

Reading the trophy: exploring the display of dead animals in hunting magazines

LINDA KALOF and AMY FITZGERALD

Photographs of trophy animals in 14 popular hunting magazines were analysed to explore the visual representations of dead animal bodies. We found multifaceted messages about the relationships between humans and other animals grounded in narratives of gender, race and embodiment. The visual representations of dead animal bodies are embedded in the taken-for-granted stories of love and affection for nature and wildlife that frame the contemporary hunting agenda, including the assumption that trophy displays memorialize the beauty of nature and natural animals. Disentangling ourselves from that dominant notion of what it means to display dead trophy animals was revelatory. Instead of love and respect for nature and wildlife, we found extreme objectification and marginalization of animal bodies. While we observed some elaborate displays of reassembled and carefully positioned dead bodies to appear as if still alive, a number of trophy exhibits hid the animal body behind or beneath weapons and other hunting equipment. The vast majority of the hunters in the images were white males, and when women or men of colour were included in the photographs their representations were usually consistent with gender and race stereotypes. Of these race/gender stereotypes the most interesting (and most symbolic of the patriarchal nature of the hunting discourse) was that neither women nor men of colour ever held a weapon when they appeared in photographs with white men.

Hunting was not about getting enough vitamin B 12. (Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions* 1989:217)

INTRODUCTION

Animals have a compelling but complicated presence in human culture, a presence permeated with tropes, metaphors and images that both vilify and venerate other animals. Theoretical and empirical connections have been made that link the cultural representations of animals as “the others” to serious social problems such as slavery (Spiegel 1996) and sexism (Adams 1994) and

to normal social processes such as the construction of human identity (Shepard 1996).

This provocative cultural presence of other animals has generated a large and eclectic body of scholarship on the social and cultural messages encoded in the representation of animals in a variety of cultural contexts, from Sea World (Davis 1997; Desmond 1999) to *Science* magazine (Haraway 1989). Visual modes of representation are popular sites of inquiry into the social arrangements that produce meanings (Lynch and Woolgar 1990). But one of the most resilient and complex visual images of animals in human culture has until now remained unexamined empirically: the display of trophy animals in hunting magazines. Our study begins to fill that void. Trophy photographs from popular hunting magazines were used to explore the multi-layered messages encoded in the visual representation of dead animal bodies. Photographs are conceptualized here as narrative tools that serve as “story-telling instruments” (Haraway 1989:41). Our goal was to uncover the stories of trophy hunting as told in contemporary hunting magazines, a remarkably resilient and popular periodical on U.S. newsstands.¹

BACKGROUND

Reading the Visual Image

Cultural texts such as photographs, film, television advertisements and magazine covers are not simply transparent images; they are visual representations with “textual arrangements and discursive practices” (Lynch and Woolgar 1990:viii–ix) that produce multi-layered cultural messages. For example, a visual text may be read from multiple standpoints (accepting, negotiating or rejecting the taken-for-granted assumptions embedded in the image) and is interpreted by readers (including researchers) based on lived experiences and individual subjectivities (Denzin 1992; Kalof 2004). Further, as discursive practices, visual images are

Linda Kalof is Professor of Sociology at Michigan State University. She is co-author of *Evaluating Social Science Research* and is currently working on a book, *Reading Animals*, for Continuum.

Amy Fitzgerald is a doctoral student in sociology at Michigan State University. Her current areas of interest include environmental sociology, sex and gender, animals and society, and research methodology.

capable of generating new stories of social organization and cultural conditions (Haraway 1989:288).

Some of the most compelling new stories in the nature/culture discourse are centred on oppositional and negotiated readings of the cultural representations of other animals. These narratives have emerged from a dizzying array of interdisciplinary scholarship. For example, positioning her work in the history of science, Haraway (1989) used contested narratives of science, race and gender to uncover primate stories (as told, for example, in *National Geographic* and early anthropology). Baker, writing in the arena of cultural studies, found contradictory representations of animals in a variety of popular culture products, with animals shown in stereotypical ways in visual texts, producing a “stupid and trivial” (1993:175) message that is not usually present in narrative texts about animals. From the field of American Studies, Desmond (1999) examined animal performances at marine theme parks and found that whales are made to perform under rigid hierarchies of force and domination in spite of the theme park’s discourses of willingness, pleasure and family. Malamud (1998), an English professor, took the zoo to task as a problematic in the representations of captive animals. He argued that zoos said more about the people and the culture that did the locking up and the gazing than about the captive animals themselves.

