

**Local people's engagement with the welfare of Balinese monkeys
in the context of wildlife tourism in Ubud, Indonesia**



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“Bali is an idyllic paradise, and its economy relies on the millions of tourists who travel there each year. Sadly, until Bali improves animal welfare at these dreadful venues, World Animal Protection is urging tourists to avoid them.”

(World Animal Protection, 2018)

Acknowledgements

For this thesis, I visited Bali for seven weeks which was my second stay on the island. The first time was for vacation when I got to enjoy the great atmosphere, the culture, and the people, but I also knew that Bali is dealing with many problems caused by tourism. I have read many articles about the impact of wildlife tourism on both animals and local communities, and I have a huge interest in animals. I also have family from Indonesia, which makes me extremely interested in the country. All this, combined with the knowledge I gained about tourism in my bachelor (Bachelor Science of Tourism) and the research methods I have gained during college, gave me a unique opportunity to go for the second time to Bali for my thesis.

I would like to take the opportunity to thank all the people who helped me writing this thesis. Firstly, I want to thank both my supervisors Arjaan Pellis and Robert Fletcher for their ideas, motivating words and critical feedback. They guided me through the moments I got stuck and helped me creating a piece of work that I am proud of. I would also like to thank all the people in Ubud who received me all so welcoming and helped me get to know more about the island and meet new people. Without their help and cordiality, my thesis would not have become what it is now. I experienced a fantastic and informative time. I was able to spend so much time with local residents who were so friendly and open to tell me so much about their culture. They all made me feel like home. I also want to thank all the welfare organisations who told me so much about the amazing work they do. All the people participating in my research were so cooperative and engaging which motivated me a lot during my research. Lastly, I want to thank my family and friends, who kept motivating and supporting me throughout this whole period.

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Summary

Recent studies have argued that the majority of wildlife tourism attractions have significant negative conservation and animal welfare impacts. Wildlife tourism has not only impacts on animals; it also has positive and negative impacts on local communities, which will influence local people's attitude towards it. This research aimed to explore local people's engagement with the welfare of Balinese monkeys in the context of wildlife tourism. It is essential to study this because human attitudes are known to be consistent with human behaviour (Burns, 2004). The focus of this research was on wildlife value orientations local people held towards Balinese monkeys. The broader purpose of this study was that the welfare needs of animals in the tourism industry are taken more seriously in order to raise the welfare of wild animals.

Qualitative data was collected with multiple methods, including semi-structured interviews, participant observations, informal conversations and field observations. Interviewing was the primary method, used to link with and elicit WVOs and to identify relations between local people and wildlife. Qualitative thematic analysis was used to analyse the collected data. The thematic analysis involves searching for and identifying common elements that extend across the interviews (Vaismoradi, 2013). The interview transcripts and the additional collected data were then coded with colours by using the predetermined WVOs as codes.

In the results, multiple relations and wildlife value orientations were identified. One relation between monkeys and local people exists through the Hindu religion that people practice in Bali. Within this relation, three wildlife value orientations were identified; mutualism, caring, and symbolism. All three value orientations lead to welfare-enhancing behaviour towards monkeys. Another relation exists between local residents and Balinese monkeys through the use of monkeys by people in the tourism industry. The monkeys generate a considerable income for local residents in Ubud. The value orientation 'materialism' is identified, and because of the economic value that the monkeys have, the local community wants to have the monkeys well-taken care for. Thirdly there is a relationship between local people and Balinese monkeys resulting from conflicts. This relationship can evoke the value orientation 'repulsion', leading to welfare-diminishing actions and attitudes. All the identified wildlife value orientations overlap, complement, or conflict with each other. Overall, local residents of Ubud say to have a positive attitude towards monkeys. The view of local people is in contrast with what expats and animal welfare organisations argue. They believe that the value orientations 'materialism' and 'repulsion' are prioritised over value orientations of 'mutualism' and 'caring'. The harmonious values are not seen back in the way local people treat monkeys.

One thing that stood out from the results is the temporarily shifting of wildlife value orientations depending on the place-specific situation and practices of the local residents. Interestingly enough, the apes do not behave differently, but the people do in different locations and associated functions of those places. A second result that stood out is the dominance of the materialistic wildlife value orientation through tourism and people's persistent self-interest. Further research should focus on attaining more information on how people think animals should be treated and why, which is useful for guiding the development and management of policies, and educational efforts directed towards the conservation of wildlife in the tourism industry.

Key words: *Animal welfare; Human-wildlife relations; Wildlife values orientations; Tourism; Monkeys*

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background Information

Human fascination with wildlife has been around as long as the two have co-existed on the earth. Relationships between humans and wildlife can take different forms. The relationships include; being a source of food or clothing; use for medical and scientific research; as entertainment or sport; as companionship; or as a connection with the natural world. It is important to understand these relations since it arguably shapes people's feelings and actions toward wildlife and this has a direct bearing on people's perspective on wildlife in and for tourism (Newsome et al., 2005). However, these relations can also help to explain how local people may perceive and act towards wildlife in ways that are similar/different then nonlocal people.

In this thesis, I aim to explore ways in which local people engage with the welfare of Balinese monkeys. To get a better understanding of the context of the case that I am after, Ubud is chosen as the research area. I will commence with a short discussion of wildlife tourism in Bali and the impacts of wildlife tourism. This is followed by the research aim and research questions.

1.1.1. Wildlife tourism in Bali

Indonesia's wildlife is extremely diverse; one can encounter tigers, lizards, elephants, monkeys, and many more animals. Every region of Indonesia encompasses different animals and habitats. Some popular islands for wildlife tourism include Sumatra, which has large mammals such as elephants, and Kalimantan, famous for its jungle river trips to experience wild animals like orangutans (Lonely planet, 2018). Also the famous island Bali has so much more to offer than just beautiful beaches and temples, exciting nightlife and beautiful nature; the island is rich in wild animals including lizards, porcupines, civet cats, pangolins, cockatoos, and pythons. Especially the Balinese Macaques are very popular among Balinese people and tourists (Copeland & Murni, 2010).

Human societies have elaborate cultural values, customs, and beliefs regarding wildlife (Sponsel et al., 2002), which is also the case in Indonesia. In Bali, especially monkeys have a special meaning. Two indigenous non-human primates live in Bali, namely ebony leaf monkeys and long-tailed macaques (Leca et al., 2013). Among Hindus in Balinese society, these monkeys have a sacred status and are therefore often tolerated and unharmed, and even treated with kindness (Riley, 2010). The best-known place to get up close with free-ranging Balinese monkey populations is in Ubud Monkey Forest. Unfortunately, tourism has several undesirable consequences in the form of disturbances to macaques, food provisioning, and the risk of disease transmission that can be detrimental to both macaques and humans. Giving macaques human foods can be unhealthy and has led to closer interactions between monkeys and humans (Radhakrishna et al., 2013). Many of these tourists show a degree of carelessness and the desire to interact with the macaques, unlike the Balinese people, who share their place and space with the macaques (Fuentes, 2010). This different behaviour towards macaque makes it interesting to research what local residents think of the interaction between tourists and monkeys.

There are more situations in which wild animals experience adverse impacts of wildlife tourism in Bali. In 2018, World Animal Protection (WPA), an international organisation that works for the welfare of animals, investigated 26 wildlife tourism venues in Bali, Lombok, and Gili Trawangan, that house 1,500 wild animals, including dolphins, elephants, and orangutans. In their report named 'Wildlife Abusement Parks', it is stated:

“The findings from this research paint a bleak picture of the lives of the captive wild animals used for entertainment within Bali, Lombok and Gili Trawangan islands. ... 96% of the venues assessed fell

into the lowest level of welfare condition scores, with severely inadequate conditions'' (World Animal Protection, 2018a, p.31).

The WPA argues that from elephant rides and orangutans being used for selfies, to tigers and dolphins being forced to carry out tricks for tourists, wild animals suffer at every stage of their lives in captivity (World Animal Protection, 2018a). Wild animals at tourist venues that are experiencing direct interaction with humans are routinely mistreated. Many tour operators and venues in Bali hence seem to cruelly exploit and harm wildlife to provide tourists with a holiday experience. Indonesia has regulations and laws that aim to prevent acts of animal cruelty, but these appear to be insufficient or are not appropriately enforced (World Animal Protection, 2018a).

1.1.2. Impacts of Wildlife Tourism

Bali is a trendy international tourist destination in Indonesia, with over five million tourists visiting the Indonesian island in 2017 (World Animal Protection, 2018b). Mass tourism in Bali creates adverse effects on social, economic, environmental, and cultural life (Khamdevi & Bott, 2018), including negative impacts of wildlife tourism. Wildlife tourism can be defined as “tourism based on encounters with non-domesticated (non-human) animals” (Higginbottom, 2004, p.2). Wildlife viewing tourism is a significant part of tourism and has grown fast in many countries in recent decades and has become an enormous industry. For many tourists is the presence of wildlife an important reason for visiting a region/country (Tisdell & Wilson, 2003). Wildlife tourism has positive and negative impacts for local communities, which will influence local people’s attitude towards it. Wildlife tourism can provide livelihood improvement and opportunities for local communities (Karanth et al., 2012) and can secure conservation for the long-term of wildlife and their habitats (Ballantyne et al., 2009; Ballantyne et al., 2011). Conservation can happen through efforts by operators and volunteers, the creation of socio-economic incentives for local communities to preserve wildlife and their habitats (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2009), and education of tourists, which may lead to having positive attitudes towards animal welfare and preservation of species (Moorhouse et al., 2015). There is increasing agreement among international tourism organisations, conservation organisations, and national governments, that wildlife tourism should contribute to the conservation of wildlife positively. The conservation of wild animals involves what humans do or do not do, directly or indirectly, to wildlife or their habitats that raises the chances of the persistence of animal populations on the long-term (Higginbottom & Tribe, 2004).

