Biting the hand that feeds you: Visitor perceptions of visitor-baboon interaction in the Cape Peninsula

By

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DECLARATION

The research presented in this thesis is my own work that has not been submitted in any form to another University. The references used in this study have been duly acknowledged in the text and presented by means of a complete reference list. The thesis has been checked for plagiarism by my supervisor via submission to Turnitin.

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ABSTRACT

The rapid increase in urbanisation and tourism in the Cape Peninsula has increased the rate of human-wildlife interaction. The Cape Peninsula is unique in terms of placing urban areas next to protected natural areas with no physical barriers, thus allowing animals, especially baboons, to travel between the two areas, occasionally leading to conflict between humans and wildlife. Visitors to popular tourist sites may also actively participate in feeding baboons or through negligence by leaving food items in the open. As a result, changing the habits of the baboons as human food and food waste are seen as the preferred option in terms of dietary habits. The main aim of this study was to investigate the perceptions and social construction of visitors in the Cape Peninsula towards baboons at tourist sites. Social constructionist theory was used as the theoretical framework for the study, which looks at the way people perceive nature and wildlife, which is unique to each person. The study uses an exploratory sequential mixed methods design, with a qualitative section that includes three semi-structured interviews, followed by a quantitative section consisting of a questionnaire survey, with 201 questionnaires being completed. The survey was conducted at key tourist sites around the Cape Peninsula that are well known for baboon sightings, including Bordjiesrif Picnic Site, Buffels Bay viewpoint, Cape of Good Hope/Cape Point and Dias Beach. The study used discourse analyses and the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to analyse the data, which allowed for ideas to be labelled and linked to opinions in the literature, and patterns identified during the data collection. Visitors viewed tourism spaces as anthropocentric areas, and thus perceived baboon-visitor interactions through conditional acceptance. Visitor perceptions and social construction of baboon-visitor interactions may be positive when conditional acceptance is adhered to, and negative when conditional acceptance is broken. Recommendations for further research includes more research on non-consumptive tourism activities and its impact on human-wildlife interactions, with a need for more literature on the influence of education on people's attitudes towards wildlife, and finally, more research that focuses on the changing behavioural ecology of baboons, due to an increase in tourism/visitation.

Keywords: Human-wildlife interaction, baboon-visitor interaction, Cape Peninsula, tourism, visitation, animal geography, social construction of nature
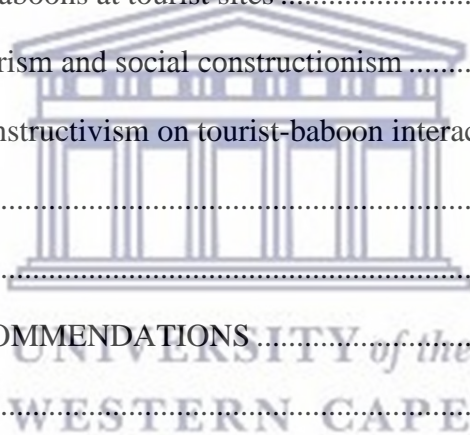
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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SANParks   :   South African National Parks

WESGRO   :   Western Cape Investment and Trade Promotion Agency

SPSS   :   Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

1.1 Introduction

Human-wildlife interaction has always been an integral part of society, dating back to the hunter-gatherer age and it has continued to fascinate humankind until the modern age (Cronon, 1995; Norton, 1996). In many ways the relationship humans have with wildlife has evolved as human society developed (Cronon, 1995). Human domination was first achieved through the agricultural age following the last ice age, as humans began to move out of the hunter-gatherer society to form the first settlements. In addition, humans started with the domestication of many animals such as dogs and farm animals, thus it is at this early point in society that the shift occurred as only domesticated animals are seen as appropriate in a human space. Interacting with wildlife would be seen as reverting back to the primitive society of the past and thus was looked down on (Whatmore, 1999). This impacts on the way humans perceive the meaning of being civilised, as the absence of wildlife is part of what society defines as being a civilised community. Humans have defined their perception of civilisation through the domination of human presence and suppressing the natural environment (Cronon, 1995).

The ideology of human domination continues until the modern age, influencing the nature of human-wildlife interaction (Whatmore, 1999). Whatmore (1999) augured that wildlife may be seen as imposters in certain spaces, thus impacting the attitude of humans towards wildlife. According to Norton (1996), society increasingly urbanised living areas, pushed many people to start seeking out unique experiences that could aid in reconnecting with nature. Norton (1996) adds that people may have been looking for the sought of human-wildlife interaction the society had during the hunter-gatherer stage (Norton, 1996). The fascination with wildlife continued to impact on the creation of nature reserves and ultimately the tourism industry. Tourism is one of the biggest industries in the world, with the power to change the environmental images of a destination around the world. It is also one of the factors that may alter the public's perception of an animal, place, culture or environment (Norton, 1996; Green & Giese, 2004).

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The Cape Peninsula is one of the world's hotspots of biodiversity that is also juxtaposed with an increase in urban development. It also falls under the Table Mountain National Park administration and thus is part of the South African National Parks (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012a). It is located on the south-western point of Africa and covers approximately 471km^2. Renowned for its unique beauty and ecological importance, it forms part of one of the six floral kingdoms in the world (Shroyer *et al.*, 2000). Tourism is one of the major industries in the area as the Cape Peninsula is the second most visited area in South Africa after the Kruger National Park (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012a). The increase in urbanisation, has made natural environments a rare product thus fuelling the interest in ecotourism (Orams, 2002). The popularity of tourism in the Cape Peninsula has increased the interaction between humans and wildlife occasionally leading to conflict (Barua *et al.*, 2013; Botha & Botha, 2015; Patterson *et al.*, 2017). The intelligence of baboons also means that adaptions to the urban environment and people may occur fast. Research by Green and Giese (2004) shows that the tourism industry also adds increased pressure on the wildlife and the environment. The non-human primates of the Cape Peninsula (Chacma baboons) may eventually become habituated to visitors and foregoing natural foraging patterns. It would increase human-baboon interactions over time (Green & Giese, 2004). The type of human-baboon interactions and visitors perceptions of these interactions are explored in the study.

1.2 Research problem

"Protected areas are increasingly becoming islands of habitats surrounded by seas of cultivation and development" (Madden, 2004, page. 249). I think this statement resonates with the current conservation problem in the Cape Peninsula, as urban development, including tourism, pushes wildlife into smaller areas thus this increases the possibility of a human-wildlife interaction, as the natural area becomes smaller, surrounded by increasing human development. The urban development method of the Cape Peninsula does not make use of any physical barriers (gates) between the protected natural area and urban area. Therefore, wildlife may be free to move between the natural and populated urban areas. The current method of managing baboons includes using baboon-proof bins, task teams for managing baboons, the removal of baboon sleeping sites near populated areas, securing the boundary between the wilderness/urban area and lastly to enforce the "no feeding" policy (Shroyer *et al.*, 2000). In a bid to continue saving baboons from harm, legislation has been developed to protect them. One of the new techniques involves using

monitors to herd the animals and keep them in the wilderness area and out of the urban areas. Despite various techniques, the conflict between humans and baboons continues. This has been well documented by organisations such as Human Wildlife Solutions for residential property and inhabitants (Richardson, 2017). A number of studies have been completed on interactions between residents of the Cape Peninsula and baboons (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012b; Kansky *et al.*, 2016; Richardson, 2017). However, there is a lack of research on interactions between visitors and baboons. Urban development encompasses many aspects, with tourism being one of the major components. Thus, it is one of the industries influencing baboon behaviour (Green & Giese, 2004).

Baboons are extremely intelligent animals that learn fast and teach their offspring similar habits, consequently creating an unhealthy pattern of habituation (Orams, 2002). According to Green and Giese (2004), tourism is a major influencing factor on changing baboon behaviour. This research therefore aims to contribute to the literature on human-wildlife interaction through investigating the type of human-wildlife interactions visitors have and how it impacts their perceptions of baboons.

1.3 Aims and objectives of the study

The main aim of this study is to analyse the perceptions of visitors, including domestic and international tourists, to the Cape Peninsula, on human-wildlife interaction with Chacma baboons *(Papio ursinus)*.

Specific objectives are thus to:

- investigate the values of baboon management and other stakeholders in the Cape Peninsula regarding baboons crossing the natural/'human' space barrier at tourist sites;
- analyse the perceptions of visitors to the Cape Peninsula regarding baboons that cross the natural/'human' space barrier at tourist sites; and
- investigate how different visitors construct and analyse human-baboon interaction and social constructions.

Human-wildlife interaction may take place in nature or urban spaces, but for the purpose of this study the interaction between human and wildlife was studied in an area identified as a space for humans only (Madden, 2004). Areas that may be seen as natural spaces but have human activities as part of the main function of the space, were part of the study, for example, camping spots and

lookout points that may be seen as being part of the natural environment but where only human activities may take place (Richardson, 2017).

1.4 Motivation

The motivation for this study is both academic and personal. I have a personal interest in the wellbeing of animals and in the relationship that humans have with them. This study is partially motivated by the many encounters my family and I have had over the years with baboons, whether it was slowing down the car to look at a troop sitting along the road or an overzealous baboon trying to get food out of our family car. There is also increasing research into the conflict between humans and wildlife (Kansky *et al.,* 2016; Richardson, 2017). There is a gap in human-wildlife interaction literature to focus on tourists, as previous studies have mainly been on the residents of the Cape Peninsula (for example Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012b; Kansky *et al.*, 2016; Richardson, 2017). This study therefore aims to contribute to the study of human-wildlife interaction by investigating the experiences of visitors.

1.5 Theoretical framework

This research was conducted using a social constructionist framework, which is used to understand the public's perceptions and behaviour during a human-wildlife interaction. At the basis of a social constructionist framework is the idea that people can view reality in a different way (Bird, 1987). It aids in understanding how human-wildlife interaction affect the tourist's experience of an animal (Lynn, 1998). A social constructionist framework also aids in analysing important factors such as animal sentience and its impact on the type of human-wildlife interaction as perceived by the tourist (Lynn, 1998; Proctor, 1998b).

Philosophical theories are at the core of guiding one's views and interactions with all animals. A guiding philosophy will affect one's view on animal sentience and ultimately impact how humans interact with other animals. One of the major philosophical theories in western culture is anthropocentrism. In an anthropocentric approach, animals have only extrinsic value, thus by default animals would also have no sentient value (Demeritt, 2002). Viewing animals as having no sentient value would not only separate them from humans, but humans would be perceived as superior. In the anthropocentric approach, humans should be separated from animals in terms of the living environment as humans are viewed as the only species that is sentient (Castree, 1995).

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Sentience is "the ability to feel and formulate emotions" (Hoole, 2017). Sentience is an important catalyst for defining the intrinsic or extrinsic value of animals; however, it is also heavily influenced by the defining philosophical approach of the community/person. Animals without any sentient value would have no intrinsic value, thus would not be welcomed into the human moral community and physical space (Lynn, 1998).

The defining philosophical approach and its impact on animal sentience will have an impact on the mental labelling of wildlife. The mental labelling and perceived reality of an individual will influence the type of human-wildlife interaction one could experience (Demeritt, 2002). If one's guiding philosophy is based on anthropocentrism, then animals would have only extrinsic value and would be excluded from the human moral community. If a being is excluded from the human moral community and is also excluded from a physical space, it could encourage a negative human-wildlife interaction (Proctor, 1998b). Another important factor is the role of language when describing one's perceived reality and mental labelling. Language is the medium through which we express our experiences and reality. The way language is used is an important window into how we construct reality in relation to ourselves through being objective or subjective (Demeritt, 2002). In an anthropocentric approach only humans have intrinsic value, thus animals would be described as being objective as they are not part of the human moral community, with only extrinsic value (Bruffee, 1986).

1.6 Tourism in the Cape Peninsula

Tourism is one of the major industries in the Cape Peninsula, with its proximity to the Central Business District in Cape Town and the various natural attractions. Probably the most prominent of the natural attractions of the Cape Peninsula is Table Mountain National Park. Table Mountain National Park forms part of the South African National Parks (SANParks) (WESGRO, 2017). The Cape Peninsula has a combination of natural and urban areas in close proximity to each other, with a unique city design. There are no physical boundaries between the natural and urban areas, thus wildlife may roam around freely (Shroyer *et al.*, 2000). The native non-human primate species in the area, namely the Chacma baboons are free to move between the different areas (Ng, 2016). Baboons present a unique challenge as they are highly organised and intelligent animals, in terms of controlling the movement of baboons (Shroyer *et al.*, 2000; Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012b).

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According to WESGRO (2017), natural attractions such as the Table Mountain National Park and the Cape of Good Hope are amongst the most popular tourist sites visited in the Cape Town area. The demographics of tourist sites around the Western Cape, are comprised mostly of domestic visitors (53.2%). Most domestic tourists are from Gauteng (45.6%), KwaZulu-Natal (14%) and Western Cape (14%) (WESGRO, 2017). Tourism presents a new challenge in analysing human-wildlife interaction, as the nature of the industry means that human contact could extend into natural wilderness areas (Fuentes, 2012).

1.7 Proposed Methodology

An exploratory sequential mixed methods design approach will be used in the study. Thus, data collection and analysis are done in two phases. The qualitative section takes place first which is then followed by a quantitative section. In the qualitative section, an understanding of the human-baboon management in tourism sites provides context to the visitors' experiences and perceptions examined in the quantitative section. In the quantitative section, the study explores visitor's perceptions of human-baboon interactions at tourist sites (Creswell *et al.*, 2003). A mixed methods approach gives a more holistic picture of the study area (Yeasmin & Rahman, 2012). Research by Kaplan et al (2011) has indicated that tourist sites and interactions with visitors may make baboons increasingly aggressive towards permanent residents in the long term (Kaplan *et al.*, 2011).

1.8 Human and non-human primate interaction

In many countries around the world studies have been conducted to analyse the effect of tourism on non-human primates, such as Bali (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994), China (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009), Singapore (Fuentes *et al.*, 2008; Sha *et al.*, 2009) and Tibet (Matheson *et al.*, 2006). In the event that people make contact with non-human primates outside the wilderness areas, people tend to use negative language in describing the animals. In a documentary, *Baboon Wars*, by Serrao & Noonan (2013), people describe the Cape Peninsula as turning into the 'Planet of the Apes'. Baboons have also been described as behaving like "gangsters". In both descriptions, baboons are recognized as having the ability to use their intelligence for co-ordinating their movements, however the descriptions have negative connotations (Serrao & Noonan, 2013).

Human-wildlife interactions may become complex due to the close genetic make-up between humans and non-human primates such as baboons (Alcayna-Stevens, 2008). The intricate social

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system of baboons might also be admired by others due to its similarities to human social system structures, however that does not guarantee intrinsic value. Baboons are seen as only providing extrinsic value (Fuentes, 2006). Extrinsic value means that there is no moral standing and place in the human moral community, including the physical human space (Lynn, 1998).

1.9 Other studies in tourist-primate interaction

Studies have been conducted in other parts of the world on human and non-human primate interaction at tourist destinations. A study by Wheatley and Harya Putra (1994) indicates that monkeys in busy tourist destinations have become increasingly aggressive towards tourists. Human and non-human primate interaction via feeding the animals or leaving food items behind, create aggressive behaviour in order to scare humans into giving up the food items. Residents and visitors at the Monkey Forest in Bali have a long tradition of feeding the monkeys, which adds to changing the monkeys' behaviour in the long term. The research also shows that monkeys in the area have moved closer to tourist areas and are more dependent on human food (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994).

In China, McCarthy *et al*. (2009) conducted a similar study at the Mt. Huangshan tourist site. The monkeys at this site also displayed increased aggressive behaviour, thus displaying similar behaviour as the monkeys in the Wheatley and Harya Putra (1994) study. In the McCarthy *et al.* (2009) study the authors also found a link between tourists engaging in feeding monkeys and increased levels of aggression (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009). In Gibraltar, non-human primates have taken a more passive approach by waiting for tourists at tourist destinations, thus hoping tourists would pity them to give them food (Fa, 1992). Studies have been conducted in Singapore by Fuentes *et al.* (2008), and Sha *et al.* (2009), and in Tibet by Matheson *et al.*, (2006). Most studies into human and non-human primate interaction in tourist areas have found that the increase in tourism has also increased the amount of non-human primate aggression (Fa, 1992). The increase in non-human primate aggression means that tourists would receive a mostly negative human and non-human primate interaction. The social construction of non-human primates and the high levels of aggression would increase the negative perception of the animals and the type of interaction one could receive (Soulsbury & White, 2016).

1.9 Overview of chapters

Chapter 2: Theoretical perspectives on human-wildlife interaction: A social constructionist framework

A social constructionist theory is the theoretical framework of this study. It explores important concepts such as anthropocentrism, sentience, intrinsic and extrinsic value. Sentience, intrinsic and extrinsic value play a role in informing people's perceptions which provides important background information into the nature of the study.

Chapter 3: Literature review

The literature review explores the research and arguments that informs the study through analysing the role of animal geography and environmental ethics. Animal geography and environmental ethics plays an important role in understanding the nature of human-baboon interactions. It informs many visitors understanding and values of baboons, thus influencing visitor's perception. Urban development which includes the tourism industry as brought baboons in closer contact with humans, as baboon's natural habitat becomes smaller. The role of the tourism industry is also explored as one of the factors that has influenced human-baboon interactions and perceptions.

Chapter 4: Methodology

An exploratory sequential mixed methods design is used as the methodology of the study. The methodology is conducted in two parts, with one being qualitative interviews and the other being a quantitative survey. The qualitative interviews provide context to the impact of the tourism industry on baboon management. The quantitative survey explores the perceptions and the nature of human-baboon interactions at tourist's sites. The information is combined to create a holistic understanding of human-baboon interactions in the context of the tourism space.

Chapter 5: Presentation of findings

The Wildlife Tolerance Model forms the basis of the questions used in the chapter. The model consists of inner and outer variables; however, the study only makes use of the inner model variables as it explores value systems. The inner model variables explore the role of wildlife value orientation, anthropocentrism, interest in animals, taxonomic group, personal norms, institutions, empathy, values, norms, habits and perceived behavioural control.

Chapter 6: Discussion of findings

The findings of the study are discussed by combining the key themes from the literature review such as animal geography, environmental ethics and the influence of the tourism industry. The key themes of the literature review and information gathered in the interviews are compared to the findings of the survey.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and recommendations

In the last chapterthe key findings of the study are summarised, conclusions are drawn and illustrated in a graphic model, , and recommendations are made for future research.

1.10 Summary

Anthropomorphism plays a big role in the social construction of space in western culture, as it emphasizes the divide between human and natural areas. It affects the type of interaction people have with wildlife, in terms of having a negative or positive perception of an interaction. The increase in urbanisation and tourism aids in the encroachment of humans into previously uninhabited areas. The result of the increased human encroachment, also increases the amount of human-wildlife interaction. In the Cape Peninsula, Chacma baboons are amongst the most sensitive wildlife affected by the increase in tourism and urbanisation. The Table Mountain National Park also has a unique layout where there is no physical barrier between the national park, tourist sites and the populated urban areas. The unique layout allows baboons to travel between different areas freely, which also brings them into greater contact with humans. The social constructionist theoretical framework aids in studying part of the human-baboon interaction in terms of how one perceives this interaction in a tourism setting. The setting is an important factor, as tourism areas tend to be zones of human activity within areas dominated by nature. The social constructionist theoretical framework, upon which this research is based, is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON HUMAN-WILDLIFE INTERACTION: A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

A social constructionist theoretical framework is based on the idea that people understand their environment through social constructions/ideas rather than purely a physical feature. The world is viewed differently depending on one's system of values, thus it is impossible to have one single abstract idea of reality, animals and nature (Bird, 1987). Gerber (1997) argues that one's social construction of nature is based on three core factors, namely physical objects, mental experience of the world, and society; thus, the construction of appropriate animal behaviour may be different for each person. Gerber (1997) adds that society creates its own mental label and attaches different meanings to each label; ultimately one's behaviour would be linked to this preserved reality or mental label. It is this mental label or preserved reality that creates the basis of the social construction of animals (Peterson, 1999). The culture of the society/community one was brought up, influences the characteristics given to each label (Gerber, 1997). Social constructionism plays an important role in understanding visitors' perceptions of human-baboon interactions, thus important concepts such as anthropocentrism, animal sentience, perceived reality and mental labelling are explored.

2.2 Factors that influence the social construction of animals and nature

The social construction of animals and nature is based on each person's perception that can be influenced my many factors in and outside that person's community. One of the major philosophical theories regarding animals' place in society is anthropocentrism. In anthropocentrism, animals and nature only have extrinsic value, thus a society that uses anthropocentrism as its base for constructing the meaning of animals will attach only extrinsic value to animals (Demeritt, 2002). The relationship humans and non-human share is an inter-subjective space, characterised by the main culture of the community and the mental labelling it creates (Ingold, 1993). Anthropocentrism may be linked to the western philosophical process of

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separating humans and non-humans. Ingold (2002) argues that in anthropocentrism humans are seen as being unique to animals in the way humans understand the world, through mental labelling. Nature and non-humans are valued through their meaning in the culture. The idea that everything needs to be understood in terms of the dominant culture indicates that the difference between humans and non-humans is the construction of culture that ultimately influences on other aspects of life. The construction of culture impacts on the construction of animals and nature, thus there are two main ways to view non-humans. There is the external object with no cultural attachment and the socially constructed object where society gives it meaning. A socially constructed nature or non-human would be based on the dominant culture of the community. Ingold (2002) argues that one should rather engage with the world rather than trying to socially construct it based on the dominant culture, thus accepting that the physical and cultural view of nature is one entity. Ingold (1993) terms the idea of accepting the physical and cultural view of an object as one whole, the theory of dwelling. Animals viewed under this philosophy would impact on the mental labelling or perceived reality which affects one's behaviour. The act of imposing a mental label on an object also impacts on the kind of language people use to describe an animal, especially in terms of describing power relations (Peterson, 1999).

Humans live with other animal species, which might not be able to express themselves using language in the same manner as humans. Determining animal sentience, which is the ability to feel emotions is important for scientific and ethical reasons (Harnad, 2016). Animal sentience also plays a major role in the social construction of animals, as it determines one's view of intrinsic and extrinsic values. The different values one holds, influence and interact with each other to create the holistic picture of one's social construction of animals. The perception of animal sentience is influenced by the philosophical basis of the community that one is brought up in, thus, if a community is influenced by anthropocentrism, then animals are regarded as having limited or no sentience (Castree, 1995; Anderson, 1997). The perceived reality or mental labelling is the combination the philosophical bases of the community, the world and the physical space one finds oneself in. The mental label developed by each person as they socially construct their reality, including animals, carry different characteristics that inform and give meaning to each object (Peterson, 1999).

2.3 Anthropocentrism

Anthropocentrism is a philosophical theory that implies that only humans have intrinsic and moral value in society (Proctor, 1998b). In the anthropocentric approach, due to the perceived difference between humans' and animals' intrinsic value in society the two are kept apart at all times. The result thereof is the divide between nature and society into two different entities that should be kept apart, thus creating a separate environment for each. In the anthropocentric theory, humans are superior to animals; thus, when describing an animal, one should maintain a degree of objectivity and power. For example, many authors (e.g. Bird, 1987; Castree, 1995; Manfredo & Dayer, 2004) agree that people construct nature as something external from them that should be confined to conservation areas. The rise of the industrial age caused humans to increasingly separate themselves from nature in the name of development and cultural progression, which ultimately changed the social construction of nature (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). Ariansen (1998) argues that animal rights should be seen as part of anthropocentrism. Ariansen (1998) states that the mistreatment of non-humans can be linked to the mistreatment of humans; thus, it is in the best interest of humans to have a humane relationship with non-humans. However, humane behaviour may be encouraged as it impacts on the relationship between humans (Ariansen, 1998).

According to Ariansen (1998), ethical values towards nature and non-humans may be seen as part of anthropocentrism as they impact humans. A humane relationship towards non-humans that does not depend on the sentient value of beings, is similar to Charles Darwin's argument. Darwin argued that humans have common descents from the animal kingdom, thus every being is subjected to natural selection (Mayr, 2009). Darwin proposed that non-humans should be treated ethically as everyone is part of the environment, however a distinction is made that non-humans do not necessarily have sentient value (Ariansen,1998). Ariansen (1998) argues that humans are the central focus of all concern; the relationship towards non-humans is therefore only a by-product of the ethics humans should share with each other. This ideology becomes part of western culture, which impacts on the nature of human-wildlife interaction. In the event that the separation between the wild and civilised is not adhered to, conflict may arise as a result thereof (Castree, 1995).

Anthropocentrism is the basis of human-wildlife interaction in western culture, thus indicating the effect of ideals in society that create the social construction of animals (Demeritt, 2002; Proctor, 1998b). Globalisation also has a major impact on communities' values which influence their

construction of nature. Science is also a form of sociological-ecological construction of nature as a method of understanding the world (Proctor, 1998a).

2.4 Animal sentience

Sentience is the ability to be self-aware and formulate feelings (Hoole,2017). In the past, sentience was regarded as the defining factor that distinguished humans from other animals. Although a few groups of animals such those categorised as "charismatic mega fauna" (Lynn, 1998, page. 284) which include non-human primates and elephants, are given sentient value to a certain extent, although this is a complex process. Charismatic mega fauna are given sentient value, because society care more about animals that are as similar to humans as possible in terms of intelligence and social structure (Mather, 2019). Giving sentient values to charismatic mega fauna does not mean that the animals could be accepted into a human space in the same way as a companion animal (Weston, 1985).

The public may acknowledge that charismatic mega fauna has complex social systems in a similar manner to humans. The value of these animals, however, would still be extrinsic in nature as the animals in this category are only used for conservation. The very nature of conservation is to protect animals for future human generations and not that the animals deserve protection for themselves. Conservation is thus is anthropocentric in nature to promote the extrinsic value of animals (Lynn, 1998). Sentience is an important factor in defining intrinsic and extrinsic value. Intrinsic value means to have a moral standing and values within itself, separate from the validation of humans (Castree, 1995; Anderson, 1997). Extrinsic value is when something is valued only for its instrumental value and does not have a moral standing (Lynn, 1998). Intrinsic and extrinsic values are important factors in establishing who does and who does not belong in our (human) moral community (Castree, 1995; Anderson, 1997). Animal sentience is the bases for defining intrinsic or extrinsic value, which then has an impact on defining a moral community. The moral community, is every being which can be identified as having intrinsic value and a right to share the physical space of the community. Animals without intrinsic value are placed outside the moral community and excluded from the physical space, opening up the possibility of exploitation (Lynn, 1998).

Animal sentience impacts on the mental labelling or the perceived reality created in one's social construction of animals (Proctor, 1998b), if one believes that an animal does not have the ability to be sentient and has only extrinsic value. The social construction of animals might be expressed through human domination over animals, the exploitation and exclusion of animals in certain spaces (Lynn, 1998). Only animals that have been domesticated may be allowed to have intrinsic value and be included in the physical and moral community. With domestication being a form of human domination over nature (Weston, 1985), this idea filters down to many other areas in human culture and the culture of human space. The idea that only domesticated animals are appropriate in a human space also relates back to the notion of domination over the wild in terms of moving from an agriculture-based society to an industry-based society (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). It also links to how humans label and classify objects in groups to be used in the humans' social construction of animals. Animals that have not been domesticated and animals outside the moral community, are thus relegated to remain in the wilderness. It is a thematic association, that whatever is wild should be linked to the wild and anything considered to be civilised belongs in a human space in the western cultural context (Anderson, 1997). This system of labelling and thematic association forms the basis of the social construction of animals (Peterson, 1999). The social construction of animals and space is closely related to animal geography, in that it explores the relationship between space and animal kinship. Everything links back to the kinds of labels that humans place on animals and certain spaces, which all relate back to the culture of one's community (Bird, 1987; Castree, 1995). In the western context, domination over nature is what progressed society to the industrial age and that was compounded by the influence of Judeo-Christian religion (Anderson, 1997; Manfredo & Dayer, 2004).

2.5 Perceived reality and mental labelling

One's perceived reality of the world is an important factor in social constructionist theory. It is also heavily influenced by the guiding philosophies of the community one is brought up in and many other outside influences (Demeritt, 2002). One's perceived reality is not an independent process, rather it is influenced by complex social norms of the community (Göergen, 2017). In a social constructionist theory, there is the physical science understanding of the universe. There is also the social perception of the environment, which is shaped by one's perceived reality and mental labelling (Proctor, 1998b). Perceived reality and mental labelling are interconnected. The

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way one describes a feature may show the way one constructs one's environment in relation to oneself (Demeritt, 2002). Humans take their perceived reality and attach labels to it to give specific meaning to an object. The meaning of each label is determined by the underlining philosophy of the community someone is brought up in. This process of giving labels to objects forms the basis of social constructionism, which is then expressed through the use of language (Peterson, 1999). The shared knowledge of the community gets expressed through language to form mental labels and reality (Bruffee, 1986; Wendl, 2016). Bunting and Guelke (1979) agree that, in order to study humans' actions, one must also study their perceptions of the world. Studying perception aids in understanding the subjective ideas. It also assists in analysing the factors that create those subjective perceptions and its influence on non-human interaction. The cultural perception of reality is also influenced by many external factors such as social, religious, economic, environmental and political factors. Culture is one of the main fundamentals that impact humans' perceptions of the world (Tuan, 2003). In order to understand people's true perception of reality, all the factors that influence it must be analysed to create a holistic understanding of their perception and attitude towards baboons and the environment (Bunting & Guelke, 1979). Tuan (2003) argues that the perceived reality is also dependent on two factors, namely an individual's experience and imagination. The perception of reality and mental labelling is complex, as it is based on many different factors. However, several authors (Bunting & Guelke, 1979; Peterson, 1999; Tuan, 2003; Göergen, 2017) agree that there is more than one factor that creates an individual's perceived reality (Bunting & Guelke, 1979). The mental label we apply to an animal affects the relationship and behaviour we have towards the animal (Proctor, 1998b). In this way, every individual creates their own social construction of an animal (Demeritt, 2002). In a social constructionist theory, one's perceived reality may be experienced as an objective and subjective reality (Miranda & Saunders, 2003).

2.6 The impact of social constructivism on human-wildlife interaction

The social construction of animals has a direct impact on the human-wildlife interaction dynamic, as people hold a mental label with their attached values. The mental label in turns impacts human-wildlife interactions, as animals that move into a human-dominated space are labelled in the negative such as being "fugitives" (Hobson, 2007, p. 253) of their own geographical space. The animals become marginalised agents within the space (Hobson, 2007). An animal that is seen as a

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marginalised agent would be regarded as having no intrinsic values, and thus would be unwelcome in the human moral community and physical space (Lynn, 1998). Hobson (2007) argues that nature and animals are dynamic resources that should have ethical consideration. A similar argument is made by Singer (1975), who argues that animals should have ethical consideration due to the fact that they have the ability to feel pleasure and pain (Singer, 1975).