Gazing and looking at other animals were also central concerns for an early critic of zoos, John Berger (1980), who found contradiction and ambiguity in the “animal spectacle”. Emphasizing the visual evidence of the marginalization of other animals, Berger described the context of the confinement of the captive animal (1980:22–23): “The visibility through the glass, the spaces between the bars, or the empty air above the moat, are not what they seem” – they are theatre props for the spectator (and the bare minimum in physical environment for the animal). He argued that this “theatrical decor for display” (1980:24) demonstrates the absolute marginalization of animals. Thus, while the zoo offers humans the opportunity to look at other animals, animals cannot gaze upon humans – “At the most, the animal’s gaze flickers and passes on ... The look between (them) ... has been extinguished” (1980:26). There are some striking similarities between the one-way gaze of Berger’s zoo display and the exhibition of dead animal bodies in a wide variety of cultural contexts, such as natural history museums and hunting magazines.

Exhibition Stories: Diorama Displays and Trophy Photography

The collection and exhibition of wild animals has been linked historically to the ideology of domination, patriarchy and colonialism, stories told primarily by two key narrative devices: natural history dioramas and trophy hunting photography.

Diorama Displays

For many centuries humans have felt a need to hoard and display “dead things”, particularly as diorama dramas in natural history museums (Asma 2001:5). Haraway (1989:26–58) described the social and cultural formations of the natural history museum diorama in the early 20th century as collections of mounted animals, sculptures and photographs that told stories of nature and culture. The natural history diorama was a narrative of animals, nature and family that consisted of mounted animals (usually a large, powerful male, a few females and a baby) posed as if in their natural environment. These animals were perfect, particularly the desired male animal (the courageous, worthy opponent), and the essential nature of the species was represented by the exemplary specimen. But the diorama was possible only by killing those perfect specimens. Haraway noted that life and the story of nature were constructed in the craft of killing, and taxidermy was employed to recreate a perfect animal and the natural history story. These dead stuffed animals were part of the narrative of nature and wildlife “made possible only by their death and literal representation ... Only then could the essence of their life be present ... (taxidermy is) a politics of reproduction” (1989:30).

The reproduction of authentic nature by killing animals and then stuffing and posing their bodies was taken up again recently by Desmond (2002) (and also by Asma 2001). Like Haraway, Desmond noted that in taxidermy an animal’s resurrection depends on its death, the resurrection recreates a perfect specimen capable of standing in for a whole species, and naturalistic poses and “implied narratives” situate the animals in nature for the human gaze (Desmond 2002:160–161). She argued that, with few exceptions (such as the brief display of human bodies after death), taxidermy and the recreation/replication of life after death is reserved for animals other than human, thus defining the human/other animal boundary (Desmond 2002:166). It is interesting to note that this division between humans



FIGURE 1. Photograph by Linda Kalof.



FIGURE 2. Photograph by Linda Kalof.

and other animals is disrupted in contemporary art, where, inspired by taxidermy, artists have created animal objects in “dismembered and improbably reassembled form ... (with) conflicting elements of human and animal identity” (Baker 2000:60).

Just as one or two perfect specimens are used to represent the essence of a species in natural history dioramas, animal body parts are similarly employed to represent and memorialize the essence of a prized animal prey. Indeed, dismemberment is a key element in the trophy display (a “trophy” was originally a display of captured arms or other spoils of victory on the battlefield). Trophy mounts of a variety of animal remains are common wall decorations (such as in Figure 1), and such displays are “culturally sanctioned through discourses of art, home decor, science, and manhood” (Desmond 2002:164). Animal body parts are also used to stand in for everyday objects, such as the coyote claw necklace shown in Figure 2. The elephant is a particularly popular dismembered animal – elephant tusks are legendary prizes, elephant tails are used as fly swatters, and elephant feet are used as TV stools (Asma 2001) and trash cans (see Figure 3).

But regardless of the body form employed, the authentic reconstruction of animal life is ultimately dependent on photography. Indeed, photography (an

economical and efficient tool) can capture the essence of the animal as encountered by a hunter, re-presenting the taxidermist art (Ryan 2000:206).