However, when wildlife tourism attractions (WTAs) are managed improperly, it can have a range of negative impacts on both the conservation and the welfare of the animals, whether in the wild or captivity (Reynolds & Braithwaite, 2001). Recent studies have argued that the majority of WTAs have significant negative conservation and animal welfare impacts (Moorhouse et al., 2017). Impacts include disease, death, injury, removal of animals from wild populations, short- and long-term changes in animal behavioural (Green & Giese, 2004), stress and aberrant physiological reactions, altered reproductive and feeding behaviour (Moorhouse et al., 2015), and habitat alteration or loss (Green & Giese, 2004). These negative impacts often occur when ethical outputs are not prioritised above financial profit (Moorhouse et al., 2017). (In)direct interactions between tourists and animals can have negative impacts on the animals. The responses of wildlife to disruption of people, e.g. approaches by tourists, are often first shown in the physiological state of animals. When a disturbed animal does not express any behavioural signs, does not flee, or have other behavioural responses to human presence, the animal may experience increased body temperature, heart rate, or other endocrine reactions to disturbance. An elevated heart rate is an indicator that animals perceive disturbance as a threat. Additionally, for some animal species, an elevated heart rate is synonymous with a stress response. Relationships have been identified between enduring stress responses and weight loss, increased vulnerability to diseases and reduced success in breeding (Green & Giese, 2004).

There are many studies on wildlife tourism, for example in relation to tourists' interests (e.g. Karanth et al., 2012; Ballantyne et al., 2009), tourists' values (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2009), and positive and negative effects (e.g. Higginbottom & Tribe, 2004; Green & Giese, 2004). However, despite being a fundamental part of any tourism system, the local community is often overlooked in wildlife tourism literature and practice (Burns, 2004). The question is raised if local residents approve the seemingly 'poor' treatment of wildlife in the tourism industry.

1.2. Research Aim and Research Questions

This research aims to explore how local people in Bali engage with the welfare of Balinese monkeys in the context of wildlife tourism. It is essential to study this because it is known that human attitudes are consistent with human behaviour (Burns, 2004). The value-attitude-behaviour framework from Homer and Kahle (1988) suggests that people's values influence their behaviour. Thus identification of local people's values held towards wildlife tourism helps to understand the behaviour of local residents in a wildlife tourism setting (Burns, 2004). The focus of this research is on local people's values on the welfare of Balinese monkeys. This is done by using the concept of Wildlife Value Orientations (WVOs)

WVOs have generally been measured by the use of quantitative surveys developed in the United States for research in predominately western societies (e.g.: Gamborg & Jensen, 2016; Vaske, et al., 2011; Teel and Manfredo 2009). However, non-western cultures may be less likely to participate in these standardised surveys, making them largely ineffective to use for diverse audiences (Bruyere, Teel, and Newman 2009). To overcome this, researchers (e.g.; Dayer, Stinchfield, and Manfredo (2007)) started to measure WVOs with semi-structured interviews including emotional prompts in order to elicit experiences the interviewee had, listened to, or desired (Chase et al., 2016).

Also studies on values in the tourism industry uses primarily quantitative methods (Watkins & Gnoth, 2011). However, multiple researchers in the tourism field called out for more qualitative research (McIntosh and Thyne 2005; Riley and Love 2000; Walle 1997), especially for "understanding the meanings that tourists or hosts associate with the purchasing, consuming, or experiencing of tourism products and services, and the personal values that underlie their behaviour" (McIntosh and Thyne 2005). This research measures WVOs by the use of qualitative methods, including semi-structured interviews, more about the methods is discussed in the methodology.

The broader purpose of this study is that the welfare needs of animals in the tourism industry are taken more seriously in order to raise the welfare of wild animals. Wildlife tourism accounts for a significant proportion of global tourism, which is predicted to grow only more in the coming decades. Consequently, there is a pressing need to look into negative, neutral or positive impacts of wildlife tourism on the welfare of animals involved, and how different stakeholders perceive these impacts (Moorhouse et al., 2015).

From a legal perspective, Indonesia is a country that cares for its wild animals. There is a variety of laws that regulate animal welfare and animal health in Indonesia. Public participation of the population of Indonesia is crucial because the current law enforcement regarding animal welfare in Indonesia is still feeble and has yet to achieve its goals (Isaw, 2013).

Nevertheless the regulations in Indonesia, the animal welfare conditions in the tourism industry in Bali seem to be very poor, and there is no research done on Balinese people's perspectives on this issue. This research explores local constructions of the concept of animal welfare, to understand to what extent the assumed mistreatment of animals, in the context of wildlife tourism, is supported or rejected by local people in Bali. To make this study more specific, this thesis concerns with how local people engage with the animal welfare of Balinese monkeys, this is important since, as previously mentioned,

monkeys have a sacred status in Bali and tourism has negative impacts on the lives of these monkeys. Both this sacredness of the monkey and these negative impacts make it interesting to study how this is linked to local people's engagement with animal welfare. I have selected the best-known place to get up close with free-ranging Balinese monkeys populations, namely in Ubud Monkey Forest.

Based on this research objective, one main research question is formulated:

How do local people engage with the welfare of Balinese monkeys in Ubud, Bali, in Indonesia?

Corresponding sub-research questions (SRQ) were helpful during the research process and to answer the main research question:

1. What are the wildlife value orientations of local people regarding Balinese monkeys?

SRQ1 identifies which wildlife value orientations local people in Ubud hold towards Balinese monkeys in different situations and if these wildlife value orientations complement or conflict with each other.

2. What types of relationships exist between local people and Balinese monkeys?

SRQ2 examines the relationships between local people in Ubud and Balinese monkeys in different contexts based on the concept of human-wildlife relations.

3. How do local people perceive animal welfare?

SRQ3 examines how local people in Ubud look at animal welfare and how they think monkeys should live and be treated.

4. How do local people behave based on their wildlife value orientations regarding animal welfare of the Balinese monkeys?

SRQ4 investigates how local people in Ubud behave towards monkeys based on the wildlife value orientations they hold and if these wildlife value orientations conflict with people's behaviour.

In this research, wildlife tourism is defined as: "Tourism undertaken to view and encounter wildlife. It can take place in a range of settings, from captive, semi-captive, to in the wild, and it encompasses a variety of interactions from passive observation to feeding or touching the species viewed" (Newsome et al., 2005, p. 18). The main research targets are local people in Ubud, Bali, who are referred to as people from and living in the district of Ubud. They can be directly or indirectly involved with wildlife tourism, or not involved at all. The research questions aim to fill the gap in the literature concerning local people's perspectives on animal welfare in the wildlife tourism industry. As already mentioned this thesis concerns with how local people engage with the animal welfare of Balinese monkeys.

1.3. Thesis Outline

This thesis is organised into five chapters. Chapter 2 describes the theoretical underpinning of this study, namely the concepts of animal welfare, human-wildlife relations, and wildlife value orientations. It explains how these concepts guided this study, and it gives a redefinition of the research question based on the literature. Chapter 3 describes the methodology of this research. It introduces the case study and study area, the data collections and analysis, and introduces issues of validity and ethics. Results are provided in Chapter 4. Lastly, Chapter 5 provides a discussion and conclusion of the results in the context of the conceptual framework.

2. Conceptual Framework

This conceptual framework includes the concepts of animal welfare, human-wildlife relations, and values orientations. First, the concept of animal welfare is discussed, including different perspectives on it. This concept is followed by a discussion on the concept of human-wildlife relations. To be able to understand how local people engage with animal welfare, it is necessary to explore how local people interact and engage with wildlife and why. Lastly, the concept of value orientations is discussed, which is used to understand the concepts of animal welfare and human-wildlife relations better.

2.1. Animal Welfare

As discussed before, this study aims to understand local people's views on animal welfare, a concept that does not have the same meaning for everyone. Animal welfare stands for a group of perspectives that deal with moral and scientific questions regarding the treatment of animals (Fennell, 2013). Hill and Broom (2009, p.532) define animal welfare as “the state of an animal as regards its attempts to cope with its environment”. This ‘state’ is usually measured on a scale of very poor to very good (Fennell, 2013). Animal welfare integrates the psychological and physical well-being of animals, as well as the ability to express their natural behaviours. Animal welfare is considered ‘good’ when an animal's psychological, health nutritional, environmental, and behavioural needs are all met (Mellor & Reid, 1994). Creating good animal welfare is a challenge when keeping livestock or pets, but is similarly facing challenges for wilder animals. Wild animals have generally adapted to the wild, natural environment, and have evolved to thrive and survive in their natural habitat. “In the case of most wild animals, it is impossible to meet all of their welfare needs in captivity” (World Animal Protection, 2018a, p.7). Unlike pets such as cats and dogs, wild animals have not changed genetically in either behaviour or appearance, which enables animals to adapt readily to domestic, captive conditions (World Animal Protection, 2018a).