The disadvantage of social constructivism is that environmental or ethical issues within nature or wildlife are socially constructed according to what is accepted within that space (Peterson, 1999). Environmental problems may be identified through moral, empathetic, cultural and economic interests; thus, people's personal values that allow them to identify a problem (Bird, 1987). The media may also romanticise the image of certain animals and nature by promoting the idea of an untouched environment. It also promotes the image of wild animals relying on instinct with no intrinsic value, which ultimately affects humans' social construction of animals and the nature of human-wildlife interaction (Brosius, 1999).

It is therefore evident that social and cultural elements play a role in affecting one's perception of an animal. Anand and Radhakrisha (2017) argue that the type of human-wildlife interaction may differ in nature depending on if it occurs in a developed or developing country. In developing countries an interaction might occur in the context of conflict for similar resources such as crop raiding. In developed countries a human-wildlife interaction may only be an obstruction to the communities' daily lifestyle. The perceptions of wildlife may be based on the combination of the animals' physical appearance and socio-cultural factors (Anand & Radhakrisha, 2017). Kansky and Knight (2014) argue that a negative perception of an animal would strongly affect one's attitude regarding the animal. Other factors such as experience with the animal could also affect one's social construction and perception of an animal. Social construction and perceptions thus play a major part in the study of human-wildlife interaction, as humans are part of the equation (Kansky & Knight, 2014).

2.7 Human and baboon interaction

Human-baboon interaction presents a unique situation, as primates hold a unique space in different cultures that impacts on people's perceptions (Saraswat *et al.*, 2015). The close genetic make-up between humans and baboons, means that culture is the defining force that creates a separation

between the two beings (Alcayna-Stevens, 2008). The social construction of primates is important to analyse, due to the complex relationship. People may view the human-like behaviour of baboons in a positive way however baboons may still not belong in the human moral community (Fuentes, 2006).

Anything placed outside the human moral community would have no sentient value and no moral standing in society (Lynn, 1998). Riley (2007) argues that human and baboon interaction may be based on perceptions rooted in the culture of the community. The impact of the culture and mythology of the community regarding baboons may impact on the type of interaction one may experience. In certain parts of the world, human-baboon interaction may also occur in the context of crop raiding in rural communities, where the crops are the source of income and survival for families and the community. Many people may suffer economic losses due to crop raiding by baboon troops. However, most do not believe in harming the animals due to their belief system holding baboons in high regard. Culture is also a dynamic resource, thus beliefs regarding certain animals may change over time. The community may start to view baboons, as negatively affecting their livelihood as compared to viewing them as a charismatic species that should be conserved (Riley, 2007).

Human-wildlife interaction, especially with baboons, are complex as they are layered with social, cultural, and personal perceptions. Culture is the aids in creating the perception of humans towards non-humans (Alcayna-Stevens, 2008). Saraswat *et al.* (2015) also argue that the type of human and baboon interaction one could observe, is based on one's perception of the animal. For example, farmers affected by crop raiding tend to still have a high tolerate level due to the place the non-human primates hold in the culture of the community.

Investigating perceptions of baboons is important to understand the type of interaction that could occur (Saraswat *et al.*, 2015). Studies in India (Saraswat *et al.*, 2015) and Indonesia (Riley & Priston, 2010) indicate that crop raiding by baboons and monkeys may cause farmers to suffer economic losses; however, the animals are still revered. The revered animals are perceived as sentient beings; thus, baboons/monkeys would be still seen in a positive light. Farmers would rather place the blame for the increase in crop raiding on elements such as the increase in urbanisation and the influence of tourism (Saraswat *et al.*, 2015).

The people who make the most frequent contact with baboons are tourists, and residents living near nature reserves. A human-baboon interaction in the wilderness area could be viewed as part of a positive tourist experience. In the event that baboons enter a human-dominated space, the interaction would be perceived as a negative experience. The interaction may be similar in nature, with only a location difference (Sha *et al.*, 2009). The existing social construction of baboons may be compounded by the effect of the tourism industry on baboons in terms of increasing aggression levels. Research has shown that the increase in tourism, has led to an increase in baboon aggression, increasing the likelihood of a negative experience for tourists (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994; McCarthy *et al.*, 2009). The type of experience one has in a human-wildlife interaction sets a strong precedent for future perceptions of animals (Kansky & Knight, 2014), increasing the amount of negative human-baboon interaction and perceptions (Soulsbury & White, 2016).

2.8 Summary

To summarise, the social constructionist theoretical framework comprises many interlinked factors, such as animal sentience, mental labelling and anthropocentrism as a guiding philosophy. The different factors ultimately impact one's view on animal sentience and perceived reality. Perceived reality is the result of one's social construction; thus, all the factors that impact on it are important to create a holistic understanding of human and baboon interaction. The next chapter explores human-wildlife interactions and the impact of tourism/visitation on these interactions.
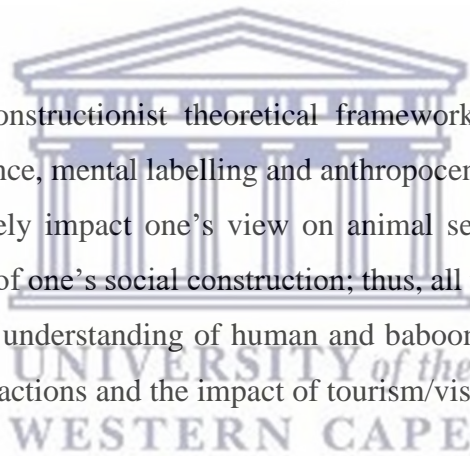
CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW: HUMAN-BABOON INTERACTIONS

3.1 Introduction

The central philosophy of the dominant cultures and personal views of individuals impact human-wildlife interaction, as it influences the individuals' perception of reality (Anderson, 1997). The guiding philosophy of the community will determine who does and does not receive sentient value. Sentient value is the basis of intrinsic and extrinsic value which plays an important role in terms of establishing moral standing. Sentient value and moral standing are important factors in defining the human moral community. In order to be part of the human physical space, one needs to be part of the human moral community (Lynn, 1998). Exclusion from the human moral community and subsequently the physical space, would open up the chance to marginalise non-humans (Philo, 1995).

The lack of sentient value and moral standing in a human moral community would perpetuate a negative perception when wildlife enters a human space. Non-humans are seen as having no sentient value, and thus do not belonging in a human space. In the event that something that is seen as not belonging in a certain space breaks this unspoken rule, it is then perceived in a negative light (Demeritt, 2002). A negative perception would perpetuate a negative human-wildlife interaction. Tourism is one of the industries where there is a great amount of human-wildlife interaction (Soulsbury & White, 2016).

Baboons and other non-human primates present an additional challenge as they are socially constructed in various ways. The close connection between humans and baboons in terms of biology and characteristics such as opposable thumbs, sometimes places them in a negative position. It may threaten humans' sense of superiority as being unique creates in nature (Hill &Webber, 2010; Riley & Priston, 2010). Baboons are highly intelligent creatures that can adapt to living in a communalistic or a parasitic-symbiotic relationship with humans. Tourism is one of the industries that brings humans into contact with wildlife more than any other industry. It could also impact on the type of perception and interaction between humans and baboons (Fuentes, 2012).

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Tourism development also increases the extent of human infrastructure in the conservation areas, such as human waste disposal and roads. The increase in activity in the animals' direct environment may influence the animals' natural behaviour in the long term (Valentine & Birtles, 2004). Studies by Wheatley and Harya Putra (1994) in Bali, McCarthy *et al.* (2009) in China, and Fa (1992) in Gibraltar provide evidence that tourism has impacted on baboons and monkeys in ways which create negative interactions with tourists. This links to the argument by Soulsbury & White (2016) that human-wildlife interaction tends to be negative in nature.

3.2 Animal geography

Animal geography provides insight into the relationship between humans and animals, in terms of how the two interact within a space (Anderson, 1998; Lynn, 1998). In western culture, development and civilisation can only be achieved through overcoming/dominating nature. This gives rise to the idea that nature and society should be kept apart at all times (Bird, 1987; Castree, 1995; Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). The human-animal divide in western postcolonial culture, relies on the idea that there are differences between culture and nature. It also serves as a way to emphasize the difference in terms of evolution as humans are seen as the most evolved species, instead of viewing non-humans in a social and geographical manner (Diehl, 2016). Judeo-Christian thought and philosophers such as Descartes also play a major role reinforcing the idea of the domination of nature. In the case of Descartes, animals were seen as being beneath humans as they lacked the ability to reason, and thus could not be consciously aware beings (Anderson, 1997). The values and ethics that humans hold of animals differ across certain species, whether or not the species have been domesticated. Human beings' ethics and values control their personal views and actions towards all living beings (Castree, 1995).

3.2.1 Animals as a marginalised social group

Animal geography allows wildlife to be seen as a separate study subject and not as a by-product of studying an environment where animals happen to live. It also opens up the possibility that animals may be studied as a social group that actively participants in the environment (Tovey, 2003). Tovey (2003) argues that animals should be studied as a separate social group in the environment. This links to Philo's (1995) argument where animals are seen as a marginalised social group. In both Tovey's (2003) and Philo's (1995) arguments, animals are studied separately

from their habitats, not as part of the environment alongside humans. Animals tend to be regarded as having little to no sentient value and therefore enjoy no moral standing in society (Lynn, 1998). Having a moral standing in society is important as it allows everyone to be an active participant in the community, thus having no moral standing would allow for marginalisation (Philo, 1995). The two social groups would be seen as having different sentient value. Humans are considered sentient beings and animals are not, thus the two cannot be in the same physical space (Lynn, 1998). Philo (1995) argued that when two social groups of different sentient value enter the same space, it would be seen as "transgressing" (Philo, 1995, p. 656). Proctor (1998a, 1998b) and Lynn (1998) argue that sentient value will ultimately affect the moral standing of a community, which plays a big role in controlling the social/physical space.

3.2.2 The role of domestication in human-wildlife interaction

Domesticated animals such as dogs and cats tend to be welcomed as non-human companions in a human-dominated space. In western culture, domesticated animals may even have their own dedicated space such as dog parks, thus indicating how humans have adapted urban spaces to allow keeping pets. Domestication allows humans to bring animals into the human space. In terms of the western philosophy of what is appropriate for a civilised society, humans need to have domination over nature to be seen as civilised (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004; Diehl, 2016). The industrial age magnified the idea of separating and dominating nature for human progression, thus making it hard to create a culture of co-existence between humans and animals (Johnston, 2008). The ideology emphasises the idea that humans should have domination over nature, thus anything outside this idea of domestication and domination would be seen as being inappropriate in a civilised society. Eventually, the ideology of humans dominating nature would influence the social construction of certain spaces as urban areas are characterised by human domination. The Western ideology of human space plays a bigger role in influencing the sentient value and moral standing of animals (Anderson, 1997).

Coeckelbergh and Gunkel (2014) argue that the ability to act in a similar manner as humans is the foundation of determining moral standing in animals, however this is also a form of anthropocentrism. Domesticated animals in general are more accepted in a human space, as domestic animals are given sentient values, that make them part of the moral community. In order to establish the moral community of an area, there are two important factors, namely the intrinsic

and the extrinsic values. Extrinsic values are when something only has value if it could be used as a means to an end. When something has value for merely existing in the world or having value in/of itself, it is an intrinsic value. Anybody who is considered to have intrinsic and moral value would be accepted in the space or moral community (Anderson, 1997). In the same way that urban areas are characterised by human domination, the wilderness is characterised by the lack thereof. The wilderness is seen as the area that should be untouched by humans in contrast to the urban areas (Whatmore & Thorne, 1998).

3.2.3 Wildlife value orientation

The wildlife value orientation method to studying human-wildlife interaction was developed by Manfredo, Vaske and Decker (1995). This was updated the subsequent year by Fulton *et al.* (1996). It has mainly been used for human-wildlife studies in the United States, however, it has also been used in Estonia, Thailand, Netherlands and China. Values play an important role in assessing human-wildlife interaction; it is thus deeply interconnected with one's guiding philosophy (Gamborg & Jensen, 2016).

There are two main wildlife value orientations, namely domination and mutualism. In the domination wildlife value orientation, animals serve only as a means to an end whether as food or for entertainment and do not have any intrinsic value (Manfredo, Teel & Henry, 2009). It may also be described as a utilitarian wildlife value orientation; both terms refer to valuing wildlife only for its use to humans (Gamborg & Jensen, 2016). The agricultural and industrial revolutions served as the main starting point of this line of thought. During this period in history, humans started to rely less on nature as a way to survive and started to move out of the hunter-gather phase, into an agricultural society. Humans did not have to rely on a mutual relationship with nature to survive, for example relying on animal patterns for hunting. In an agricultural society, humans believed in dominating nature, including animals and so the shift began from a mutual relationship to domination of nature (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009). Domination of nature is based on humans having control over nature and can be linked to Judeo-Christian religion. It may also be linked to advancements in technology and the subsequent influence of capitalism as humans moved into the industrial age (Azizi & Jacobs, 2019). Domination of nature served as a means of survival as humans started to move from being mobile in search of resources all the time to a stationary community to form the first cities. (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009).

A domination or utilitarian wildlife value orientation falls under an anthropocentric philosophy. In an anthropocentric philosophy, non-humans lack sentient value and as a result are seen as having no intrinsic value. The lack of intrinsic value means that they do not have a moral standing and are not part of the human moral community (Lynn, 1998). A domination wildlife value orientation places the needs of humans over wildlife and that wildlife only have value when it can be used for human benefit (Azizi & Jacobs, 2019). The polar opposite from domination is the mutualist, wildlife value orientation. In this value orientation, emphasis is placed on creating equality for all beings, including considering the welfare of humans and animals as both have intrinsic value. Anyone that identifies as part of this value orientation would most likely be against any form of wildlife exploitation. The rise of the mutualist wildlife value orientation is linked to socio-economic development (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009).

The mutualist wildlife value orientation is based on an egalitarian philosophy that values equality and the well-being of others. A mutualism wildlife value orientation emphasizes the philosophy that wildlife should have rights and that humans should care about their well-being (Azizi & Jacobs, 2019). A mutualist wildlife value orientation could be linked to a biocentric or ecocentric philosophy. In a biocentric philosophy, humans and non-humans have sentient and intrinsic value in society (Agar, 1997). An ecocentric philosophy places value on all living beings in the environment, as everything works as one ecological unit in nature (Johnston, 2008). Socio-economic development initiated the shift in societal values from materialism to post-materialism (Teel *et al.*, 2010). Materialist values are associated with a society's basics needs, such as safety and survival, along with utilitarian wildlife values. In a post-materialistic society, benevolence, hedonism and sense of belonging are deemed more important, thus leading to a mutualistic wildlife value (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009; Teel *et al.*, 2010).

Post-materialistic values may be extended to wildlife values, thus promoting the protection and ethical treatment of wildlife. Animal ethics is a growing field both in geography and tourism. Humans and wildlife share a complex relationship in both fields of study (Teel *et al.*, 2010). Tourism brings humans and wildlife into contact with each other, either through wildlife-dependent or independent tourism. The increase in nature conservation has also placed the spotlight on the plight of wildlife and the effects of habitat loss through urbanisation (Valentine & Birtles, 2004). Wildlife value orientations have their roots set in various environmental

philosophies (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009). Environmental philosophies impact on giving non-humans sentient value and as a result impact on the wildlife value orientation (Teel *et al.*, 2010).

3.3 Environmental ethics

3.3.1 Impact of intrinsic values on environmental ethics

The difference between intrinsic and extrinsic value is an important factor in conceptualising the various ways we care about wildlife and environmental ethics (McShane, 2007). Philosophical views on animals have evolved over the years; however, at its core, philosophical theories on animals revolve around what should have intrinsic value in a society (Lynn, 1998). Intrinsic value can be defined by the possibility that a being has value of itself. Denying intrinsic value to a non-human being or ecosystem would mean that the object has only instrumental value. Instrumental value can be defined as only seeing the value in an object when it could be used for human benefit. O'Neill (1992) and McShane (2007) argues that intrinsic value can be broken down into three factors, namely, it should have non-instrumental value, no relational value and have its own "objective value". In order to have intrinsic value, the object also needs to have "objective value", thus, it is not dependent on the valuation of humans (O'Neill, 1992, p. 120). In most western societies animals are seen as resources for humans to use as they have no intrinsic value and as a result fall beneath any human moral status and community (Azizi & Jacobs, 2019). One of the arguments is the idea of self-sufficiency, which means that something can only be considered to have intrinsic value if it is self-sufficient (O'Neill, 1992). Weston (1985) argues that intrinsic values are part of a greater interconnected system of values, where one system of values such as having intrinsic value, should not be separated on its own (Weston, 1985). An example of giving intrinsic value through its relation to others, is giving a rare object intrinsic value due to its level of endangerment and rarity in society. In this way an object needs to be validated via its population numbers to be recognised as having intrinsic value (O'Neill, 1992).

Anthropocentrism is the philosophy that only humans have moral standing and intrinsic value (Lynn, 1998). It does not only impact on the social perception of animals, but affects policies regarding modern environmental practices (Azizi & Jacobs, 2019). This philosophy was fuelled primarily by humans following the discovery of fossil fuels and the subsequent industrial age, as humans became the major "geological agents" of environmental change in the world (Johnson *et*

al., 2014). In the Anthropocene, nature reserves are regarded as experiments for attempting to save the wilderness, based on humans' perception of how it should be, in the future (Lorimer & Driessen, 2014). In this human-centred philosophy, animals only have extrinsic value as something for human use with no sentient value and moral standing. The anthropocentric approach is most widely used in western culture (Weston, 1985; Azizi & Jacobs, 2019). Norton (1984) argues that anthropocentrism could be broken into two parts, namely strong and weak anthropocentrism. Strong and weak anthropocentrism are still based on humans as the only source of sentient and intrinsic value Strong anthropocentrism is based on what Norton terms as a "felt preference" which is a value with a specifiable experience and does not make use of any moral ideals in making a judgement.

Weak anthropocentrism is based on a "considered preference", which is a value/interest that, after careful consideration is based on one's moral ideals and values (Norton, 1984). It recognises that people can live in harmony with nature and wildlife without providing it intrinsic value. For example, Charles Darwin provides a scientific reason for respecting nature and wildlife without giving it intrinsic value (Norton, 1984). Singer (1975) debated against the anthropocentric philosophy of the western culture. Singer (1975) argued that sentient value should be given to animals on the basis that they do have the ability to feel happiness and pain. Singer (1975) argues that the ability to rationalise in a similar manner as a human should not matter, in terms of giving sentient value to animals. Coeckelbergh and Gunkel (2014) also state that it is a form of anthropocentrism when humans are used as the measure for other animals' sentience and intrinsic value. Singer (1975) draws comparisons between racism and sexism to speciesism as each of these terms are based on the idea that one group is justified in their domination over another group that is seen as subordinate. In the biocentric philosophical approach, all beings, whether human or non-human, have intrinsic value (Agar, 1997). Johnston (2008) and Agar (1997) argue that all living beings have the same moral value in society. Ecocentrism is the philosophy that all living beings are part of one ecosystem and that the wellbeing of the entire system is more important than an individual group. Ingold's theory of a dwelling geography falls under an ecocentric philosophical approach as everyone is regarded as being part of the environment and should co-exist with each other (Johnston, 2008).

Wild animals tend to be given only extrinsic values as objects that should be used for human benefit, thus placing wild animals outside the moral community. Exclusion from the moral community means there is no moral standing, which becomes an opening for exploitation and marginalisation (Lynn, 1998). Wildlife is one of the most important components of conservation around the world. It may attract major tourism activity as a primary or secondary attraction, thus placing it in direct competition with human development (Valentine & Birtles, 2004). Wildlife value orientation is one of the important factors in humans' relationship to wildlife. It considers an individual's attitudes, values and ideologies that influence human-wildlife interaction as each one is interlinked (Teel *et al.*, 2010).

3.3.2 Influence of philosophical theories on the use of physical space

Attitude can be described as the source of human behaviour in relation to one's values. An ideology is the common belief among cultural groups which is influenced by a set of common values, and values are the core concepts that form the basis of one's behaviour (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). Attitude is also a strong indicator of possible future behaviour (Glasman & Dolores, 2006). Values are influenced by one's culture, as it creates structure and unity within a society. Values may be further broken down into value orientations, that are influenced by a commonly-held ideology within a culture and give meaning to one's core values (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). Ranger *et al* (2016) also agues that values can broken up between an individual's own personal values and the values of the group. Animal geography in the western cultural context relies heavily on the idea of human domination in a space. This idea filters down too many other areas in human culture and the culture of human space (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004).

The idea that only domesticated animals are included in a human space relates back to the notion of domination of the wild, for a space to be 'civilised' for human habitation. It also links to how humans label and classify objects in groups to be used in their social construction of space and animals (Anderson, 1997). Animals that have not been domesticated should remain in the wilderness and animals that have been domesticated are welcomed into the human space (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). It is a thematic association, that whatever is 'wild' should be linked to the wild and anything considered to be 'civilised' belongs in a human space in the western cultural context. This system of labelling and thematic association forms the basis of the social construction of animals (Anderson, 1997; Peterson, 1999).

The social construction of certain animals as wild creatures in an uncivilised environment has implications for humans' views on animal sentience. Animals that have not been domesticated are usually regarded as having no sentient value in western culture. Providing sentient value has implications for which animals form part of the human moral community (Peterson, 1999). An animal with intrinsic value is seen as being part of the human moral community and an animal with extrinsic value is seen as being outside the human moral community (Azizi & Jacobs, 2019; Peterson, 1999). The social construction of animals, impacts on who is allowed into a physical and social space; this is therefore closely related to animal geography. Animal geography explores the relationship between space and animal kinship. The guiding philosophy and social construction of a person or community has implications for sentient value views (Peterson, 1999). Sentient values allow people to give intrinsic and extrinsic values to non-humans which impacts on the perception of who belongs in the moral community (Bird, 1987). The value of the moral community is that it controls the physical space in terms of who forms part of the moral community. Everything links back to the kinds of labels that are placed on non-humans and their impact on physical space (Anderson, 1997).

3.4 Human-wildlife interaction

According to Soulsbury and White (2016), an urban environment is made up of a mixture of elements ranging from man-made structures to green spaces. Wildlife has been part of the urban landscape since ancient Egypt. However, it did not become an active study field until the 1960s. The urban ecology of wildlife is an important issue for further research as the rate of urbanisation increases, highlighting the need to investigate the relationship between humans and animals. Soulsbury and White (2016) place wildlife in urban areas into three categories, namely exploiters, adapters and avoiders. These categorisations have subsequently changed to avoiders, utilisers and dwellers, to avoid negative stereotyping of animals (Soulsbury & White, 2016).

Human-wildlife interaction occur when wildlife animals interact with people, such as tourists or residents. Human-wildlife interaction may occur in a natural or human space. This may also be classified as a non-consumptive activity in tourism as it does not directly harm the animals. Activities that directly harm the animals would be categorised as a consumptive activity in tourism, for example canned hunting (Valentine & Birtles, 2004). Many authors have documented the

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increase in tourism into areas previously dominated by wildlife and the resultant impact on the interaction between people and wildlife (Madden, 2004; Chion *et al.*, 2011; Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012a; Barua *et al.*, 2013; Patterson *et al.*, 2017). Wildlife is still socially constructed as something that should remain in the confines of the natural boundary, despite the geographical location of the urban area to natural habitats (Anderson, 1998). In the event that this ideology is not adhered to, conflict between humans and wildlife arises (Lynn, 1998).

3.4.1 Factors impacting on human-wildlife interaction

One's perception of a situation is important as its aids in constructing an interaction as either positive or negative. Perceptions may be based on socio-economic and political influences (Soulsbury & White, 2016). They may also be influenced by one's philosophical belief system regarding the place of animals in society. Anthropocentrism is one of the major influential philosophies that has an impact on the culture of urban areas (Demeritt, 2002). Conflict with wildlife is usually based on social and cultural traditions of a space, rather than the actual event. Factors such as gender, ethnicity, wealth, education and experience are important as they impact on value and attitude systems. An individual's values and attitudes as well as culture ultimately impact on the perception of human-wildlife interaction. Major areas of conflict are categorised into four sections: firstly, aggression, injury and death, where these attacks are generally predatory, territorial or defensive in nature – for example, protecting the young (raptors) and procuring food (baboons). This is most often experienced by tourists, who are likely to approach young animals for a photo opportunity, or to engage in feeding wildlife. The second category is nuisance and property damage, which is experienced mostly by residents living in the urban-green space interface. The third category is the risk of disease transmission, as certain diseases may jump across a species barrier. The fourth category pertains to economic costs, for example repair work to property and impacting livelihoods. In areas where wildlife is located nearby farm land, there may be economic costs when stock is damaged (Soulsbury & White, 2016).

As shown earlier, the literature on human-wildlife interaction tends to be negative as wildlife is regarded as trespassing into human spaces (Soulsbury & White, 2016). The social perception of an animal impacts on the mental labelling or the preserved reality which influences the social construction of an animal (Peterson, 1999). The industrial age also played a role in the perception and construction of animals' place in society, as wildlife was placed outside the human moral

community (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). Civilisation and human progression are based on the idea that humans should have domination over nature, thus any animal allowed into the human space must be domesticated (Yeo & Neo, 2010). Society transitioned from an agriculture-based livelihood system to a post-industrial society. People became less dependent on nature for their livelihoods, which also changed the culture towards nature in society as something separate from the progress of civilisation in the urban areas.

Different religious views also changed humanity's relationship with nature (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). In Judeo-Christian religions, humans are regarded as superior to nature and may use it as they please, which remains the main ideology of the western culture (Orams, 2002; Coeckelbergh & Gunkel, 2014). Manfredo and Dayer (2004) divided civilisation into the materialist and post-materialist industrial society. The focus of a materialist society is on wildlife use, while a post-materialist society is focused mainly on the protection and appreciation of wildlife. The foundation of the human-wildlife relationship is centred on human progression and development from being dependent on nature, to a civilised society that dominates the environment and animals (Fulton *et al.*, 1996; Manfredo & Dayer 2004).

3.4.2 Factors impacting on the perceptions of baboons

Human-baboon interaction is still firmly constructed in the context of pestilence. Baboons are perceived negatively due to the western constructions of the human-wildlife divide (Hill & Webber, 2010; Coeckelbergh & Gunkel, 2014). Wildlife such as baboons are socially constructed as having only extrinsic value in an anthropocentric society, thus not part of the human moral community (Lynn, 1998). Animals with complex social systems such as baboons have been recognised as having sentient value, however it is a complex relationship as they would still not be included in the human moral community (Weston, 1985). According to Sakurai et al (2014) perceptions of wildlife and the ability to coexist will vary according to the type of species.

In the western construct of baboons, they are constructed as omens of evil and should be separated from the civilised human space. The ideals of a western civilised society and the human-animal divide spread to other parts of the world and, as a result, influenced the perceptions that human-baboon interaction is mostly negative (Hill & Webber, 2010). Another factor could be that after Darwin's theory of natural selection and evolution, people may have felt offended by the place

baboons and other non-human primates hold in nature (Norton, 1984). Darwin's theory opened up the possibility that there is very little difference between humans and baboons, which impacted humans' sense of superiority in nature. It also provided a possibility that baboons could have similar value in society as humans, thus blurring the line between humans and wildlife (Hill & Webber, 2010).

The relationship and type of interactions humans have with baboons can be complex and filled with paradoxes (Hill & Webber, 2010). On the island of Sulawesi in Indonesia authors studied the unique relationship between humans and macaques (non-human primate monkeys). The Sulawesi community is an agricultural community that experiences human-wildlife interaction through crop raiding by the macaque population. Regardless of the macaque crop raiding habits, the community has a positive perception of macaques. The positive perception of macaques can be traced back to the culture and folklore of the community. The Sulawesi community includes macaques as part of the belief systems, thus it would be considered bad luck to the person, if they harm a macaque (Riley & Priston, 2010). Perceptions of baboons vary across different cultures, which impact on the type of human-wildlife interaction prevailing in different societies (Sakurai *et al*, 2014).

Riley and Priston (2010) ague that human-baboon interactions are complex as baboons are admired for their intelligence, however may still be perceived in the negative. Hill and Webber (2010) give examples from Uganda and Japan of the complex nature of human-baboon interactions. In the Bunyoro Kingdom, Uganda, human-baboon interaction tends to be negative, as locals use military terminology to describe baboon troops. The community has experience with rebel military groups, thus implies that baboons are perceived to be organised yet calculating. In Japan, a similar response was evident, where macaques are described as criminals, yet locals admire the strong social bonds between troops, especially the mother-infant bond.

Hill and Webber (2010) also argue that people could also hold baboons to a higher moral standard, in a similar manner as humans are thus judged in accordance with human social norms. This becomes a negative ideal when baboons do not conform to the expected social norms. Human-wildlife interaction are layered on a system of social constructions, that impact influence human-wildlife interaction. Personal values also play an important role in one's perceptions of human-wildlife interaction (Kretser *et al.*, 2009).

3.5 Impact of the tourism industry on wildlife

Tourism is one of the main positive by-products of wildlife and nature conservation (Valentine & Birtles, 2004). It allows people to reconnect with nature and slow the pace down from the usual urban rush (Hill *et al.*, 2014). The amount of contact tourism allows between wildlife and visitor, means that it must be practiced in an ethical way. Practicing ethics within tourism would not only benefit wildlife but also the tourism industry that relies on wildlife as part of the tourism product (Green & Giese, 2004). Visitors who take part in nature-based or wildlife tourism are usually committed to the conservation of wildlife; however, they could unintentionally impact wildlife in a negative way (Valentine & Birtles, 2004).

The nature of human-wildlife interactions occurs in one of four ways namely, capture, confinement and habituation. Capture refers to removing an animal from its natural habitat and placing it in a constrained environment (confinement), for example in a zoo or illegal exotic pet ownership. Habituation is one of the problems associated with human-wildlife interaction, but it also serves as a way of ensuring that animals continue living close to tourist sites by attracting them with food (Higham & Shelton, 2011). According to Valentine and Birtles (2004), human-wildlife interactions does carry a negative effect, namely, where the animals start to avoid human areas; where they become habituated to humans; or where they become attracted to human areas. Visitors engaging in feeding wildlife is one of the major problems in terms of allowing tourist activity in a conservation area. Visitors try to connect with nature in their own way by exchanging food, as eating is usually an intimate human interaction. Some tourists like to entice animals with food in order to take a photo (Orams, 2002). Human-wildlife interaction in the form of sharing food, creates habituation towards humans especially baboons (Fuentes & Hockings, 2010; Orams, 2002). Once baboons are habituated to humans, especially visitors at tourist sites as the tourist sites are located in baboons' natural habitat, it becomes an easy access to food. Baboons have been shown to use aggressive behaviour in order to obtain food from visitors. Visitors feeding disadvantages the animals in the long term, as animals might no longer practicing natural foraging behaviour (Fuentes & Hockings, 2010). Consumptive wildlife tourism is usually the target for its negative impact on wildlife welfare. However, non-consumptive wildlife tourism could have an equally big effect on wildlife by changing important habits. Small changes over time can have a

negative effect in the long term and be as detrimental as consumptive wildlife tourism (Valentine & Birtles, 2004).