Trophy Photography

Since the mid-1850s photographs have been used to record hunting trophies, and these images of white men with dead animals or animal body parts (tusks, skins or antlers) told stories of dominance and power of wealthy white colonials over nature and other peoples (Ryan 2000). Both gun and camera have been used to recreate the hunting and killing experience, an experience which is then “re-presented” through photographs (Ryan 2000) and the diorama display (Haraway 1989). This re-presentation of killing and hunting is a critical element in the trophy display.

Strychacz’s (1993) essay on trophy hunting in Hemingway’s *Green Hills of Africa* described how recording the killing experience was a necessary component of manhood. He argued that in Hemingway’s novel, manhood was not an essence but a performance created from the relationship between the hunter, the trophy and the audience. Thus, Hemingway’s performance in killing a lion was a non-performance because he was not observed in the act of killing – acquiring trophies without public recognition demeans the original show of prowess, and “manhood itself is constantly in danger of being voided when not displayed or when trophies are out-displayed” (1993:42). The hunter requires an audience (Strychacz 1993).

Trophy photographs in hunting magazines are thus important story-telling instruments. They stand as records of hunting prowess, strength and virility and as evidence for the audience (readers of the magazines) of the hunters’ killing experiences. We also note that trophy photographs, particularly those published in hunting magazines, have gone through various selection processes. To ensure that the photographs convey the desired messages to the audience, each image is carefully scrutinized – individuals select which photographs to submit for consideration, editors decide which photographs to publish and advertisers choose which photographs to use in their advertisements. This selection process is a critical component of the hunting story as told in contemporary magazines – there must be good evidence of good hunting for the audience. Our study examined that evidence.

METHOD

Our sample consisted of all images (photographs) of dead trophy animals or their body parts displayed in the population of hunting-related magazines available for purchase at a large speciality news/bookstore in a medium-sized American mid-western city. We purchased the magazines in March 2003 (concurrent with the publication of the new spring issues) and analysed the content of all visual images of dead animals, including those displayed in advertisements. Images that appeared in more than one magazine were analysed only once in the sample, but if a photograph displayed multiple dead animals (or animal body parts from different individuals, such as two sets of antler “cut-offs”), we counted each “bodily occurrence”. We eliminated all artistic renditions of live animals such as statues, paintings and drawings. We also had to eliminate the numerous photographs of fish because of the possibility they were not yet fully dead (only mostly dead). It is interesting to note that fish bodies also present a complicated challenge for taxidermy in the attempt to recreate a realistic alive look for fish, an



FIGURE 3. Photograph by Linda Kalof.

animal body that does not lend itself well to realistic portrayals when dead (Desmond 2002).

Our final sample included 792 images of dead animals or animal body parts in 14 hunting magazines.² For each dead animal, we recorded the species (in the generic not taxonomic sense), whether or not the display was in the animal's natural environment, and the gender and race of the adult and child humans shown with each dead animal. Although not analysed in depth in this essay, we also recorded information about the company or product in advertisement images and the context of images that appeared alongside narratives (stories, hunting hints and so on).

RESULTS

Visual Demographics: Species, Gender, Race and Age

A variety of species were displayed as hunting trophies in the 14 magazines, including deer, elk, moose, caribou, turkey, bear, bobcat, leopard, fox, monkey, kudu, antelope, buffalo, boar and duck. Most of the animal bodies were displayed in their natural environment, apparently just after the kill, such as the photograph of a woman and a man (who held the gun) dragging a deer across a field. The other 10% were on exhibition in a variety of unnatural contexts, such as in the home "den", on truck beds, airport runways or nailed to the side of buildings (see Figures 4 and 5).

Over half (53.7%) of the 792 images were of dead antlered deer, providing evidence that the desired trophy is an adult male of the species. With the exception of female reindeer, only male deer grow antlers, and thus they were the only species identifiable by gender in the sample (we could not readily observe relative size of animal, colour of body hair or other gendered characteristics of animals in the images).

The 803 humans featured with the trophy animals were overwhelmingly white men. Children were present in about 4% of the images, and most were young males of about 10 posed with an animal that they had presumably killed themselves. About 16% of these young hunters were girls. Some of the magazines had sections variously labelled "Michigan Camera Corner", "Junior Trophy Hunter Photo Contest" and "Our Younger Generation", which proudly displayed children posed with dead trophy animals, as in Figure 6.

Women hunters comprised only about 5% of the adults exhibited alongside a trophy kill, and these images had some interesting features. First, in about 30% of these



FIGURE 4. Reproduced courtesy of *Hunting Illustrated*.



FIGURE 5. Reproduced courtesy of *Trophy Hunter*.