Fraser (2008) discusses debates about animal welfare, in which different people emphasise different concerns. Typically, everybody except animals themselves determines animal welfare. In the social

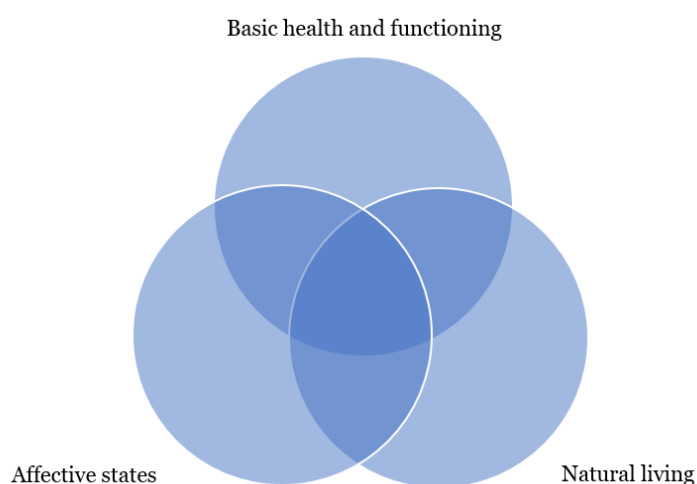


Figure 1.
The Conception of the Three Animal Welfare Views

debate about animal welfare, three different views can be identified on how people should treat animals and how people judge animal welfare. The first view emphasises that animals should be raised under conditions that promote good basic health and biological functioning, mostly regarding freedom from injury and disease (Fraser, 2008). The second view emphasises ‘affective states’ of animals. These are states like distress, pleasure, pain, and other emotions and feelings that are experienced as negative or positive. People should treat animals in ways that minimise

suffering and promote satisfaction (Fraser, 2008). The third view emphasises the ability of animals to

live acceptable natural lives by performing natural behaviour and having natural elements in their surroundings (Fraser, 2008). These concerns form different criteria that people use to assess the welfare of animals. These criteria are not mutually exclusive or separate; they often go hand in hand (Fraser, 2008).

Nonetheless, the different criteria are sufficiently independent that conception of the three animal welfare views meeting one of these criteria may result in poor welfare as assessed by the others. All these different criteria make it very complex. Therefore a conception of the three animal welfare views in figure 1 is shown.

“The different criteria reflect different sets of values that have been in conflict since the early debates about human welfare during the Industrial Revolution, with one side valuing a simple, natural life while the other values progress, productivity, and a life improved by science and technology” (Fraser, 2008, p.1).

These three divergent views of animal welfare constitute ‘value frameworks’ in the sense of a coherent group of values which may be closely linked to an individual’s beliefs and worldview. The first view, emphasising basic health and functioning, is often heard among people involved in animal production. The second view, emphasising affective states, is found to be shared among people concerned about animal welfare. The third view, emphasising natural living, is commonly heard among consumers of animal products (Fraser, 2003).

It would be encouraging to think that science could easily set things straight by using objective data about what is genuinely better for the animals, instead of the different, value-dependent views of animal welfare. However, scientists tend to use similar frameworks as these three value frameworks explained above, for the assessment of animal welfare (Fraser, 2008). These three views of animal welfare are, as already mentioned, not mutually exclusive; indeed, advocates of these views may assume that their view of animal welfare would encompass the other views. Nevertheless, the three views have three different emphases, which can result in different scientists selecting different criteria for assessing animal welfare reflecting the value-dependent views. Even when scientists ostensibly cover all three views, they may differ in what they treat as instrumentally valuable versus inherently valuable, and their choice of variables can also be influenced by the will to use measures that are respected in science and can be assessed objectively. Animal welfare is a concept that can be studied scientifically, but people’s understanding of animal welfare and the science that is done to evaluate and improve animal welfare are influenced by values about what is necessary or desirable for animal lives. For that reason, Fraser (2008) concludes that the concept ‘animal-welfare’ is both science-based and values-based.

All around the world, the diversity of cultures makes that there is a wide variety of attitudes to animals. Key drivers may include uses of animals, religion, and the economic situation, as determined by the historical and climatic situation of a place. Culture leads to empathy being given principally to those animals containing emotional or economic benefits for people. Despite culture leading to differences in attitudes towards animals, in the last decades, there is more concern for animal welfare and rights in the world. This growing concern may result from economic growth, the industrialisation of farming, and experimentation practices with animals, or increased relative importance of pets in comparison to farm animals (Philips et al., 2012).

There is a considerable volume of academic literature on the welfare of animals involved in the large animal sectors, but there is less work on animals in the entertainment and even less in the tourism industry (Fennell, 2013). This lack of work is shown in an examination of the reports of the World Organization for Animal Health’s first conference on animal welfare (OIE, 2004). In over 300 pages of

research on affairs about global animal welfare, tourism was not mentioned at all. Tourism was also not discussed at their second meeting in Cairo in 2008 (OIE, 2008). The relatively few tourism studies that focus on animal welfare use this concept often in a general manner (e.g. Burns 2004).

In sum, there is a debate on the meaning of the concept of animal welfare, in which different people emphasise different concerns, in which humans fully determine animal welfare and not by animals themselves. People's view on animal welfare and the science that is done on the concept is influenced by values about what is important or desirable for animals. In this research, the concept of animal welfare is seen as a values-based concept, because this study has not the aim to measure animal welfare, but to explore people's understanding of animal welfare; what they see as desirable or essential for animals to have a good life. The exploration of people's understanding of animal welfare is used to answer the sub-research question; *How do local people perceive animal welfare?*

2.2. Human-Wildlife Relations

As discussed in the previous section, groups and individuals hold different views on animal welfare related to their relationship with animals. Therefore, it is essential, when studying different understandings of animal welfare, to also explore human-wildlife relations.

2.2.1. Use of Wildlife

Human-wildlife relations are a response to universal human needs (e.g., protection, reproduction, and food), and across different cultures, both similarities and differences are existing in the extent these needs have been met (Manfredo et al., 2009). Humans have been accompanied by animals for thousands of years, demanding a strong interdependence between them (de Waal, 2009). "Animals are ubiquitous to human lives" (Amiot & Bastian, 2015, p. 1); humans currently eat an excessive number of animals, and use animals for clothes, for testing a variety of human products, and for gaining insights into human behaviour and biology (Amiot & Bastian, 2015). Wildlife can be a valuable resource for local people to be exploited either for commercial consumption or for self-consumption. Such practices are often in conflict with the use of the same animals for tourism purposes, e.g. conflict may exist between local people over wildlife resources and their utilisation for wildlife tourism attractions (Burns, 2004). A hostile relation may also exist between local people and wildlife when there is indifference by local people to wildlife around them (Burns, 2004). Moreover, humans have to defend themselves and their property from wild animals, that can cause serious problems when their activities clash with those of humans (Treves et al., 2006).

2.2.2. Conflicts

Human-wildlife conflict (HWC) is increasingly becoming a critical threat for many globally endangered species, especially for large and rare mammals like the Asian lion and the Sumatran tiger (Distefano, 2005). There is a variety of global trends that are contributing to the escalation of these conflicts worldwide. These trends can be grouped into nine categories; human population growth, fragmentation and degradation, land use transformation, growing livestock populations and competitive exclusion of wild herbivores, abundance and distribution of wild prey, species habitat loss, increasing wildlife population as effect of conservation programmes, climatic factors and stochastic events, increasing interest in ecotourism and growing access to nature reserves (Distefano, 2005), including wildlife tourism.

Moreover, HWCs are often manifestations of underlying conflicts between humans, such as between local people and authorities, or between people from different cultures (Dickman, 2010). Such

conflicts are often performed by human-human conflict processes, or social conflicts over wildlife, in which the adverse effects of animal presence are the object of debate. Conflicts often occur among people deciding on what the best way is to address potential wildlife threats to human safety, health, property, or development objectives. The driving factors of these conflicts pertain to the human side of the equation, e.g. social institutions pressure people to distribute, store, and produce food to wildlife populations (Peterson et al., 2010).

2.2.3. Culture and Religion

Cultures have much influence on how human-animal relations are shaped. “Animals can act as markers of specific ethnic and cultural identities and serve as a link to one’s original culture, thereby contributing to the transmission and continuity of some cultural elements over time and across contexts” (Amiot & Bastian, 2015, p.19). Local communities can also have relations with wildlife in which particular animals are perceived as essential to their cultural, psychological, and social well-being and play an important symbolic or ceremonial role (Burns, 2004). They are exposed to a range of social contexts, including culture and religion, and these can form how humans treat and understand animals (Amiot & Bastian, 2015). There are, for example, cultural differences about which types of animals are desirable to have as pets (Amiot & Bastian, 2015). Animals, both as a group and specifically, carry symbolic and cultural baggage, that extremely influence how people treat and regard them. These cultural elements can be divided into four overlapping categories: cultural/religious beliefs and values, culturally defining practices, history, and cultural representations (Serpell, 2004).

Cultural and religious values and beliefs may influence particular attitudes towards animals, both specifically and generally, for reasons that are often obscured over time (Serpell, 2004). An example of religious influence on affective responses to animals is the status of pigs as a dirty taboo among Judaic and Islamic cultures. Animals also have particular meaning because of their association with culturally defining rituals and practices. In Spain, for example, bulls have an uncommon positive status, derived from their central role in Spanish bullfights, and all of the various cultural and social meanings associated with this highly ritualised activity (Marvin, 1988). Religions have different views on wildlife and the environment. The meaning of wild animals in religions has varied much across different phases of cultural development. For instance, among past civilisations, wild animals were ‘fused’ with religion and culture. They were essential symbols of religious gods and references for determining lineage and social identity. These religious roles of animal are in stark contrast to the roles of wildlife in post-industrialised societies, yet, even there, perspectives on wildlife are different across religious traditions. Judeo-Christian religion is argued to have created the separation between human and nature and advanced the prominent worldview that Western people have of the domination of humans over nature (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004).