The advantages of human-wildlife interaction are based on enhancing the tourist experience of the destination (McCarthy *et al.,* 2009). According to Ballantyne *et al* (2018), the increase in people interacting with wildlife has led to an increase in environmentally-friendly behaviour such as recycling, as it demonstrates empathy towards animals and the environment. It also emphasises that the environment and wildlife should be conserved for human entertainment and education. The reason for conservation is anthropocentric based, as it's based on human benefit and not for the wildlife's intrinsic value (McCarthy *et al.,* 2009).

Human-wildlife interaction based on the feeding of wildlife has been well documented, with some arguing in favour of intentionally feeding wildlife (Fuentes & Hockings, 2010; McCarthy *et al.*, 2009). Valentine and Birtles (2004) observe that intentionally feeding wildlife provides an opportunity for photography to enhance the tourist's experience, as well as emphasize the untamed environment. One of the major perceived advantages of eco/nature-based/wildlife tourism, is the prospect of experiencing an untouched and wild environment (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004).

3.5.1 Wildlife as part of the wilderness image

Animals add to the untamed and natural feel of the tourist destination; people may therefore socially construct animals to belong in the wilderness area (Demeritt, 2002). Even if the goal of visiting the tourist destination is for an appreciation of the scenery, human-wildlife interaction would add to the experience of the untouched feel of the environment (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). The type of activity at the tourist destination would also impact on the human-wildlife interaction, depending on whether it is a consumptive or a non-consumptive tourism activity. In this regard, the social construction of the animal is also important, as a non-consumptive activity favours tourist interested in wildlife protection. The tourist interested in non-consumptive activities might view animals as intrinsic beings, worthy of protection. A consumptive activity might favour tourists who only value animals as extrinsic beings, to be used for entertainment, for example canned hunting (Valentine & Birtles, 2004). Higham and Shelton (2011) have a similar argument as Valentine and Birtles, 2004, in that consumptive and non-consumptive wildlife tourism have the same negative effect. Based on arguments from Valentine and Birtles (2004), as well as

Higham and Shelton (2011), I think visitors engaged in non-consumptive activities, might not consciously mean harm however, certain actions visitors take could negatively change wildlife. Higham and Shelton (2011) state that it is not the act of watching that leads to harm, but rather the measures taken to keep the animals at a certain location or to attract them to a certain spot, that cause the damage.

The mental label that minimal human influence should be part of a natural environment, thus any wild animal should be part of the untamed environment (Peterson, 1999). The social construction of the space where an interaction takes place is important, as it affects one's perception of an experience (Demeritt, 2002). Non-humans with no intrinsic value are not part of the human moral community (Lynn, 1998). Based on Demeritt (2002) argument on the importance of the meaning imbedded in the social construction of certain spaces and Lynn (1998) argument on exclusion and inclusion in the moral community. I think any non-human that is placed outside the human moral community comes into a socially constructed human space, would not be welcomed thus impacting one's perception of the non-human.

3.5.2 Animals as tourism symbols

There are many factors in the tourist-wildlife dynamic that make it a complex subject. Each factor affects the other in a cycle that alternately impact the tourist's experience of the destination and the sustainability of the site in the future (Higham & Shelton, 2011). According to Valentine and Birtles (2004) human-wildlife interactions in tourism-based spaces can be classified as wildlife-dependent tourism, nature-based tourism and wildlife-independent tourism.

In the event that the wildlife is the main tourist attraction, then it is classified as wildlife-dependent tourism. In cases where the natural wilderness environment is the main tourist attraction, it is classified as nature-based tourism. In nature-based tourism, wildlife tourism could be a subcategory as wildlife is also present in the same natural environment. If the main interest is in viewing the environment with no intent of seeking out wildlife, but when a wildlife-human interaction does occur and enhances the experience of the wilderness, it is called wildlife-independent tourism. The way the animals are socially constructed would be different in each case, yet it can still be classified as wildlife tourism whether it is nature-based, wildlife dependent or wildlife independent tourism. Conservation could be regarded as being anthropocentric in nature,

as conservation only becomes viable if it attracts the investment that the tourism industry has the power to bring into a country (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009).

Animals are usually associated with the wilderness as both are characterised by being untamed. In the Anthropocene, wild animals and the wilderness is also characterised by their extrinsic value (Demeritt, 2002). Animals are then used as part of the marketing, as symbols of nature-based and wildlife tourism. Examples of using animals as part of marketing, are the 'Big Five for Safari' tourism in South Africa and the Bengal tiger for tourism in India. Regardless of the type of tourism that may be used, the human-wildlife interaction or relationship is used extensively throughout tourism (Valentine & Birtles, 2004). In the Anthropocene, the environment has changed considerably and acknowledging the role of animals is important, as humans share their social space with them. According to Fuentes (2012) it is important to understand human-baboon interaction as both belong in the same taxonomic group, thus human-baboon interactions are unique in nature as no other wildlife share the same taxonomic group as humans.

3.5.3 Human-baboon interaction

The relationship between humans and baboons is unique due to the close biological and behavioural characteristics between the two. Human-baboon interaction needs to be understood in a temporal and geographic context. An ethnoprimatological approach has been created in order to study the relationship between humans and baboons in the Anthropocene (Fuentes, 2006). There is an increase in the anthropocentric environment where most baboons live, all should be taken into account to analyse baboons' behaviour and ecology (Palmer & Malone, 2017). Ethnoprimatology is a hybrid field that combines primatology, conservation and animal studies in sociocultural studies. In ethnoprimatology, humans, nature and wildlife are part of one ecological system; ethnoprimatology is therefore against any form of human domination of the environment which has been promoted through the western culture (Fuentes, 2012). Human-baboon interaction may occur in various contexts, such as conflict for similar resource through crop raiding (Hockings & Sousa, 2013). Residents living in close proximity to natural areas and tourist sites located in areas with a large amount of wildlife, may encounter human-baboon interaction. In the long term, frequent interactions between humans and baboons can result in the "co-ecology" of an area, thus impacting humans' perception of nature (Fuentes, 2006, p. 2).

In Asia and Africa, baboons and monkeys are often kept as pets to be used as entertainment for visitors; the human-baboon interaction may thus be viewed in the context of pet-keeping. Baboons could be viewed negatively when displaying aggressive behaviour such as stealing food and positive displaying complex social systems. Humans may alternate between different perceptions of baboons and other non-human primates due to the blurred nature the of species (Fuentes, 2006). Baboons and other non-human primates are placed in a blurred category of having human-like characteristics, but not being part of the human moral community. The exclusion of baboons from the human moral community leaves it with no sentient value and as a result, they have only extrinsic value in society (Lynn, 1998).

A communalist relationship between humans and non-human primates is also possible, for example, monkeys are the non-human primates in India where there is a communalist relationship. Commensalism is a relationship, where one human or wildlife group neither benefits nor is disadvantaged by interacting with the other group. Human-wildlife interaction in India takes place, not only in farming areas but also in towns and temples, as they are mainly attracted to the food in those human areas (Southwick & Siddiqi,1994). In the Anthropocene, wildlife must adapt their behaviour in order to survive in a human-dominated landscape. Non-human primates such as baboons and monkeys have a strong ability to adapt, thus enabling them to take advantage of the proximity to human spaces (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009; Fuentes, 2012).

There are four elements that impact urban wildlife such as baboons/monkeys in India, namely the increase in population numbers, urban sprawl, increased animal rights and the increase in the agricultural sector. Human-wildlife interactions in India occurs in the context of crop raiding, interactions with urban residents and interactions with tourists at temple sites (Southwick & Siddiqi, 1994). Tourism has also changed the nature of conservation, as something that should be profitable and not solely for the sake conservation (Ferreira, 2004). Tourism plays an important role in the economy of developing nations, especially regarding South Africa's baboon and Southeast Asia's macaque (monkey) populations. Wildlife forms part of the tourism experience, thus plays a role in the tourism industry. Tourism ultimately has the potential to harm but also to protect wildlife (Fuentes, 2012). Visitors and residents living in close proximity to nature reserves are usually the people who make the most contact with wildlife. Perceptions and attitudes are

important components of human-baboon interaction, as they influence the wildlife management of an area (Chauhan & Pirta, 2010).

Permanent residents tend to have a negative perception of human-wildlife interactions as there is a higher personal damage risk than visitors. Visitors usually travel into nature reserves, expecting that human-baboon interaction could occur and view it positively. The location of the interaction plays a role in terms of how the interaction and the animals are perceived by tourists (Sha *et al.*, 2009). Human-baboon interaction may also occur in the context of illegal pet-keeping. It is well established that keeping wildlife as pets, would negatively impact on the wellbeing of the animal. Wildlife is not suitable for confinement via illegal pet-keeping as it places stress on the animals, especially when it pertains to animals with strong kinship bonds like baboons. Illegal pet trading and keeping tends to take place with young animals that are separated from the mother and troop. The separation from the maternal figure and troop would negatively impact on the psychology of the animal and its chances for rehabilitation to the wild. Early trauma can have deep-seated and long-term effects on the animal (Soulsbury *et al.*, 2009).

Tourism also plays a role in the illegal trade and pet-keeping of baboons and monkeys. Baboons and monkeys are often used to entertain visitors for money. Visitors also may be used to smuggle wildlife into other countries, thus linking the illegal wildlife trade of non-human primates such as baboons and monkeys with tourism. The illegal wildlife trade may be followed by urbanisation and deforestation as the factors that could mostly affect baboon survival in the future, which are all anthropocentric in nature (Van Uhm, 2016). Drews (2002) argues that illegal pets are anthropomorphised which leads a contradiction, where owners can display affection towards their pets however, places them in questionable living conditions. The owners view their pets as part of the family dynamic. Nevertheless, keeping them in a human household neglects the animal's need for physical and social interaction with other members of the same species. The lack of physical and social interaction with other members of the same species ultimately impacts negatively on the animal's ability to reintegrate into the animal's natural habitat. There are also elements of dominance and control over nature through attempting to domesticate a wild animal (Drews, 2002). Crop raiding (Southwick & Siddiqi, 1994), illegal pet-keeping (Drews, 2002; Soulsbury *et al.*, 2009), interaction in residential areas (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012a; Kansky *et al.*, 2016; Richardson, 2017) and tourist areas (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994; McCarthy *et al.*, 2009) are

all part of human-baboon and in some areas human-monkey interactions. These interactions may take place in different contexts, however, the perception of the person involved will determine the nature of the interaction. In Drews (2002) and Soulsbury *et al* (2009) research, anthropomorphising and attempting to domesticate a wild animal does not mean that the animal is given sentient value and as a result would have no moral standing. The lack of sentient value and moral standing opens up the possibility for the animal's welfare and rights to be infringed (Anderson, 1998; Lynn, 1998).

3.5.4 Studies on the effects of tourism on baboons

In South Africa, most research on the human-wildlife relationship in terms of interacting with baboons has been conducted with permanent residents (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012a, 2012b; Kansky *et al.*, 2016; Richardson, 2017). The nature of tourism means that human activity could extend outside the urban area and into wildlife habitats, resulting in a greater amount of human-wildlife interaction (Fuentes, 2012). Nature and wildlife have been impacted on by humans not only for the development of urban spaces but through human activities extending into nature, such the tourism industry. Visitors and non-human primates such as baboons in South Africa (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012a, 2012b; Kansky *et al.*, 2016; Richardson, 2017) and monkeys in Asia (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994) have been studied. A study conducted in Bali, which forms part of the Indonesian islands, indicated that monkeys have become more aggressive due to the increase in human-wildlife interaction with visitors. Visitors visiting the Monkey Forest in Bali have a long history of feeding the monkeys, thus making them dependent on human food. In the process, this created a habit of monkeys being aggressive towards visitors in order to obtain food (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994).

At the Mt Huangshan tourist site in China a similar habit was formed, where the aggression of monkeys has increased alongside tourism. The study also confirmed a positive correlation between tourists feeding monkeys and levels of aggression. In some cases, monkeys would rob tourists of their possessions while in search of food items (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009). Similar findings have been reported in Gibraltar, a British Overseas Territory on Spain's south coast. Monkeys in Gibraltar have been found to move closer to tourist areas as they have become dependent on tourist waste food and food hand-outs. In Gibraltar however, monkeys have settled for a more passive approach by just sitting and waiting for tourists to walk past in the hopes of enticing them to give food by being less aggressive (Fa, 1992). This research corroborates the findings of studies conducted in

Singapore (Fuentes *et al.*, 2008; Sha *et al.*, 2009) and Tibet (Matheson *et al.*, 2006), that baboons and monkeys are affected by the increase in tourism activity. One cannot only look at the area that is conserved for wildlife but the quality of animals' lives in terms of living without outside influence. Meeting the demand in tourism for wildlife recreation presents a unique challenge to conservationists as tourism also represents a threat to the quality of life of the animals (Fa, 1992).

3.5.5 Baboon management in the Cape Peninsula

Cape Town is one of the few cities in South Africa that has a national park located within its municipal boundaries. The combination of having a major city, residential areas, tourist areas and a national park within one area is unique, but it faces many unique challenges (Cilliers & Siebert, 2012). The nature of the open layout allows for greater human-baboon interaction (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012a). The Cape Peninsula is characterised by the Peninsula mountain range extending from the Table Mountain National Park towards the Cape Point area. The low laying areas of the Cape Peninsula are characterised by human-dominated areas. The middle-laying areas are used mainly for agriculture and the high-laying areas are characterised by natural vegetation of the protected area (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012b).

The Chacma baboons of the Cape Peninsula, habitat is part of the high-laying, protected areas that form part of the national park (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012b). Baboons tend to be attracted to human areas due to the abundance of food waste in bins from residential and tourist areas (Kaplan *et al.*, 2011). Hoffman and O'Riain (2012a) also argue that baboon movement patterns through the Cape Peninsula are heavily influenced by the presence of human areas, as well as the troop size (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012a). Baboon management is a complex issue in the Cape Peninsula as different authorities have various restrictions and responsibilities. SANParks is responsible for the management of baboons within the Table Mountain National Park area and the City of Cape Town is responsible for matters pertaining to the baboons entering the urban areas (Keeton, 2018).

The management of baboons has changed over the years, from management through culling in the 1980s/1990s towards more ethical management techniques. This change of techniques was inspired after the 1990 mass culling of an entire troop in the Kommetjie area. The event also started an open dialogue regarding human-baboon interaction and co-existence (Terblanche, 2015). It was not until 2000 that the Chacma baboons of the Cape Peninsula were accorded rights as protected

animals, under the Western Cape Nature Conservation legislation (Kaplan *et al.*, 2011). Protecting the status of the baboons paved the way for better management methods through establishing organisations such as the Baboon Management Team. This team established management techniques such as baboon-proof bins in order to reduce the number of baboons entering human areas for food waste. They also aid in educating residents and visitors regarding baboon conservation (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012a; Terblanche, 2015).

The non-profit organisation, Baboon Matters Trust established the use of baboon monitors in order to prevent baboons from trying to enter residential and tourist areas (Kaplan *et al.*, 2011). The baboon monitors' programme was subsequently outsourced to an environmental management company, the NCC Environmental Services and once that contract expired in 2012, it was transferred to Human Wildlife Solutions. However, the Human Wildlife Solutions organisation was known for using controversial methods to keep baboons out of human areas, such as using paint-ball guns (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012a; Terblanche, 2015). Baboon management came back into the spotlight in 2018 when two farms in the Cape Peninsula were given permits to use lethal methods such as guns to defend the produce on the farms. The use of lethal weapons against baboons in the Cape Peninsula was seen as a controversial method (News24, 2018). According to McManus *et al.* (2015) non-lethal methods of human-wildlife interaction would be more affective in the long term. Lethal methods of control tend to be only temporary in nature where the problem animal is taken out of the equation but the overall troop behaviour remains the same (McManus *et al.*, 2015). Baboons are intelligent animals, capable of adapting to different defence methods, thus they may learn to avoid the person carrying the gun instead of avoiding the property all together. The use of lethal methods to defend a property is not only controversial for its infringement of animal rights but the method is not affective in the long term (News24, 2018).

3.6 Summary

The guiding philosophy of a society will ultimately impact on the relationship between humans and wildlife. Anthropocentrism has a very narrow view of the sentient value and place of animals in society. The narrow view of animals in western society, further perpetuates the negative perception of human-baboon interaction. A human-wildlife interaction is entirely dependent on the person's perception of the event, and thus a negative perception could lead to a negative

interaction. Anthropocentrism would create a negative perception. The lack of sentient value and as a result, exclusion from the human moral community allows non-humans to be marginalised in society. A marginalised group could be vulnerable to exploitation within the dominant society.

The philosophical base of modern urban society and the place of non-human impact on the unique social construction of baboons. Baboons and monkeys present a unique case, as perceptions also stem from the animal's human-like characteristics. It reminds people of the close connection between humans and wildlife. Tourism is one the major industries that bring humans into contact with wildlife, thus increasing the amount of human-wildlife interaction. Human-baboon interaction in tourism has been shown to have a negative effect on the animals' natural behavioural patterns. Baboons/monkeys are highly adaptable and intelligent creatures that use their proximity to human areas to their advantage. The social construction of baboons contributes to the perceptions of human-baboon interaction, none more so than in a tourism setting. Human-baboon interaction is filled with paradoxes, as people may admire the human-like characteristics of baboons. People also acknowledge a certain level of intelligence in baboons/monkeys; however, they are still not part of the human moral community. The lack of moral standing leads to having no place in the physical human space, resulting in a negative human-baboon interaction. Studies by Wheatley and Harya Putra (1994) in Bali, McCarthy *et al.* (2009) in China and Fa (1992) in Gibraltar provided evidence that tourism has impacted on baboons/monkeys in ways that create negative interactions with tourists. Human-wildlife interaction, especially with regards to baboons, is a complex issue that needs more extensive study. The next chapter explores the methods used to conduct this research, in order to gain a holistic understanding of human-wildlife interaction.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This study makes use of an exploratory sequential mixed methods design. Thus, data collection and analysis are done in two phases. A qualitative section takes place first, which is then followed by a quantitative section. The qualitative section provides insight and background information into the nature of baboon management at various tourism sites. The Wildlife Tolerance Model (Kansky *et al.*, 2016) is used as the basis for the quantitative section. The model was created to investigate human-wildlife interactions in the Cape Peninsula. The indicators include wildlife value orientations, anthropomorphism, interest in animals, taxonomic groups, personal norms, institutions, empathy, values, norms and perceived behavioural control (Kansky *et al.*, 2016).

Wildlife value orientation has two main sections, namely domination and mutualist wildlife value orientation. A domination wildlife value orientation approach is linked to an anthropocentric philosophy; there is thus a clear distinction between wildlife and human space. A mutualist wildlife value orientation seeks harmony between humans and wildlife (Manfredo *et al.*, 2009). The complex nature of the study area is due to the variety of different sectors in one geographical space (Rebelo *et al.*, 2011). A mixed methodology approach has been used in many different areas of geography such as population geography (Sporton, 1999; Winchester, 1999), social science (Olsen, 2004; Habashi & Worley, 2009), feminist geography (Sharp, 2005) and transport geography (Sui & DeLyser, 2012). The mixed method research design and methodology explore the nature of the study area, philosophy of mixed method research, research structure, data analysis and ethical considerations.

4.2 Study area: The Cape Peninsula
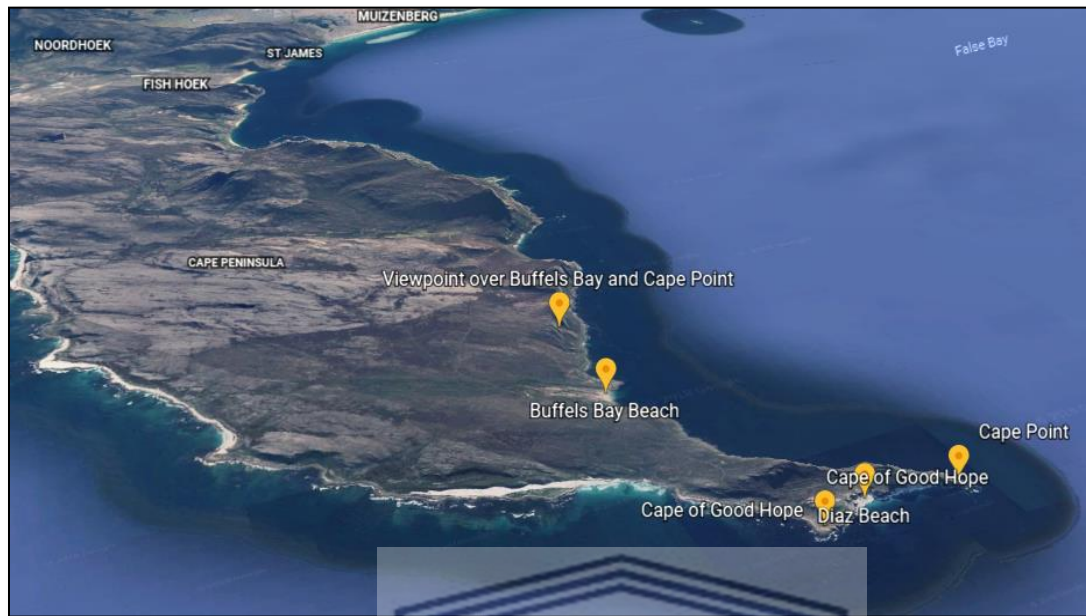
Figure 1: Location of study sites within the SANParks/Cape Peninsula area

Source: Google Earth, AfriGIS (2018)

The study took place within tourist spots around the Cape Peninsula, as these areit areas well-known for frequent baboon sightings (Kansky *et al.*, 2016). The study site started from the eastern section, and progressed towards the western section of the Cape Peninsula, which includes Bordjiesrif Picnic Site (site A), Buffels Bay Viewpoint (site B), Cape of Good Hope and Cape Point (both as site C) and Dias Beach (site D) (see Figure 1). Baboons are attracted to areas where there is an abundance of easy food sources. Tourists tend to bring snacks with them as they explore the tourist sites around the Cape Peninsula, thus attracting baboons, especially to areas with a high concentration of visitors. The Bordjiesrif Picnic Site would naturally attract baboons due to the presence of food sources (Hoffman and O'Riain, 2012b). Visitors stop at viewpoints in order to take in the scenery and take photographs, often leaving their car doors open, exposing where the food is located. Baboons have been known to jump into cars, in order to search for food items (Gerardy, 2010). Buffels Bay viewpoint is one of the viewpoints along the Cape Peninsula and was used as part of the study. The Cape of Good Hope and Cape Point area, is one of the most popular spots for visitors. It has become a hub of activity between visitors and baboons (Hoffman

& O'Riain, 2012a, 2012b). Dias Beach is also known for baboon sightings and for baboons consuming shellfish during low tide. This eating habit is a rare trait and has only been observed in the Cape Peninsula, mostly at the Dias Beach area (Siebert, 2015).

4.3 Mixed methods study

4.3.1 Philosophical aspects of mixed methods research

There are a few major philosophical concepts that play an important role in the research process. It also has an influence on the methodology of the study, namely the ontology, epistemology and axiology (Hall, 2012; Kesgin, 2013). Ontology is the study of how reality is viewed (Mertens, 2010). There are two major ontological assumptions, namely subjectivism and objectivism. In an objectivist view, reality is a single dimension that could be studied independently from the researcher. In a subjectivist paradigm, there are multiple ideas of reality that are influenced by many factors (Hall, 2012; Kesgin, 2013). The nature of knowledge is termed, epistemology (Mertens, 2010). There are two main types of epistemological assumptions, namely positivism and constructivism (Kesgin, 2013). In positivism, knowledge is objective from the environment and there exists one single true knowledge of reality. In constructivism, multiple ideas of knowledge are constructed and are thus subjective in nature to that particular environment (Hall, 2012).

Axiology is the research of ethical values; researching the values of events and objects is part of understanding one's reality (Hart, 1971; Kesgin, 2013). Axiology links back to ontology in terms of the role that values play in shaping one's reality. To attach value is to give meaning to an object, thus giving it characteristics. The characteristics that make up a particular value may be seen as a set of intentions. Value is therefore measured by how effectively the intentions could be carried out (Mueller, 1969; Kesgin, 2013).

4.3.2 Nature of mixed methods studies

Geography as a study discipline became divided into two sections, namely physical and human geography. Physical geography makes use of mainly quantitative methodologies. Human geography is linked to qualitative methodologies. However, more scholars have realised the benefits of mixing methods in a study (Winchester, 1999). Sui and Delyser (2012) advocate for the use of mixed methods and term the combination of physical and human geography as hybrid geography. The purpose of hybrid geography is to stop detaching the physical, environmental and

non-human animals' aspects from society (Sui & Delyser, 2012). It is the very combination of these elements that make up society as a whole and allow for more critical thought in geography when studied together (Goetz *et al.*, 2009; Sui & Delyser, 2012). Yeager and Steiger (2013) argue that a mixed methodology may strengthen a study and that it plays three main roles in geography, namely creation, confirmation and connectivity. The various types of data produced from a mixed methodology allows for the study of two different aspects of society in a single research project such as the relationship between society and non-human animals. The different data sets in the same study allows for greater connectivity of various information sets that could provide a more critical argument to the study (Yeager & Steiger, 2013). Mixed methods could provide better context by expanding the scope (Yeager & Steiger, 2013; Brown *et al.*, 2017).

Brown *et al.* (2017) argue that qualitative and quantitative data should be regarded as being complementary to each other. The theoretical drive and timing of the two research methods is important. In terms of the theoretical drive, qualitative data makes use of inductive reasoning and quantitative data makes use of deductive reasoning (Creswell *et al.*, 2003). Inductive reasoning is when the research themes and patterns are taken directly from the data collected. In deductive reasoning, the data is interpreted through a theoretical framework and not directly from the data on its own (Sweeney, 2016). An exploratory sequential design, is where the qualitative data collection is done first, which is then followed by the quantitative data collection. (Center for Innovation in Research and Teaching, undated). The point at which the different data sets are combined is important and is known as the point of integration (Creswell *et al.,* 2003). There are two different stages where the data can be combined, namely at the results or analytical stage of the study (Creswell *et al.*, 2003).

4.4 Research design and structure

This study employed an exploratory sequential mixed methods design, in which the data was processed in two phases. The first part of the study employed a qualitative design (semi-structured interviews) which was followed by a quantitative design (survey). In the semi-structured (qualitative) section, background information is provided to understand the tourism space. A quantitative survey of the visitors was completed once the background information was established. The survey section explores the perceptions of human-baboon interactions among visitors in the tourism space. Completing the qualitative section is important in terms of

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understanding the impact tourism has had on baboon management and the role visitors plays in changing baboon's behaviour. The visitor's perceptions of human-baboon interactions can then be analysed in the context of the social construction of the tourism space. The ontological, epistemological and axiological basis of the study is based on the subjective nature of reality. The nature of the semi-structured section of the study allows for people to express their ideas of reality in a combination of subjective and objective manners. The subjective basis of the nature of reality is grounded in the social constructionist framework (Kesgin, 2013).

The reason for using an exploratory sequential mixed methods design was due the study taking place in the tourism space, thus establishing the role of the tourism space then the human-baboon interactions within the space. According to Sui and Delyser (2012) mixing both methods help in avoiding a sense of detachment that may be created between society and the physical environment.

4.4.1 Participants of the qualitative study

The purpose of the qualitative section is to provide insight into the affect of tourism/vititation on baboon management and human-baboon interactions. Semi-structured interviews were chosen to allow individuals to express themselves freely, thus an interview participant might add more information in the interview outside the set questions. An important part of the qualitative process is to choose the organisations and individuals carefully to ensure that valuable information may be extracted. The researcher contacted seven organisations that manage and conduct research on baboons in the Cape Peninsula and at the tourism sites that formed part of my study area. Two organisations granted an interview, one from a wildlife research organisation and the other from the City of Cape Town. The researcher also encountered a tour guide who was working in the Cape Peninsula, who had experiences of human-baboon interactions, and was willing to be interviewed.

The next important aspect of the interview process was introducing the researcher and the topic to be discussed, allowing for the individuals to accept or decline the request to be part of the study (Kesgin, 2013). The researcher preferred the initial step to be done through emails and telephone calls to the organisations. Once the participant agreed to take part in the interview and filled out the consent form, the interview took place. The semi-structured interviews only had four questions, as the purpose of the interviews was to provide background information and insight into human-baboon interactions within tourism/visitation space. It also allowed participants to add information of their own accord throughout the interviews. The questions in the semi-structured interviews

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covered baboon management within the area, human-baboon interactions and the role of visitors at tourist sites.

4.4.2 Participants of the quantitative survey

The quantitative section is based on the Wildife Tolerance Model, which was developed to study human-wildlife interactions and has been used in the Cape Peninsula in previous research by Kansky et al (2016). Respondents for the survey section were encountered at selected sites around the Cape Peninsula area of the Table Mountain National Park. These areas include Bordjiesrif Picnic Site, Buffels Bay viewpoint, Cape of Good Hope, Cape Point and Dias Beach (Shroyer, *et al.*, 2000; Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012b). At each location there is a tourist lookout point or well-known stopping area. The survey aimed to bring about a clearer understanding of the perceptions of tourists, as these are linked to people's behaviour and values (Kansky *et al.*, 2016). Convenience sampling was done, and anyone visiting the tourist sites was be considered a visitor by just being in the space, with the exception of conservation staff. Convenience sampling allows anyone in the environment to be part of the study according to one's availability (Kesgin, 2013). It also allowed for as many people as possible to be part of the study, which was important because part of the research permit agreement was that the researcher could not conduct the study during peak tourism days. Convenience sampling allowed the researcher to get as many participants as possible while working outside the peak days

The survey used a combination of closed and open-ended questions which focused on the visitor perceptions towards baboons. There are many advantages and disadvantages to each type of question in a questionnaire. While open-ended questions allow participants to express themselves freely, they may leave room open for misinterpretation (Burgess, 2001). Closed-ended questions are easier for coding; however, it limits the type of responses the participants could give. In both type of questions, the questionnaire should be easy to understand in terms of the language, layout and intention (Kesgin, 2013; Kitchenham *et al.*, 2002).