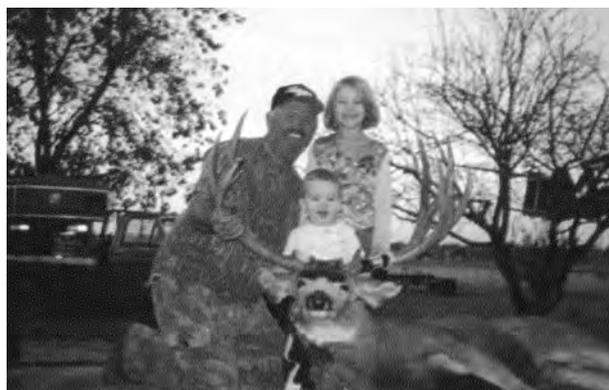


FIGURE 6. Reproduced courtesy of *Hunting Illustrated*.



FIGURE 7. Reproduced courtesy of Craig Boddington.

images men were also present, making it unclear exactly who was to get credit for the kill. Second, while almost all of the male hunters were photographed with their weapons, only 55.6% of the images with females included weapons. Third, women were often represented in gender stereotypical ways, such as striking poses of confusion or helplessness, which was illustrated by a picture of a woman with a weapon in her hand, looking down with bewilderment at a dead moose that she presumably felled. In addition, photographs of women often focused on appearance, comfort or clothes, such as the picture of a smiling woman kneeling next to a freshly killed antelope; the picture caption read: “Even on this 1987 antelope hunt, I’d figured out that jeans were better on bottom than the fleece pants that went with this jacket”.

The striking absence of people of colour in the trophy images was further documentation of the visual representation of hunting as a white male narrative. Indeed, less than 2% of the hunters were identifiable minority men, and there were no minority women pictured with any of the 792 dead animals. As in the stereotypical portrayal of white women, the men of colour were shown according to traditional race/class conventions. For example, only one of the 15 men of colour was photographed alone with his trophy kill, none of them was ever shown holding a weapon, and most (60%) appeared to be guides or assistants to white male hunters, as in Figure 7.

Staging the Display

The most frequent visual image in the magazines was a photograph of a white male hunter smiling at the camera and kneeling on the ground next to his trophy; if a deer, the dead animal is propped up to look alive (eyes open, legs tucked neatly, alertly facing the camera), the hunter’s weapon prominently displayed leaning against the carcass.

There were numerous visual images of partial bodies of antlered deer (usually front shots) and full bodies of numerous species, such as bear, duck, fox and large cats. In these images, wounds were carefully concealed, all evidence of blood was removed, and in some cases dead animals were staged as if performing live behaviours, such as the attempt to convey the visual image of eating by stuffing straw in the mouth of a propped up deer (see Figure 8). Bodies were carefully manipulated for the trophy shot. For example, in addition to neatly tucking the legs of deer and propping up the head, bear bodies were usually draped over logs, or if still on the ground bear heads were propped on rocks, with one large paw displayed in the front of the photograph.

While also carefully staged, the visual representations of many species were not usually framed by the illusion of life. These displays consisted primarily of large animals with heads too large to be propped up (such as bear and moose), small animals with compact bodies (such

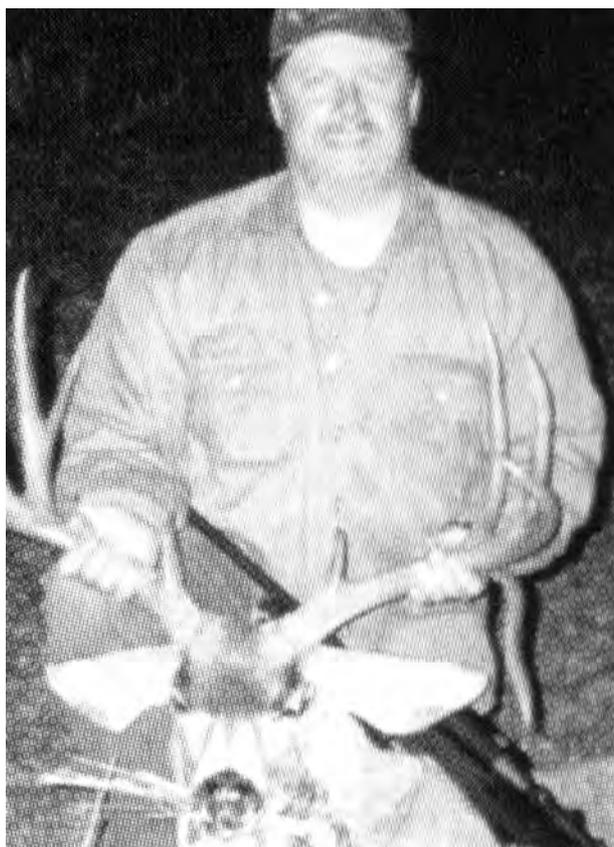


FIGURE 8. Reproduced courtesy of *Hunting Illustrated*.

