

11 Challenging the false dichotomy of Us vs. Them

Heterogeneity in stakeholder identities regarding carnivores

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Controversy in carnivore management

Sociopolitical controversy over rules governing natural resource use and wildlife conservation is globally ubiquitous. Carnivore conservation can be particularly contentious, and decisions about whether or not to lethally remove carnivores are often framed as binary options representing polarized pro- and anti-protectionist sides where each is caricatured as universally and singularly supporting or opposing a particular policy option. Lethal control of carnivores is one of the most commonly debated policy options; policy debate over lethal control is geographically indiscriminate (Bruskotter, 2013). Polarization over policy options such as lethal control can result in a number of negative policy outcomes, including stymied decision-making, increased intolerance, and retaliatory killing of carnivores that are widely reported and denigrated. It is understandable that – given how widespread polarization is, how negatively polarization is portrayed in the mass media, and how common the caricatures of binary options about lethal control are – decision-makers may assume dichotomized public opinion is the norm and to be expected. In practice, most decision-makers know stakeholders are more diverse than an oversimplified dichotomy suggests; they work to leverage principles and practices from the knowledge base, such as community-based carnivore management, public participation, and risk communication (Lichtenfeld et al., 2015). Even when policy is science-based, the dichotomy can persist (Triezenberg, 2010).

The question then becomes, why cannot the negative effects of distorted stakes be overcome? Social science provides rich understanding about human-wildlife interactions, what human dimensions underlie such assumptions and what factors may be driving the tendency to oversimplify a dichotomy in carnivore conservation. The social science evidence base tells us stakeholder positions are rooted in complex social identities that stakeholders use to organize in groups (Marchini and Macdonald, 2012; Lute et al., 2014; Kreye et al., 2016). Deeper understanding about these group dynamics and tendencies can offer innovative ways of thinking about the negative effects of conflict over carnivore management, introduce alternative means for resolving problems, and harmonize the relationship between science and policy.

This chapter explores how the concept of social identity can be used to explain key drivers of stakeholder conflict in carnivore management. First, we introduce a review of the concept as it relates to carnivore management, paying particular attention to the implications of considering group identity as a defining characteristic or attribute during decision-making. We then discuss how social identity can be measured to optimize the efficacy and efficiency of decision-making about carnivores. Next, we explore how social identity can be incorporated into carnivore management. Our review is anchored on the case of wolf management in Michigan, and draws upon a substantial historical and social science knowledge base about the context.

The concept of social identity

Identity is the component of one's self-concept that is derived from group membership and the value and emotion attached to that membership. Social identity theory (SIT) explains how language, appearance, and other signals cue group affiliation, which drives many perceptions and behaviors relevant to social and political spheres including conservation. In response to opposition, different groups can affiliate with each other when their positions have sufficient overlap. Importantly, such affiliations do not necessarily constitute a homogenous group with the same values and perceptions. Yet outsiders often assume just that, stereotyping members of a group or affiliated groups. In SIT terminology, this is referred to as ingroup bias, whereby individuals cognitively seek to increase positive ingroup characteristics and negative aspects of outgroups in such a way as to result in a preconceived judgment about outgroup members (Sherif, 1967; Labianca et al., 1998).

Consider, for instance, initiatives to ban trapping in various western U.S. states. Arizona, California, Colorado, and Washington (as well as a number of eastern states and other countries) have passed legislation banning certain types of, or all, traps while attempts have been made in Montana, New Mexico, Oregon, and other states. In many of these cases, livestock ranchers and hunters, each as distinct identity groups, become allies in defense of wildlife trapping, whereby trapping is considered a consumptive use. Likewise, animal welfare groups sometimes align with environmentalists (i.e., those focused on natural resources protection over use) over initiatives to ban trapping. Both coalitions unite over a position that trapping (e.g., of a particular species, on public lands) is or is not an appropriate policy. Each group may have similar notions regarding how humans ought to interact with animals. Yet, animal welfare advocates focus more on the welfare of individual animals while environmentalists are often concerned more about protecting a wild population (Ramp and Bekoff, 2015). Livestock ranchers may be motivated to defend livelihoods and hunters defend trapping to obtain materials (e.g., meat, pelts) or maintain tradition and recreation. It is important to note that environmentalists or hunters as stakeholder groups may also care about individual wellbeing and animal welfare advocates can be concerned about others' livelihoods. Although there may be

some overlap in secondary dimensions, primary aspects likely determine the alliances that can lead to intergroup conflict.