Ideally colloquial language should be used and not academic jargon in the questionnaire. The only exception to the rule is when the survey is conducted within a specific community or profession that makes use of the same jargon on a regular basis. The use of colloquial language in communities that might not be familiar with the academic terminology aids the participants'

understanding of the intention of the questions (Kitchenham *et al.*, 2002). There are different levels of measurement for a questionnaire, such as an interval level, ordinal level and nominal level. An interval level ranks numeric data from low to high, an ordinal level ranks non-numeric data from low to high and a nominal level has various categories with no ranking (De Vaus, 2013). The number of questions and the amount of time required to answer all the questions, are important considerations. In the event that a questionnaire has too many questions that take too long to answer, a participant may provide expected answers instead of answering truthfully. The research aims should be clearly defined as they prevent the researcher from asking too many questions, which would make the questionnaire too tedious to complete (Burgess, 2001).

One way of addressing the issue of time constraints, is using a set of standardised answers that may measure the perception of a subject. An example of standardised answers could be, to strongly agree, agree, strongly disagree and disagree. Kitchenham *et al.* (2002) also suggest that a survey question should be purposeful and concrete. Purposeful questions include a clear link between the nature of the question and the purpose of the survey. A concrete question is when there is a clear instruction and intention in terms of how questions are presented in the questionnaire (Kitchenham *et al.*, 2002). A combination of open and closed-ended questions, which are based on the research aims and written using language that participants can understand, creates concrete questions for the survey (Burgess, 2001). The researcher offered each survey participant the option of filling out a physical or digital survey. The digital survey was created in addition to the traditional physical survey in order to make it more enticing for tourists to participate (Creswell *et al.*, 2003). An additional issue was the fact that the survey needed to be conducted during the tourist's holiday experience. The researcher was mindful that some tourists may be unwilling to take part in a survey while engaged in holiday activities, hence the usefulness of a digital survey, to be done in the person's own time (Kesgin, 2013).

This study's traditional physical survey and the digital survey contained the same questions, only in different formats. The researcher gave tourists the option of either filling out the physical form or providing an email address to email the digital one to them. That also allowed for two activities to occur concurrently, as the online survey continued running for those who chose it and the traditional physical survey took place at the same time in the field. One of the disadvantages of conducting a mixed methods study is the time constraint, therefore doing the survey by using two

methods simultaneously cut down on time (Creswell *et al*., 2003). The researcher aimed for a sample size of 200 respondents; a total of 201 questionnaires were ultimately completed at the designated tourist sites known to be frequented by baboons. All the questions of this study were based on the research aims, which are to extract tourists' perceptions and identify the factors that influence tourists to create those perceptions (Kansky *et al.*, 2016). The survey was based on the Wildlife Tolerance Model, which investigates people's wildlife value orientations, anthropomorphism, interest in animals, taxonomic groups, personal norms, institutions, empathy, values, norms and perceived behavioural control (Kansky *et al.*, 2016).

4.5 The Wildlife Tolerance Model

The wildlife tolerance model is an interdisciplinary model used to study human-wildlife conflict (Figure 2). Tolerance may be defined as "The ability to live with the disadvantages" (Kansky *et al*., 2016, p.138). Previous research by Kansky *et al* (2016) has been conducted with the model to study human-baboon conflict in the urban area of the Cape Peninsula. The Wildlife Tolerance Model is comprised of consists two sections, namely an outer model and inner model. In the outer model, the first variable is experience which is explored by dividing it into two sections namely recent exposure and number of meaningful experiences. The second variables are the benefits and costs, which are broken up into the tangible (physical items) and intangible (emotions). In the inner model, there are eleven important indicators that can be used to analyse perceptions of human-wildlife interactions. The eleven indicators include wildlife value orientations, anthropomorphism, interest in animals, taxonomic group, personal norm, institutions, empathy, values, norms, habits, perceived behavioural control. The indicators from the inner model were used as the basis of the visitor survey (Kansky *et al*, 2016).

4.5.1 Wildlife value orientations

Wildlife value orientations is based on the idea that people have different values towards wildlife. There are two main wildlife value orientations, namely a utilitarian approach which may also be called a domination wildlife value orientation (Kansky *et al*, 2016). In a utilitarian wildlife life orientation, wildlife is only valued for the benefits it brings for humans. The second main wildlife value orientation is a mutualism approach. In a mutualism wildlife value orientation, wildlife has

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value within itself and without the benefits it brings humans. Wildlife value orientations does help in analysing wildlife perceptions and management (Manfredo, 2008).

4.5.2 Anthropomorphism and taxonomic bias

Anthropomorphism affects attitudes and perceptions towards wildlife. Perceptions are impacted when human qualities are placed on non-humans' species. Wildlife is perceived more positively when the animals are seen as being similar to humans (Kansky *et al*, 2016). Taxonomic bias also plays an important role as people value animal species in different ways. Factors that influence taxonomic bias include having a similar morphology as humans, behaviour, phylogeny, rarity, use, size, danger and the animals meaning within a given culture (Kansky et al., 2014). Similarities in terms of the taxonomic groups may also influence the perception of wildlife as the animals in the same taxonomic group would be easier to anthropomorphise (Alcayna-Stevens, 2008)

4.5.3 Interest in animals and empathy

Interest in animals is an important factor for investigating perceptions of human-wildlife interactions. Individuals with a strong interest in animals have positive perceptions and attitudes during a human-wildlife interaction. Empathy also plays an important role in influencing one's perception and attitude in human-wildlife interactions (Kansky *et al*, 2016). The ability to feel an empathy towards wildlife is crucial as it is a strong indicator of positive perceptions and attitudes towards wildlife (Konrath et al., 2011; Kansky *et al*, 2016). Humans tend to extend more empathetic value towards animals that have human-like characteristics and as a result anthropomorphism plays a role overlapping role in empathy (Demeritt, 2002).

4.5.4 Values, habits and perceived behavioural control

Values form the foundation of a person's life and belief system (Schwartz et al., 2012). Different value systems in relation to human-wildlife interactions may influence one's perception for the positive or negative (Kansky *et al*, 2016). Habits and perceived behavioural control provide an indicator for pro-environmental behaviour. People who engage in pro-environmental habits such as recycling would have a positive perception of wildlife (Klöckner, 2013).

4.5.5 Institutions

Institutions involved in managing wildlife are important as management techniques have a direct impact on the well-being of wildlife. The amount and role of organisations may influence how well wildlife management is conducted (Kansky *et al*, 2016).

4.5.6 Personal and social norms

Personal norms are the principles that inform one's behaviour, thus it may act as a motivate for pro-environmental beliefs (Kansky *et al*, 2016). A person with pro-environmental beliefs would carry more positive perceptions of wildlife (Klöckner, 2013). Social norms provide a guide on how community members must behave in the space (Kansky *et al*, 2016).

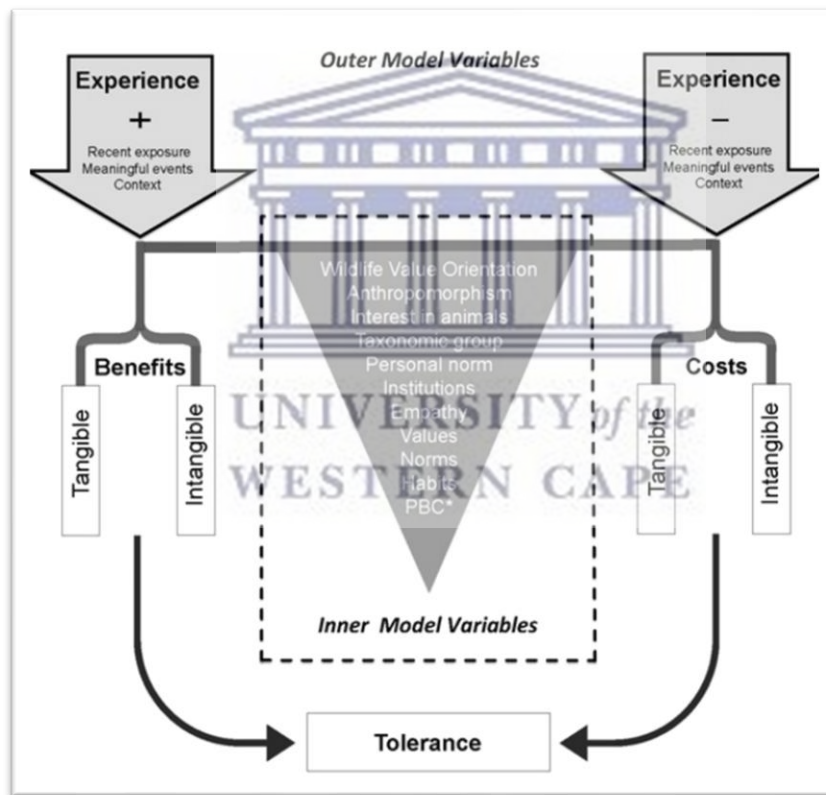*Figure 2: Wildlife Tolerance Model (Kansky et al, 2016)*

4.6 Data analysis: Perspectives of organisations

The qualitative interviews lasted between 10 and 15 minutes, after the participants had signed the consent form, which provided permission for recording and using the data in the thesis. The data was then examined, using discourse analysis. The aim of interviewing organisations was to gain

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more background information on human-baboon interactions in the tourism space and organisations roles. The background information provides context to the visitor surveys, which are compared to themes found in the literature. Discourse analysis researches the deeper meaning of the language used in terms of describing the study subject. It allows themes to be understood and linked back to the key issues found in the literature of the study. It also allows key issues found in the interviews to be linked to the quantitative data (Lees, 2004). The way people express themselves is a lens to the community's views of their space or what they think a certain space should be. Interpreting the participants' views aids in critically analysing the community's perceptions (Ballard, 2002). According to Bird (1987) and Demeritt (2002) humans' use of language is an important component in determining perceptions of wildlife (Bird, 1987; Demeritt, 2002). According to Lees (2004) the construction of reality, and the terms individuals use to describe it, are socially constructed, and is based on the work of Michel Foucault. Language can be used as a method of analysing issues of marginalisation, which is similar to Demeritt's (2002) argument regarding the use of language in constructing reality (Demeritt, 2002; Lees, 2004).

4.7 Data analysis: Perspectives of visitors

The survey/quantitative data can be classified according to different variables, namely multivariate, bivariate and univariate. A multivariate method uses more than three variables; a bivariate method uses only two variables, while a univariate method uses only one variable. The survey questions therefore provide the guideline to the type of data analysis required. Data may also me broken down into two general categories, namely descriptive and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics include frequency tables, information graphs and statistical information. Inferential statistics include general patterns that could apply to most of the participants and it usually provides information related to a theory (De Vaus, 2013). The survey data analysis was done by using SPSS and entering the data, variables were double-checked to ensure the accuracy. While there remains a chance for errors to occur between the data collection and analysis stages, by doing checks between the data management processes, the risk could be reduced (Sweeney, 2016). De Vaus (2013) also emphasises that researchers should anticipate incomplete and missing data (De Vaus, 2013). 201 quantitative survey questoinnaires were completed, which results in a 95% confidence level and a 6.84% margin of error (www.calculator.net).

4.8 Ethical considerations

All participants in the study were approached with respect, with the researcher introducing herself, explaining how the information would be used and the purpose of the research. In the case of the semi-structured interviews, the first introduction was done through email. The researcher made it clear that the study was part of a Masters of Arts research programme and explained the nature of the study. The participants could choose to accept or reject the researcher's request. All research information was kept confidential and all documents used in the research were password protected. It is a requirement that consent must be given by the participants before the survey takes place. The study guaranteed the anonymity of participants, by the use of pseudonyms, and the researcher declared all possible affiliations upfront. The researcher was objective when conducting the survey and in the analyses of the data. The survey was conducted using two methods, namely an online interactive survey instrument and a physical hard copy survey. Participants who chose to do the online interactive survey were asked to provide only their email addresses. The researcher then emailed the interactive questionnaire to the participants. A consent letter and information regarding the nature of study were provided before the interactive questionnaire took place. All emails used throughout the study were stored in a password protected document. Only the researcher and her supervisor have access to the information generated through the study. An information sheet, written in English, was provided to participants, explaining the nature of the study and the confidentiality of the information.

4.9 Summary

The study area is complex due to the variety of different sectors in one geographical space. The complex environment with various tourism, governmental and non-governmental organisations, requires background information which would influence the visitor survey. The visitor survey on perceptions of human-baboon interactions was conducted within the context of the dynamic space. Philosophical components play a critical role in the formation of the methodology and the world view of the participants, such as ontology, epistemology and axiology. The wildlife tolerance model was used as the basis for the survey and analyses. The study was conducted using an exploratory sequential mixed methods design; thus, the qualitative section was conducted first and followed by a quantitative section. The two data sets were analysed separately, then combined to create the results and discussion.

CHAPTER 5

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

The study is comprised of two main sections. The first section focuses on the perceptions of the three participants from various organisations. The second on the perceptions of visitors, regarding human-baboon interactions. Human-baboon interactions are based on one's perception of wildlife (Peterson, 1999). Once wildlife acts outside the accepted norm, the interaction and social construction becomes negative (Peterson, 1999).

The first section investigated the nature of human-baboon interactions and baboon management at the tourism sites in order to provide background to the nature of the study area. Studies have shown that tourism sites have an impact on baboon's behaviour and human-baboon interactions. Studies conducted in Bali (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994), China (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009), Singapore (Fuentes *et al.*, 2008; Sha *et al.*, 2009) and Tibet (Matheson *et al.*, 2006), have linked tourism to the increase in baboon and monkey aggression. Green and Giese (2004) have also argued that tourism has affected wildlife, including baboons, by increasing animals level of aggression towards visitors (Green & Giese, 2004). In the second section, the survey with visitors was conducted on the topic of human-baboon interaction at tourist sites. The survey made use of the Wildlife Tolerance Model, which was used by Kansky *et al.* (2016) for conducting studies on human-wildlife interaction in South Africa. The model analyses different indicators that play a role in human-wildlife interactions (Kansky *et al.*, 2016).

The indicators include wildlife value orientations, anthropomorphism, interest in animals, taxonomic groups, personal norms, institutions, empathy, values, norms and perceived behavioural control (Kansky *et al.*, 2016). Wildlife value orientation has two main sections namely, domination and mutualist wildlife value orientation. A domination wildlife value orientation approach is linked to an anthropocentric philosophy; there is thus a clear distinction between wildlife and human space. A mutualist wildlife value orientation seeks harmony between humans and wildlife

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(Manfredo *et al.*, 2009). Anthropomorphism, interest in animals and empathy are closely linked as each factor impacts on the participant's ability to link human emotions to non-humans. Personal norms and perceived behavioural control are important factors in terms of encouraging responsible visitor behaviour. The different types of institutions play a role, in terms of the social construction of wildlife. The roles of institutions are also explored in the semi-structured interview section of the study.

5.2 Organisations: Impact of human-baboon interaction at tourist sites

One of the main aims of the study is to explore the perceptions of organisations in the Cape Peninsula area that are involved in baboon management. The study interviewed individuals from a wildlife research organisation, environmental management section at the City of Cape Town and a tour guide operating tours within the study area. The three interviews gives insight into the complexity of human-baboon interactions and management within the tourism space. It also provides important information into the unique challenges a tourism space faces when managing baboons that are consistently exposed to humans through the visitors.

5.2.1 Perceptions of representatives from various organisations

The first participant was a PhD student that worked for a wildlife research organisation. The participants' PhD research focused on human-baboon interaction in urban areas and primate conservation. The wildlife research organisation participant was also a licenced veterinary nurse, thus was knowledgeable on the effects of humans-baboon interactions. The second participant was a manager at the environmental management section of the City of Cape Town. The third participant was a freelance tour guide operating tours in the Cape Peninsula area. One's perceptions play an important role in constructing baboon-human interaction as either positive or negative (Soulsbury & White, 2016). The type of perceived interaction impacts on the wildlife management of the area (Chauhan & Pirta, 2010). The environmental management participant did not state if baboons entering tourist sites were regarded as a problem or not. The wildlife research organisation participant and the tourism participant, however, acknowledged that human-baboon interactions at tourism sites are a problem.

Wildlife that are placed outside the human moral community, will lead to being placed outside the physical space (Lynn, 1998). Fuentes and Hockings (2010) argue that visitors are an easy source

of food for wildlife at tourism sites. The intelligence of baboon troops enables them to form a connection between visitors at the tourism sites and food, which has led to baboons becoming more aggressive in order to secure human food. The activity of foraging for food in tourist areas is usually associated with using aggressive techniques which can also be taught to the younger generation of primates, creating a cycle of bad behaviour (Fuentes & Hockings, 2010).

Wildlife researcher:

> *Baboons that have become habituated to human foods and act aggressively towards people in their attempts to access it, are often euthanised as it is seen to be a risk to human health and safety.*

> *It is our responsibility to consider our impact on our environment. If we move to an area with wildlife, we should be willing to make simple lifestyle changes to accommodate coexistence with wildlife.*

City of Cape Town:

> *The Chacma baboon (Papio ursinus) forms a part of the Peninsula's rich biodiversity.*

> *We ask visitors to respect the fact that baboons are an integral part of the ecosystem in the Cape Peninsula and request that tour operators educate visitors.*

Tour guide:

> *The current situation is that baboons grab food from unsuspecting tourists and the general public.*

> *What I have experienced regarding the baboons, is that humans caused the behaviour of this species.*

The wildlife researcher and the tour guide were clear regarding the influence human-baboon interactions at the tourist sites were having on the charging behaviour of baboons. Valentine and Birtles (2004) argue that the changing habits of the baboons are linked to the non-consumptive activities, such as wildlife tourism. Non-consumptive activity may also negatively impact the wildlife population in a similar manner as consumptive tourism. Important natural habits such as

foraging could change and impact the population in the long term (Valentine & Birtles, 2004). Authors in Bali (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994), China (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009), Singapore (Fuentes *et al.*, 2008; Sha *et al.*, 2009) and Tibet (Matheson *et al.*, 2006), have found similar links to increased wildlife aggression in baboons and exposure to tourists.

Wildlife researcher:

> *I personally believe that a negative experience at a tourist spot creates bad publicity for baboons, which damages conservation efforts for baboons.*

The wildlife researcher stated that the cycle of aggressive behaviour impacts on the conservation of primates. It impacts conservation efforts by negatively influencing the visitor's perception of the baboons, thus linking to Chauhan and Pirta's (2010) argument that public perceptions do influence the management of the area and at the study site, the conservation of baboons (Chauhan & Pirta, 2010).

The City of Cape Town participant asserted that the Baboon Technical Team's goal is to reduce conflict, which results in the team having to remove the problematic baboons. According to the City of Cape Town participant, baboon troops spend 90% – 100% of their time in the natural areas, where the Baboon Technical Team plays a big role in keeping them in the natural areas. The City of Cape Town participant also reported that it is standard procedure for wildlife organisations to remove problem animals, in order to protect future visitors from the same animal displaying aggressive behaviour. Once an animal is identified as being problematic and a possible safety risk, it may be euthanised. Euthanising an aggressive animal is done in order to avoid it passing the aggressive behaviour to the remaining troop. Once the problematic animal has been euthanised, the remaining troop is relocated further away from the dense area whether it is the tourist sites or residential areas. However, once the one troop is removed, it creates a population sink and another troop will move into the same location. If no preventative measures have been taken to increase the difficulty of baboons' access to human food, such as baboon-proof bins, the new troop will start to exhibit similar behaviour patterns. However, according to Jenni Trethowan of Baboon Matters, as interviewed on a *Cape Talk* radio podcast, the implementation of preventative measures has not been consistent; in fact, Baboon Matters found that in the Tokai area, there are no baboon-proof bins (*Cape Talk*, 2020). There is also mounting evidence that the current management

technique such as euthanising problematic baboons may not be the most effective method (Friedman, 2020).

5.2.2 Baboon management and the impact of human interaction

The wildlife researcher and the City of Cape Town participant emphasised the importance of responsible behaviour by visitors, coupled with effective baboon management. The City of Cape Town participant explained that Chacma baboons are an important part of the Cape Peninsula's biodiversity and are considered an asset for the tourism industry. The rich biodiversity of the area is worth R2-R6 billion per year through investments from many different industries, including tourism. The wildlife researcher also stated that baboons are part of the ecosystem and should not need to be managed. Humans should manage their behaviour towards wildlife.

Wildlife researcher:

> *In an ideal world, we wouldn't need to manage the baboons but would rather take responsibility for managing ourselves.*

Authors such as Bird (1987), Peterson (1999) and Anderson (1997) argue that the place of wildlife is socially constructed, which impacts on the physical space they may inhabit within a community. Wildlife such as baboons should be seen as being in the same physical community, thus creating a better co-existence between humans and baboons. Co-existence would be in the best interest of conservation in the long term and reduce baboon-human conflict (Anderson, 1997). The wildlife researcher placed the emphasis on the role of visitors and tour operators in helping to reduce the negative interactions, highlighting that baboons are an important part of the ecosystem. The wildlife researcher stated that it is important for visitors to adhere to the rules which are there for the protection of the baboon population. The tour guide also believes in respecting the rules that protect the baboons. Refusing to adhere to the rules creates a negative pattern which get reinforced over time, thus leading to negative experiences and perception of baboons.

Tour guide:

> *As a tourist guide, I respect the baboons, as all the fault points to humans.*

The wildlife researcher indicated that the irresponsible behaviour of people has resulted in the need for baboon monitors. Baboon monitors are individuals from the Human Wildlife Solution's

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organisation that are hired to keep contact between baboons and humans to a minimum. Improved education on baboon conservation, the influence of human-baboon interactions and the tourism industry could reduce negative interactions. Education on wildlife biology, such as baboon gestation duration and family structure could increase empathy. Empathy is one of the most important factors when dealing with human-baboon interactions. Increased levels of empathy for wildlife increases the chances of co-existence and a positive perception of a human-baboon interaction. It is the responsibility of the humans to behave appropriately when living in or visiting an area with a lot of free roaming wildlife such as the baboons living in the Cape Peninsula. The wildlife researcher and tour guide place the onus on the visitors to the tourist sites and the residence living in the area to make behavioural changes in order to coexist with baboons. Coexistence means that visitors must accept the idea of a shared space between humans and wildlife. It requires humans to change their social construct of the tourism space to include wildlife (Bird, 1987).

Wildlife researcher:

> *Unfortunately, tourists are frequently uneducated about how to behave around baboons and the presence of food can create an issue. They are often in a tourist spot to enjoy their time and let their guard down and often are not interested in reading signage.*

Research in Bali (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994), China (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009), Singapore (Fuentes *et al.*, 2008; Sha *et al.*, 2009) and Tibet (Matheson *et al.*, 2006), have all shown that the increase in non-human primate aggression is linked to the exposure of visitors at tourism sites. The wildlife researcher indicated many times that the irresponsible behaviour from visitors, creates a negative cycle for the baboons. Once the baboons learn an unnatural habit, such as stealing food from visitors in tourism sites, the behaviour is taught to the younger members of the troop, thus creating a negative perception of baboons for visitors (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994).

Once the negative behaviour is reinforced, environmental and wildlife organisations are then compelled to remove the animals. While human behaviour does not change and the cycle continues without end. The wildlife researcher also stated that the negative cycle of bad human behaviour, results in the negative affect on baboons and primate conservation in the long term. According to Anderson (1997), maintaining an environment of dominance via socially constructing a space where only humans are part of the community means that coexisting becomes impossible.

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According to Bird (1987), it is only through changing one's social construction of the tourism space as a dynamic environment that boarders the between human dominated areas and the natural environment. Once the social construction of the tourism space is understood as a shared space between baboons and visitors, can baboons be accepted into the moral community and physical space to co-exist (Bird,1987). Including wildlife into the moral community could be possible with an ecocentric or biocentric approach, where importance is placed on creating harmony between humans and wildlife (Norton, 1984).

5.3 Visitors' opinions on the Impact of human-baboon interaction at tourist sites

5.3.1 Demographic characteristics of respondents

The survey was conducted at various tourist points around the Cape Peninsula. The study took place from June to November 2018, and additional questionnaires were completed between March and April 2019. A total of 201 tourist respondents took part in the study. Demographic information aids in finding and analysing patterns of gender, age, education and origins within the study area.

5.3.2 Gender of respondents

The gender of respondents provides a profile on who was interested in environmental and wildlife tourism. The gender dynamics within the study showed that most of the participants were female at 55,3% with males at 41,2%. Those who chose not to identify a gender, totalled 3,5%.
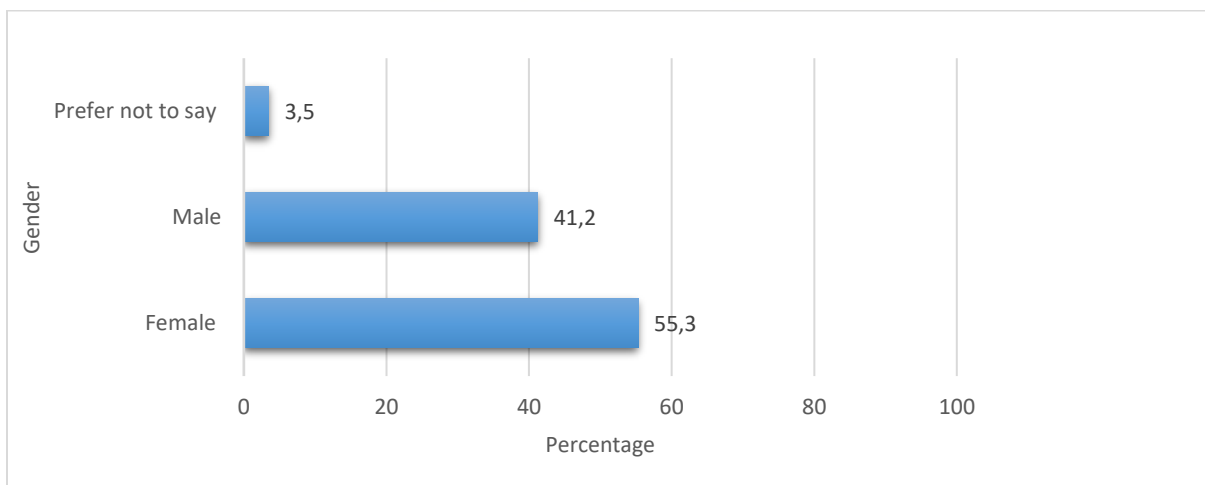

Figure 3: Gender of respondents

A possible reason for the higher number of females in the study could be that the researcher targeted couples, families and groups of individuals within the area in order to obtain the highest number of completed questionnaires. The targeted groups, in each case had at least one female present. In addition, the Cape Town Tourism Performance Report for October 2016–March 2017, included an age and gender profile, which indicated that there were more females than males at Cape Town tourist sites (Cape Town Tourism, 2017).

5.3.3 Age of respondents

Most visitors were middle-aged middle-class couples, individuals or families, which explains why the majority of tourists were between the ages of 30-49 years, at 42,5%.
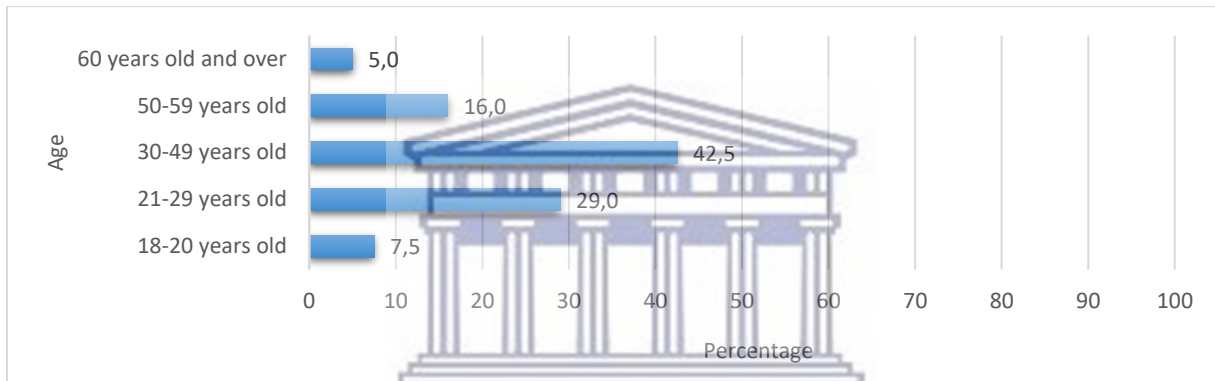
Figure 4: Age of respondents

It is likely that the majority age group is more physically mobile in terms of being able to do activities generally associated with nature and wildlife tourism, such as hiking. Individuals in this age range form part of the middle class, and have the financial means to invest in travelling. The increase in holidays for the middle class and developments in travel technology assisted in making tourism a popular activity. Wildlife and nature are amongst the popular motivations to visit tourist sites (Kotze, 2006). The second highest group consisted of individuals between the ages of 21-29 years, at 29%. The reason for that could be that Cape Town boasts several tertiary and other training institutions. The locations of the different educational institutions mean that there would be a high number of students visiting these tourist sites. The Cape Town Tourism Performance Report for October 2016 to March 2017, also indicated that the main visitor age groups range from 25-44 years of age (Cape Town Tourism, 2017).

The third highest group was the age range between 50-59 years old, at 16%. The age group between 50-59 years would not have the physical mobility, compared to the other age groups. The fourth highest age group was those between 18-20 years, at 7,5%. The 18-20-year-old group tends to be travelling with individuals between the ages of 30-49 years and 50-59 years; they are therefore fewer in numbers. The lowest number is the 60-year-old and over group, at 5,0%. The Cape Town Tourism Performance Report for October 2016 to March 2017, indicated that the age group between 55-66 years represents the least number of visitors (Cape Town Tourism, 2017). The 60-years-old and over group is around retirement age, which means they are generally less physically mobile. Senior tourists may prefer activities that allow them to rest in-between doing activities (ACS Distance Education, undated).

