woman who at the same time has to do with live and give birth and take care and so on ... and then on the other hand one can kill something too. Yes, that’s what a part has problems with.” (2)

“Men like most to shoot game while women like best to go with dogs. [...] You work together (with the dog) and you have an understanding. [...] A couple of men think that it is very heavy

⁷⁰ Cf. Lewander (a), JAQT, p. 8.

that a woman is hunting. I don't know if they feel threatened because of the knowledge the woman has.” (5)

Sometimes people react on women that hunt. Britt assumes that it has to do with the lack of understanding that people have, who are not friend with any hunting culture or some kind of hunting behaviour. But not all of them have experienced any kind of negative comments on their hobby. They see themselves as understood, or at least taken as they are from friends they know for long.

But on the other hand none of the interviewees has had any negative incident with a male hunter.

They (men) probably think that it is fun to have girls with. [...] They appreciate it. [...] They are curious and a bit surprised. But at the same time a bit impressed.” (1)

“I think that guys thought that it was fairy fun to have girls with. And they were fairly helpful also.” (5)

This is the common opinion. Male hunters do generally not have anything against women that come into the men's domain. There exist some exceptions where older men gave some comments. But this is getting explained by the interviewees that when those started hunting there were no female hunters present. They are just not used to it.

And *Svenska Jägareförbundet*, which mostly contains of men, is trying actively to get more and more women interested into hunt. So it is like Katharina said:

“I only think it is of course natural that anybody can hunt. If they want it.” (3)

6 Conclusions

The function with this research paper should be to look at women that hunt with individualization as focus. Like written above I did not find much data collected on that topic women and hunting. And those I found where mostly C-papers people have been writing at university. So there is not much to compare my results with because there are not focusing on the same matter but often have gender as perspective.

That women who hunt are not such an interesting research issue might have the reason in the aspect that it seems to be a fairly new phenomenon. The five interviewees questioned by me did agree about the fact that they would probably not have been hunting just a couple of dozen years

ago. Exceptions can always be found in the history of man like I point out in the hunting history section. Women have been hunting, also earlier, but it was never a general phenomenon.

The questions I brought up in the beginning I am able to answer now I suppose.

Hunting did change during the years. Starting in the history we can see the change in the way how hunting was carried out then and how it is now. Laws and rules and especially ethic behaviour towards the game mark this change. In the latest years hunting became changed even more when more and more women started to get interested into hunt. This can be taken as a fact because there are numbers that prove it. More women start hunting.

This fact can be taken for granted as well as the fact that the individualization process is actual reality. But do women now hunt because of individualization processes? Or is it more the change in gender roles? Or maybe it is something else?

As I see it after collecting and analyzing the data that I got through literature and my interviews the changing of gender roles, that Butler describes, is standing in close connection to the individualization process that Beck gives a picture of. Gender roles change because the society changes, because the individuals alter as Beck describes it. People decide themselves what they want to do with their lives and not society anymore. This is expressed in Butler's as well as in Beck's theory. And here my five women fit into the picture. They have found themselves a fun hobby which is dominated by men but is interesting for them nevertheless. They could as well have chosen golf, like three of them admitted. They all showed the signs that I described in the theory part above. They have more time now, more self determination and they are aware of the same rights they have. And the connection to Butler was made by one of the women as well: it is not of importance what sex you have to be a good hunter. Nobody is restricted by gender longer. Instead it defines out of the actions one does, man and woman.

So the phenomenon women and hunt can be seen under the individualization aspect.

Elias' theory is a bit older than the other two theories used. And because the changing within the perception of gender is a fairly new phenomenon he is not explicitly concerning this topic. He is using his theory of civilization to argue that people orientate on higher standards. And also this I could partly define in this work. Sometimes hunting is seen as a kind of hobby of status. But in normal case, as I pointed out, it is just seen as a fun hobby, without thought of any noble in it. If hunting, like good manners that Elias describes, has its origin in anything noble is questionable. Rather can we see hunting as something natural done since the beginning of man. And this is the

fact that has changed. It is an ongoing process anyway that an increasingly number female hunters join this activity.

In a C-paper of Ellen Hedlund och Anna Söderström, ”Jakt ur ett genusperspektiv - Vem är den svenske jägaren?”, there are similar conclusions and results visible. Women get drawn into hunt somehow. A good hunter is not man or woman but has knowledge and judgement. Women have more demands on themselves. Male hunters have a positive point of view towards women that hunt. But as I wrote earlier the perspective is not comparable with mine. None the less did we come to same results.

Women are more looked at in a macro perspective and not that much with focus onto every day situations. And even less are women a research matter when they are doing typical male leisure activities. My work shall be one of the few though to change this fact. And I am quiet sure that with the ongoing, modernization and individualization more and more women will do more and more “male thing”, so sooner or later the amount of works and books about this subject will increase.

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8 Appendix

Interview Questions

1. Background information: name, age, stand of family, education level.
2. Tell me about your job! What are you working with? Where? (How far away is that?)
3. Tell me about you! -- How does a normal working day look like? How a Sunday? What about your hobbies? How does family life look like?
4. How did you come to start hunting? What were reactions of family/friends?
5. What does hunting mean for you? -- Does it have to do anything with status (status symbol) and/or class? And why do you do it?
6. Do you think that hunting in general has changed during the years? -- And how for you? Explain!
7. Do you think you would have been hunting also 30/40 years ago? Explain!
8. Do you think you are treated in a different/special way by the other hunters because you are a woman when you join a hunt? -- *Do you maybe want to be treated different?*
9. Do you think that there actually **is** a difference between men and women concerning hunting?
10. Do you think that people in general have a different opinion of male and female hunters? Explain! -- Did you experience it yourself? Is there a difference in female and male reactions?
11. Do you think the opinion about female hunters has changed since you started hunting yourself?
12. Do you know that there exist networks especially for women hunters? – Would you join one of those?
13. What impact does hunting have on your life? How is it influencing your family? How much time do you spent on it? Tell me about your priorities!
14. Tell me about a special positive or negative experience you made with hunting!
15. Would you like to add something? What?