as birds) and animals with behavioural characteristics that invoke the “varmint” label (such as fox, coyote and small primates). In the large animal photographs, hunters commonly have their hands symbolically placed on the head of a huge bear, or clutching the antlers of large elk or moose, or just resting on the body of a dead animal. This human physical contact with the dead body serves no practical purpose other than to strike a pose that conveys messages of dominance and possession.

Hunting photographs of large animals also emphasized the size of the animal’s body, often relative to the hunter’s body. Images of bears and cats, for example, typically displayed entire animal bodies (something that hunters go to great lengths to do as in Figure 5 shown earlier). Large cats (such as leopards, cougars and bobcats) were often held up vertically against the hunters’ bodies, further emphasizing the size of the animal relative to the hunter. Small animals were also interesting trophy images in the magazines. For example, wild turkeys were displayed by the spread of their tail feathers, and there was no attempt at all to make the animal look alive. In fact, they were

frequently pictured being held upside down, an “obviously dead” message.

The disparaged animal (the “varmint”) was a particularly interesting image in the magazines, with no attempt to show aliveness, indeed there seemed to be a sense of pleasure taken in showing them clearly dead. In these photographs, we saw bobcats and foxes held triumphantly upside down for the camera, coyote flung across human shoulders like bags of dirty laundry, and primates such as a bloody macaque, head held aloft by the hunter, body draped victoriously with the hunter’s weapon.

We also found a number of trophy displays that featured animal bodies elaborately exhibited among the guns, bows, arrows, binoculars and bullets that brought the animal down. While humans took great care in staging these exhibitions, they left themselves out of the picture, as if humans were not involved in the killing. For instance, one particularly interesting image was of a gun propped between the antlers of a deer. With the head hidden by carefully placed bullets and other hunting equipment and the body obscured in the background, the image symbolizes the marginalization of the animal’s body. Another arresting photograph was of a duck meticulously positioned in the middle of a circle made by a broken down gun and the gun strap. The duck is lying against a log in what appears to be a bed of straw, and if it were not for the curling feet giving away the secret of death, the duck might be simply resting. Another photograph captured the critical importance of the display of weapons in these trophy shots. In this case, the “weapon” is a fish lure, elaborately draped over and covering a fish’s mouth. While we did not include fish in the “body count” because of their questionable state of deadness, this example provides good evidence of the marginalization of animal bodies and the importance of weapons in trophy shots.

Finally, we saw some interesting characteristics in the visual representations of deer and other antlered species in the hunting magazines. The much sought-after trophy is the rack of antlers (the bigger, the wider, the more complex the formation of these bony head growths – the better the prize). The antlers are exhibited to be the visual focus of the image, and it was not uncommon for the rest of the animal’s body to be excluded from the photograph. Indeed, we found the most gruesome (and highly symbolic) imagery to be humans with severed deer heads displayed on lawns (as in Figure 9), attached to backpacks (as in Figure 10), or carrying fresh “cut-offs” from the hunting site.



FIGURE 9. Reproduced courtesy of *Trophy Hunter*.

These troubling images send compelling messages about the relationships we have with other animals: animal bodies are the epitome of objectification – decapitated and dismembered, with their body parts displayed as decoration or at best as useful substitutes for common household objects, such as cut-off antler chandeliers or elephant tail flyswatters. Worse still is the fact that, except for female reindeer, animals shed their antlers once a year, and humans could gather up all of the trophy antlers they want without slaughtering animals. But, in spite of the overwhelming focus on antlers, often obscuring the animal's body in the process of trophy display, the death and either immediate or briefly delayed dismemberment of the animal is a critical component of the trophy hunt.