5.3.4 Education of respondents

The highest groups in terms of education were individuals with a degree/diploma (48.8%) and postgraduate degrees (34.5%). Đeri *et al.* (2017) suggest that the level of education and the interest in travelling are interlinked (Đeri *et al.*, 2017).
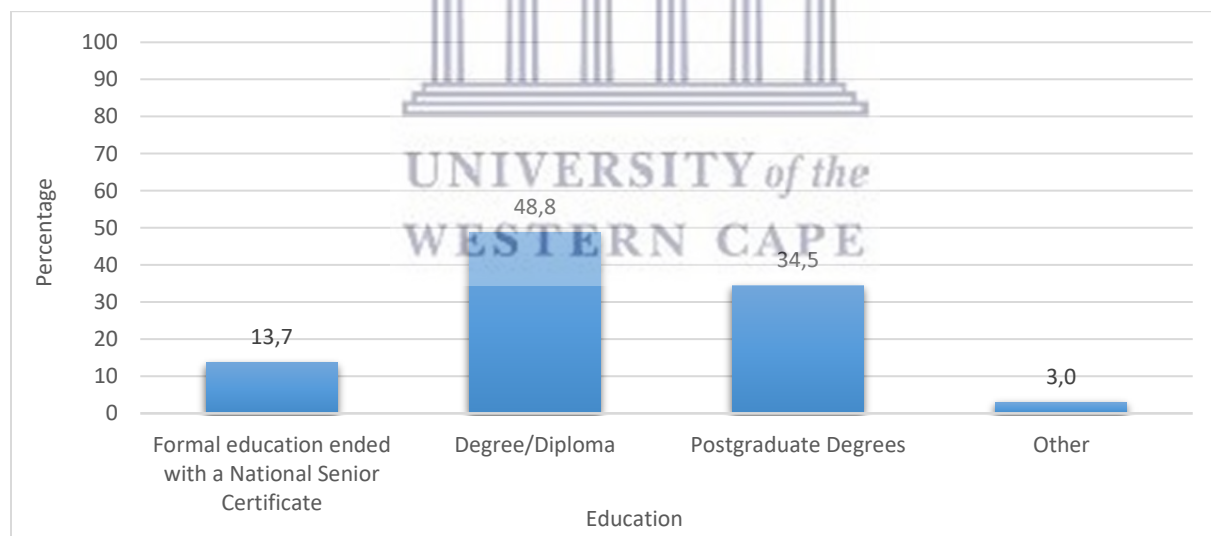
Figure 5: Education of respondents

Participants with a degree/diploma (48.8%), made up the highest group and those with postgraduate degrees (34.5%) was the second highest group. A degree/diploma includes anyone that is currently a student and those whose formal education ended with an undergraduate degree. Those with a postgraduate degree also includes anyone whose formal education end with it or currently studying towards a postgraduate degree. The Cape Town area has several tertiary and

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other training institutions, which explains the number of students in the study area. The third highest group is made up of individuals whose formal education ended with a National Senior Certificate or those that are currently an older matriculant, at 13,7%. Many participants stated that they were currently employed and were trained at the place of work but had not completed any tertiary education. In the final category, which was the lowest, at 3,0%, individuals indicated that they had only, completed Grade 10 and some preferred not to say. The education dynamics of the participants links to Đeri *et al* (2017) argument that education will influence the willingness to travel, as majority of the participants had degrees at the tourism sites.

5.3.5 Origin of visitors: Local and international visitors

The SANParks permit only allowed the researcher to do the survey outside the tourist peak period. The fact that part of the study was done outside the tourist peak period, means that there were few international visitors recorded by the researcher, in the study area. Some 87.5% of the visitors were from South Africa. Figure 5 shows that, in line with WESGRO's (2017) figures, international visitors to the Cape Peninsula came from mainly other African countries, at 9,5%, followed by Europe (2,0%), Australia (1,0%) and Asia (0,5%). North and South
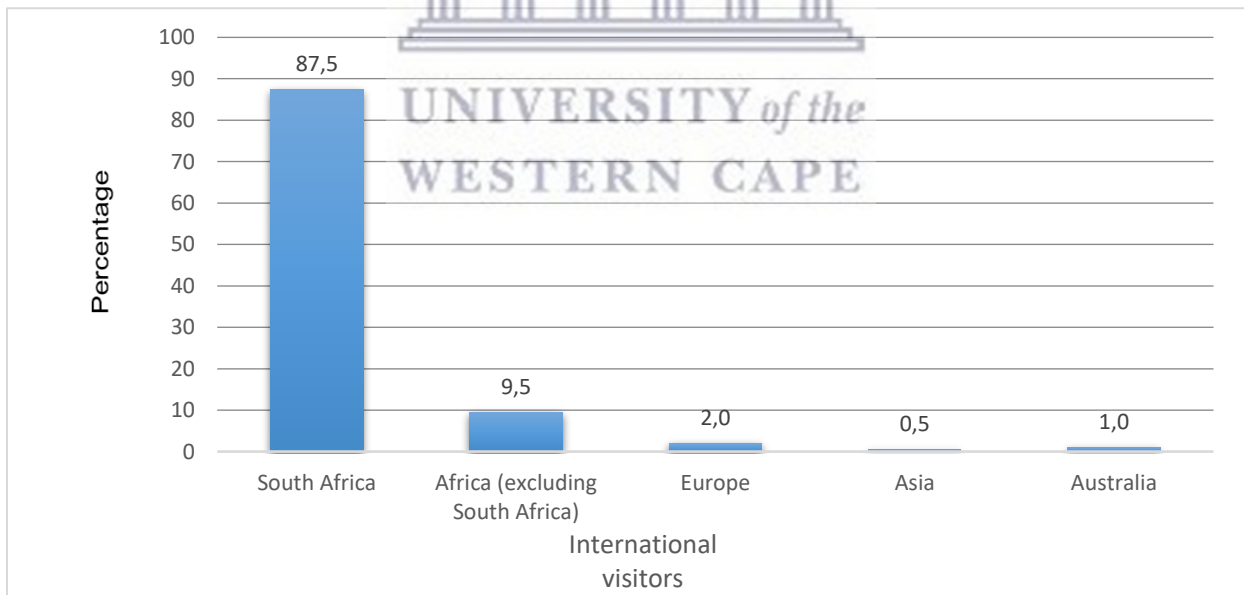
Figure 6: Origin of visitors

Some 87% of the visitors were from South Africa (Figure 7), and of these the highest percentage (59%) came from the Western Cape. The Eastern Cape and Gauteng were the second highest provinces within South Africa, at 8,0% for both. The Northern Cape was the third highest at 4,0% and the Free State was the fourth highest at 2,5%. Mpumalanga, Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal were the fifth highest with each one at 1,5%. The province with the lowest number was the North-West, at 0,5% . Statistics from WESGRO (2017) state that most local visitors are usually from Gauteng; however, it must be noted that the WESGRO survey was conducted during the peak tourist period.
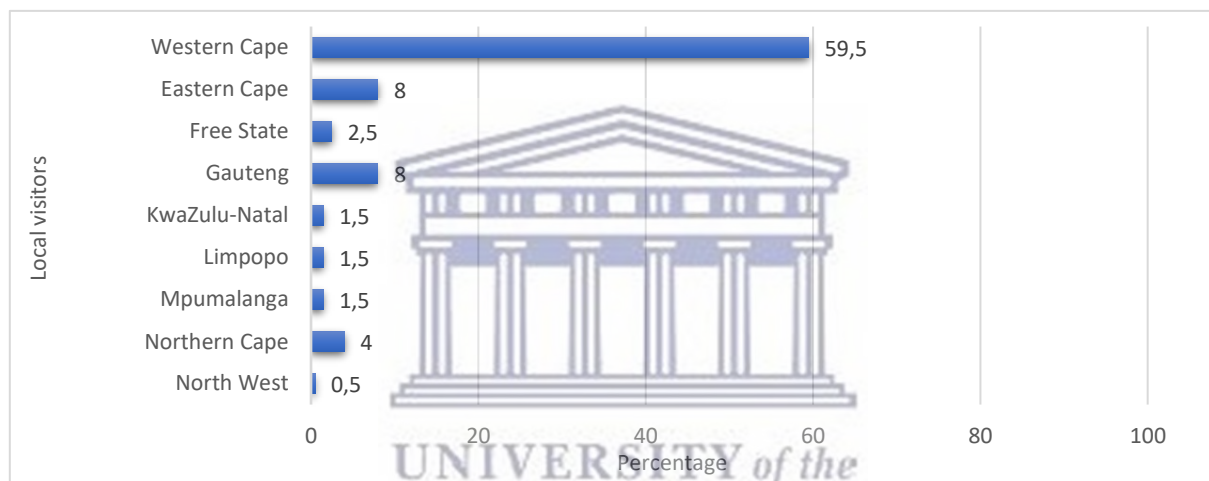
Figure 7: Origin of local visitors

5.4 Perceptions about wildlife entering tourist sites

The second part of the survey is based on the Wildlife Tolerance Model, which investigates people's wildlife value orientations, anthropomorphism, interest in animals, taxonomic groups, personal norms, institutions, empathy, values, norms and perceived behavioural control. It is an interdisciplinary model used to provide insight into people's perceptions of human-wildlife interactions (Kansky *et al.*, 2016).

One's perception of human-baboon interaction aids in identifying the philosophical views tourists hold of baboons. The data indicates that most visitors (36,2%) tolerate the presence of the baboons, provided that they do not disturb their holiday activities, thus indicating a sense of conditional acceptance. The presence of baboons in the same area as tourists, is only conditionally accepted

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(Anderson, 1998). Some 19,1% indicated that they were extremely uneasy when baboons were in a populated tourist area and 16,6% believed that baboons do not belong in a tourist area. In each case, whether the visitors believe that baboons do not belong in the area, feel uneasy when baboons are around or only tolerate baboons' presence, they all agree that wildlife should be excluded from the tourism space. Those that tolerated the presence of the baboons (36.2%), extremely uneasy when baboons were in a populated tourist area (19.1%) and those that believed that baboons do not belong in a tourist area (16.6%) represented majority of the participants in the study and all took a more anthropocentric approach and social construction of human-baboon interactions at the tourism site.

One's mental label and preserved reality reinforces one's social construction of animals, which is still largely anthropocentric in most societies (Peterson, 1999). The feeling of unease may be linked to Demeritt's (2002) argument that wildlife may be seen as a marginalised group that is only allowed into a human space under certain conditions (Demeritt, 2002). Humans and non-humans share a space that is inter-subjective, which may be characterised by one's mental labelling (Ingold, 1993). Excluding wildlife from the physical space and placing conditions on wildlife when they exist in that space, places wildlife outside the moral community. The moral and physical community are interlinked; thus, being outside the moral community means that wildlife would be outside the physical community and tourism space (Proctor, 1998a).

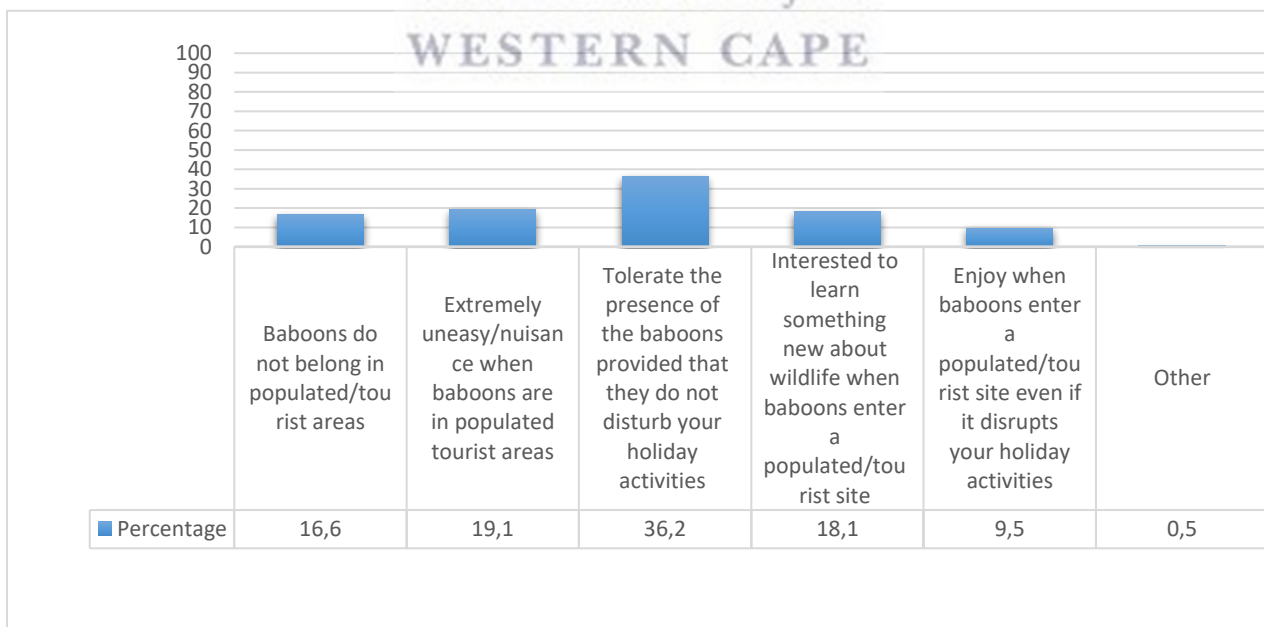|	Baboons do not belong in populated/tourist areas	Extremely uneasy/nuisance when baboons are in populated tourist areas	Tolerate the presence of the baboons provided that they do not disturb your holiday activities	Interested to learn something new about wildlife when baboons enter a populated/tourist site	Enjoy when baboons enter a populated/tourist site even if it disrupts your holiday activities	Other
■ Percentage	16,6	19,1	36,2	18,1	9,5	0,5

Figure 8: Perceptions about wildlife entering a tourist site

Visitors (18,1%) indicated that baboons entering a tourist site, stimulated their interest in learning about wildlife. Interest in wildlife is also part of the wildlife tolerance model, as an indicator of higher tolerance towards wildlife and a more positive perception of human-wildlife interactions (Kansky *et al*, 2016). The lowest number of visitors (9,5%) stated that they enjoyed it when baboons entered a tourist site, despite the baboons' actions, disrupting the visitors' activities. The participants that who full under the 18.1% that indicated being interested in learning more about wildlife and 9.5% that enjoy when baboons enter a tourist site, agreed with the more ecocentric section of the answer options and philosophical approach, thus created a positive social construction of the human-baboon interaction at the tourism site. One of the participants in the study pointed out that humans were the ones who do not belong in the area. It is also the participants that have the lowest numbers in the study, thus majority of visitors hold an anthropocentric philosophy and thus human dominated social construction of the tourism space (Demeritt, 2002). The social construction and perceptions of wildlife in society are subjective. The experiences of visitors are important, as they eventually influence the management of the area and wildlife such as the baboons. The individuals in the semi-structured interviews all pointed out that visitors should accept that baboons are part of the environment and should not hold the perception of a space belonging to just the visitors. The participants who viewed the tourist sites as a shared environment had a more positive experience, as their perceptions of the place already included humans and non-humans. There were different perceptions, in terms of who belongs in the space and who are the intruders. The majority of the participants who only tolerated the baboons, demonstrated that baboons were only conditionally accepted in the space. The anthropocentric philosophical approach that most participants take may be broken up into two types, namely weak and strong anthropocentrism (Norton, 1984). Those that indicated that they were extremely uneasy when baboons were in a populated tourist area (19.1%) and those that believed that baboons do not belong in a tourist area (16.6%) agreed with the strong anthropocentrism section of the answer options and philosophical approach. The visitors that agreed with the weak anthropocentrism section of the answer options in the study and philosophical approach were the majority of participants in the study (36,2%). The majority of the participants chose to only tolerate the presence of wildlife, thus valuing harmony, but not the animal in its own right to be in the space (Norton, 1984).

Wildlife researcher:

These baboons have been in the wildlife before tourist attractions were commercialised to exploit nature, hence I do believe that we have actually invaded their natural habitat.

5.5 Wildlife value orientation and norms

The third part of the survey investigates participants wildlife value orientation and norms regarding human-baboon interaction at tourist sites. Tourists' attitudes, empathy, wildlife value orientation and perceived behavioural control are investigated in more detail. One's wildlife value orientation, empathy and perceived behavioural control are reflections of one's philosophical views of wildlife (Kansky *et al*, 2016).

5.5.1 Wildlife value orientations

Wildlife value orientations and its linking philosophical views play an important role in understanding tourists' perceptions of human-baboon interaction and social constructions (Kansky *et al*, 2016; Lynn, 1998).
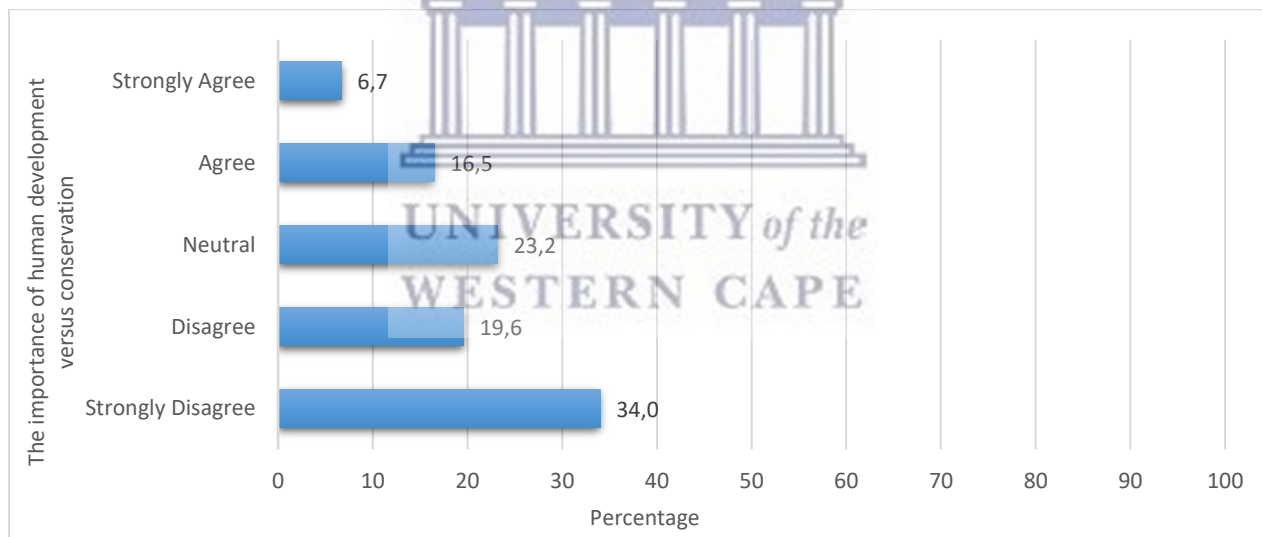
Figure 9: The importance of human development versus conservation

The largest proportion of the participants strongly disagreed that human development should enjoy priority over conservation (34,0%). The high rate of participants believed that human development should not be placed above conservation, which is a mutualism wildlife value orientation. Majority of the participants in section 5.4.1, only tolerated the presence of baboons provided that the baboons do not disturb the visitors, which is a form of conditional acceptance and part of

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anthropocentrism. Anthropocentrism is based on a utilitarian wildlife value orientation. The researcher thinks that the reason for this difference between the way visitors answered question 5.4.1 and 5.5.1 is that visitors value conserving the environment and wildlife for the benefits it provides humans. It provides benefits to humans to conserve the environment and wildlife for future generations, education and entertainment. The value is placed on the human experience of the environment and wildlife, not the intrinsic value of it in itself (Scholtz, 2005a and b).

Humans may also value harmony but do not give sentient value to wildlife, thus not believing in sharing the space with wildlife (Norton, 1984). Some 23,2% of the participants were neutral and the third highest number (19,6%) disagreed that human development should be prioritised over conservation. The researcher thinks that the visitors who chose to be neutral, either felt that both are important to society or the visitor wasn't sure which answer to choose. Some 16,5% agreed, 6,7% strongly agreed that human interests should be a priority over conservation, which is a utilitarian wildlife value and strongly anthropocentric. The aim of the question was to test the participants' wildlife value orientation, as developed by Manfredo, Vaske and Decker in 1995. It was then updated in 1996 by Fulton *et al.* It connects one's personal philosophies with one's perception of human-wildlife interaction. Wildlife value orientation identifies two main values in terms of human-wildlife interaction, namely utilitarianism and mutualism. In a utilitarian wildlife value, animals only have purpose for human use and have no intrinsic value (Gamborg & Jensen, 2016). A utilitarian wildlife value may also be called domination, as it refers to the same idea of only valuing wildlife for what it could be used for in terms of its relation to humans (Manfredo *et al.*, 2009). A utilitarian approach to wildlife value orientation may be linked to an anthropocentric philosophical approach. An anthropocentric philosophy means that non-humans lack sentient value and as a result are seen as having no intrinsic value. The lack of intrinsic value means that they do not have a moral standing, which is necessary for being part of the moral and physical community (Lynn, 1998).

The visitors who agreed (16,5%) and strongly agreed (6,7%) that human development should take precedence over conservation, falls into the strong anthropocentric philosophy (Norton, 1984). The alternative to a utilitarian style of wildlife value orientation is mutualism, which considers both humans and non-humans to have intrinsic value; thus, both have moral standing (Manfredo *et al.*, 2009). Mutualism may be linked to a biocentric and ecocentric philosophy, both of which

value the role of wildlife (Agar, 1997). Visitors who identified with being neutral (23,2%) fall into either the utilitarian or mutualist wildlife value orientation, which could vary between a weak anthropocentric or an ecocentric approach (Norton, 1984). The visitors who disagreed (19,6%) and strongly disagreed (34,0%) fall into the biocentric or ecocentric philosophical approach. Most visitors would like to see an approach to conservation and development that promotes harmony. Visitors' behaviour may be more complex as one could value conservation for the role it plays in providing harmony. Harmony is one of the things valued for the role it plays in enhancing human lives; however, it does not mean that wildlife would be given sentient value (Norton, 1984).

5.5.2 Anthropocentric behaviour: The importance of wildlife

Sentient value plays a major role in terms of influencing one's perception and the nature of a tourist-baboon interaction. The lack of sentient value means that the being only has extrinsic value, and is thus only valued for its usefulness in relation to humans. A being with sentient value, has intrinsic value and is thus valued outside its use to humans (Lynn, 1998; Demeritt, 2002).
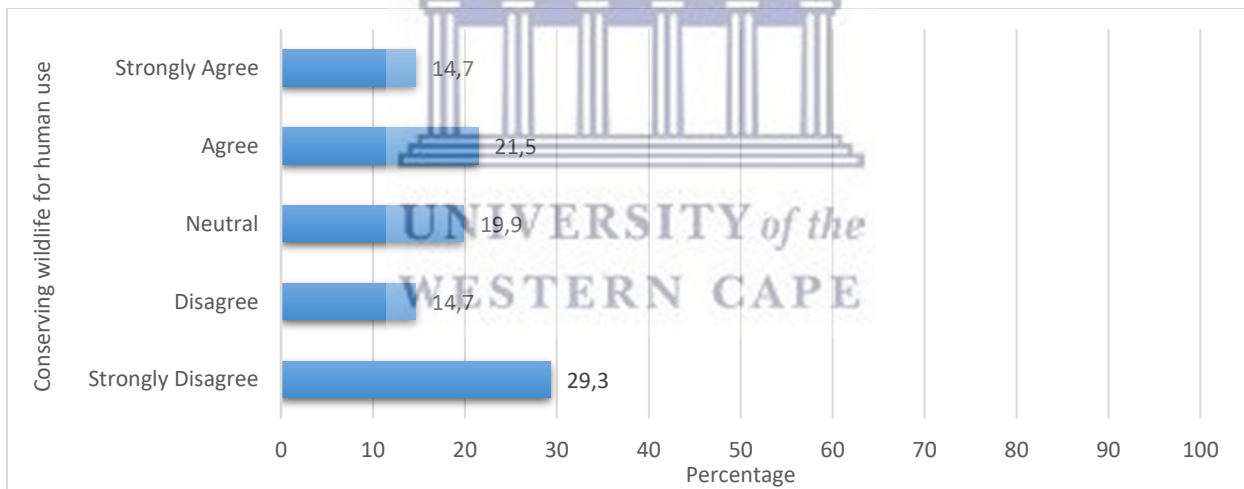
Figure 10: Conserving wildlife for human use

The largest proportion of the visitors (29,3%) strongly disagreed that wildlife should be conserved for human use, however 21.5% agreed that wildlife should be conserved for human use. The margin of difference is a lot less between the two opposite answers than sections 5.4.1 and 5.5.1 answers. The 29.3% that formed the majority answer is a mutualism wildlife value orientation and must indicate that the visitor are open to having a shared tourism space. Based on sections 5.4.1

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and 5.5.1's answers, majority of the visitors do not hold a mutualism wildlife value orientation and are only conditionally accept having a shared tourism space. The researcher thinks it is possible that the visitors misunderstood section 5.5.2, as it does not follow the same pattern of answering as the previous sections.

The second highest number (21,5%) agreed that wildlife should be conserved for human use, followed by those who chose to remain neutral (19,9%). The participants who agreed (21.5%) and strongly agreed (14.7%) form part of the strong anthropocentric approach and would have a negative perception to a human-baboon interaction. The visitors who remained neutral could link back to the weak anthropocentric or an eccocentric approach (Norton, 1984). The lowest number was 14,7% which included the participants who disagreed and strongly agreed. There is the same number (14,7%) on the polar end who disagreed that wildlife should be conserved for human use. The conflicting numbers may be due to some participants providing 'politically correct' responses, instead of answering the questions truthfully (Kansky *et al.*, 2016). Sections 5.5.1 and 5.5.2 link up as they both explore the visitors' perceptions of wildlife, such as the baboons of the study area. Both questions explore the wildlife value orientation predispositions and philosophical underpinnings.

5.5.3 Empathy towards wildlife

Empathy is an important factor that could determine the nature of human-wildlife interaction. It could have an influence on the mental label and perception of an animal (Ingold, 1993). The majority of the tourists felt a sense of empathy towards wildlife, such as baboons.
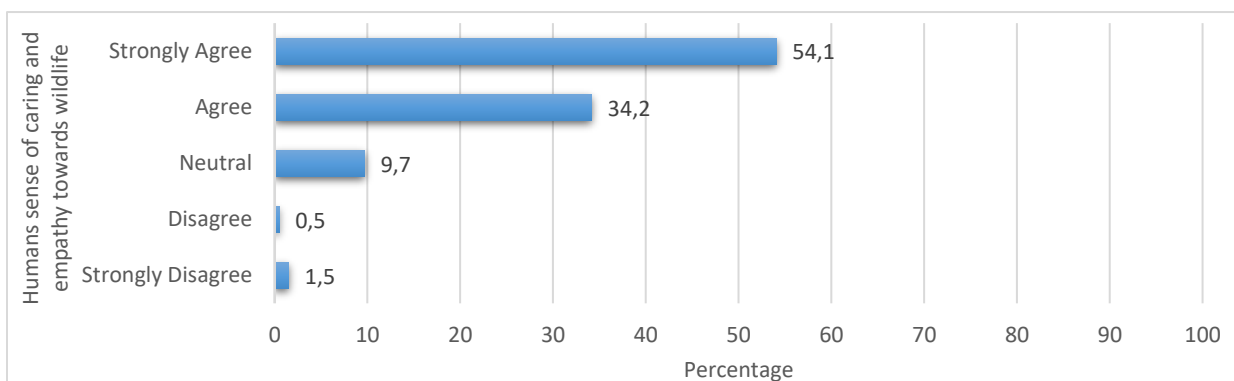

Figure 11: Humans' sense of caring and empathy towards wildlife

The largest number (54,1%) strongly agreed that humans should care for wildlife, followed by 34.2% who agreed with caring for wildlife. Empathy towards wildlife is an important indicator of having a positive perceptions and social construction towards wildlife (Konrath et al., 2011; Kansky *et al*, 2016). Based on section 5.5.3, most of the visitors therefore had a mutualist wildlife value orientation in terms of processes empathy towards wildlife, however in sections 5.4.1 and 5.5.1's majority of visitors only conditionally accept having a shared tourism space which is based on a utilitarian approach. The conflicting answers may also be due to visitors providing "politically correct" responses (Kansky *et al.*, 2016). Some 9,7% identified as being neutral, 1,5% strongly disagreed and the lowest was 0,5% who disagreed. The respondents who strongly disagreed and the respondents who only disagreed, were 2% in total. The low number of participants who disagreed and strongly disagreed is still in line with the pattern found in the previous questions. There is a relatively small number of participants who align themselves with a strong anthropocentric philosophy of dominating wildlife value orientation (Norton, 1984). The tourists have a sense of empathy as they value the role of baboons in the environment; it might not mean that they give sentient value to baboons. Sentient value plays an important role in terms of giving moral standing and place in the physical environment (Demeritt, 2002).

5.5.4 The place of wildlife in society

One's social construction and mental label of baboons' impact on the place that wildlife holds in society. In order for wildlife to have an equal importance in society, it must have sentient value. This means that baboons would have value without validation from humans (Demeritt, 2002).
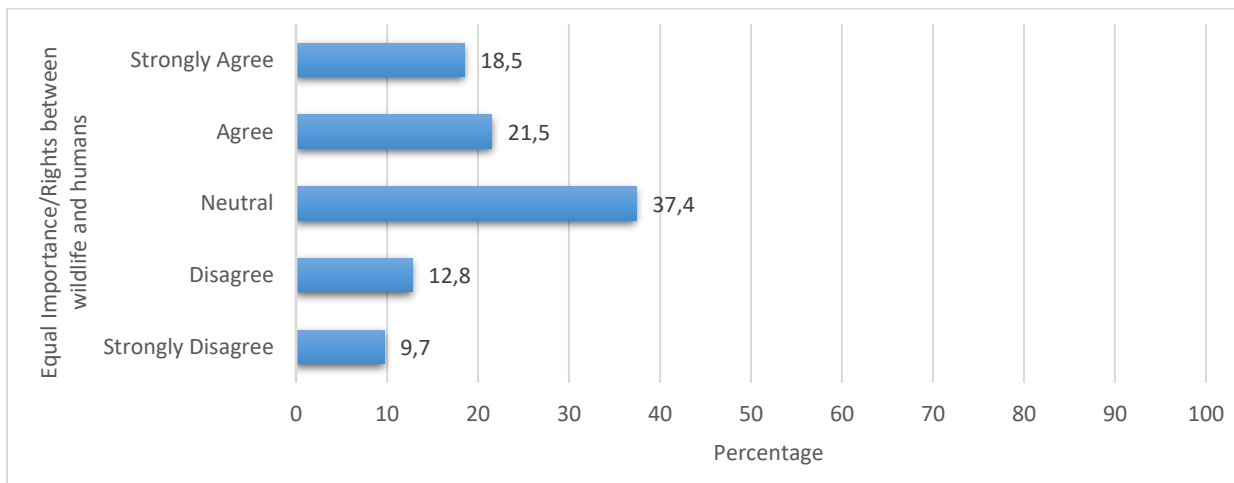
Figure 12: Equal importance/rights of wildlife and humans

Many participants chose to remain neutral in terms of providing wildlife with equal importance in society (37,4%), while 21,5% agreed, and 18,5% strongly agreed. This shows that the overall pattern formed in previous questions remains largely the same. A larger number of participants chose to remain neutral, compared to the previous questions. It may be an indication that while many acknowledged the importance of wildlife, it cannot be equated with human life. Sections 5.4 and 5.5.1 indicate a more conditional acceptance of the shared tourism space, which is aligned more with the majority of visitors answers (37.4%) of section 5.5.4 in terms of being anthropocentrically based (Norton, 1984; Demeritt, 2002). The type of interaction that humans have with non-human primates can be filled with paradoxes. In terms of human-baboon interaction, people may enjoy seeing the human-like bond of baboons that allow visitors to empathise but not the animal's wild instincts as indicated in section 5.4.1 (Hill & Webber, 2010). In section 5.4, the majority of the participants chose to only tolerate the presence of wildlife, as long as the baboons do not disturb visitor activities (Norton, 1984).