It is widely assumed that affiliated groups have the same motivating values and attitudes underlying a similar position, or that taking a certain position means there are no shared values with the opposition, as in the previous example or the many social conflicts in which controversy is presented as an “Us versus Them” two-sided debate (e.g., in the United States: climate change, early childhood vaccinations, genetically modified organisms, evolution/science education). Although common, such assumptions can result in the so-called “predator pendulum” observed most notoriously with gray wolf conservation in the United States, where a carnivore species – in this case wolves – is managed according to alternatives that solely eradicate or protect the species. The pendulum swings from one extreme to the other depending on the identity group holding political decision-making power at the time a particular decision is made (Bruskotter, 2013). Identity conflict such as this case is at its root about inequalities between groups or perceptions of inequality, which leads to competition over a resource (Labianca et al., 1998; Brown, 2000; Hornsey, 2008). Although the conflict over how to manage carnivores is in part based on foundational values about how to treat non-human lives (Nie, 2003a, 2003b), carnivores or access to the legislators that make decisions about carnivores may also be a symbolic contested resource.

Identity conflict over carnivores, at least in the North American context, is rooted in historically unequal influences of social groups on wildlife management decisions. Traditionally, hunting, ranching, and rural interests dominated the decision space around wildlife in North America (Chase et al., 2011). The North American Model of Wildlife Management, long hailed as the epitome of conservation ethos, holds hunting as a central tenet in management. Contemporary critique of the model suggests this focus has, over time, had the possibly unintended outcome of disenfranchising non-hunting stakeholders (Nelson et al., 2011; Peterson and Nelson, 2016). As societal worldviews have shifted toward post-materialism and away from consumptive uses, “non-traditional” wildlife interests – such as those coming from urban, animal welfare, and wildlife advocate groups – vie for a greater voice in decision processes (Inglehart, 1977; George et al., 2016; Lute and Attari, 2016; Lute et al., 2016). In many ways, this historical shift in wildlife-related perceptions parallels other societal issues in which communities and policies are becoming more inclusive of diverse groups (e.g., marriage equality in the United States).

Thus, as the predator pendulum swings from one ingroup having power to another, the shift upsets the status quo and intergroup conflict over carnivore conservation flares. These upticks in controversy can be marked with the vitriol, misunderstanding, assumptions and power struggles typical of any identity conflict (Sherif, 1967; Triezenberg et al., 2011). These struggles often play out in courtrooms, legislative halls, and social media where groups retreat to hardened positions, appear to forget that groups are comprised of diverse individuals, and assume all their opponents are the same uneducated, wrongly-motivated

stereotype. In places where enforcement of the rule of law is weak (e.g., Cameroon, Venezuela, Madagascar), such power struggles can manifest in poaching and retaliatory killing of carnivores and other wildlife (Liberg et al., 2012; Kahler and Gore, 2015; Solomon et al., 2015). When power struggles related to carnivore conservation become part of broader social conflicts (e.g., related to land tenure, recourse allocation), conflicts can turn violent or destructive (Raik and Decker, 2007). Importantly, these social conflicts do not occur in isolation; Carter et al. (2017) discussed the coupling of social conflicts over conflict with biological processes and the emergent properties of such coupling. Without considering the micro and macro level dimensions of the issue, it is nearly impossible for an accurate picture of the problem and solution set to be made (Gore et al., 2007).

Implications of bifurcating stakeholders

Ignoring nuances in stakeholder identities and policy positions can result in diverse implications. First, oversimplifying the diversity of policy perspectives reduces the number of program options and the possibility those options will be adopted as efficient and effective policies. For example, when a decision-maker such as a wildlife manager moves forward in a decision-making process with the assumption that livestock ranchers' position is dominated by care for livelihood preservation, they essentially eliminate the possibility that ranchers might also hold values for animal welfare which could be applied to encourage non-lethal tactics for preventing carnivore attacks. Indeed, ranchers work closely with domestic and wild animals on a daily basis, and may defend their actions and positions based on care for the animals in their charge. Dismissing ranchers' concerns for animal lives unnecessarily reduces the suite of strategies available.