DISCUSSION

Reading the visual representations of trophy animals in hunting magazines revealed multifaceted messages about the relationships between humans and other animals organized around narratives of gender, race and embodiment. The visual representations of dead animal bodies are embedded in the taken-for-granted stories of love and affection for nature, wildlife and magnificent animals. Disentangling ourselves from that dominant notion of what it means to display dead

trophy animals was revelatory. Instead of love and respect for nature and individual animals, we found extreme objectification of animal bodies, with severed deer heads and cut-off antlers representative examples of the contradiction in the love-of-nature hunting stereotype.

We also document here that hunting remains a white male narrative, in spite of the rhetoric of increased family participation that permeates contemporary hunting discourse. Our findings are consistent with theoretical and empirical arguments that hunting and the exhibition of trophy animals are driven by ideologies of domination, colonialism and patriarchy (Haraway 1989; Ritvo 1990; Ryan 2000). Very few women (all of whom were white) and even fewer people of colour were pictured in the hunting magazines in our sample, and when they were, the images conveyed typical messages of gender and race stereotypes. A number of the women shown with dead animals were portrayed as having their minds on things other than hunting and killing, such as appearance or clothing comfort. Similar to the stereotypical portrayal of white women, the minority male presence in the trophy images was riddled with visual reminders of traditional hierarchies of race and class. Men of colour were almost always pictured as assistants or helpers to

white men in the hunt. And, when photographed with white men, neither women nor men of colour ever held a weapon.

Of particular relevance to our finding that minority men were rarely shown in trophy displays and never shown with weapons is Marks' (1991) empirical study of hunting in the Southern United States, in which he argued that areas with a history of racial oppression would have few black hunters. Since the United States has always been, and largely still is, racialized, it comes as no surprise that the images of minority men in these magazines follow old racial fears and stereotypes. For example, in the South, blacks avoid overt militant displays that are likely to provoke whites who are interested in maintaining black dependency and subservience (Marks 1991). Further, the freedom of blacks in the Old South compromised the ability of blacks and whites to hunt together and mingle in ways that were acceptable before blacks were freed, and "(a)s a consequence, one rarely sees blacks hunting, and rarer still are the occasions when they are found hunting with whites" (Marks 1991:67–68).

It is important to note that the absence of women and people of colour in the trophy photographs are likely the result of the process mentioned earlier – particular photographs go through a series of selection processes before publication. Since the majority of hunters are white, middle-class males (who are also the primary readers of hunting magazines), most of the photographs that are published are of white men with the large animals they have killed. Trophy shots that include women or men of colour as hunters are selected out, as are the displays of female animals.

Other interesting patterns were uncovered in our analysis of dead animal images. First, there was an overwhelming presence of male deer, elk and moose in the photographs, with their antlers proudly displayed as trophies. This is evidence that hunters do indeed prefer killing male animals, whether for a prized body part or for victory over a worthy opponent (Dahles 1993; Luke 1998). Second, we found many elaborate attempts to recreate the illusion of life after death in the trophy displays, although this staging was reserved primarily for deer, perhaps because their bodies are more easily manipulated than those of large animals (such as bear) or small, compact animals (such as birds). Third, while in most images, hunters were shown in positions of dominance over the animal (such as placing a hand symbolically on the dead body and propping a weapon over the carcass), many trophy displays were of dead animals and weapons only, without a human in sight,



FIGURE 10. Reproduced courtesy of *Hunting Illustrated*.

almost as if humans were not involved in the act of killing, and the weapons were responsible for bagging the trophy. This pattern of interchanging humans with weapons in the visual displays of trophy animals is intriguing and deserves further study, particularly as an image of the reification of weaponry, perhaps endowing guns and rifles with human characteristics, a sort of anthropomorphism.

Indeed, anthropomorphism was largely absent from these trophy images. This is consistent with other research on the cultural representations of animals, which argues that animals destined for human consumption (animals used for food, labour or sport) are rarely anthropomorphized (Lerner and Kalof 1999). Visual images of these “use animals” convey the overt

message that using animals to meet human needs is normal and we should not be bothered by the practice. To facilitate the idea that we should not feel any discomfort about our animal consumption, we are distanced from the animals we will consume, thus upholding the idea that we have no connections with them (Lerner and Kalof 1999). Indeed, hunting is a striking example of the discontinuity between humans and other animals, with the very practice of hunting centred by human pursuit of animal victims, a challenging and entertaining game of death of the animal “other”. There is, however, another view of the anthropomorphic connection in hunting. Scruton argued that hunting invokes an “inverse anthropomorphism” (1997:481) in which the hunter worships and identifies with his prey and sees the world from the eyes of the hunted animal, thus increasing the hunter’s understanding of the prey’s behaviour and motives.