In contrast, Hinduism considers humans as part of nature. Hindu religion regards God having dominion over all living creations, and that human beings have no control over their own lives or other creatures’ life. Buddhist and Hindu religions believe various animals species are reincarnations of gods. The Buddhist code of ethics involves kindness and avoiding injury to all creatures; the notions of rebirth and karma further encourages sympathetic and positive attitudes towards animals. Muslims consider all living creatures worthy of humane treatment and protection. Cultural views would vary in perspectives on animals significantly based on whether rational/scientific explanations dominate traditional (such as religious) explanations of wildlife (Manfredo & Dayer, 2004).

Furthermore, the various ways in which animals are represented or misrepresented in language, art, the media, science, literature etcetera, are, to some extent, culturally constructed (Baker, 1993). The metaphorical and symbolic influence of animals as exemplars of human behaviour and attributes are already for a long time recognised by social scientists, and there is little doubt that they maintain their

strong influence on how people think about animals (Amiot & Bastian, 2015). Animals are represented in all kinds of art and are part of the collective histories and legends of humans (Amiot & Bastian, 2015). Moreover, animals are used as symbols and emblems of human attributes (e.g., Herzog & Galvin, 1992), and they are taking part in the entertainment and socialisation of people (Amiot & Bastian, 2015). Even the language used to describe animals tends to reinforce culturally constructed roles. For instance, classifying poultry, pigs, and cows, as ‘food’ animals, inevitably makes people think about these animals from an instrumental perspective (Serpell, 2004). Animals do not participate in their social construction through language. They are excluded from debates on language (Stibbe, 2001). Dunayer (1997) argues that the ‘speciesist’ use of language is a means of self-justification of the way people mistreat their fellow animals. He also discusses false categories that are set up to divide animals from human, them and us, e.g. speaking about humans and animals as if humans are no animals.

Relations between humans and animals have implications for both of them; these relations can impact on human well-being and health, potentially shape relations between humans, and have direct implications for a large number of animal lives. One of the reasons that it is essential to pay attention to human-animal relations is that it may give great insights into the behaviour of humans more generally (Amiot & Bastian, 2015). “By “thinking with” animals and investigating how we think about and act towards other species, we can learn about human nature and understand human societies in new ways” (Amiot & Bastian, 2015, p. 30). It has also been argued that the way a society treats animals is an indication of how this society treats its humans (Amiot & Bastian, 2015).

In sum, human-wildlife relations are a response to universal human needs, animals are ubiquitous to human lives, and wildlife can be a valuable resource for local people to be exploited either for commercial consumption or for self-consumption. Human-wildlife conflicts are increasingly becoming a critical threat to many species. There is a variety of global trends that are contributing to the escalation of these conflicts worldwide, including tourism. Again, these conflicts are often manifestations of underlying conflicts between humans. People are exposed to a range of social contexts, including culture and religion, and these can inform how humans engage with animals in their environment. Therefore, culture and religion have a significant influence on how human-animal relations are shaped.

This research explores human-wildlife relations, and this includes exploring the use of wildlife by humans, conflicts between humans and wildlife and also between humans about wildlife, and different cultural or religious meanings given to wildlife. Researching human-wildlife relations is used to answer the sub-research question; *What types of relationships exist between local people and Balinese monkeys?*

2.3. Values Orientations

2.3.1. Values

To understand local people’s relations with animals and their engagement with animal welfare, the concept of wildlife value orientations is used in this study. This concept may show that animal welfare can have different meanings for people as different individuals assign different values to animal lives.

Values have been central to the study of human dimensions in the management of wildlife since its early development. The broad-based utility of the concept of values can be seen in the variety of applications within the literature of human dimensions. For example, values are a basis; for explaining and understanding the significant differences in people's attitudes towards wildlife issues (Purdy & Decker, 1989); allocating between competing forms of wildlife usage; identifying all the different actors participating in wildlife-related recreation (Bryan, 1980); and assessing contributions of wildlife to people's quality of life (Manfredo et al., 2009b). Values are criteria and standards for the selection or evaluation of people and actions as well as practices and policies (Schwartz, 2006). From this perspective, knowledge about values concerning wildlife can help clarify human-wildlife relations. However, finding an adequate approach to measure such values is still very difficult for researchers (Gamborg & Jensen, 2016). Fulton et al. (1996) introduced one of the more enduring approaches to classify such values, which is based on the concept of wildlife value orientations (WVOs).

The wildlife value orientation concept has been developed within the model of cognition, which is a model often used to understand and distinguish different types of cognition that are the basis for human behaviour (Manfredo et al., 2009). In figure 2, the value-attitude-behaviour framework from Homer and Kahle (1988) is shown. The framework suggests that an individual's values influence individual behaviour. The framework indicates a hierarchy of cognitions in which influence flows from abstract cognitions, such as values, to mid-range cognitions, like attitudes, to specific behaviours (Milfront et al., 2010). Within cultures, values tend to be shared and therefore, they cannot explain individual variation in attitudes and behaviours towards wildlife (Bright, Manfredo, & Fulton, 2000). The WVO concept addresses this limitation. Value orientations can be defined "networks of basic beliefs that organise values and provide contextual meaning to those values concerning a particular domain such as wildlife, and they reflect the influence of ideology in the cognitive hierarchy" (Manfredo et al., 2009). To better understand the wildlife value orientation concept, individual values are discussed first, which form the basis for WVOs.

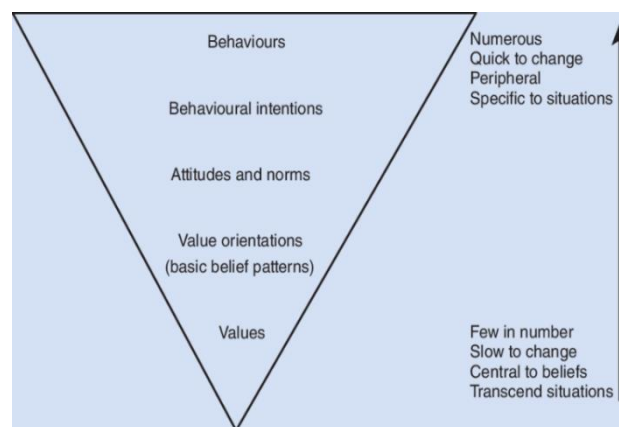


Figure 2.
Value-Attitude-Behaviour Framework

Values can be defined as "fundamental, enduring beliefs or mental constructs that are used to evaluate the desirability of specific modes of conduct or the ends achieved through such conduct" (Fulton et al., 1996, p.25). They serve as a basis for beliefs and attitudes. It is important to understand values because "values are the most fundamental concept within the hierarchy of factors that directs much of our volitional behaviour" (Fulton et al., 1996, p.25). Other characteristics of values are the following; they are shaped slowly over many experiences, through learning during one's youth and these values change very little throughout adult life; values are guidelines for human behaviour through their influence on norms and attitudes, and they provide consistency to thoughts and actions across situations and time. Furthermore, values are crucial elements in the transmission of culture between different generations; and values are culturally guided ways of meeting individuals' existence needs and society's cohesion needs (Manfredo et al., 2009). There is much literature on the concept of values and different value models. A few of them are relevant for this thesis, like Rokeach (1973) model of human values, Schwartz' (2012) individual-level values theory and Hansjürgens et al. (2017) economic valuation perspective to wildlife valuation.

Rokeach's (1973) model of human values is widely used in the current literature. Rokeach (1973, p. 5) defines values as "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence". He has an instrumental and terminal model of values, which includes a list of two sets of values. Firstly, there are terminal values (referring to desirable and end-state of living); examples of such values are a world at peace, freedom, and pleasure. Secondly, there are instrumental values (referring to preferred behaviour). Examples of such values are broad-minded, polite, and courageous.

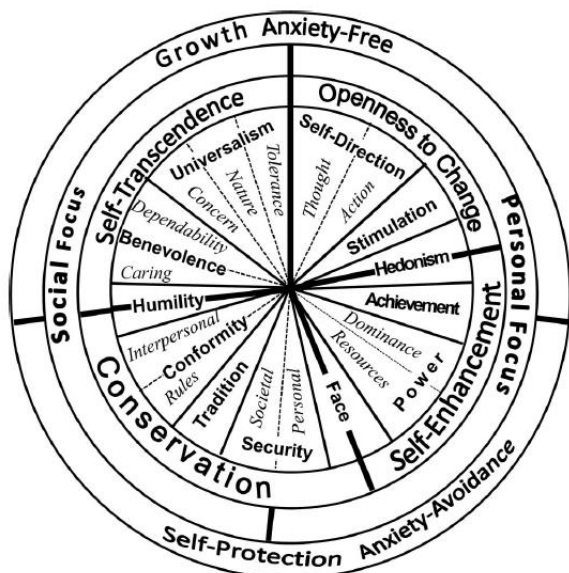


Figure 3.
Schwartz' Circular Motivational Continuum

Schwartz' (2012) theory of values, an individual-level values theory, is currently one of the most used theories in the social sciences because it has integrational potential and the theory has gained broad empirical support. This value theory (Schwartz, 2012) adopts a conception of values that specifies five main features. These five features are the following: Values (1) are beliefs or concepts, (2) pertain to desirable goals or behaviours, (3) exceed specific situations, (4) direct the selection or evaluation of actions and events and (5) are arranged by relative importance. These are features of all values. What distinguishes one value from another is the type of motivation or goal it expresses. Schwartz' values theory defines 19 values according to the broad goal that underlies each of them. Figure 3 generates the order of these distinct values. The three outer circles determine principles that account for the order of the values in the centre. Values may express conflicting or compatible motivations. The closer two values are

located in the circle, the more compatible their motivations (e.g., conformity and tradition); the more distant the values, the more their motivations conflict (e.g., hedonism and tradition). Even though this research focusses on wildlife value orientations, both models by Rokeach and Schwartz are essential to understand how individual values may form the basis of value orientations.