The Blackfoot Challenge in Montana is a conservation partnership designed to promote natural resource stewardship that benefits the Blackfoot watershed. Directed by a volunteer board of private landowners, federal and state land managers, and local government officials, the program follows a consensus-based model and works on topics including forestry, wildlife, conservation, water, weeds, and education. It aims to foster more cohesive rural communities through cooperative conservation and members' shared identity as stewards of the watershed and its inhabitants. Grizzly bears, wolves, elk, and other wildlife live within the Blackfoot Watershed. One of the program's activities involves grizzly bear conservation. The program works with ranchers in particular to help them proactively implement non-lethal management and prevent wolf and grizzly bear attacks on livestock (e.g., installing electric fences to protect calving areas and beehives, guarding herds with full- and part-time range riders or guard dogs). According to program metrics, grizzly bear conflicts with livestock decreased 93% since 2003. The collaboration would never have come to fruition and the success metrics never achieved if those involved stood by dichotomous assumptions about each other. Ranchers proved to be open to new methods

of mitigating human-bear conflict because they saw the value of carnivores on their landscapes. Conservationists proved to be open-minded to working with a relatively new group of partners and finding pragmatic solutions. Success was achieved in part because collective work toward a common cause increased the salience of a shared identity among diverse stakeholders in the Blackfoot Watershed (Ashforth and Johnson, 2001; Giannakakis and Fritsche, 2011).

Measuring social identities

Recognizing the heterogeneity of stakeholder identities and associated values and perceptions may be a critical key to minimizing ingroup bias, addressing the roots of conflict, and overcoming controversy in carnivore conservation. Including social identities along with the more commonly measured sociodemographic characteristics may strengthen predictive models of intergroup conflict in conservation (Naughton-Treves et al., 2003; Lute et al., 2016; Manfredi, 2008). By going beyond standardized sociodemographic variables that are known by social scientists to predict public opinion to a varying degree, such as education level, political affiliation, and employment status (e.g., Bright et al., 2000), researchers can measure social identity as well. Doing so, research enhances understanding of *why* relevant sociocultural factors explain why a certain group of people so strongly conflicts with another.

Oftentimes, identities are quantified to aid public engagement because, through socialization within a cultural group, identity reflects deeply held, value-laden perceptions that ultimately influence behaviors towards wildlife (Kaltenborn et al., 1999; Naughton-Treves et al., 2003). Strength of group identification increases positive emotions for members who act in accordance with group norms, which may in turn strengthen group identification further (Christensen et al., 2004). This positive catalysis may reflect some of the difficulty in voicing concern with regard to ingroup positions. Along with insight about norms and social pressures, utilizing SIT may inform understanding of influences on behavioral intentions (Christensen et al., 2004) and best strategies for public involvement and communication in wildlife decision-making. Strategies that incorporate SIT in public participation include disseminating information through trusted thought leaders within an ingroup rather than from an untrusted outgroup member or removing signals that display differing identities (i.e., using neutral language, not wearing a certain uniform or even passing out t-shirts to all participants; Ford et al., 2012).

Social identity theory explores how one's self concept relates to group affiliation (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982). According to SIT, individuals locate ingroups consisting of like-minded individuals through self-categorization, which occurs when an individual enters a situation they believe relevant to a certain social group for which s/he is a member (Tajfel et al., 1971; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). The individual views himself or herself as a representative of that group and acts according to group social norms (Jetten et al., 1996; Christensen et al., 2004). Ingroups are cohesive because of a shared desire for positive

social identity (i.e., high self-esteem), which is attained by comparisons of their ingroup to relevant outgroups (Labianca et al., 1998; Brown, 2000). Comparisons that reveal perceived inequalities in status (e.g., based on socioeconomic levels, power) result in intergroup competition and ingroup bias (Sherif, 1967; Labianca et al., 1998).

Identity is measured by group salience (i.e., the extent to which an individual finds groups membership salient; Jetten et al., 2006), which consists of accessibility (i.e., how readily evident a social categorization is over time and across contexts) and fit (i.e., the extent to which similarities and differences among people are attributable to social categorization; Hogg and Reid, 2006). Identity can be tied to relationships with specific group members (e.g., “my father taught me to be a good hunter”) or to a broad affiliation with the group as a whole (e.g., “I consider myself a representative of the hunting community”; Karasawa, 1991). All these measures address degree of identification (Perreault and Bourhis, 1998), and make up cognitive (as opposed to emotional) assessments of identity (e.g., cohesiveness, commitment, importance, similarity; Hogg and Reid, 2006). But the emotional quality of identity also applies (Perreault and Bourhis, 1998) and consists of affective components such as happiness, liking, and sense of fitting in (Karasawa, 1991). Examples of how to measure identity and the various relevant concepts are summarized in Annex 11.1.