There was compelling evidence of the marginalization of animals and their bodies in the elaborate trophy exhibitions, corroborating Berger’s (1980) argument that theatrical displays and animal spectacles demonstrate the absolute marginalization of animals. And consistent with the dominant hunting ideology, the covers of the magazines in our sample usually displayed images of vibrant, beautiful alive animals running gracefully through the woods, standing watchfully in the fields, eating bark from a tree, or howling on a mountaintop. But the pages between the covers were littered with dead animals, conveying an oppositional hunting discourse – the marginalization of animal bodies and the celebration of killing for trophy body parts.

In conclusion, there are some haunting parallels in the popular culture displays of trophy animals and dead female bodies.³ For example, Wee (1997) argued that in some science fiction films dead women are explicitly objectified and spectacularized in death. These women were “marked as deviant, evil, terrifying creatures who do not appear human ... (but) as extreme representations of femininity that threaten the order and safety established by patriarchal law” and defended by men (1997:4). Thus, representations of women as disruptive are constructed to fortify a social order, and cultural norms are reconfirmed over the dead female body “because a sacrifice of the dangerous woman reestablishes an order that was momentarily suspended due to her presence” (Bronfen 1992:181). Similar representations of hunted animals are part of the anti-hunting discourse. For example, Cartmill (1993, 1995)

argued that a successful hunt requires the violent death of unrestrained wild animals, animals that are hostile, shun or attack humans and are not submissive to human authority. Thus, hunting is “by definition an armed confrontation between the human world and the untamed wilderness, between culture and nature” (Cartmill 1995:774). Of course, the other side of this argument is that hunters consider hunting a biocentric union with nature and animals. We have found, however, that the visual representations of hunting are, to use Kheel’s word, “necrocentric”, because death not life connects the hunter with nature and animals (1995:107). In the end, the animals themselves are removed from the discourse – “only their ghostly representations” (Woods 2000:199) are visible in the form of trophy displays.

NOTES

- [1] It is an interesting contradiction that, while there has been a proliferation of hunting magazines in the last 30 years (Minnesota Department of Natural Resources nd), only 6% of adult Americans hunt (Field and Stream 2003), and the vast majority of Americans disapprove of killing trophy animals (Cartmill 1995; Kalof 2000; Kellert 1980). In addition to a steady decline in the number of sport hunters over the last 20 years (Field and Stream 2003), there have been some notable shifts recently in the demographics of hunting. For example, the number of female sport hunters has doubled from 1 million to over 2 million (Stange 1997:1) and hunting is no longer an overwhelmingly rural activity, as the urban middle class become increasingly involved in hunting (Franklin 1998:355–357).
- [2] The 14 magazines in the sample were: *Bow and Arrow Hunting*, Volume 41, Number 4, May 2003; *Bowhunter*, Volume 32, Number 4, March/April 2003; *Eastman’s Hunting Journal*, Volume 16, Issue 75, February/March 2003; *Field & Stream*, Volume CVII, Number 8, December 2002/January 2003; *Hunting Illustrated*, April/May 2003; *Michigan Out-Of-Doors*, Volume 57, Number 3, March 2003; *Michigan Sportsman*, Volume 2003, Number 3, March 2003; *Outdoor World*, Volume 2, Issue 3, March 2003; *Petersen’s Hunting*, February/March 2003; *Predator Xtreme*, April 2003; *Trophy Hunter*, Volume 11, Issue 2, February 2003; *Southern Sporting*, Volume 9, Issue 2, April 2003; *Sports Afield*, Volume 226, Number 1, April 2003; *Successful Hunter*, Volume 1, Number 2, March/April 2003.
- [3] These parallels are not as perplexing as one might imagine at first blush, particularly in light of Adams’ (1990) well-established theory that convincingly draws the connection between the cultural image of women and the slaughter of animals. Adams’ work was an indictment of meat eating as a patriarchal narrative exploitative of both women and animals.