Where Rokeach and Schwartz discuss values from a social perspective, Hansjürgens et al. (2017) take an economic perspective to address and characterise social values, in the context of ecosystems. Economic valuation relies on the assumption that only human beings can enounce values and thus, all values of ecosystem goods or services derive from people's preferences. People have these preferences for ecosystem goods and services because they are resources to satisfy needs. People's preferences may be 'converted' into economic value if the good or service in question is rare. Therefore, economists attempt to measure values in terms of what people are willing to give up in order to receive that good or service. This way of measuring explains that the economic values of ecosystem goods or services are a context-dependent ascription of worth by an individual (Hansjürgens et al., 2017). It is interesting to figure out whether people indeed value wildlife from such an economic perspective point of departure.

2.3.2 Value Orientations

As discussed above, values can be defined as guiding principles essential in people's lives. From this perspective, knowledge about values concerning wildlife can help clarify people's relation to wildlife. As already mentioned, an adequate approach of measuring and classifying individual values, as discussed by Rokeach (1973) and Schwartz (2012) is based on the concept of wildlife value orientations (WVOs). Wildlife value orientations have been defined as "networks of basic beliefs that organise

around values and provide contextual meaning to those values concerning a particular domain such as wildlife” (Teel & Manfredro, 2010, p. 129). WVOs reflect broad cultural ideologies that play an essential role in shaping individuals’ attitudes and behaviours relating to wildlife, in particular about issues dealing with the treatment of wildlife (Manfredro et al., 2009a). The concept of WVO is beneficial to study human-wildlife relations and animal welfare as it can explain and predict how people react to wildlife damage; wildlife attacks on humans; disease transmission to humans and domestic animals; the acceptability of actions in wildlife management, and participation in recreation related to wildlife (Zinn & Shen, 2007).

A person holds a variety of different values (Schwartz, 20012), and one’s thought or behaviour is rarely led by just one value (Rockeach, 1973). For example, an individual might value respect for life and safety. These values may collide in specific situations and cause internal conflict in a human. Example given, weighing the safety of a child in a dangerous situation with a lion vs the respect for the life of the lion. The strength of such a conflict indicates the strength of the collision between values. In situations where values collide, some values get prioritised over other values (Rockeach, 1973; Schwartz, 2012). Wildlife value orientations mean that certain values get prioritised over other values in the context of wildlife. Through the prioritisation of values, wildlife value orientations can direct the evaluation of an individual. Thus, wildlife value orientations can resolve in advance potential internal conflicts about wildlife issues, by prioritising values. Wildlife value orientations should predict the acceptability in situations better that involve strong value conflicts than in situations that involve weaker or no value collisions (Jacobs et al., 2014).

Previous research conducted in 19 western states has disclosed two primary WVOs, mutualism and domination, which have shown to be useful in predicting attitudes and behaviours in multiple wildlife-related issues (Manfredro et al., 2009). Furthermore, findings from this research showed evidence of a societal shift from domination towards a mutualism view of wildlife that is partly occurring as an outcome of modernisation (Manfredro et al., 2009). People with a domination value orientation believe that wildlife should only be used and managed for the benefit of humans. A person with this orientation is more likely to prioritise human welfare over the welfare of wildlife in their attitudes and behaviour, to justify their treatment of wildlife from utilitarian arguments, and see actions that result in harm or death to wildlife (e.g., lethal control, hunting) as more acceptable. People with a mutualism value orientation view the coexistence of humans and wildlife to be fundamental in a community, in which the animals have ascribed rights (e.g. the right to live) and deserve care. A person with this orientation is less likely to support actions that result in the injury or death of wildlife and will be more inclined to engage in a “welfare-seeking” behaviour (e.g. feeding) (McCoy et al., 2016).

This prior research has resulted in four categories used for classifying people based on how much they emphasise a mutualism or domination WVO. The four ‘types’ include mutualist, pluralist, traditionalists, and distanced people (Teel & Manfredro, 2009). Mutualists score high on the mutualism WVO scale and are therefore defined by their they have a great sense of care and desire for companionship towards wildlife. Pluralists score high on both WVO scales; they have attitudes about wildlife from both traditionalists and mutualists perspectives and may have conflicting values regarding specific issues. Which side a pluralist leans towards is depending on the situation. Traditionalists score high on the domination WVO scale, meaning that they believe wildlife should only be managed for human benefit. Distanced individuals score low on both WVO scales. These individuals are less interested in wildlife and related topics, and they exhibit neither distinct mutualist nor utilitarian orientations. These people are also more likely to express concern or fear for safety concerning interactions with wildlife (McCoy et al., 2016).

In the research of Tanakanjana & Saranet (2007), semi-structured interviews were conducted, and expanded the four already existing WVOs of Manfredo et al., (2009) In this research eight wildlife value orientations were derived, including materialism, mutualism, symbolism, caring, attraction, repulsion, human safety, and environmentalism. These WVOs with their description are provided in table 1.

Wildlife Value Orientation	Description
Materialism	This orientation believes that wild animals exist to fulfil human needs, for economic well-being, subsistence, and for higher-order needs, e.g. recreation needs and humans natural dominance over wildlife.
Mutualism	According to this orientation, humans and wild animals should be able to coexist in peace and that both are integrated with nature. Wild animals have rights just as humans do and nature should be treated with the same respect as humans.
Symbolism	This orientation accounts for the way wildlife reveals, contributes to, signifies, and reveals important aspects of cultural institutions. Wildlife can also have a spiritual element and become part of religion and rituals.
Caring	This orientation involves empathy and compassion toward wildlife. Wildlife makes people feel good and makes people want to protect them from harm.
Attraction	This orientation reflects general interest or likes in wildlife. Some people feel attraction to all wildlife in general, while others may only be interested in specific species.
Repulsion	This orientation accounts for general dislikes of wildlife. Some people have repulsion towards all wildlife while others may fear or dislike only some species.
Human Safety	This orientation reflects concern for threats wildlife may pose for human security and safety.
Environmentalism	This orientation reflects general concern for the protection of wildlife as part of the natural environment and the feeling that actions of humans harm the environment.

Table 1.

Wildlife Value Orientations from Tanakanjana & Saranet (2007)

This framework consists of many WVOs, which makes them more specific. These specific WVOs are useful for this research to understand local people's relations with wildlife and how they view animal welfare.

Although wildlife value orientations are extremely difficult to change, value orientations should not be understood as never changing. Values are shaped during socialisation and are enduring in nature. Therefore any changes in value orientations within the general public will occur gradually (Fulton et al., 1996). They do change over time. As Inglehart discussed (1990, p.19), changes in values will most likely take place "through intergenerational population replacement than by the conversion of already-socialised adults....."

Various sources argue that values towards wild animals are changing in North America. American people's views of the environment appear to be changing. Specifically, research, showing constant growth of environmental attitudes over the years, indicates that people have overall more concern for the environment. In the United States research was done that suggests that these changes over time are part of global shifts in values (Manfredo, Teel, & Bright, 2003; Manfredo, Teel, & Henry,

2007). Inglehart (1990, 1997; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005) described this change as a shift from materialist to post-materialist values that takes place as societies move from industrial to post-industrial phases. Inglehart argues that within societies, the composition and prioritisation of values have changed through economic development as an outcome from this process, moving people away from focussing on basic concerns of material well-being. According to his theory, materialist values focus on economic stability, security, and safety, whereas postmaterialist values focus on self-actualisation, belongingness, and quality of life. This change extends to many elements of people's lives, including their perspective of the environment (Teel et al., 2007). This study took place in the United States, a developed country.

It may be conceivable that values toward wildlife change on a global change in line with this broader shift in values, however, current knowledge on the cognitive basis for human-wildlife relationships is limited to certain parts of the world, precluding the ability to explore any change in values (Teel et al., 2007). Since the tourism industry in Bali is continuously increasing the last decades, it is interesting to research which value orientations are now dominant now and if they are in line with the shift in values found in the research of Inglehart (1990).

This research takes places in a developing island, which has a totally different economic and cultural context than the developed countries already researched, and therefore there are in all probability different human-wildlife relations in which people hold expectedly different WVOs. Wildlife value orientations, as described in this conceptual framework, are static and universal. They seem more psychological and theoretical, and when WVOs are tested in practice I expected that WVOs are contextual. Meaning that the wildlife value orientations held by people (and the reason that people held these WVOs) is depending on the context, for instance someone's culture. Therefore in this research, WVOs are considered as a dynamic concept and not static. A social constructivist approach is chosen to research wildlife value orientations as a contextual concept. It is an approach in which human agents do not live independently from their culture and social environment. With qualitative methods data is collected about the WVOs people hold and the context, this by primarily using semi-structured interviews. A few key questions were developed, but it still allowed to expand on these questions through culturally relevant probing. More on the methodology, including using a social constructivist approach, is discussed Chapter 3.