Methodological considerations for identity research

Whether one chooses qualitative or quantitative measures of identity depend on what is already known about the identities involved in the social conflict in question. Qualitative inquiry is often best for initial exploratory phases of inquiry where relevant identities are not well understood or the research context is novel, and has the advantage of allowing stakeholders to self-identify. On the other hand, quantitative inquiry may be advantageous when there is more knowledge about the context of the conflict and actors involved. Quantitative measures in the form of internet surveys provide multiple benefits and reduced transaction costs. For example, internet surveys help simplify data sampling and collection (e.g., no printing hard copies, affixing stamps and mailing paper, manual recording of respondents and nonrespondents) and can increase sample size by extending reach, which may be necessary to precisely measure heterogeneity among diverse groups.

One of the challenges of using a structured, close-ended survey for measuring identity is that it requires 1) knowing all germane identity groups and 2) deciding how specific to be in outlining borders of group membership. For example, important differences may occur within hunting groups (e.g., deer versus bear hunters) or between animal rights, animal welfare, and other wildlife advocates. A survey item that asks a respondent to self-identify as only one type of “hunter” may fail to capture important differences among hunters’ motivations, for example, thus compromising the study’s ability to predict and understand intergroup conflict over what is and is not an appropriate method or

manner of take. Specificity may be useful and important to measure, but it can also be impractical to include a long laundry list of possible groups and affiliations. Researchers should exercise care and acknowledge important differences in groups to avoid cultural insensitivity and indicating ignorance of the groups being studied. Such differences may be revealed through thorough literature review for more studied conflicts. For novel or understudied cases, exploratory (e.g., qualitative or mixed methods) research can be carefully designed to explore salient identities of involved stakeholders. For instance, treating all tribal and First Nation groups as the same group would not do justice to or allow capture of the varied perspectives they hold in regard to natural resources (Shelley et al., 2011). While some tribes consider the wolf a brother who shares their fate, others are open to hunting wolves (Johnson, 2013). Assuming both groups share a common identity would be a mistake.

Once relevant groups and the appropriate level of specificity have been identified, researchers can assess heterogeneity in stakeholder identity by measuring one or more of the identity concepts in Annex 11.1 and use standard statistical techniques to explore how they relate to perceptions, norms and behaviors relevant to the case study or conservation challenge. Convergence among identity groups indicates, at a minimum, common ground and a launching point for collaborative decision-making or conflict facilitation. On the other hand, if degree of identification with a particular group strongly predicts a high perception of risk related to black bears, for example, then specific interventions can be aimed at that group (Gore et al., 2007; Slagle et al., 2013).

The interplay between identity and group versus personal norms may be particularly fruitful areas to explore. Group and personal norms should be first treated as independent constructs, although analysis may reveal that they correlate. Therefore, we suggest considering the interplay between the two kinds of norms and exploring whether they align. If personal and group norms align, this may indicate strong identification with the group; this can be measured within the individual or at the group level. If personal and group norms are somewhat at odds, within-group heterogeneity may be a place for intervention. Consider, for example, a hunting organization that wants to partner with an environmental group to conserve large carnivore habitat. But the environmental group has a policy (i.e., indication of a group norm) that they do not support any form of hunting (i.e., with guns, traps, poisons, aircraft) and is reluctant to partner with the hunting organization because of their ascription to the norm. If thought leaders (i.e., influential and authoritative members) of the group hold personal norms that hunting prey species for food is acceptable, they may be able to convince the group to ease the policy around hunting and collaborate with what was once considered an opposing group (see Triezenberg et al., 2011). Additionally, such diversity in intragroup personal norms, and the behaviors they may influence, can indicate areas of disagreement (perhaps healthy level, because disagreement can be positive and progressive) within a stakeholder group or evolution in the group's thinking or in the thought leaders' thinking (Triezenberg, 2010). Differing personal and group norms may

also present opportunities to shift group norms in support of a conservation goal. For example, if a key thought leader in a woolgrowers' association holds personal norms that support environmental stewardship, s/he may be able to influence the entire association's approach to nonlethal methods to reduce risks associated with coyote attacks on sheep (e.g., stress, injury, death).