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5.6 Values and principles regarding the place of wildlife in society

One's values play an important role, in terms of providing guidance to society. Values may also guide one's perception of animals and their place in society. One's philosophical and subsequent social construction of a place and animal has implications for one's perception of human-wildlife interaction (Peterson, 1999).
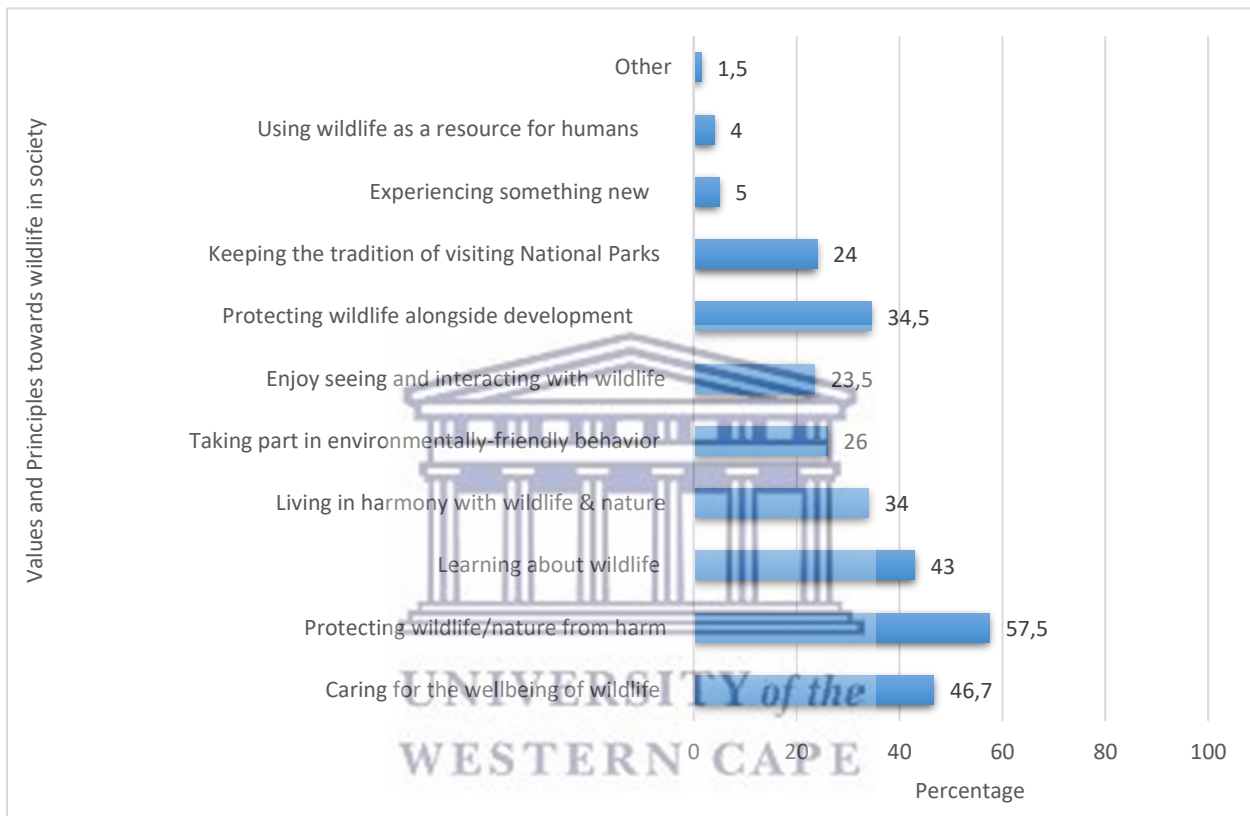
Figure 13: Values and principles regarding wildlife in society

Section 5.6 serves to further explore more regarding the value that people place on animals in society, thus indicating their perception of human-baboon interaction. The value of self-transcendence is closely linked to a mutualist wildlife value orientation. Self-enhancement values are linked to utilitarian wildlife value orientation, in the context of human-wildlife interaction (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). In section 5.6, a list was given and visitors chose their top three values. The value table represents the values that participants chose as the most important on the given list. Protecting wildlife from harm was the highest (57,5%), followed by 46.7% for caring for the wellbeing of wildlife. Some 43% of participants were interested in learning about wildlife, which

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was the third highest ranking. The majority of participants chose caring, protecting and learning as their most important values on the given list, thus falling into the self-transcendence value category. The patterns formed in the previous questions remained largely the same. Most of the participants identified with a mutualist wildlife value orientation, according to section 5.6. In the context of the previous sections such as section 5.4.1 and 5.5.1 which indicated a conditional acceptance of the shared tourism space, section 5.6 could be a form of weak anthropocentrism (Norton, 1984). The options with the lowest number of participants who identified with the values were, keeping the tradition of visiting national parks (24%), experiencing something new (5%) and using wildlife as resources for humans (4%). Self-enhancement values such as tradition, new experiences and using wildlife as a resource for humans, are associated with being strongly anthropocentric. There is a difference between a strong and weak anthropocentric approach in terms of influencing visitors' perception and interaction (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004; Norton, 1984). A visitor with a strong anthropocentric approach would hold a negative perception of a human-baboon interaction and utilitarian approach to the social construction of the baboons in the tourism space. A visitor with a weak anthropocentric approach would tolerate a human-baboon interaction depending on how the visitor's activities have been impacted by the interaction. In the case that baboons do not disrupt visitors' activities, there is a positive perception and social construction as indicated by sections 5.5.4 and 5.6.

5.7 Taxonomic bias and anthropomorphism

The taxonomic group of humans and baboons make their interaction more complex and open to anthropomorphism. The majority of participants acknowledged that there are similarities between humans and baboons in terms of having the ability to experience emotions (74,5%).
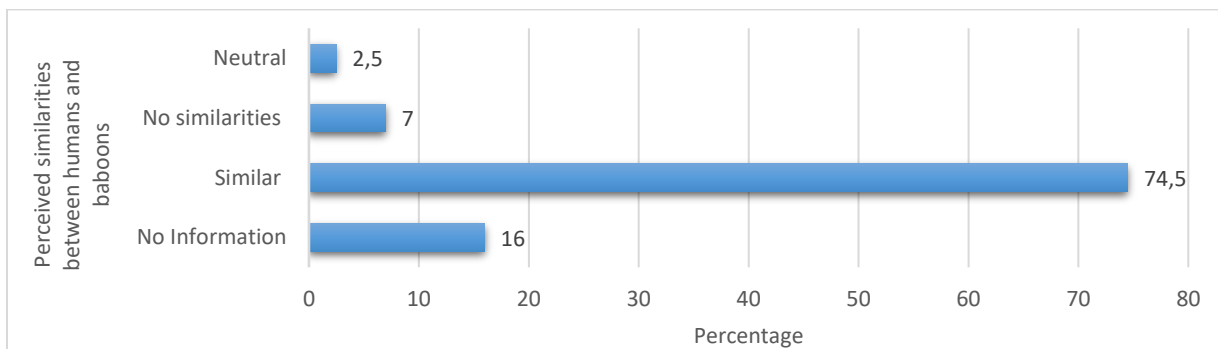

Figure 14: Perceived similarities between humans and baboons

Visitors were knowledgeable on the genetic proximity between human and baboons and should thus have the ability to experience a similar range of emotions. One is better able to transfer the idea of wildlife having emotions when its compared humans, as emotions can only be transferred if a person can emphasize with the non-human. The visitors in the study felt that there were similarities by comparing baboons to humans by using language such as "like humans". People can only identify emotions in other beings by anthropomorphising non-humans such as baboons. Visitors in this study, who regarded baboons as having emotions, did not identify the emotions through the lens of a being with intrinsic value of its own. The animals' value, and as a result the perception of it having emotions, is only possible when it can be compared to humans (Coeckelbergh & Gunkel, 2014). There are also similarities in terms of the taxonomic groups of humans and baboons thus making it easier to anthropomorphise (Alcayna-Stevens, 2008). There are two forms of anthropocentrism, namely strong and weak anthropocentrism. Weak anthropocentrism allows people to live in harmony with nature and wildlife without providing it intrinsic value, which has been the pattern forms through the previous questions (Norton, 1984).

Survey subject 1:

Baboons are like humans. I am sure they have emotions too.

Survey subject 2:

Baboons need love and care, just like humans.

Survey subject 3:

Both species care about family and the protection thereof. When a family member is threatened, the family usually strives to protect that family member.

Some 16, 0% did not provide any information, 2, 5% remained neutral and 7, 0% felt that there were no similarities. Participants who felt that there were no similarities, regarded humans as superior to other beings. The philosophy of viewing humans as superior is part of a strong anthropocentric view, which also follows a similar pattern as previous sections as strong anthropocentrism represent the minority of visitors (Norton, 1984).

Survey subject 4:

I don't think there are any similarities. Human life has more value.

Survey subject 5:

I believe that humans and baboons have more or less the same ability to feel emotions. Baboons just seem less 'cultivated', more feral.

Survey subject 6:

Baboons pretend to be like humans.

Participants who viewed humans as being more superior, used language that denotes that baboons are not domesticated animals by calling them "less cultivated" and as a result, regarding humans as having "more value". The notion that only domesticated animals may be in a human space links back to the idea of domination over the wild. A space may only be classified as civilised for human habitation, if it is devoid of anything classified as wild. The same goes for tourism spaces, although the tourism space is geographically located in baboon's natural territory (Anderson, 1997). The social construction of the tourism space and human-baboon interactions, is that the tourism space is a human dominated area. Baboons are only conditionally accepted into the space, as indicated in sections 5.4.1, 5.5.1 and 5.5.4.

5.8 Empathy towards animals (baboons) in distress
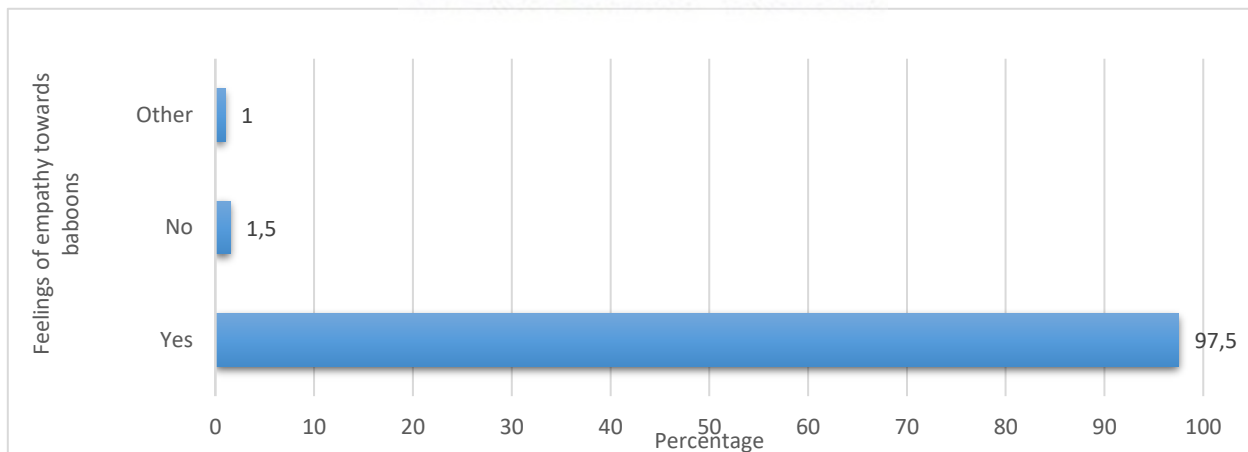
Figure 15: Feelings of empathy towards baboons

During the semi-structured interviews, one of the participants emphasised the role of education and its impact on the public's sense of empathy. Increasing the public's sense of empathy may aid in reducing the number of negative interactions and assist in the long-term management of baboons living on the urban fringes.

Education could assist visitors in terms of understanding the sentient value of non-humans which could lead to a better sense of empathy. Empathy may also impact on the moral standing of non-humans in the human moral community (Demeritt, 2002). Philosophical views on non-humans have an impact on how human-baboon interaction is perceived. Education and empathy may assist in creating positive perceptions (Soulsbury & White, 2016). In this study, the majority of participants (97, 5%) expressed their sense of empathy towards baboons. There could be a link with section 5.5.3, where the majority of participants (74, 5%) stated that there are similarities between human and baboons, which does influence on the participants who felt empathy towards baboons. Baboon troops have complex social systems similar to humans. The relationship remains complex, however as baboons would still not be included into the human moral community as beings with intrinsic and sentient value (Weston, 1985).

5.9 Baboon management and stakeholder responsibilities

Personal habits and norms play a big role in human-wildlife interaction; thus, investigating visitors' sense of responsibility at tourist sites, is important. A sense of responsibility in an environment with wildlife is important as it demonstrates the value that visitors place on wildlife. One who values wildlife would have a sense of responsibility towards it; this would minimise the impact of human activities on wildlife. Institutions involvement in managing wildlife is also an important component of the wildlife tolerance model (Kansky *et al*, 2016).
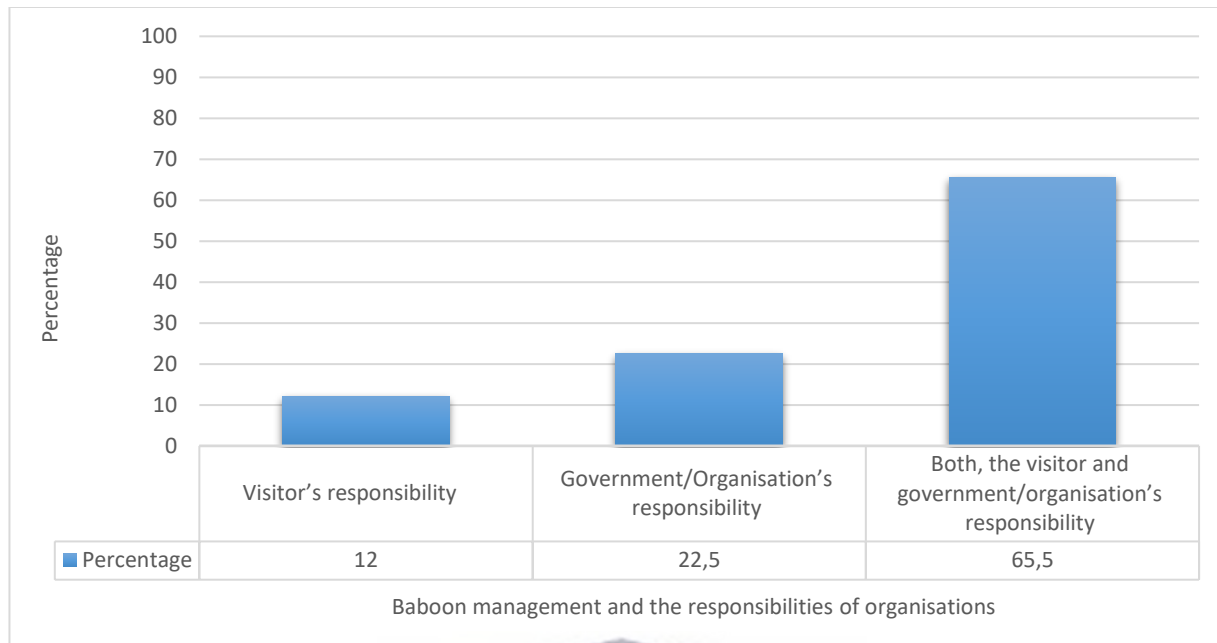
Figure 16: Baboon management and stakeholder responsibilities

The majority of visitors (65,5%) felt that it was the responsibility of both the visitors and government in terms of managing baboons in the area. Most visitors felt a sense of responsibility, to decrease the likelihood of a negative human-wildlife interaction. Some 22,5% of the visitors thought it was solely the responsibility of the government or wildlife organisations to manage the baboon population. The lowest number (12,0%) were the visitors who felt it was solely other visitors' responsibility to manage baboons. In the semi-structured interviews, all the participants from different wildlife or tourism organisations emphasised the importance of visitors behaving responsibly as part of the baboon management system. Personal norms that encourage responsibility when entering an area with a high population of wildlife could be linked to self-transcendence values, which form part of a mutualist wildlife value orientation (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004; Kansky *et al.*, 2016). Sections 5.5.3 and 5.6, all indicated a mutualist wildlife value orientation, however human-baboon interactions in sections 5.4.1, 5.5.1 and 5.5.4 indicated conditional acceptance which is a utilitarian wildlife value orientation (Kansky *et al.*, 2016). A utilitarian wildlife value orientation is based on anthropocentrism, however in the study the visitors have a weak anthropocentric as human-baboon interactions at tourism sites are accepted, with limitations.

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5.10 Personal and social norms

One's social norms and habits play a big role in the perception of wildlife. Exhibiting environmentally-friendly behaviour has been linked to a better sense of empathy towards animals (Kansky *et al.*, 2016).
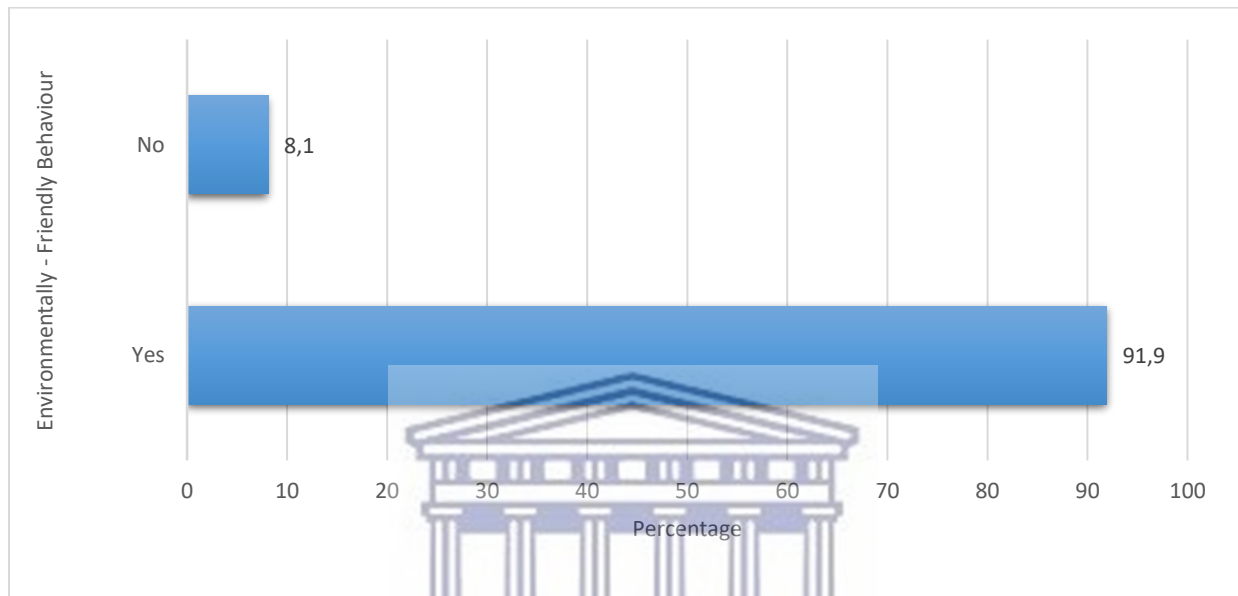
Figure 17: Environmentally-friendly behaviour

Empathy plays a big role in how one perceives human-wildlife interaction, as a sense of empathy towards animals could increase the likelihood of a positive interaction It may also have an effect on the value and moral standing of non-humans in the human moral community. Visitors might also feel a better sense of responsibility when entering an area with a great volume of free roaming wildlife, and would thus be more inclined to adhere to the SANPark rules in terms of human-baboon interactions (Demeritt, 2002). The follow-up question investigated the type of environmentally-friendly practices that most participants generally engaged in, which included saving water (82,0%), using energy-saving light bulbs (59,2%), and recycling (55,7%).

The main reason for the majority of participants engaging in saving water, was due to the 2017-2019 drought and water restrictions enforced in the Western Cape. The tourism industry in the Cape Peninsula area, however has been negatively impacted as the drought made international news. The drought was a big factor in the decrease of the number of tourists to Cape Town in 2018 (Vegter, 2018). The lowest figures belonged to participants who bought organic food (24,8%),

used canvas bags instead of plastic ones (13,9%), and those who bought organic cleaning products (13,4%). Many of the participants pointed out that they found buying organic products too expensive. Personal and social norms help to inform visitors behaviour, thus pro-environmental beliefs may be an indicator for more positive perceptions of wildlife (Klöckner, 2013; Kansky *et al*, 2016).

5.11 Locations of human-baboon interaction

There are multiple baboon troop territories in the Cape Peninsula (Richardson, 2017). The study only took place at tourism sites along the coastal areas around the peninsula.
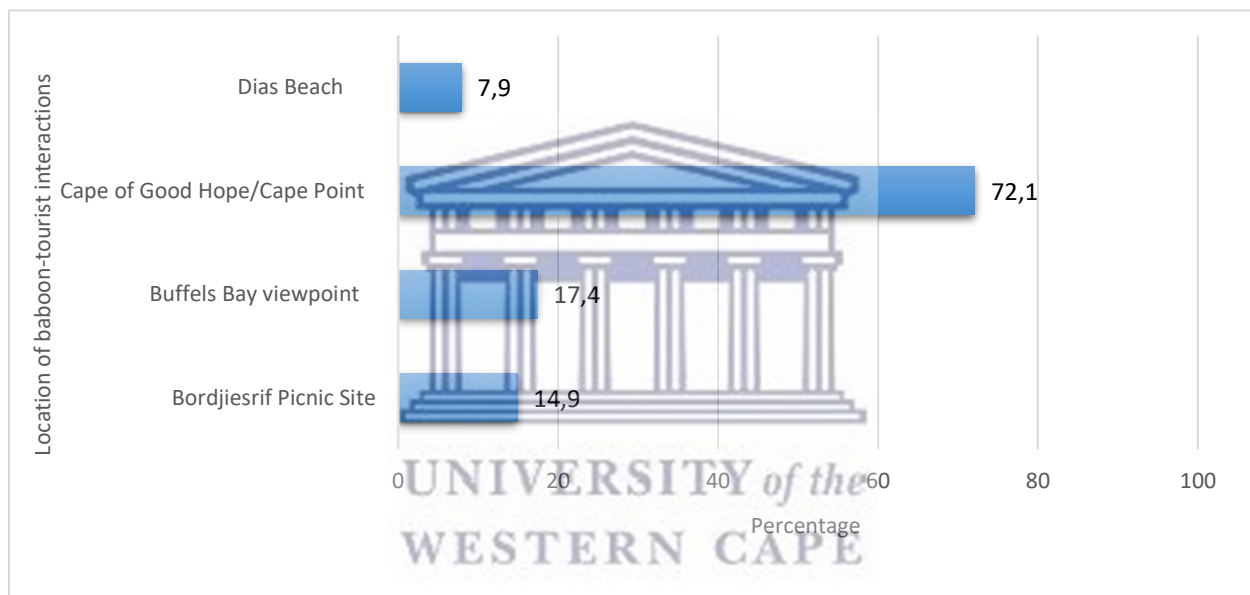
Figure 18: Locations of baboon-tourist interaction

A large number of participants (72,10%) had interacted with baboons at the Cape of Good Hope/Cape Point tourist area. Baboon monitors also try to keep the baboons as far as possible from the populated areas, hence the high population of baboons in the areas far from the urban areas according to one of the semi-structured interview participants. Buffels Bay viewpoint (17,4%), Bordjiesrif Picnic Site (14,9%) and Dias Beach (7,9%) have less human-baboon interactions. Other areas identified by participants as places with high numbers of baboons or an increased likelihood of human-baboon interaction, were the Huguenot Tunnel (on route to/from Worcester), Sir Lowry's Pass, Tokai forest, Simon's Town and Gordons Bay.

5.12 Nature of baboon encounters

The visitors perceived their baboon encounters in both a negative and a positive manner. The visitors enjoyed seeing the baboons in the area but were also afraid of them, confirming that most visitors tolerate the presence of baboons at tourist sites. Section 5.12 links back to section 5.4.1, where most participants indicated that they tolerated the presence of baboons at tourist sites as long as the baboons do not disrupt the visitor's activities. The majority of participants chose caring, protecting and learning about wildlife as their dominant values in section 5.6. In section 5.5.4 regarding giving equal importance to wildlife rights and human rights, most remained neutral (37,4%), thus, in terms of human-baboon interactions visitors showed that the tourism space is a human dominated space. In the tourism space, baboons are conditionally accepted, thus the value on baboons as seen in sections 5.6 and 5.5.4 are more for the sake of achieving harmony than giving intrinsic value to baboons (Norton, 1984).

Survey subject 6:

They intrude and cause havoc at times, but we try at all times to deal with it.

Survey subject 7:

Frighten [sic], but entertaining.

Survey subject 8:

Afraid, but interesting.

Survey subject 9:

Scary, but interesting.

Survey subject 10:

Wary observation.

Survey subject 11:

They were sitting in the middle of the road, refusing to move for anyone to pass.

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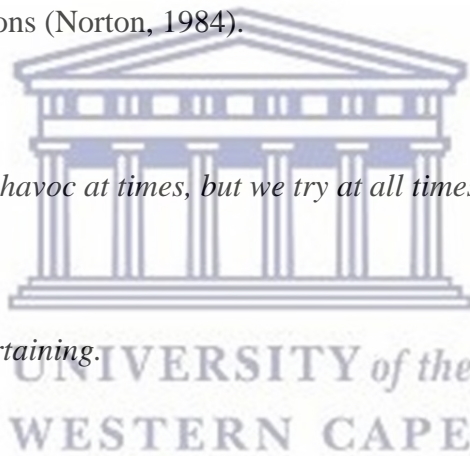The majority of participants chose to describe the encounter using a language discourse of fear and excitement, indicating that most still hold a view that wildlife has a form of conditional acceptance in a human space. Some participants viewed it as a lack of respect for humans when baboons enter a human area such as a road and do not move out of the way for the cars or showing no fear when entering a populated area. An anthropocentric philosophical view on non-humans might view human-baboon interaction as negative. In an anthropocentric view, non-humans have no intrinsic and sentient value. The fact that non-humans are seen as having no intrinsic and sentient value means that they are not part of the moral community. The physical space and moral community are interlinked. Thus, being placed outside the moral community, means that non-humans are also placed outside the physical space. In the event that something that is not part of the moral community enters a space, it is then viewed in a negative way. The participants who had a positive interaction with baboons, acknowledged the place of baboons as active agents in the environment and accepted that it is a shared space (Demeritt, 2002).

Survey subject 12:

> *My recent encounter with baboons was when my friend and I were ending our hike. We encountered a school running before us; we observed and decided to not walk on the road to avoid interaction. However, as we looked further ahead, there were more a few steps away from us. We paused and knew we had to pass them. We built up the courage and with authority walked past them, minding our business. I glimpsed and saw a school of baboons spending time with each other, the alpha was sitting watching the rest. As we passed, I looked back and as I looked back the baboon looked back and we stared at each other. I knew then that this was their territory but there was a respect barrier. Anything could have happened; just grateful and appreciative.*

5.13 Main trends emerging from the results

A weak anthropocentric philosophy and social construction of space is the dominant thought process of many visitors. In a weak anthropocentric philosophical approach, the idea of harmony is valued and not the non-human. The Wildlife Tolerance Model also indicates that most visitors only tolerate the presence of non-humans, under conditional acceptance. Conditional acceptance is when something is accepted into a space, provided that it behaves in a socially acceptable

manner. Actions that are socially acceptable are determined by culture of the space, which is mainly anthropocentric in nature. The participants in the qualitative interviews, all agreed that the increase in human activity has had a negative effect on baboons in terms of impacting on baboon behaviour (Valentine & Birtles, 2004). Studies conducted in Bali (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994), China (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009), Singapore (Fuentes *et al.*, 2008; Sha *et al.*, 2009) and Tibet (Matheson *et al.*, 2006), have linked tourism and increased primate aggression. The wildlife researcher stated that the aggressive behaviour creates a cycle of negative behaviour which impacts on the conservation of primates in the future. The negative behaviour impacts the public perception of the animals. According to Chauhan and Pirta (2010) public perception does have an impact on the management of the area. Bird (1987), Peterson (1999) and Anderson (1997) agree that wildlife is socially constructed, which plays a role in the physical space that non-humans may enter. In an anthropocentric society, only humans have intrinsic and sentient value, and thus have a moral standing and place in the moral community. Non-humans who are placed outside the moral community cannot be part of the physical space, thus true co-existence would not be possible (Anderson, 1997).

Including wildlife into the moral community could be possible when visitors adopt an ecocentric or biocentric approach, which places importance on creating harmony and giving intrinsic value to wildlife (Norton, 1984). The social construction of baboons at tourist sites were explored in a survey conducted around the Cape Peninsula. The Wildlife Tolerance Model was used to investigate people's perceptions of wildlife through investigating their wildlife value orientations, anthropomorphism, interest in animals, taxonomic groups, personal norms, institutions, empathy, values, norms and perceived behavioural control (Kansky *et al.*, 2016). The sections of the survey that explored human-baboon interactions at tourism sites were anthropocentric and utilitarian wildlife value orientation. The sections of the survey that explored the place of wildlife in society, empathy, personal and social norms were ecocentric or biocentric. Ecocentrism and biocentrism falls in line with a mutualism wildlife value orientation. The researcher thinks the reason for the conflicting answers, is due to visitors valuing harmony not the intrinsic value of baboons in their self which is weak anthropocentrism (Norton, 1984). The perceptions of baboons entering the tourism space is conditionally accepted, thus it may be positive when baboons do not disturb visitors and negative when baboons do disturb the visitors (Anderson, 1998).