In sum, values serve as a basis for beliefs and attitudes, and there is a variety of value models and theories in the literature, including social and economic perspectives on social values. Values are criteria and standards for the selection or evaluation of people and actions as well as practices and policies. An approach to measuring these values is based on the concept of wildlife value orientations. Wildlife value orientations play a crucial role in shaping attitudes and behaviours concerning wildlife.

This study uses the concept of wildlife value orientations. By using WVOs, people's values can be organised, and they can provide contextual meaning to people's values about wildlife, and therefore also how they engage with animal welfare. As discussed, values can be seen as enduring beliefs about desired end states, which is in the wildlife value orientation literature 'translated' as guiding principles of wildlife interaction and treatment. In this research WVOs are studied as a contextual and dynamic concept.

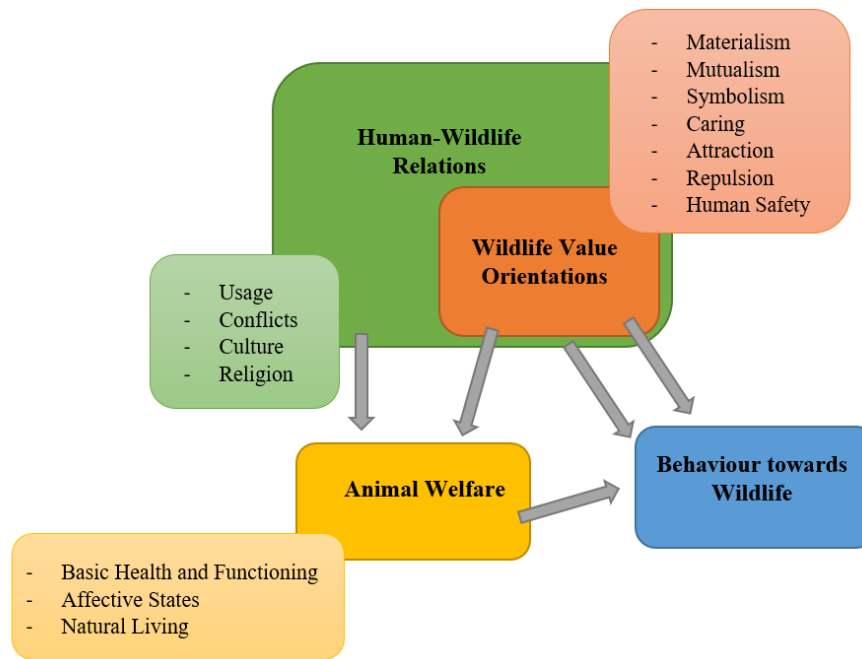


Figure 4.

Conceptual Framework; Animal Welfare, Human-Wildlife Relations, Wildlife Value Orientations and Behaviour towards Wildlife

In figure 4, the three concepts used in this research are shown with the arrows representing flows of influence. The concept ‘animal-welfare’ in this study is considered as a values-based concept including three value-dependent views. Wildlife value orientations are in this research seen as part of human-wildlife value orientations. In this research, seven wildlife value orientations were measured. It is expected the wildlife value orientations that people hold towards monkeys are depending on the relations that people hold with the monkeys. Both human-wildlife relations and wildlife value orientations can have influence on how people feel towards animal welfare. All three concepts, wildlife value orientations, human-wildlife relations, and animal welfare influences the behaviour of the local residents towards monkeys. So can value on animal welfare can change because of relations between local residents and monkeys, e.g. conflicts or culture. These three concepts answer all four sub-research questions and thus the main question.

3. Methodology

This chapter provides insight into how this research was designed and conducted. First, the research design is introduced, including my position during this study. After the introduction, an explanation of the case study with information on the research area is given. Thirdly the research methods used in the data collection and data analysis are introduced. Then is reflected on the limitations of the methods used in this study and its validity. Lastly, there is looked at ethical considerations.

3.1. Research Design

Animal welfare is a concept that does not have the same meaning for everyone. Different actors were interviewed to get an understanding of local people's views on animal welfare. These actors include local residents, animal welfare organisations, tourists, and expats. In this research, local residents are defined as people that are born and live in the district of Ubud. Among these local people include students, tour guides, and owners and workers of restaurants and homestays. The conceptual framework was structured around the concepts of human-wildlife relation, animal welfare, and wildlife value orientation, and these guided the formulation of the sub-research questions and the interview questions and the rest of the research.

Qualitative research seemed to be the most appropriate type of research to address the topic of animal welfare. Qualitative research can be defined as “research that produces descriptive data – people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour” (Taylor et al., 2015, p.7). In qualitative research is aimed at understanding people's perspectives on things in everyday life by trying to identify with them. People, groups, and setting are viewed holistically; they are not reduced to variables but are considered as a whole. Qualitative researchers take into account people's past and current situations and are concerned with what people think and how they behave in their everyday lives. From all groups and settings can be learned. Interviews conducted in qualitative research are more designed into normal conversations than a formal question-and-answer structure (Taylor et al., 2015).

As already mentioned, in this research wildlife value orientations were expected to be contextual and dynamic, and not static and universal. Taking this perspective on WVOs it is important to research people in their ‘environment’. Therefore, for this research is chosen for a social constructivist approach. An approach in which human agents do not live independently from their culture and social environment. People can find themselves in the social environment, which defines who we all are, our identities as social beings. We are all social beings, embedded in various meaningful social communities. At the same time, cultures are created, reproduced and changed by human relations in our daily practices. This approach is chosen because different wildlife value orientations and local residents' relations with animals are explored from the perspective of local residents.

During the fieldwork, it became clear that the term ‘animal welfare’ should not be studied as a self-contained concept, as several other important aspects influence people's engagement with animal welfare in the society of Ubud. These different aspects include their culture, religion, economy, education, politics, and tourism, which are linked and put the concept of animal welfare in context. For example, it is essential to research the Balinese religion and its practices, since they are very localised and different from anything I know in the Netherlands. This makes it necessary to have conversations about religion and its importance for the people to contextualise certain WVOs. These meanings of animals for people are not innate or etched within each individual. Rather, these meanings are shaped through interactions between people (Creswell, 2013).

I applied the social constructivist approach by interviewing research participants with open-ended questions. By using this approach the research participants were able to freely and fully describe their own experiences. My role as a researcher was to listen carefully to their answers and interpret these based on their social environment and experiences. My aim was to rely as much as possible on the views of the research participants.

In this study, I acknowledge that my interpretation is subjective and that my own social environment influences me. For me as a researcher, it was important to recognise my own background that shapes my interpretations and my position in this research to acknowledge how my interpretations come from my own personal, historical, and cultural experiences. Animals influence my values differently than local residents in Bali. The role and importance of animals for people may influence their values. For example, in the Netherlands it is 'normal' to have a pet as a companion, they make us happy and so we want to take well care of them. While in Bali animals often have a task in the daily lives of the people, e.g. cows. They also have often a religious meaning. Animals have often different roles in the West which influences the values that Western people have towards them. Therefore it is necessary to contextualise the meanings of animals for the local residents in Ubud. What is found to be important in life is dependent on the situation and place people live. This makes it not possible to provide a fully justified representation of the situation studied in my research. My Western view, socio-economic background and life experiences influence how I perceive and reflect on things. In my study, I did learn to reflect on certain situations and issues; this knowledge is used on how I interpreted certain things in this research. However, no matter how much I have learned, I am still an 'outsider', and I research and reflect on the 'other'.

3.2. Case Study and Research Area

3.2.1. Case Study

For this study is chosen for a case study approach. In qualitative research, it is common to make use of case studies. A case study is a type of methodology that offers tools to explore and research a complex phenomenon within its specific context (Stake, 2005). It explores a phenomenon through multiple lenses to reveal and understand multiple facets of it. A case study approach is useful when the study aims to answer 'why' and 'how' questions. Furthermore, this approach can be used when it is relevant for the study to cover contextual conditions of the studied phenomenon or when the boundaries the phenomenon and its context are not clear (Stake, 2005). A case study was chosen because the case; the engagement of local people towards the welfare of monkeys, cannot be considered without its context, the area of Ubud with its characteristics, e.g. religion and economic situation. It is in this setting that the engagement between the people and the welfare of the monkeys is formed. It would have been impossible to get a real picture of this engagement without considering the context within it occurred.

3.2.2. Research Area

The fieldwork took place in Ubud, a town on the Indonesian island of Bali, located in the Gianyar regency, which can be seen on the map of Bali in figure 5. Ubud is one of Bali's most popular tourist destinations. The Gianyar regency received a total of 245,228 visits in 2013, and 289,448 in 2014, and 70% to 80% of these visits was to Ubud (Ernawati et al., 2018). Bali is an excellent location to research the relation between human and monkey populations (Schilaci et al., 2010) consisting of a single polity. Moreover, an overwhelming majority of the Balinese population practices the same religion, namely Hinduism, and that while the vast majority of the rest of the Indonesian population is Muslim (Loudon et al., 2006). The Balinese culture emphasises harmony between nature and humankind. As a central role of Balinese society and culture, Hindu temples are situated throughout the island. Most of these temples are inhabited by large populations of long-tailed macaque monkeys, which are protected, and treated with high tolerance (Schilaci et al., 2010).