Importantly, a single individual can, and likely usually does, hold "multiple identities" or express a particular identity over another during a decision-making process. Indeed, everyone identifies with various groups, such as a parent, sports fan, movie lover, or comic book nerd, depending on context. A stakeholder supporting a particular carnivore-related policy may come into a decision-making process as a representative of a local Humane Society chapter, but also identify as an outdoor recreationalist. Assuming this individual is a "prototypical" animal welfare advocate and failing to recognize multiple identities in the issue can undermine, and even counteract, the ability to understand the motivations and perceptions influencing stakeholder behavior and decision-making. Sometimes varying or contested definitions of terms can lead to confusion in measuring identity. For instance, "coexistence" could be defined as land sparing (i.e., allowing carnivores to exist in protected areas) or land sharing (i.e., people and carnivores living on the same landscapes; Carter et al., 2012; Carter and Linnell, 2016). Even the word "conservation" can be, and usually is, defined differently; some equate it with wise use while others consider it synonymous with environmentalism and protectionism (Lute and Gore, 2014a, 2014b). Therefore, it often useful to 1) measure an individual's degree of identification with all relevant identities that are clearly defined and 2) ask them to choose the most important group. Each measure can answer different and complementary questions about the role of identity in the issue at hand.

Leveraging social identity for more effective conservation

Understanding an individual's identity is a critical first step in relating to anyone, and relating to someone is a requisite for effective wildlife conservation policy outcomes. Identity helps us understand where a person is coming from, how they may view the world, and what motivates them to participate or have an interest in carnivore conservation or management. Although identity provides us with a quick and easy heuristic for relating to someone, when taken too far and the individual is seen only as a representative of the relevant ingroup, the heuristic leads to stereotypes. With this caution in mind, an analysis of social identity can be a useful step to understand human dimensions of environmental controversies or facilitate community entry prior to launching research or community conservation projects. Understanding the role of identity in wildlife conservation can also aid in objectives of increasing inclusion and diversity.

As public participatory processes and community-based conservation initiatives become increasingly common in wildlife management (Bright et al., 2000; Berkes, 2004), diverse stakeholder interests will become involved and

can be considered in decision-making. Social identity may serve as one tool to help facilitate collaboration among these many groups by providing a framework to recognize, understand, and respect diversity at group and individual levels. A first step in recognizing diversity is recognizing the assumptions and stereotypes into which one can slip. Ingroup bias may come into play in many public participatory processes. For example, qualitative research on stakeholders involved in public participation regarding wolf management decisions in Michigan indicated that ingroup bias was at play and interviewed stakeholders held common assumptions about each other (Lute, 2014; Lute and Gore, 2014b). Stakeholders identifying with a wise use conservation model (similar to – or even synonymous with – the conservationist definition used in Annex 11.1) believed that, in general, those opposed to some form of hunting were opposed to all forms (e.g., trapping, hunting with hounds). Yet stakeholders opposed to wolf hunting in Michigan focused their social identity on particular aspects of the wolf hunting policy decision making process that they felt were not justified; for example, killing carnivores or hunting for recreation or trophies. Such individuals were often supportive of hunting, in various forms, for sustenance, a reason many Americans have indicated as acceptable for taking animal life (Lute and Gore, 2014b).

Similar assumptions can occur across carnivore management groups and contexts. Animal rights or welfare advocates often assume that proponents of hunting did not weigh moral considerations and were prone to angry overreactions to the presence of wolves. Additionally, various stakeholders can make assumptions about wildlife managers (e.g., that they are either pro- or anti-hunting based on perceived favoring of various stakeholder groups). Although there are measurable differences between stakeholder groups conflicting over carnivores (Figure 11.1), ingroup bias may not fairly assess those differences but instead exploits perceived or real inequalities to serve the competitive nature of intergroup conflict. Minimizing ingroup bias is not without challenges, but working to do so may help facilitate maximally collaborative public participatory processes by helping to overcoming stereotypes and creating an open space for equal footing among multiple interests.