The conditional acceptance of wildlife, may also be linked to Demeritt's (2002) argument that wildlife may be seen as a marginalised group that is only allowed into a human space under certain conditions (Demeritt, 2002). Conditional acceptance also means that baboons are not part of the moral community. The physical and moral community are interlinked, thus being outside the moral community would mean being placed outside the physical community (Proctor, 1998a). The majority of the participants in the study (37,4%) chose to remain neutral on the topic of giving wildlife and human rights equal importance in society. The participants acknowledged the importance of wildlife but did not think that it is equal to humans, thus viewing baboons through a weak anthropocentric lens (Norton, 1984).

Human-baboon interaction is filled with paradoxes. Visitors enjoyed seeing the human-like bond and behaviour of baboons but not the animals' wild instincts, which is indicative of conditional acceptance (Hill & Webber, 2010). One's philosophical and social construction of an animal has implications for one's perceptions of human-wildlife interaction. In an anthropocentric philosophical approach and social construction, human-wildlife interaction is regarded as negative (Peterson, 1999). Wildlife is viewed as something that does not belong in a human space and when it is in a human-dominated space, it is only tolerated via conditional acceptance (Anderson, 1998).

The majority of the visitors via the survey, identified with caring and protecting wildlife. They also valued the idea of sustainable development alongside conservation. However, they did not accept wildlife into the shared space of the Cape Peninsula. Most participants in the study, therefore, followed a weak anthropocentric approach regarding the place of wildlife in society (Norton, 1984). Participants also acknowledged that there are similarities between humans and baboons (74,5%). However, they did not identify emotions through the lens of a being with intrinsic value of its own. Participants' perceptions of baboons and a baboon's ability to experience emotions are only possible when it can be compared to humans. There could be a link between those who stated that there are similarities between humans and baboons and the level of empathy (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004; Kansky *et al.*, 2016). The researcher thinks visitors valuing harmony but not the intrinsic value of baboons in their self which is weak anthropocentrism (Norton, 1984). The social construction of human-baboon interactions in the tourism space, is a weak form of anthropocentrism which influences visitors' perceptions. The perceptions of baboons entering the

tourism space is conditionally accepted, thus the baboons may be perceived in a positive or negative way depending on how the visitor feels impacted (Anderson, 1998).

5.14 Summary

The representatives in the study acknowledged the impact of human activity on baboon troops and that it has an impact on the management of baboons in the area. They encouraged tourists to accept baboons as part of the space, as people move closer to the urban edges. Visitors hold a weak anthropocentric view of baboons, where they accept them in a tourist space but only under certain conditions. Baboon management and tourists do not have the same philosophical view on the place of baboons in the human space, which could have an impact on conservation in the future.

The issues that emerged from the study are discussed in more detail in the following chapter. The exploratory sequential mixed methods design of the study allows the results from the wildlife representatives and the visitors, to provide a holistic understanding. The following chapter explores how the issues identified in the study affect the social construction, perception and interaction with baboons at tourist sites.

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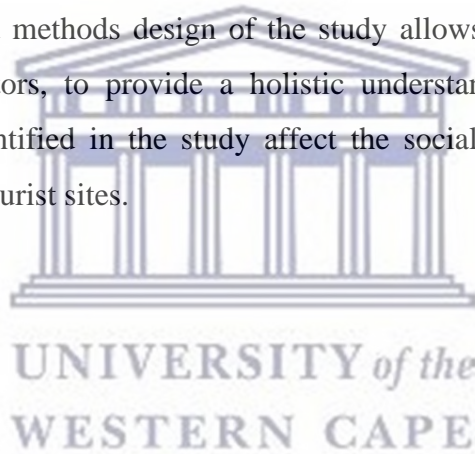
CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

According to the empirical questionnaire-based survey, the visitors indicated a weak anthropocentric philosophy (Norton, 1984), which influenced their social construction and perceptions of human-baboon interactions. The Wildlife Tolerance Model allowed the researcher to investigate the different factors that influence human-baboon interactions. Sections centred on perceptions of human-wildlife interactions indicated that visitors tolerate wildlife through conditional acceptance at tourist sites. Conditional acceptance was one of the important trends that emerged from the study, as it links to a weak anthropocentric philosophy (Ballard, 2002; Norton, 1984). The sections that investigated perceptions on human-baboon interactions in the tourism space, displayed a weak anthropocentric approach, which leads to a utilitarian wildlife value orientation. Perceptions of human-baboon interactions may vary based on whether the conditional acceptance has been granted through appropriate behaviour.

Questions centred around visitors' perceptions of wildlife and personal norms without adding humans into the equation received an ecocentric approach. An ecocentric approach, leads to a mutualism wildlife value orientation. In an ecocentric approach, human-baboon interactions should be accepted without condition and positively received even if the baboons disrupt visitors' activities (Kansky *et al.*, 2016). The research from the survey has shown that is not the case, as the minority of visitors had strong ecocentric belief and perceptions even when baboons entered the tourism site. Tourist sites may be located in natural areas, but be socially constructed for human purposes (Anderson, 1998). Majority of visitors conditionally accepted baboons into the tourism space and based their perception of baboons off how well baboons behaved in the space. The research does indicate that visitors place value on baboons but not as intrinsic beings, rather as an important part of the environment that should be conserved for future generations. Visitors take a weak anthropocentric philosophy for that reason as visitors answers are not consistent enough to be ecocentric, influencing perceptions and social contraction of human-baboon interactions. Anthropocentrism can be linked to the industrial revolution which encouraged the perception that

human and natural areas should be separated from each other And that human development and civilisation should exclude nature (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). The increase in tourism also increases the amount of human activity in areas close to wildlife. In the study, participants in the semi-structured interviews noted the increase in human activity and its negative effect on baboon behaviour, which is similar to the research by Valentine & Birtles (2004) that indicated tourism's similar effect on wildlife. One's philosophical and social construction influences one's perception. The trends in the study also link to Peterson's (1999) argument regarding the construction and impact of perception (Peterson, 1999). Human-wildlife interaction are complex as people hold a mixture of values depending on the location and the animal. At the core of any human-wildlife interaction, one's social construction of the animal and the environment play an important role (Lynn, 1998).

6.2 Anthropocentrism

Anthropocentrism is the philosophy that only humans have sentient and intrinsic value in society (Proctor, 1998a). The perceived difference in sentient value decreases the chances of co-existing in areas on the urban fringe that are close to wildlife. The increase in human development through the industrial age contributed to the perception that humans' development should be separated from nature (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). Visitors understand the complex nature of baboon troops, labelled as "charismatic mega fauna" (Lynn, 1998, page. 284), and may thus extend some value to baboon troops. The process is complex, as extending value to baboons, does not mean that they would be accepted into a human dominated space. The value of baboons is linked to the way visitors value the environment and the importance of conserving the environment not the intrinsic value of baboons in itself. The majority of visitors to tourist sites identify with a weak anthropocentric approach; thus, baboons are not given sentience value as being part of the shared space. Value is placed on the idea of creating harmony and conservation (Norton, 1984).

6.2.1 Anthropocentric spaces within the wilderness

The anthropocentric basis of the tourist space impacts on one's attitude, values and the nature of an interaction. Values are the core beliefs that inform one's behaviour, and are also influenced by the culture of the community. Attitude forms part of the basis of human behaviour, as it relates to one's values. Human behaviour, as it relates to human-wildlife interaction is complex, as one's philosophical view and values, impact on one's attitude. One's attitude plays a role in one's

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perception and interactions with wildlife. An anthropocentric philosophical base impact one's values to place human needs above wildlife. In the case of weak anthropocentrism which is the dominate philosophical approach to perceptions in the study, wildlife may be tolerated via conditional acceptance into the tourist space (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004; Ballard, 2002). In the study, the majority of tourists identified with a weak anthropocentric philosophical base, where they tolerate wildlife via conditional acceptance (Ballard, 2002). Once the conditions that make wildlife acceptable into the space are broken, the level of tolerance diminishes. The individuals who had negative experiences are examples of where the conditions for tolerance were broken. It is usually regarded as being inappropriate to allow wildlife into a human space, even if humans are the ones encroaching into the natural habitat of wildlife. The mental label that only domesticated animals are allowed into a human space, forms part of one's social construction. The physical location of the tourist sites is in the baboons' natural territory, where the tourist sites have been socially constructed as anthropocentric areas (Anderson, 1997; Manfredo & Dayer, 2004).

Individuals mentally label and place themes that aid in creating a social construction of an animal and space, indicating that wildlife belong in the wilderness and domesticated animals belong in human-dominated spaces. Baboons may enhance tourists' experience while at the tourist site provided that the baboons do not disturb visitors, thus it may be perceived as a positive experience. Baboons would be perceived and socially constructed with tolerance at best or seen as intruding at worst (Anderson, 1997; Peterson, 1999). A weak anthropocentric philosophical base, influences visitors' perceptions and social construction of human-baboon interactions. In anthropocentrism non-humans are only valued for their use in relation to humans, and thus have no sentient value. Sentient value plays an important role in influencing people's perceptions and behaviour. It is one of the most important factors that controls entry into the moral community and as a result the physical space (Bird, 1987; Anderson, 1997).

Most visitors in the study agreed that there should be a balance between human development and nature conservation. However, they did not believe that wildlife should have the same rights and value as humans, thus identifying with a weak anthropocentric philosophy in tourist sites. The tourists' perceptions of an animal contribute to the nature of an interaction to be either positive or negative depending on the conditional acceptance. The study took place in a tourist environment and the fact that many tourists only conditionally accepted baboons in the same space, thus means

that it is seen as an anthropocentric space. The study also shows how a philosophical construct can filter down into the social construction, perception and ultimately the behaviour of society. The representatives from the different organisations emphasised the impact of all human activities including urbanisation and tourism on the conservation of wildlife. In western culture, civilisation and nature cannot mix, thus it is an anthropocentric-based culture. Animals are valued mainly for their use in society as food, companionship and entertainment. In an anthropocentric space, development can only be achieved through dominating nature and wildlife (Anderson, 1998). Anthropocentrism is the philosophical theory based around the superiority of humans over other beings; thus, humans are perceived as the only ones with sentient value.

The construction of space is impacted by anthropocentrism, as nature is associated with wildlife such as the baboons and humans with civilisation. Tourist sites are unique in nature – even though they are located mainly in the wilderness, they are constructed as human spaces. Baboons are only conditionally accepted into the spaces, as wildlife enhances the tourists' experiences of the environment. The construction of space is an important part of human-baboon interaction, as it determines the perception of an interaction (Bird,1987; Castree,1995; Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). The visitors in the survey only conditionally accepted baboons at tourist sites, thus constructing the tourist site as an anthropocentric area despite being in the wilderness geographically. Conditional acceptance leads to marginalising them from the space, as groups with different sentient values cannot be in the same space (Philo, 1995). Tourist sites are inter-subjective spaces, that are characterised by the mental labelling of the community in terms of the dominant culture (Ingold, 1993).

Baboons are uniquely impacted due to their intelligence to adapt to the circumstances of the environment, which brings them in greater contact with humans. Baboons may adapt to the behaviour of visitors which would encourage baboons to leave the natural area to the residential areas, thus baboons may be more calculated than most wildlife when entering urban spaces. Authors in Bali (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994), China (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009), Singapore (Fuentes *et al.*, 2008; Sha *et al.*, 2009) and Tibet (Matheson *et al.*, 2006), have linked the increase in wildlife aggression by baboons, to exposure to visitors. Visitors are in a unique position to be highly mobile between human and nature-dominated spaces, which extends the range of their impact on baboons. Consumptive forms of tourism tend to get the most attention due to its negative

impact on animal welfare and conservation. Non-consumptive tourism may have similar negative effects by indirectly affecting animal behaviour such has baboons raiding human food waste instead of natural foraging (Green & Giese, 2004). Tourism sites are socially constructed as being for human use only, which includes natural and urban areas (Anderson, 1998). Environmental changes which include tourism and residential development, decrease the natural habitat of baboons. The decrease in the natural space for baboons increases the likelihood of an interaction to take place.

6.2.2 Marginalisation

The baboon troops in the study need to be acknowledged as being part of the space, including the tourist sites. The wildlife and tourism representatives asserted that baboons form part of the space while visitors expressed different sentiments. The visitors viewed the baboons through the lens of conditional acceptance, which is anthropocentric in nature. In an anthropocentric philosophical view, wildlife only has extrinsic value and can become easily marginalised. Animal geography studies wildlife as active agents in the study area; it is therefore best suited to study the effects of tourist encroachment into natural areas (Tovey, 2003). In the context of wilderness areas with a great volume of tourism, animals may be studied as a separate marginalised social group within the environment (Philo, 1995). Animals can be viewed as a marginalised group, due to the lack of sentient value placed on them through the anthropocentric philosophy. The lack of sentient value means they have no moral standing in society and can become excluded from a tourism space (Lynn, 1998). The social construction of tourist sites is an important factor when analysing the perceived reality and mental labelling of wildlife. The mental labelling of baboons at tourist sites can be understood in a physical and a social context. In terms of the physical context of the environment, baboons are part of the Cape Peninsula environment, which includes any tourist site in the same area. In terms of the social context, tourist sites are anthropocentric. Although visitors understand that baboons naturally roam the area, the animals' presence is only conditionally accepted into tourist sites.

The trends that emerged from the study link to Proctor's (1998a) argument regarding the impact that one's social construction of animals and nature could have on an individual. Baboons have a unique place in nature as they are genetically close to humans; the relationship between humans and baboons is therefore complex. Visitors enjoy seeing the human-like behaviour of baboon

troops, as they have complex social structures that may be similar to humans (Fuentes, 2006; Alcayna-Stevens, 2008). Every visitor creates their own social construction of baboons and the tourist sites, which is influenced by the dominant culture of the individual. The social construction of baboons at tourist sites directly impacts on the nature of human-baboon interaction (Bruffee, 1986; Wendl, 2016).

6.2.3 Weak anthropocentric-based perceptions

At the core of the different philosophical theories on wildlife and the environment, is the question of whether or not it has sentient value. Sentient value is determined by whether the animal/environment has intrinsic or extrinsic value. Intrinsic value means that the animal or environment has value independent of its meaning to humans, and thus would have sentient value (Lynn, 1998). Value is divided into three factors, namely non-instrumental, non-relational, and objective value. Non-instrumental value means that it has no value in terms of its use to humans. Non-relational value means valuing something due to its relation to others, for example an endangered animal or plant. The animal or plant needs to be validated in terms of its low population numbers in order to be valued (O'Neill, 1992). Extrinsic value means that the animal or environmental value is dependent on its usefulness to humans (Lynn, 1998). Determining sentient and intrinsic value is important as it impacts on one's perceptions of the environment and wildlife. Anthropocentrism is the main philosophical approach used in western civilisation (Weston, 1985). Anthropocentrism may be divided into two forms, namely strong and weak anthropocentrism. Strong anthropocentrism is based on values with no connection to any moral ideals. Weak anthropocentrism is based on values with a connection to one's moral ideals; however, it does not extend intrinsic value to non-humans. Harmony between development and conservation is valued, as harmony is valued without giving intrinsic value to wildlife. In both strong and weak anthropocentrism, sentient value is given only to humans (Norton, 1984).

The study also explored how one constructs one's perception of baboons entering tourist sites by making use of Kansky *et al.*'s (2016) categories for investigating human-baboon interaction. One's perception may be based on many factors including wildlife value orientation, anthropomorphism, taxonomic group, personal norms, empathy, and perceived behavioural control (Kansky *et al.*, 2016). Visitors socially construct baboons as being on the boundary between human-like intelligence and being wild animals. Hence, visitors in the study responded to baboons at the tourist

sites, either with conditional acceptance, or with complete intolerance. Wildlife officials, on the other hand encouraged others to have a more co-operative perception as the tourist sites are located in the animals' natural habitat. The study shows that the social construction and perception of baboons differed between the qualitative participants and visitors. Tourist sites are anthropocentric spaces, even if they are located in the wilderness. Anthropocentrism is one of the major factors that play into the perception and social construction people have of baboons (Demeritt, 2002). Other factors may also influence the perception of baboons at tourist sites, such as gender, education and personal experiences (Soulsbury & White, 2016). In an anthropocentric society, there is a strong separation between the things considered to be wild and civilised, as the two are considered to have different sentient value (Lynn, 1998). The social construction of place and baboons in an anthropocentric space would be more likely to have a negative perception and interaction. In some cases, visitors might tolerate baboons in the same geographical space, but not a direct human-baboon interaction. Baboons are also tolerated because the tourist sites are in baboons' natural habitat. Interaction between humans and baboons, however might not be tolerated as it could break the conditional acceptance that allows for tourists to tolerate baboons in the same space, in the first place. The social construction of tourist sites as being dominated by humans and not allowing wild animals into that space also has links to the role of domestication. In an anthropocentric-based society, domestication made it socially acceptable to bring wildlife into a human-dominated space. Domestication provides animals with sentient and intrinsic value, to be accepted in an anthropocentric space, thus would have a positive perception. Baboons are not domesticated animals, and would thus not be given sentient value to be in an anthropocentric space. Baboons are socially constructed as being intelligent but wild animals. They are tolerated for their intelligence but are not accepted into the space as sentient beings.

The lack of sentient value excludes baboons from tourist sites, unless through conditional acceptance, which also serves to further marginalise wildlife. This marginalisation of wildlife, based on conditional acceptance, has its roots in anthropocentric philosophy. The lack of sentient value means that baboons have no moral standing, and thus would be excluded from the space. The study found that even though a tourist space might be geographically located in the animals' natural habitat, socially the animal would be excluded from the space. The perception of an animal plays a role in the nature of an interaction. The impact of one's perception and how it influences other aspects of one's experience, links to Lynn's (1998) research.

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The results of the study indicated that the social construction of space, plays a big role. Visitors might hold different views of empathy, values and norms depending on the construction of space which impacts on their perceptions of baboons. A human-baboon interaction can take place in a human-dominated space such as a tourist site, however provoke negative values such as conditional acceptance or intolerance. For example, most visitors indicated in the study that they only tolerated the presence of baboons at tourist sites, provided that they did not disturb their activities.

One of the important elements raised by the wildlife researcher, was the importance of education in reducing negative human-baboon interaction. The majority of tourists had formal education with an undergraduate and postgraduate degree, indicating that education may play a role, to some degree. The tourists understood the role that baboons play in the environment, even though baboons do not have intrinsic value and moral standing for themselves. There is a positive correlation between education and the perception of baboons. The link between the two factors has limits, as baboons are given value in terms of them being part of the environment but not due to the intrinsic value of the animals themselves. The weak anthropocentric view of most visitors links to Norton's (1984) view that, one may understand the idea of creating harmony but one does not give intrinsic value to wildlife (Norton, 1984). Domesticated animals are still seen as the only appropriate non-humans in an anthropocentric space. Humans create associations in order to understand their and other beings' place in society. The construction of wildlife is still regarded as belonging in the wild, as opposed to domesticated animals in anthropocentric spaces (Anderson, 1997).

The participants in the study were knowledgeable about the genetic similarities between humans and baboons, in terms of the proximity in taxonomic groups. The similarities in terms of the genetic makeup of baboons means that people are better able to empathise with them. Baboon troops have a similar social structure as humans, which many participants acknowledged. The perceived similarities between humans and baboons do not translate to extending sentient value to baboons. Baboons are still only conditionally accepted into the tourist space, and are thus still valued through an anthropocentric lens of only having extrinsic value. Baboons' similarities to humans may be celebrated above other animals, however, they are not given sentient value. The tourist space is largely socially constructed as being anthropocentric in nature. The social construction of the space

and animals has a bigger role in formulating one's perception, which has an impact on the nature of an interaction. Đeri *et al.*'s (2017) research points to the role of education in terms of helping people understand the similarities between humans and baboons. It may also help people empathize better with wildlife and understand its importance in nature (Đeri *et al.*, 2017).

The study indicates that education does not take away the central philosophical basis of the space and as a result the anthropocentric-based perception of wildlife, including baboons. An individual's interaction with wildlife would still be largely based on the philosophical basis of the community, animal and space. Education may increase the level of tolerance and empathy as people understand the nature of baboons better. One's social construction would still determine one's perception and as a result the nature of an interaction. Weston (1985) points out that baboon troops have complex social systems akin to human social systems. The similarities between the two may be acknowledged due to education; however, baboons would not be accorded sentient value in the community. The lack of sentient value means that they have no moral standing and could be excluded from a space. The spaces they could get excluded from could be within the baboons' own habitat, if the space becomes socially constructed as a tourist site (Weston, 1985).

The study found that the genetic proximity between baboons and humans creates a unique relationship between the two. Baboons represent animals that lay on the boundary between having complex social structures similar to humans and being wild animals. The perceptions of baboons at tourist sites are complex as many participants also acknowledged the complex social structures of baboons. The philosophical basis of the community and space plays a role in the social construction of baboons. An anthropocentric philosophical base means that the social construction of baboons would be of extrinsic value. The perception of an animal will influence the nature of an interaction. Investigating the relationship between humans and animals is important as urbanisation increases towards the urban edges. According to Soulsbury and White (2016) wildlife that frequent anthropocentric-based areas may be categorised into one of three sections, namely exploiters, adapters, and avoiders (Soulsbury & White, 2016). The study found that baboons are unique as they may fall into more than one of these categories.

6.3 Baboon-visitor interaction

Baboon-visitor interaction is complex in nature as there are many factors that impact social construction and perception. The study confirmed that anthropocentrism is an important element. It agrees with Gamborg and Jensen's (2016) research regarding the influence of anthropocentrism and its impact on participants' wildlife value orientation at tourist sites (Gamborg & Jensen, 2016). The majority of the tourists in this study had a mixture of values and moral ideals concerning the place of wildlife. Tourists only tolerated baboons at tourists' sites under conditional acceptance, which links to Lynn's (1998) research in terms of the impact of anthropocentrism (Lynn, 1998). The intelligence of baboons makes them habituated to areas with a high amount of human activity, such as tourist sites (Fuentes & Hockings, 2010). The wildlife researcher indicated that baboons pass on negative behaviour to the next generation of baboons, thus changing the natural behaviour of the troop.

6.3.1 Value orientation

In this research, human-wildlife interaction was studied using the wildlife value orientation method, which was developed by Manfredo, Vaske and Decker in 1995 and updated in 1996 by Fulton *et al.* In the wildlife value orientation method, there are two main value orientations, namely domination and mutualism. Domination wildlife value orientation is based mainly on an anthropocentric philosophy. The majority of the visitors identified with a weak anthropocentric philosophical base; this is indicative of a domination, wildlife value orientation. There are elements in the tourist belief system, with more dominant mutualist type wildlife value orientations, via their weak anthropocentric base. The domination value orientation still constitutes the base of most of the individuals' beliefs, according to the model used by Manfredo *et al.* (2000).

The visitors in this study displayed a combination of the two systems of value orientations, although their values were still firmly rooted in domination values and anthropocentrism. Domination wildlife value orientation falls under the anthropocentric philosophical approach. Most western societies adhere to an anthropocentric philosophy, where any non-human has no sentient value. In the study, most visitors were formally educated and appeared to understand the situation of the baboons in the Cape Peninsula. However, that does not mean that the visitors fully accepted baboons in the tourist spaces. The genetic proximity of baboons to humans lead to interactions between the two delivering mixed results, as shown in the study. An additional

element to the environment, is the presence of the tourism industry. The study confirms that tourism facilitates increased human-wildlife interaction, as posited by Valentine and Birtles (2004), highlighting the effects of tourism on wildlife.

6.3.2 Conditional acceptance of baboons at tourist sites

In this study, most participants had mixed reactions to baboons at tourist sites. The interaction between baboons and tourists was perceived negatively, when the behaviour of the animals was deemed unacceptable. However, the visitors were willing to tolerate baboons at tourist sites as long as the baboons behaved in a socially acceptable manner. Conditional acceptance forms part of an anthropocentric philosophical approach (Ballard, 2002). Visitors viewing baboons in the wild at the tourist sites, enhances the feeling of being in the wilderness. Their tolerance of baboons at tourist sites is based on conditional acceptance, as baboons form part of the environment. Baboons are not tolerated for their sentient value, as complex creatures but rather as being valued as part of the environment. Tourist sites are pockets of human spaces within the natural environment, and thus conform to an anthropocentric culture. Interaction between tourists and baboons within the anthropocentric environment leads to a negative perception and interaction. Some tourists referred to baboons as having no respect, as the animals sat in the roads without moving, in order for cars to pass. They also suggested that baboons enter tourist sites without a sense of fear. The visitors who perceived baboons entering the tourist sites in a negative light, were examples of cases where the conditional acceptance that allows tourists to tolerate baboons in that space, had broken down. In an anthropocentric space, animals that are not domesticated, even if they are perceived as being charismatic animals, only have extrinsic value, as outlined by Lynn (1998).

An additional factor to viewing nature and human spaces as separate, was the industrial revolution. Human development was seen as more important than conservation, thus placing wildlife outside the moral community (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). In this study, the results found that wildlife representatives and tourists held different perceptions of baboons at tourist sites. Visitors perceptions and social construction ranged from tolerance to outright rejection, thus displaying a weak anthropocentric base. Wildlife researcher and tour guide have a more ecological approach to baboons at tourist sites, thus accepting that wildlife belongs in the space along with humans. There appeared to be ideological differences between tourists and wildlife representatives.

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The wildlife researcher reported being called in more often to remove 'problem' animals from certain areas. In extreme cases, a baboon may be euthanised. It does not, however, solve the problem in the long term, as the source of the baboons' altered behavioural changes, is the presence of humans. As indicated, visitors find their way into the animals' natural habitat, treating the space as a human area. As shown in this and other studies, this human intrusion has a big impact on the behaviour of baboons. The tourist sites are treated as pockets of human-dominated spaces within the natural environment, that are usually socially constructed as being part of the wilderness. In this study, the fundamental difference between the perceptions of tourists and wildlife representatives, was the difference in their philosophical ideology, which is likely to influence the management and conservation of baboons in the future, with wildlife representatives viewing the tourist sites as shared areas, and tourists viewing them as exclusive human areas.

6.3.3 Impact of the tourism industry on tourist-baboon interaction

The tourism industry increases the rate of human-wildlife interaction, which may be beneficial in terms of having a positive experience of the tourist destination (Valentine & Birtles, 2004). According to Fuentes and Hockings (2010) tourists generally understand the importance of conservation and sustainable development. However, may hold combination of domination and mutualist value orientations with a weak anthropocentric philosophical base. Thus, tourists could have unintended negative long-term effects on wildlife, where wildlife becomes habituated or attracted to areas with large numbers of people. Tourist sites provide an access point for baboons to search for food (Fuentes & Hockings, 2010). Visitors may take part in feeding wildlife, in order to reconnect to nature or to entice animals for them to take a photo. Wildlife exposure to high-risk areas such as roads may also present a danger to wildlife safety (Orams, 2002). In this study, some of the participants had seen baboons on the roads within and around tourist sites. Human-wildlife interaction at tourist sites has been shown to alter key behavioural traits in animals over time. The experiences of this study's participants corroborate the research findings of Valentine & Birtles (2004), in terms of the changing wildlife patterns near populated areas.

The qualitative interview participants in this study all agreed that human development, including tourism has impacted the behaviour of baboon troops. The baboons' intelligence and ability to learn, attract them to highly-populated areas. Tourist sites and homes on the urban edges tend to attract baboons, due to the easy access to food. The increase in human activity closer to the natural

habitat of baboons, thus changed the grazing behaviour of baboons. An additional negative effect, is the increase in aggressive behaviour of baboons, in their attempts to get access to food. The wildlife researcher in the study, also pointed out that the older baboons pass on the negative behaviour to the younger ones, creating a pattern of negative behaviour over time. The participants in the study who had negative baboon-tourist interactions, reported cases where baboons wanted food from tourists or baboons who sat in the road with no regard the motorists. Ballantyne *et al.* (2018) suggest that tourists who participate in nature-based tourism, are likely to exhibit environmentally-friendly behaviour. In their study, participants took part in water-saving activities during the 2018-2019 drought in South Africa.

Higham and Shelton (2011) point out that human-wildlife interaction may impact tourists' experience of a destination. Wildlife and the natural environment become associated with each other, as both have extrinsic value in an anthropocentric space. The human-wildlife experience may be positive or negative depending on the social construction of the animal/space (Demeritt, 2002). In this study, visitors only conditionally accepted wildlife into the space, which was perceived as a positive human-wildlife interaction at a tourist site. In cases where the conditions for acceptance are broken and the interaction becomes negative, it would impact negatively on the tourists' experience of the tourist destination. According to Fuentes (2012), visitor-baboon interaction at tourist sites are complex, as humans and baboons share the same taxonomic group. The participants in this study were complex in nature, as visitors acknowledged the role of baboons in the wilderness and the genetic proximity of baboons to humans. This does not translate to fully accepting baboons in a space that is not socially constructed as the wilderness, even if the tourist site is in baboons' natural habitat (Fuentes, 2012).

6.4 Social construction of baboons at tourist sites

The social construction of animals and nature may be influenced may many different factors. Anthropocentrism is one of the major philosophical theories that has impacted on the perception of civilisation and nature (Demeritt, 2002). It also impacts on the nature of the social construction and perception of baboons at tourist sites. This study confirms that there is a connection between a person's social construction and perceptions, and the nature of an interaction (Anderson, 1998; Demeritt, 2002, Ingold, 1993; Lynn, 1998,).

6.4.1 Weak anthropocentrism and social constructionism

In this study, the majority of visitors identified with a weak anthropocentric philosophy. The findings validate the work of Demeritt (2002) and Ingold (1993), that shows that anthropocentrism plays a major role in terms of impacting the social construction of wildlife. Ingold (1993) argues that anthropocentrism encourages separation between human and non-humans. It impacts one's mental labelling, social construction and as a result, one's perception. The weak anthropocentric philosophy of the majority of participants in this study, impacts on the mental labelling, social construction and perception of baboons in the tourist area.

Norton (1984) distinguishes between strong and weak anthropocentrism. There is a difference in the mental labelling and perception of baboons according to the subsection of anthropocentrism. Anthropocentrism is based on the extrinsic value of animals and nature, that are separated from humans (Norton, 1984). Strong anthropocentrism does not place any moral value on wildlife. The mental labelling of wildlife is thus negatively impacted and encourages the rejection of animals being in the same space as humans unless the animals have been domesticated (Norton, 1984; Ingold, 1993). Weak anthropocentrism does have some basis in terms of one's moral values; however, it does not extend sentient and intrinsic value to non-humans. Harmony with nature is valued, as it enhances human lives; however, it also does not extend sentient and intrinsic value to wildlife. In this study, weak anthropocentrism was the philosophical basis of the majority of participants, thus still negatively affecting the mental labelling of baboons at the tourist sites. Weak anthropocentrism allows for baboons to be tolerated at a tourist site, via conditional acceptance. Harmony between wildlife and tourists is valued without giving sentient value to wildlife. A weak anthropocentric philosophy impacts the social construction of baboons. It may construct them to be intelligent animals with a close genetic proximity to humans; however, they are still wild animals with only extrinsic value to most individuals.