Figure 5.
Map of Bali

The best-known location to get up close and personal with Balinese monkeys is Ubud Monkey Forest, also known as the Sacred Monkey Forest of Padangtegal. It is a natural forest sanctuary which boasts holy temples, a variety of stone statues and is home to over 300 macaques grey long-tailed macaques. Ubud Monkey Forest is a must-visit for tourists staying in and around Ubud, often part of a day tour combined with other sightseeing highlights such as the Ubud Royal Palace and the expansive Ubud Art Market. In surroundings of Ubud there is also an Elephant Camp, Safari Park & Lodge, and a Reptile park, and in the Gianyar regency is also a Bali Safari & Marine Park and a Bali Zoo. These multiple places with animals made it possible to ask local people to compare their relation with monkeys with other animals and in different settings, to put their view on the welfare of monkeys in context.

3.3. Data Collection

Multiple methods were used to collect the qualitative data, including semi-structured interviews, participant observations and informal conversations and field observations. Seven weeks were spent in Ubud to get a grasp of local people's engagement with the animal welfare of Balinese monkeys in the context of wildlife tourism. From the beginning of November till the end of December did I stay in Ubud and its surroundings to collect data.

3.3.1. Semi-structured Interviews

3.3.1.1. Sampling

The case study needed to be researched intensively by generating a large amount of data from the studied people. The main research targets are local people in Ubud, Bali. Snowball sampling was used when possible. Snowball sampling is “a nonprobability sampling procedure that involves using members of the group of interest to identify other members of the group” (Adler & Clark, 2014, p 125). After informal conversations and interviews trust was gained with people in Ubud which made them willing to help me find other people who may want to participate in this research, by giving me their names or

contact information. This sampling method was beneficial for my research in which I only had limited time available to find participants in Ubud. The main research target were local people in Ubud, Bali, animal welfare organisations, tourists and expats. These last three were helpful to compare and contextualise the findings of local people's perceptions.

In the interviews, multiple topics have been discussed with the interviewees. Amongst other things, local people of Ubud were asked about their view on animal welfare; how animals should be and are treated and what they think is important for monkeys to have a 'good' life. In addition to this, questions were asked on the relationship between them and wildlife; this includes how they are involved in the lives of the monkeys and what are their personal experiences with monkeys. Moreover, there was asked if culture, religion, and history influence their relationship with the Balinese monkeys. In addition to this, questions were asked about any conflicts between humans and monkeys and even between humans where monkeys are the topic of debate. Questions were also asked about if there are conflicts between local people, authorities or other actors over wildlife (resources) and their utilisation for tourism. Furthermore, there was asked what they think of the interactions between tourists and wildlife and how monkeys are treated in the tourism industry. Animal welfare organisations, expats and tourists were asked about their view is on these topics related to the local community.

3.3.1.2. Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the primary data gathering method to collect information from local people in Ubud. It was a useful method because through engaging in conversations with people, I could ask further questions or ask for an explanation for vague responses. The open approach of semi-structured interviews allowed the respondents to feel comfortable and speak freely. The interviews were conducted to explore values on animal welfare and human-wildlife relations of the participants. About 25 people were interviewed for this study.

As mentioned in the introduction, much research on values is quantitative. However, on wildlife value orientations, multiple studies have also begun to measure WVOs with qualitative techniques. Examples include; research of Deruiter & Donnelly (2002) exploring the underlying determinants of WVOs, including personal experiences and socialisation, through interviews, and research on cross-cultural similarities and differences in WVOs where the researchers conducted semi-structured interviews and emotional prompts (Dayer, Stinchfield, & Manfredo, 2007). Using qualitative methods for this research was useful, in particular interviews, to collect information from local people about their practices, opinions, or beliefs (Harrel & Bradley 2009). The interviews were used to gather information on the present or past experiences or behaviours, to gather background information, and to tap into the knowledge of people Furthermore, semi-structured interviews were useful to understand the answers given in detail (Harrel & Bradley 2009).

Interviewees were asked directly about animal welfare and their personal experiences with monkeys, which was the best way to link with and elicit WVOs and to identify relations between local people and monkeys. As already mentioned the WVOs found in the research of Tanakanjana and Saranet (2007) were chosen since there are many WVOs identified which make them more specific. The interviews were not structured too much around the predetermined WVOs, which allowed for surprises. The interview method allowed for elicitation of statements and stories that reflected WVOs. The conversational nature of the interviews was beneficial. Before the interviews, questions were prepared to guide the conversation and helped me to stay close to the research questions. In addition to this, semi-structured interviews led to new insights which were used in the interviews that followed. Of course,

simply requesting that the participants relate any stories and experiences with monkeys did not guarantee that the predetermined WVOs were identified in the interviews. The interviews were recorded when possible, and otherwise, notes were taken.

3.3.2. Participant Observation and Informal Conversations

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, participant observation was used with direct observations and informal conversations. I participated in, among other things, multiple day-tours to visit Monkey Forest Ubud, other monkey forests and places with monkeys outside of Ubud.

The participant observation was used to support and confirm the collected data of the interviews. The method was more informal and was essential to understand the participants better. Especially, everyday conversations were crucial for creating a trust relationship with residents in Ubud. The participant observation took place in the Monkeys Forest and its surroundings, to gather information related to the activities and behaviour of local people with Balinese monkeys and to better understand their attitudes and actions. During the participant observation, detailed notes were taken.

A social science approach was used to explore local people's values towards wildlife to elicit individual stories of the local people involved (Manfredo et al., 2009). This approach was used with both the everyday conversations and interviews. These stories of local residents about animal welfare and wildlife tourism expressed different individual feelings and values about how they engage with these topics. These stories contain rich symbolism emerging from their entanglement with wildlife, and in specific with monkeys (e.g., the association of wildlife with qualities of power, strength, and beauty) (Manfredo et al., 2009).

3.4. Data Analysis

Qualitative thematic analysis was used to analyse the collected data. A thematic analysis in qualitative research can be described as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.79). Thematic analysis has the aim of analytically exploring narrative materials from stories told by people, by dividing the text into relatively small parts of the content and analysing them in a descriptive way. Thematic analysis can be considered as a useful and flexible research tool, providing a detailed and rich, yet sophisticated, report of the data. The thematic analysis involves searching for and identifying common elements that extend across the interviews (Vaismoradi, 2013). First, the digital audio files were transferred to a computer and transcribed in word documents. The analysis began with reading all the collected data. Before the fieldwork in Ubud, deductive codes were created based on the conceptual framework theory (human-wildlife relations, animal welfare, and WVOs). These codes have all been given a colour, which can be seen in appendix 1. The interview transcripts and the additional collected data were then coded with colours by using the predetermined WVOs as codes.

Any text that did not express a WVO or when there are no statements in opposition to any of the WVOs, these texts were analysed later to determine if they represented a new code or a subcategory of an existing code. Using this approach to content analysis, the already predetermined WVOs can be supported or extended. The interviews were not structured too much around these codes, which allowed space for new insights to emerge and to even provide new codes. Relationships were identified between the different codes to get a comprehensive understanding of the collected data. In addition to this, the value-dependent views; basic health and functioning, affective states, and natural living concerning animal welfare were identified in the data when possible. By identifying the three concepts in the

collected data, the relations shown in the conceptual framework were made, making it possible to answer the research questions.

3.5. Limitations

It is essential to reflect on the limitations of the methodology to better understand the research results and its discussion. In addition to this, it is necessary to take into account the limitations of this research to identify future studies on this topic. One of the main limitations of the methodology is that not all local people spoke sufficiently English; however, fortunately, most of the people did speak basic English. The term animal welfare was most of the time unknown for them. In the interviews, it was tried to explain this concept as good as possible. Furthermore, the human-animal relations were quite often described in terms of good or bad. By doing this, a normative layer might have been added to the interviews and may have produced expectations for interviewees.

Another limitation is that interviews for qualitative research are a time-consuming method as it takes time to find participants, and I was dependent on their availability. Some information might not have been asked because of the limited time. Also, the quality of research is strongly dependent on the researcher's skills and more easily influenced by the individual's personal biases, which are inherent in verbal language, and this can be recognised in the data analysis (Anderson, 2010). For example, harmony can be different in different cultures.

Furthermore, through the massive focus of local people on attracting tourists to the island, people might not have told me any negative things happening on the island, for example, how local people treat monkeys. Especially since I interviewed mainly people (in)directly working in the tourism industry. It was hard to find local residents not working in the tourism industry who might have told me different stories about the relation between local residents and monkeys. It sometimes looked like they were promoting Ubud. This might have given bias results.

Moreover, this study made use of snowball sampling. This method was useful since, in a short amount of time, many people were reached to participate. However, people refer to other people that they know and have most likely similar traits. This means that there is maybe only reached out to a specific group of people, which may have led to not all the relations between monkeys and local people and WVOs being identified.

When using the theory of my framework with the constructivist approach I aimed to use in my design; my conceptual framework did make it more difficult than expected to use a social constructivist perspective. Within social constructivism, the researcher should look for the complexity of views rather than narrow down different meanings into a few ideas or categories. My conceptual framework did guide me in certain directions, which may have limited me in finding new results. I already had the wildlife value orientations in mind that I wanted to find.

3.6. Validity

Validity is a factor which a researcher always should be concerned about while designing a study, analysing the data, and judging the quality of the research. The validity of a study is concerned with the meaningfulness of the different components of research (Drost, 2014). In this study, the engagement with animal welfare is studied, I am therefore concerned with whether I measure this engagement the way I intended it to measure.