Minimizing ingroup bias requires interpersonal interactions among stakeholders, rather than intergroup interactions where individuals are viewed simply as prototypical representatives of their respective groups (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Hornsey, 2008). Explicitly recognizing and addressing assumptions in socially safe discursive settings may also ease intergroup conflict and aid inclusive decision-making processes (Labianca et al., 1998; Kahan, 2010; Sponarski et al., 2013). Highlighting diversity within identity groups may facilitate healthy debate and dialogue among ingroup members, as well as increase accurate perceptions between groups. Social scientists have long noted that contact alone is usually not adequate to assuage negative stereotypes and associated conflict (Tyerman and Spencer, 1983; Labianca et al., 1998). Inclusive public participatory processes are ideally carefully designed to facilitate consistent interpersonal interactions (Lute et al., 2017). Research identifying and describing ingroup

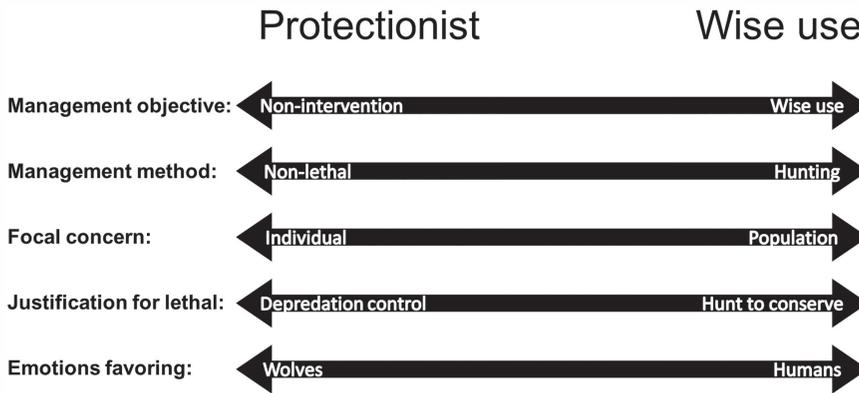


Figure 11.1 Several human dimensions of wolf management studies in Michigan (Lute and Gore, 2014a, 2014b; Lute et al., 2016) revealed individuals and identity groups could fall along a spectrum of protectionist or wise use principles, preferences and emotions. Emergent themes from qualitative studies (Lute and Gore, 2014a, 2014b) first delineated the four dimensions of objective (i.e., goals of management), method (i.e., strategies to attain objective), focal concern (i.e., target of management), and justification for lethal control (i.e., reasons used to determine whether lethal control is appropriate). The fifth dimension of emotions was revealed by quantitative research that found stakeholders' emotions fell on a spectrum of strongly favoring people to strongly favoring wolves (Lute et al., 2016).

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bias may be leveraged in such processes to promote collaboration by comparing biased expectations (e.g., “most hunters think this way”) to actual data (e.g., “25% of deer hunters think this way and 25% are undecided, while 50% of bow hunters . . .”).

Focusing on common ground and shared values may counteract multiple negative assumptions and stereotypes related to ingroup bias. For example, in the previously mentioned human dimensions studies of stakeholders involved in Michigan wolf management, diverse stakeholders identified with a shared concept of being a “wolf steward” (Lute and Gore, 2014b) that included taking actions, such as educating others about depredation prevention, to benefit decision-making, wolves, and ecosystems. Public participation processes may benefit from encouraging diverse stakeholders to identify as stewards and enfranchising groups to collaborate on shared responsibilities to nature (Benson, 1998). A “steward” identity might blend both ingroups' ideas regarding human relationships with the natural world. To maximize cooperation, managers may encourage shared values and actions that transcend separate group identity and redefine a common identity as wolf stewards with shared ultimate goals (Sherif, 1967; Tyerman and Spencer, 1983). For example, diverse stakeholders might be primed to consider a shared identity during public meetings

or other participatory processes by pre-polling participants on topics on which a manager or meeting facilitator knows they agree (from prior conversations or research).