REFERENCES

- Adair, Holiday E. 1995. "The correlation between hunting and crime: a comment," *Society & Animals* 3(2):189–195.
- Adams, Carol. 1990. *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*. New York: Continuum.
- . 1994. *Neither Man Nor Beast: Feminism and the Defense of Animals*. New York: Continuum.
- Adams, Carol J. 1994. *Neither Man Nor Beast: Feminism and the Defence of Animals*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Asma, Stephen T. 2001. *Stuffed Animals & Pickled Heads: The Culture and Evolution of Natural History Museums*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Baker, Steve. 1993. *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity and Representation*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Baker, Steve. 2000. *The Postmodern Animal*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Berger, John. 1980. *About Looking*. New York: Pantheon.
- Bronfen, Elisabeth. 1992. *Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Cartmill, Matt. 1993. *A View to a Death in the Morning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 1995. "Hunting and humanity in western thought," *Social Research* 62(3):773–786.
- Dahles, Heidi. 1993. "Game killing and killing games: an anthropologist looking at hunting in a modern society," *Society & Animals* 1(2):169–189.
- Davis, Susan G. 1997. *Spectacular Nature: Corporate Culture and the Sea World Experience*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Denzin, Norman K. 1992. *Symbolic Interactionism and Cultural Studies: The Politics of Interpretation*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Desmond, Jane C. 1999. *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2002. "Displaying death, animating life: changing fictions of 'liveness' from taxidermy to animatronics," in Nigel Rothfels, ed. *Representing Animals*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 159–179.
- Field & Stream*. 2003. "The future of hunting," *Field & Stream: The Soul of the American Outdoors* CVIII(3), 50(July):50–57.
- Franklin, Adrian. 1998. "Naturalizing sports: hunting and angling in modern environments," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 33(4):355–366.
- Haraway, Donna. 1989. *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science*. New York: Routledge.
- Kalof, Linda. 2000. "The multi-layered discourses of animal concern," in Helen Addams and John Proops, eds. *Social Discourse and Environmental Policy: An Application of Q Methodology*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 174–195.
- . 2004. "The human self and the animal other: exploring borderland identities," in Susan Clayton and Susan Opatow, eds. *Identity and the Natural Environment*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, forthcoming.
- Kellert, Stephen. 1980. "American attitudes toward and knowledge of animals: an update," *International Journal for the Study of Animal Problems* 1(2):87–119.
- Kheel, Marti. 1995. "License to kill: an ecofeminist critique of hunters' discourse," in Carol Adams and J. Donovan, eds. *Animals & Women: Feminist Theoretical Explanations*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Lerner, Jennifer and Linda, Kalof. 1999. "The animal text: message and meaning in television advertisements," *The Sociological Quarterly* 40(4):565–586.
- Luke, Brian. 1998. "Violent love: hunting, heterosexuality, and the erotics of men's predation," *Feminist Studies* 24(3):627–655.
- Lynch, Michael and Steve Woolgar, eds. 1990. *Representation in Scientific Practice*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Malamud, Randy. 1998. *Reading Zoos: Representations of Animals and Captivity*. Washington Square: New York University Press.
- Marks, Stuart A. 1991. *Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History, and Ritual in a Carolina Community*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Minnesota Department of Natural Resources Fish & wildlife today. http://www.dnr.state.mn.us/fwt/back_issues/november00/article1.html (accessed 1 June 2003).
- Ritvo, Harriet. 1990. *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*. Reprinted Edition. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ryan, James R. 2000. "Hunting with the camera: photography, wildlife and colonialism in Africa," in Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert, eds. *Animal Spaces, Bestly Places: New Geographies of Human–Animal Relations*. London: Routledge, 203–221.
- Scruton, Roger. 1997. "From a view to a death: culture, nature and the huntsman's art," *Environmental Values* 6:471–481.
- Shepard, P. 1996. *The Others: How Animals Made us Human*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Spiegel, M. 1996. *The Dreaded Comparison: Human and Animal Slavery*. Second Edition. New York, NY: Mirror Books.
- Stange, Mary Zeiss. 1997. *Woman the Hunter*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Strychacz, Thomas. 1993. "Trophy-hunting as a trope of manhood in Ernest Hemingway's *Green Hills of Africa*," *The Hemingway Review* 13(1):36–47.
- Wee, Valerie Su-Lin. 1997. "Observations on death, (beautiful) women and representation in *Blade Runner*: the most poetic subject in the world," *Kinema* (Spring issue), www.kinema.uwaterloo.ca/kspr97.htm.
- Woods, Michael. 2000. "Fantastic Mr Fox? Representing animals in the hunting debate," in Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert, eds. *Animal Spaces, Bestly Places: New Geographies of Human–Animal Relations*. London: Routledge, 182–220.