6.4.2 Impact of social constructivism on tourist-baboon interaction

Human interaction with wildlife has its roots in the social construction of the animal and the environment. Visitors philosophical positions, which are mainly influenced by society, impact on their mental labelling. The mental labelling influences the social construction and perception of wildlife, which only has extrinsic value in an anthropocentric-based society, thus wildlife would be seen as "fugitives" in that space. The term "fugitives", when referring to wildlife, means that

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they don't belong in the space such as a tourist site because it is a human-dominated area. It also gives a sense of authority, as the term is generally used when referring to police when tracking criminals. It links the idea of wildlife and criminality with humans holding the authority (Hobson, 2007, page. 253). An interaction with wildlife at the study site was interpreted in a similar context as Hobson's (2007) research, as some participants with negative experiences saw baboons in the context of not belonging in the space. Peterson (1999) asserts that the social construction of an animal is based on what is perceived as appropriate for the space. It also validates Anand and Radhakrisha's (2017) argument that human-wildlife interaction are linked to many different socio-cultural factors, which impact one's perception and social construction. The perception and social construction of baboons play an important role in the nature of visitor-baboon interaction, thus validating Kansky and Knight's (2014) argument. The study showed that vistors base their perceptions of baboons on the social construction of the animals and the tourist space.

6.5 Summary

This study confirmed that there is a correlation between one's social construction and perceptions, and the nature of an interaction. This corresponds with studies from Lynn (1998), Demeritt (2002), Anderson (1998) and Ingold (1993). Anthropocentrism is one of the most important philosophical theories, in terms of understanding human-wildlife interaction. It becomes an important factor when studying human-wildlife interaction in urban areas and other highly-populated areas. Anthropocentrism regards only humans as sentient beings, thus excluding wildlife, which is seen as an object affecting the nature of human-baboon interaction (Proctor, 1998a). The study found that the social construction of a tourist site plays a role in terms of helping people to understand what is appropriate, or not, in that space. The baboon troop was seen as a marginalised group, as baboon sites are located in the natural/protected areas. Thus, the area is socially constructed for mainly human use. The study also showed that there are different forms of anthropocentrism, with the majority of visitors holding weak anthropocentric views. Human-wildlife interaction is complex as different factors impact on the nature of an interaction. Baboons' genetic proximity captures visitors' interest in the functions of the troop. However, it does not give intrinsic value to the animals. The conclusions of the study are discussed in detail in the final chapter. The chapter also summarises the main themes of the study's results, explores the challenges encountered during the study and makes recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

The main aim of this study was to analyse the perceptions and social construction of baboon-visitor interactions at tourist sites in the Cape Peninsula. The thesis began by exploring the perception of the impact of baboon-visitor interactions of organisations in the Cape Peninsula, after which the perceptions and social construction of baboon-visitor interactions are explored in detail. The key findings of the study include weak anthropocentrism, marginalisation, baboon-visitor interactions, conditional acceptance and social constructionism. This chapter presents the key findings, linking them to the research objectives, research questions, and finally presents the challenges and recommendations of the study.

7.2 Key findings

7.2.1 Weak anthropocentrism

Anthropocentrism had a major effect on the nature of baboon-visitor interactions and the social construction of baboons at the tourism sites. The tourism space has a direct impact on the nature of human-wildlife interaction, as the space was seen as being a human dominated space, despite being physically located in the baboons' natural environment. Anthropocentrism also forms the foundation of visitors' attitudes, values and ultimately the nature of an interaction (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004). The visitors answered questions about the place of baboon in relation to the tourist space and the visitors themselves in an anthropocentric manner. Questions about nature and baboons on its own without relating it back to the tourist space or visitors received a more ecocentric responses. The mixture of responses is interpreted as weak anthropocentrism, thus valuing harmony and conservation and not the baboons by itself. Weak anthropocentrism allows visitors to tolerate baboons in the tourist space; however, this is based on conditional acceptance and allows space for marginalisation (Norton, 1984).

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7.2.2 Marginalisation

In an anthropocentric space, animals that are not regarded as belonging in the same space, are marginalised. Baboons in an anthropocentric space are conditionally accepted, thus most visitors tolerate baboons at tourist sites. Once the conditions that aid visitors in tolerating wildlife in the space has been broken down, marginalisation becomes easier (Tovey, 2003). Weak anthropocentrism is conducive for marginalisation to occur, once the conditional acceptance is broken (Norton, 1984).

7.2.3 Baboon-visitor interaction

Baboon-visitor interactions are riddled with paradoxes, as people may admire the animals' intelligence, but not view them as sentient beings (Demeritt, 2002). The tourism industry plays a role in terms of increasing the possibility of baboon-visitor interactions (Green & Giese, 2004). Anthropocentrism is another important factor, as it has an impact on the nature of baboon-visitor interactions. It also influences the perception of the tourist space, as a human dominated area. Baboon-visitor interactions are heavily influenced by the perception of the space. In this study, any interaction that occurred at a tourist site was either tolerated or rejected, as the space was anthropocentric in nature, despite being in the baboons' natural territory. (Gamborg & Jensen, 2016, Mandfredo *et al.*, 2000).

7.2.4 Conditional acceptance

The concept of conditional acceptance is part of anthropocentric philosophy. In the study, visitors tolerated baboons at tourist sites, provided they acted in an acceptable manner (Ballard, 2002). In anthropocentrism, wildlife has only extrinsic value, with no moral standing. The exclusion from having moral standing also excludes them from the moral community and the physical space (Lynn, 1998). Interacting with baboons in a wilderness setting, aids tourists in experiencing the natural environment. In an anthropocentric environment, such as the tourist sites, baboons are either tolerated by conditional acceptance, or completely rejected when acting outside the conditional acceptance boundaries. Anthropocentrism may be broken into two different sub-categories, namely weak and strong anthropocentrism. Strong anthropocentric-based views reject the presence of wildlife in a tourist space. In a weak anthropocentric approach, wildlife is tolerated in the tourist spaces. In both strong and weak anthropocentrism, wildlife is seen as not having equal importance in an anthropocentric and tourist space (Norton, 1984).

7.2.5 Social constructivism

The social construction of baboons is influenced by many different factors. Anthropocentrism is one of the most important elements in terms of understanding the social construction of baboons. It also impacts on the nature of baboon-visitor interactions at tourist sites. Anthropocentrism influences one's mental labelling, thus impacting on the social construction and perception of baboons at the tourist sites (Demeritt, 2002).

7.3 Model of visitor's perceptions and social construction of baboon-visitor interactions

A model was constructed (Figure 18), which illustrates the process of visitor perceptions and social construction as it impacts the nature of baboon-visitor interactions. The process starts with the indicators in the wildlife tolerance model, then the construction of the tourist space, as majority of the visitors only tolerated baboons if the visitor's activities are not disputed. The tourism space is constructed as a human dominated space and baboons are conditionally accepted, thus lining with a weak anthropocentric philosophy. In a weak anthropocentric philosophy, perceptions of a baboon-visitor interaction can be positive when conditional acceptance is adhered. The perception of a baboon-visitor interactions can turn negative when the conditional acceptance is broken.
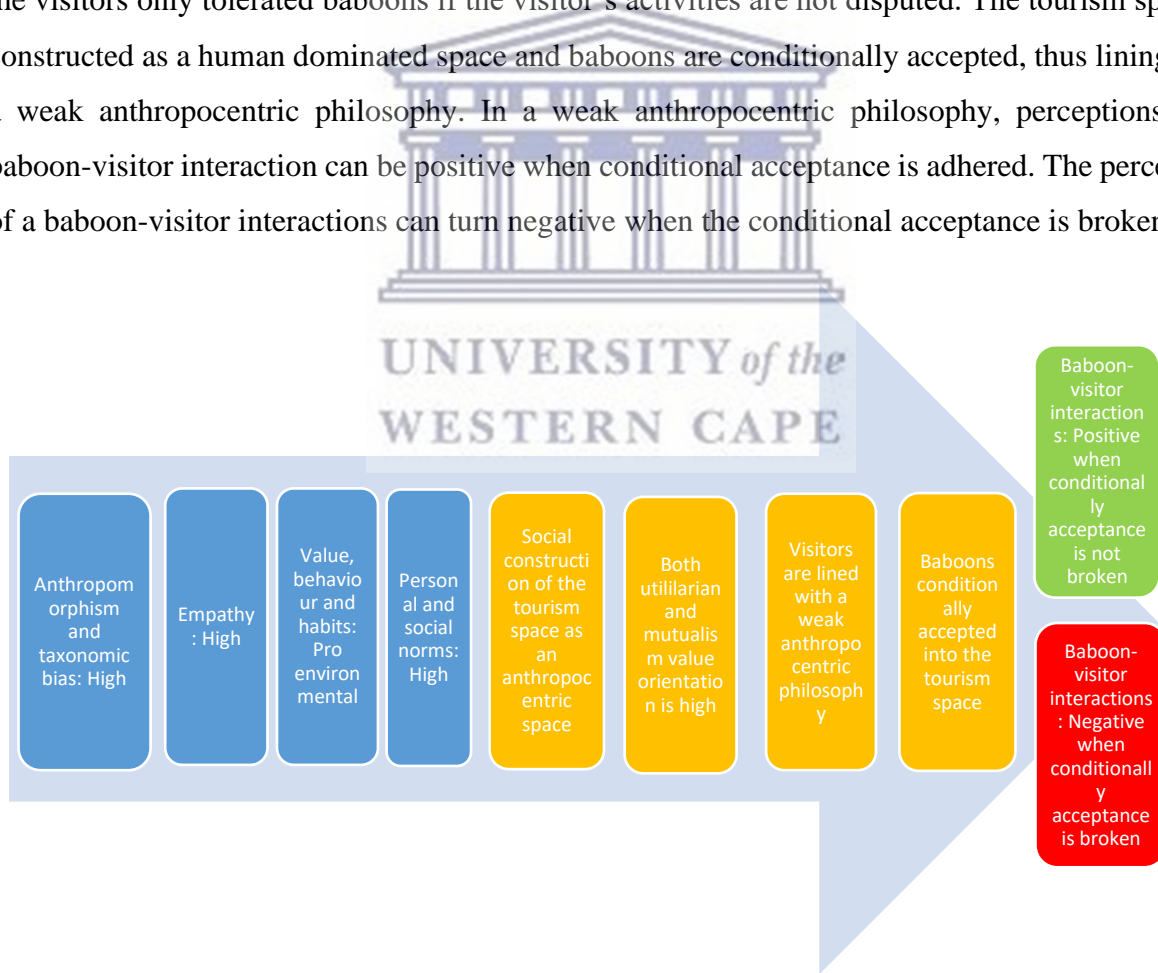
Figure 19: Model of visitor's perceptions and social construction of baboon-visitor interactions

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7.4 Link to objectives and research question

"Protected areas are increasingly becoming islands of habitats surrounded by seas of cultivation and development" (Madden, 2004, p. 249). This quote is an accurate description of the current situation facing the Cape Peninsula and many other cities around the world.

7.4.1 Research question

In the Cape Peninsula, conservation is done through an open plan concept, where there is no physical fence to divide humans and baboons. Baboons are free to roam anywhere including tourist sites. Studies by Kanky *et al.* (2016), Richardson (2017), and Hoffman and O'Riain (2012a and 2012b), have investigated human-baboon interaction in the Cape Peninsula. The majority of the interactions in the studies, have been with residents (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012a and 2012b; Kanky *et al.,* 2016). Tourism plays a major role, as it increases the rate of humans entering baboons' natural habitat and as a result increases the amount of interactions (Valentine & Birtles, 2004). Baboon troops are unique as they are extremely intelligent animals that may teach their offspring the same negative behaviour. The change in baboons' natural behaviour may affect the animals negatively in the long term. Visitors' perceptions of baboons and the nature of interactions may in turn affect conservation (Ormas, 2002; Valentine & Birtles, 2004).

In this study, the perception and nature of baboon-visitor interactions were shown to be impacted predominantly by a weak anthropocentric philosophy. Anthropocentrism has an impact on wildlife value orientation, which has further implications in terms of navigating baboon-visitor interactions at tourist sites (Gamborg & Jensen, 2016). Visitors only tolerated baboons at tourist sites, with conditional acceptance, showing that this is still based on anthropocentrism (Lynn, 1998). The high intelligence of baboons enables them to become habituated to human areas such as tourist sites (Fuentes & Hockings, 2010). In the Cape Peninsula, wildlife organisations have seen the effects of baboons becoming habituated to humans and human areas. The wildlife researcher, confirmed the view of Fuentes and Hockings (2010). The wildlife researcher also stated that baboons pass on negative behaviour to the younger generation, which is likely to affect the troop negatively over time. The increase in human-wildlife interaction may also be attributed to the tourism industry. The majority of visitors asserted that they were committed to conservation and the welfare of wildlife (Valentine & Birtles, 2004).

The study confirmed that the majority of visitors understood the importance of conservation. Most of the participants had a combination of utilitarian and mutualist value orientations. The participants were mainly aligned with a weak anthropocentric philosophical view. Visitors tended to have unintended negative effects on wildlife, as wildlife becomes habituated to visitors areas due to the presence of humans (Fuentes & Hockings, 2010). Visitors have witnessed baboons on the roads around tourist sites, thus validating the inputs of the wildlife organisations, as well as Fuentes and Hockings (2010), that baboons have become habituated to human areas.

Research by Valentine and Birtles (2004) indicate that baboon-visitor interactions at tourist sites have altered baboons' behaviour in the long term. The negative behaviour would negatively affect the baboon conservation over time, and also impact on people's perceptions of baboons. One's perception, social construction and interactions are interlinked (Demeritt, 2002), which was validated by this study. Participants in the study who experienced negative baboon-visitor interactions, are examples of where baboons violated the conditional acceptance that allowed them to be in the human-dominated space (Ballard, 2002; Demeritt, 2002).

7.4.2 Aims and objectives of the study

The main aim of the study was to analyse the perceptions of visitors to the Cape Peninsula with regards to human-wildlife interaction with Chacma baboons *(Papio ursinus)*.

First objective:

- To investigate the values and perceptions of baboon management and tourism stakeholders in the Cape Peninsula regarding baboons crossing the natural/ "human" space barrier at tourist sites.

The wildlife researcher, environmental manager at the City of Cape Town and the tour guide all encouraged visitors to have a more co-operative perception of baboons in the area. Co-operation is important as tourist sites tend to be located within the animals' natural habitat. The study found that there is a difference between the perceptions of the individuals that work in environmental organisations and visitors to tourist sites (Peterson, 1999). The individuals that worked in wildlife, environmental and tourism organisations viewed the tourist sites as shared spaces. Visitors viewed tourist sites as being anthropocentric spaces. The site may be physically located in the wilderness but be socially constructed as a human space (Demeritt, 2002). The wildlife researcher felt that

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education was one of the most important elements that could increase positive perceptions of baboon-visitor interactions. The study showed that the majority of visitors had an undergraduate or a postgraduate degree, however valued the roles of baboons in keeping harmony within the environment, not the intrinsic value of the animals (Norton, 1984). The visitors understood the genetic similarities between humans and baboons. Visitors also knew that baboon troops have a complex social structure, which is similar to humans. This does not mean that tourists would extend sentient and intrinsic value to baboons. Baboons are conditionally accepted, which is still anthropocentric in nature (Demeritt, 2002; Ballard, 2002).

The wildlife researcher and tour guide stated that baboons entering tourist sites may cause problems. They also acknowledged that baboon-visitor interactions at tourist sites impacts on the perception of baboon conservation. The western construction of space, places wildlife outside the human moral community and the physical space (Lynn, 1998). All three respondents agreed that the increase in human activity has an impact on the behaviour of the baboons, which confirms Green and Giese's (2004) argument. The baboons' bad behaviour negatively impacts on the public perception of the animals, validating Chauhan and Pirta's (2010) argument, that one's perception affects the management of the area.

Second objective:

- To analyse the perceptions of visitors to the Cape Peninsula regarding baboons that cross the natural/ "human" space barrier at tourist sites.

In the study, baboon-visitor interactions may be perceived as being either positive or negative in nature. The nature of the interaction may be dependent on the social construction of baboons and the tourist site space (Demeritt, 2002). Conditional acceptance played a major role in the study, as it allowed visitors to accept baboons in the same space. Baboon-visitor interactions was perceived positively, when it occurred within the conditional limits of the society and space. Once the parameters for conditional acceptance were broken, an interaction would become negative in nature. Baboon-visitor interactions are complex in nature, as humans and baboons share the same taxonomic group. Visitors may be educated regarding the role baboons play in the wilderness. The study indicated that one's perception and social construction of an animal may still be more powerful in determining one's interactions with wildlife (Fuentes, 2012).

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Anthropocentrism was one of the main philosophical views throughout the study. It has the capacity to influence one's values and perceptions regarding baboons crossing into human/tourist areas (Demeritt, 2002). Anthropocentrism views humans as the only sentient beings who have intrinsic value in society (Proctor, 1998a). Sentience is the ability to be self-aware and experience emotions. The difference in sentient value between visitors and baboons (wildlife) encourages society to divide the physical space. The study confirmed that visitors understand the complex nature of wildlife, especially baboons, due to their genetic proximity (Lynn, 1998). The complex relationship that humans have with baboons in terms of the genetic proximity does not translate visitors being able to share the tourist space. The majority of tourists had a weak anthropocentric philosophical view, thus valuing harmony without giving intrinsic value to wildlife. Tourists who identified with a weak anthropocentric approach only tolerated wildlife through conditional acceptance. Where the baboons remained within the realm of conditional acceptance, it was interpreted as a positive experience. Where tourists experienced negative interactions with baboons, it was due to the conditions for acceptance not being met (Norton, 1984). The study confirmed that tourists held a mental label, that the tourist space was anthropocentric in nature and that any wildlife would only be conditionally accepted (Anderson, 1997; Manfredo & Dayer, 2004).

Third objective:

- To investigate how different visitors construct and analyse human-baboon interaction and social constructions.

The tourist sites are generally located in natural areas, with predominantly human activities as part of the main function of these spaces. For example, lookout points are physically located in the natural environment, but are socially constructed as anthropocentric spaces. One of the main aims of the study was to analyse the perceptions of visitors in terms of their understanding of baboon-visitor interactions. The social construction of baboons at tourist sites aids in analysing and understanding one's perception of baboons (Ingold, 1993; Demeritt, 2002). The study found that organisations and tourists did not share the same perceptions of the tourist space. Visitors viewed the tourist sites as anthropocentric spaces, even though they were in a natural environment, thus perceiving wildlife through conditional acceptance (Ballard, 2002). Organisations held a different view, regarding a tourist space as a shared space, encouraging visitors to accept the role of wildlife.

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The majority of visitors also expressed strong conservation values in general; however, that did not mean that baboons would be welcomed into the tourist/anthropocentric space (Ingold, 1993; Demeritt, 2002).

7.5 Challenges

The researcher experienced a number of challenges in conducting this study. A crucial factor was the limited time frame for doing the fieldwork – SANParks only allowed the researcher to conduct fieldwork during the tourism off-peak season. This impacted on the study's results, as the number of international tourists were limited. Securing interviews with stakeholders was another major challenge. In terms of the quantitative section, the survey took a considerable period of time in order to reach the target of 201 completed questionnaires. The Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) at the University of the Western Cape, required the researcher to obtain a SANParks research permit, in order to complete the ethical clearance process. This process of obtaining a SANParks research permit took an extended amount of time; the researcher started the process on 16 October 2017, shortly after the research proposal was approved and eventually received the research permit on 6 March 2018, and the HSSREC ethical clearance on 23 April 2018. The researcher started conducting the semi-structured interviews and the survey between May-June 2018, until November 2018. The researcher realised that the survey did not have enough participants. The survey then continued until April 2019 in order to reach 201 completed questionnaires; time was thus a major constraint while doing mixed methodology research.

7.6 Recommendations for further research

More literature should be completed on the subject of human-wildlife interactions in different tourist sites, especially the non-consumptive activities, as research by Valentine & Birtles (2004) has shown that its impact on wildlife is significant. One could also conduct more studies on the impact of education and its influence on one's behaviour towards wildlife. The wildlife researcher in the study emphasised the importance of education on baboons and baboon-visitor interactions, which would also contribute to the conservation of baboons living on the urban edge. More studies should be focused on baboons' changing behavioural ecology, as many studies have been conducted around the word specifically on baboon aggression and increased tourism. These studies

include ones conducted in Bali (Wheatley & Harya Putra, 1994), China (McCarthy *et al.*, 2009), Singapore (Fuentes *et al.*, 2008; Sha *et al.*, 2009) and Tibet (Matheson *et al.*, 2006).

7.7 Concluding remarks

The main aim of the study was to analyse the perceptions of visitors in the Cape Peninsula regarding human-wildlife interaction, specifically between visitors and chacma baboons *(Papio ursinus)*. Visitors' perceptions and social construction of baboons was studied using the Wildlife Tolerance Model (Kansky *et al.*, 2016). The model used visitors' wildlife value orientations, anthropomorphism, interest in animals, taxonomic groups, personal norms, institutions, empathy, values, norms and perceived behavioural control to study baboon-visitors. Questions based on visitors' perceptions and social construction of baboon-visitor interactions indicated that visitors only conditionally accepted baboons in the tourist space. Conditional acceptance and weak anthropocentrism were two of the important trends that emerged from the research (Ballard, 2002; Norton, 1984).

The sections of the survey that were based on visitors' perceptions and social construction of baboons, without linking it to the place of visitors, were ecocentric in nature. An ecocentric philosophy accepts baboon-visitor interactions without conditional acceptance and perceptions remain positive despite baboons disturbing visitors' activities (Kansky *et al.*, 2016). A minority of visitors had this strong ecocentric perception, even when baboons entered the tourism site. The majority of visitors only conditionally accepted baboons in the same space. A weak anthropocentric philosophy values harmony and conservation for the benefits it provides to humans, not the intrinsic value of the animals itself (Norton, 1984). Visitors perceptions are mainly based on weak anthropocentrism, as the answers throughout the survey were not consistent, with visitors moving between ecocentric and anthropocentric based answers. The perception and social construction of the majority of visitors depended on whether or not conditional acceptance was broken. Visitors can have a positive baboon-visitor interaction when conditional acceptance is adhered to, and a negative perception of an interaction when conditional acceptance is broken.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questions for guiding the semi-structured interviews

1. Describe the nature of your involvement in baboon management at tourist sites.

2. Would you consider baboons entering tourist sites as a problem in the Cape Peninsula? What are the effects, of the baboon's activities at tourist sites?

3. Have the present baboon management techniques been effective and what improvements do you think should be made in the future?
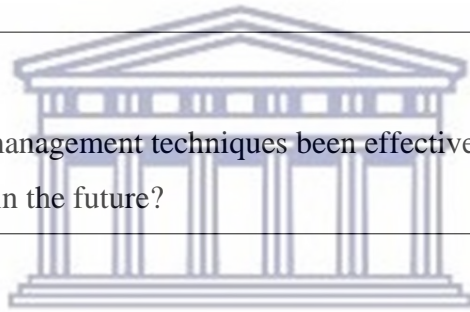
4. What is the role of visitors and tour operators in helping to reduce the negative interactions between humans and baboons?

Appendix 2: Consent Form A

Department of Geography, Environmental Studies and Tourism – Geography MA

I'm a student from the Department of Geography, Environmental studies and Tourism at the University of the Western Cape. I would like to conduct a survey on baboon-visitor interaction in the Cape Peninsula. It would be welcomed if you could contribute to the survey and answer the following questionnaire. The questionnaire will take about 10 minutes.

Please initial in boxes

1. I confirm that I have read and that I understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason or negative consequences for me. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.

3. I understand that the information given will be protected, e.g. by using pseudonyms for all the individuals interviewed and those mentioned in such interview.

4. I hereby give permission for an audio-recording of the interview.

5. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in this project and publications.

6. I agree to take part in the above research project.

I……………………………………………………… (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
(Or legal representative)		

Researcher	Date	Signature

(To be signed and dated in presence of the participants) *Copies: Each participant will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet. A copy of these forms will be filled and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.*

Appendix 3: Research Survey

1. Demographic Information

Please indicate where applicable

1.1.Gender:

Female ☐
Male ☐
Prefer not to say ☐
Other: ☐

☐

1.2 Age:

18 – 20 years old ☐
21 – 29 years old ☐
30 – 49 years old ☐
50 – 59 years old ☐

60 years old and over ☐

1.3 Education:

High School Matriculate ☐
Students ☐
Student and Graduate ☐
Undergraduate Degree ☐
Postgraduate Degree ☐
Other:

1.4 Where do you come from: Local Visitors?

Western Cape	
North West	
Northern Cape	
Mpumalanga	
Limpopo	
KwaZulu – Natal	
Gauteng	
Free State	
Eastern Cape	

1.4.1 Where do you come from: International Visitors?

Africa	
Europe	
Asia	
Australia	
North America	
South America	

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2. Perceptions of wildlife entering tourist sites

Please indicate where applicable

2.1 How do you perceive wildlife entering a tourist site?

Baboons do not belong in populated/tourist areas.	
Extremely uneasy/nuisance when Baboons are in populated tourist areas.	
Tolerate the presence of the Baboons provided that they do not disturb your holiday activities.	
Interested to learn something new about wildlife when Baboons enter a populated/tourist site.	
Enjoy when Baboons enter a populated/tourist site even if it disrupts your holiday activities.	
Other:	

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2.2 Please tick the appropriate box on a scale of 1 to 5 :

What are your basic attitudes and norms regarding wildlife issues?

Questions:	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neutral 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
2.2.1 Human development should take priority over conservation.					
2.2.2 Wildlife should be conserved for human use (i.e. education and entertainment)					
2.2.3 Humans should care for wildlife					
2.2.4 Wildlife should have equal importance/rights in society as human's					

2.3 Values: What are your **top 3** values and principles in relation to wildlife in society?

Please indicate where applicable

Care for the well-being of wildlife	
Protecting wildlife/nature from harm	
Learning about wildlife	
Living in harmony with wildlife and nature	
Taking part in anti-animal cruelty and environmentally friendly behavior	
Enjoy seeing and interacting with wildlife	
It should be part of humanities goal to protect wildlife/environment alongside development	
It's important to keep the tradition of visiting National Parks	
Experience something new	
Using wildlife as a resource for humans	
Other:	

2.4 What do you think are the perceived **similarities** between humans and baboons, in terms of the ability to feel happiness/pain?

2.5 When you see an animal (baboon) in distress/pain, do you feel any empathy towards the animal?

Please indicate where applicable

Yes		Other:
No		

2.6 When a baboon enters a tourist site, is it the government's responsibility to manage the baboons or is it the visitors responsibility to not attract baboons attention?(giving food, leaving car doors or windows open)

Please indicate where applicable

Visitor's responsibility	
Government/Organisation's responsibility	
Both, the visitor and government/organisation's responsibility	

2.7 Do you take part in any environmentally friendly behaviour?

Please indicate where applicable

Yes		Other:
No		

2.7.1 If Yes, What environmentally friendly behaviour do you engage in?

Please indicate where applicable

Recycling	
Use Canvas Bags Instead of Plastic	
Saving Water	
Using Energy Saving Light Bulbs	
Buying Organic Cleaning Products	
Buying Organic Food Products	
Other:	

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2.8 At which location (s) have you encountered baboons?

Please indicate where applicable

Bordjiesrif Picnic Site	
Buffels Bay viewpoint	
Cape of Good Hope/Cape Point	
Dias Beach	
Other:	

2.8.1 Optional: Could you please describe the nature of the encounter with the baboon(s)?

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Thank you for completing this survey

Appendix 4: Consent Form B

Please initial in boxes

Project: Biting the hand that feeds you: Visitor perceptions of visitor-baboon interaction in the Cape Peninsula
Researcher: Farren Lee Sefela
Supervisor: Dr Mark Boekstein

1. I confirm that I have read and that I understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason or negative consequences for me. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.

3. I understand that the information given will be protected, e.g. by using pseudonyms for all the individuals interviewed and those mentioned in such interview.

4. I hereby give permission for an audio-recording of the interview.

5. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in this project and publications.

6. I agree to take part in the above research project.

I……………………………………………………… (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature
(Or legal representative)

_____   _____   _____
Researcher   Date   Signature
(To be signed and dated in presence of the participants)
Copies: Each participant will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet. A copy of these forms will be filled and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

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Appendix 5: Information Sheet A

Dear Participant

My name is Farren Sefela. I am a Masters student in the Department of Geography, Environmental Studies and Tourism at the University of the Western Cape.

This purpose of this research is to evaluate the social perceptions of visitors to the Cape Peninsula of baboons. The study will investigate the visitors thoughts and opinions regarding wildlife (baboons) entering a human space such as a tourist site. Thus, I will be conducting a survey with visitors at tourist sites around the Cape Peninsula. Additionally, I will conduct semi-structured interviews with key informants in the community involved in environmental and community management and conduct an observation study I am hereby kindly requesting your participation in this research, by way of an interview. If you are willing and agree to voluntarily participate in this research, please be assured that your participation will be done with complete confidentiality and anonymity without any cause for harm or embarrassment. The information gathered through this research will only be used for its intended purpose.

Your assistance in this research project will be greatly appreciated. Should you have any questions, reservations or concerns regarding this study or your role and rights as a participant, please feel free to contact myself at 3223212@myuwc.ac.za or my supervisor, mboekstein@uwc.ac.za who is also based at the University of the Western Cape.

Thanking you in anticipation

Farren Sefela

Appendix 6: Information Sheet B

Dear Participant

My name is Farren Sefela. I am a Masters student in the Department of Geography, Environmental Studies and Tourism at the University of the Western Cape.

This purpose of this research is to evaluate the social perceptions of visitors to the Cape Peninsula of baboons. The study will investigate the visitors thoughts and opinions regarding wildlife (baboons) entering a human space such as a tourist site. Thus, I will be conducting a survey with visitors at tourist sites around the Cape Peninsula. Additionally, I will conduct semi-structured interviews with key informants in the community involved in environmental and community management and conduct an observation study I am hereby kindly requesting your participation in this research, by way of filling out a questionnaire. If you are willing and agree to voluntarily participate in this research, please be assured that your participation will be done with complete confidentiality and anonymity without any cause for harm or embarrassment. The information gathered through this research will only be used for its intended purpose.

Your assistance in this research project will be greatly appreciated. Should you have any questions, reservations or concerns regarding this study or your role and rights as a participant, please feel free to contact myself at 3223212@myuwc.ac.za or my supervisor, mboekstein@uwc.ac.za who is also based at the University of the Western Cape.

Thanking you in anticipation

Farren Sefela