Any discussion of inclusion and diversity in wildlife management and nature conservation would be remiss not to address the groups disenfranchised by decision-making processes. More than likely an observer of state level wildlife commissioner meetings (i.e., a standard form of wildlife-related decision making) across the United States would note the presence of more men than women, more older individuals than youth, and more whites than minority or tribal members. Although managers, commissioners, and legislators might believe that the transactional costs of including even more (potentially conflicting) interests in decision-making outweigh the benefits, participation processes that proactively include, engage, and satisfy diverse stakeholders may lead to higher quality decisions that serve a broader suite of interests, are in line with public opinion, and avoid the “predator pendulum.” Such processes may also result in higher acceptance of final decision outcomes (Webler and Tuler, 2006). To achieve more inclusive and diverse conservation communities, current leaders can actively seek collaboration and input from members of feminist, immigrant, LGBTQ (i.e., lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer), First Nations/tribal, and other minority communities. Creating environments where respectful debate is encouraged as part of transparent and fair processes is no small task, but essential to engaging and sustaining public participation and input. If current trends in de-democratization – the erosion of democracy often associated with a range of phenomena including declining civil freedoms and dissatisfaction with democratic institutions (Cassani and Pellegata, 2015) – continue (particularly in the United States, select European countries and countries where democracy has been limited or nonexistent), identity politics may increasingly influence public engagement in decision-making. In these cases, understanding of social identity may be even more relevant and critical to anticipating and influencing decision-makers.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we explored how social identity can be measured to enhance its contributions to carnivore conservation. As diverse stakeholders become more involved in decisions regarding carnivores, public participatory processes will remain one tool for encouraging cooperation by recognizing the role of social identities in influencing perceptions and behaviors. Failing to address assumptions about different groups resulting from ingroup bias can result in ineffective communication, entrenched positions, and stymied decision-making. Power struggles between identity groups helps explain the predator pendulum observed in the ever-changing endangered status of gray wolves and potentially grizzly bears in North America (Bruskotter et al., 2016). We discussed approaches and methodological considerations for measuring identity differences among stakeholders and creating more inclusive and diverse conservation

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communities. The unique insights which managers, decision-makers and public participants can gain from considering social identity has the potential to help overcome conflict regarding not only carnivores but also other contentious environmental issues, such as global climate change, environmental injustice, multi-use landscape management, public and private lands access, and sovereignty of tribal lands.

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Annex 11.1 Example measures of general and carnivore-specific identities, perceptions of outgroups, and identity strength, degree, and quality for interviews and surveys

<i>Measure</i>	<i>Questions and follow-up statements</i>	<i>Response choice</i>	<i>Reference</i>
General identity with an ingroup (i.e., individuals affiliating with the same identity)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What role or group related to [research problem] do you identify with? For example, I strongly identify as a [group] and I feel it is something that defines who I am and how others perceive me. • Why is this role or group important to you? • How strongly do you identify with this group: strongly, moderate or weakly identify? • Are there other roles or groups that you are aware of but do not identify with? If so, what are they and why are they important? 	Open-ended response providing qualitative/categorical measure(s)	Lute and Gore, 2014b
Perceptions related to outgroups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who are the groups that do not see eye to eye with your group? • Who is in greatest disagreement? • Why do you believe they disagree with your role or group? 	Open-ended response providing qualitative/categorical measure(s)	Lute and Gore, 2014b
Carnivore relevant identity groups	<p>To what extent do you identify yourself as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Animal rights advocate • Animal welfare advocate • Conservationist* • Environmentalist** • Farmer • Gun rights advocate • Hunter • Rancher • Wildlife advocate • Other (please specify) 	Likert scale (e.g., strongly disagree/strongly agree)	Lute et al., 2016

Strength of identity	To what extent do you agree with the following statements: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It would be accurate if someone described me as a typical member of my group. • I often acknowledge the fact that I am a member of my group. • I would feel good if I were described as a typical member of my group. • I often refer to my group when I introduce myself. 	Likert scale (e.g., strongly disagree/strongly agree)	Karasawa, 1991
Degree of identity	At this moment, to what extent do you think of yourself as a member of [group] or as an individual?	Likert scale: Mainly think of myself as an individual –Mainly think of myself as a member of [group]	Jetten et al., 2006
Degree of identity	How much do you identify yourself as a member of [group]?	Likert type scale: not at all/very much	Perreault and Bourhis, 1998
Quality of social identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How happy do you feel as a member of [group]? • How satisfied do you feel as a member of [group]? • How comfortable do you feel as a member of [group]? • How confident do you feel as a member of [group]? • How much do you like being a member of [group]? 	Likert scale: not at all/very much	Perreault and Bourhis, 1998

* Because different groups may claim this name but intend different meanings, we defined conservationist as “a person who is concerned with conserving natural resources.”

** Likewise, we defined an environmentalist as “a person who is concerned with protection of the environment.”

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