To raise the validity of this research, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with the participants, meaning that every interview included the same core questions. This made it possible that the main goals could be achieved and that there was also space to get additional information provided by the interviewees during the interviews. Different types of actors were interviewed to minimise limitations or bias in this study. In addition to this, academic articles were used as a source. The use of multiple data sources and methods is called triangulation, which is essential to develop a comprehensive understanding of the studied phenomenon and it is a research strategy to test the validity through the convergence of data from different sources (Carter, 2014).

3.7. Ethics

Ethical issues are present in all kinds of research also in this research. “Ethics concentrates on the question of what counts as a competent moral reasoner” (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005, p.159). Ethics is not universal but determined by cultural discourses. Ethics refers to avoiding harm and doing good. Harm can be reduced or prevented through the practice of appropriate ethical principles. Thus, it is obligated to protect the participants in any research study. Ethical dilemmas that can arise from qualitative research are difficult to predict, but a researcher always needs to be aware of any conflicts of interests and sensitive issues. Interviews are usually equated with privacy, informed consent, and confidentiality, but also by the recurrence of painful past experiences and sharing of secrets. For this study, when approaching participants, such as the local people of Ubud and animal welfare organisations, ethical concerns were always taken into account. In qualitative research, it is essential to reflect the different backgrounds the researcher and the participants may have as this can raise ethical concerns.

Being from the Netherlands and studying at a Western university, it was necessary to consider cultural differences and language barriers that might make participants feel uncomfortable. Before starting interviewing, two matters were discussed with the participants. Firstly, the research and the purpose of the interview were shortly explained. Secondly, the participants were asked if they agreed with recording the interviews.

Qualitative studies aim to describe a phenomenon from the perspective of the participants through interviews and participant observations. The purpose of the researcher is to listen to the peoples’ voice and study them in their natural environments (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005). The willingness to participate in research depends upon participants’ desire to share their experience. I let the people know that they were free to participate and that they had the right to withdraw at any time. Most of the interviews took place at the participants’ own place, where they felt the most comfortable. Some of the participants were nervous to answer the questions because it was for research. So I reassured them that there were no wrong answers and that the interviews were confidential.

4. Results

The Balinese Macaques are very popular among both residents and tourists (Copeland & Murni, 2010). This monkey species is one of the world's most common and widespread primates living in tropical habitats and are known to be highly opportunistic animals. The places in Bali where the macaque lives are often associated with Balinese Hindu religiously related sites, varying from small shrines in a forest to enormous temple complexes surrounded by forest. These sites are often called monkey forests and are characterised as natural-cultural contact zones between macaques and humans, including Balinese people and foreign visitors. Macaques in Ubud live in such an area, like the Sacred Monkey Forest Sanctuary (Monkey Forest Ubud), the best-known place to get up close with free-ranging Balinese monkeys. The forest lies within the village of Padangtegal in Ubud and is owned by the residents of this village. The forest is an essential economic, spiritual, educational, and conservation centre. The relation between the local community of Ubud and the macaque can be considered as complex. The macaque has a range of different meanings for the people of Ubud related to religion, tourism but also related to human-monkey conflicts. These distinct and meaningful relationships are a good point of departure to explore further local residents engagement with the welfare of these monkeys.

This 'results' chapter is structured into five main sections which outline the different wildlife value orientations hold by the residents of Ubud. The first section touches upon the influence of Balinese Hinduism on the engagement of local people with the Balinese monkeys. The section is divided into two parts in which the first part introduces important aspects of Balinese Hinduism for the relation of local people with monkeys. The second part discusses the different value orientations held by people concerning their religion, which is argued to go seemingly well together.

The second section discusses the role of tourism in Ubud concerning the perceived welfare of monkeys. This section is divided into three parts in which the first part introduces the importance of tourism in Bali and observations made in the Monkey Forest. The second part discusses the different value orientation held by the residents about monkeys in the tourism industry in Ubud, which is argued to enhance animal welfare behaviour. The third part continues on the topic of tourism in which tourists and expats give their perspective on the situation, which is in contrast with that of local residents.

The fourth section discusses conflicts between Balinese monkeys and local residents. This section is again divided into two parts. The first part elaborates on these conflicts and the second part discusses the value orientations held by local people in the context of conflicts.

The fifth section reviews how animal welfare organisations in Ubud experience the engagement of local people of the Balinese monkeys.

4.1. Religion in Ubud

4.1.1. Balinese Hinduism

Ubud is known as the cultural heart of Bali; such is the town famous for its traditional Hindu culture. To have a social constructionist perspective on the situation, it was necessary to gain knowledge on the religion, and therefore questions were asked about Balinese Hinduism and its practices. This central role of the Hindu culture became clear very quickly through the many baskets of palm leaves with rice, flowers, and food all scattered on the streets in front of houses and temples. These are daily offerings, named ‘Canang Sari’, that are made by the residents to thank and praise God. Also not unnoticed was the numerous amount of temples in the town, and when you are lucky, you also experience a Balinese

ceremony like a wedding or a public cremation that are always very festive and extensive. The local residents talked with great enthusiasm about these religious events, and they show their pride for it. They all mention that their religion is the most important aspect in their life. A local history teacher stated that in Bali religion is the highest ‘harmony’ in life. Important to note is that Hinduism in Bali is not the same as it is in India, Balinese people describe it as “*very localised*”. In Balinese Hinduism, Indian Hinduism and Balinese traditions are reconciled. People explained that is more it is based on very Hindu old traditions, and a very old believe called animism. Animism is the belief in countless spiritual beings concerning human affairs and capable of harming or helping human interests. For the help they get they are extremely thankful. This thankfulness is seen in the conversations with local residents, were they say to be grateful for everything they have and help them in their life. This gratefulness is also the case with animals. Animals have an essential role in the lives of the residents of Ubud. Most people have animals at their house, among other things dogs, chickens, birds, cows and pigs. The daily lives of locals in Ubud are strongly assisted by animals, including in labour force, the economy, satisfying needs of food, and in religious ceremonies. One local tour guide;



Image 1.
Statue Monkey Forest

“I like chicken because they always wake me up earlier, more early is better, because in Bali when you wake up earlier, you will have more income than you wake up late.”

Animals have in the Balinese Hinduism also significant roles, for example in the ceremonies animals are offered, and multiple animals are considered sacred animals, e.g. the cow, hence the expression ‘holy cow’ (Scanen & Chengzhong, 2018). Religion is a significant factor in the relationship between local people and animals in Ubud. Animals, both generally and specifically, carry symbolic and cultural baggage, that influence how they are treated and regarded (Serpell, 2004). In the interviews, two aspects of Balinese Hinduism came up that are important concerning the relation between local residents and Balinese monkeys.

Firstly the concept of ‘Tri Hita Karana’, which is seen as the Balinese philosophy of life. ‘Tri Hita Karana’ literally means ‘three causes to prosperity’. These three causes to prosperity imply that people need to have harmony 1) among people, 2) with nature or environment (including animals), and 3) with God. This core principle guides many aspects of the daily lives of the Balinese people, like daily rituals and communal practices. These harmonious relations includes balancing the spiritual and physical worlds. On the official site of The Sacred Monkey Forest in Ubud is stated that the mission of the forest is the conservation of the area based on the concept of ‘Tri Hita Karana’. It is an international tourist destination that has as aim to create harmony and peace between the visitors and the forest. The forest

is the heart of the city where rare plants and plants for ritual purposes are conserved, and it is considered as a natural laboratory for educational institutions. The presence of The Sacred Monkey Forest in Ubud is a demonstration of the harmonious coexistence of nature and humans. The activities taking place in these areas are essential in maintaining this harmonious relation. As the local manager of the forest explained;

“People believe this is the holy location, a sacred location that people do not allow people to do any improper activity, for example, to cut the tree from the forest, they are not allowed intrude everything concerning this area including monkey for sure.” .. “But here, for us, the monkey is the same animal than other animals. But when they say on the temple complex, we maintain them as holy area, and then we keep a special treatment to the monkey, for example, people are for sure not eager to kill the monkey.”

The implementation of ‘Tri Hita Karana’ can also be seen in a huge Balinese Hindu ceremony for animals. This Balinese Hindu ceremony is called ‘Tumpek Kandang’ where animals and plants are subjects of the ritual. Animals have a significant role in the daily lives of the local people, e.g. farming animals and watchdogs. To thank and praise them for their essential role, animals are ‘celebrated’ twice a year with this ceremony. The Balinese pray to God as the greatest source for animals’ wellbeing and preservation. The ceremony is to remind people to be grateful for nature and the blessings it provides. A similar ceremony exists for plants and trees (Tumpek Pengatag), also here, it is all about keeping a harmonious relationship with all the aspects of nature.

4.1.2. Local People about the Role of Monkeys in Balinese Hinduism

Religious beliefs and values can influence particular attitudes towards animals (Serpell, 2004). For this reason, local residents were asked how their religion influences the way they think monkeys should live and be treated. The notions of ‘Tri Hita Karana’ and ‘Tumpek Kandang’ both play an essential role in the lives of the people. Moreover, most of the people say that monkeys have a religious meaning for them.

4.1.2.1. Tri Hita Karana

Harmony is a concept that was frequently mentioned by local residents when discussing their relationship with animals. They aim to have a harmonious relationship between other people, nature, and God, which is central in ‘Tri Hita Karana’. This aim for a harmonious relationship is an excellent example of the **value orientation of ‘mutualism’**, which believes that people and animals can coexist in peace and are both integrated with nature. Local residents say to really try to have a harmonious relationship with monkeys. *“We give them food, we hope god bless you, thank you for being alive here”*, was said by a local student. Furthermore, animals have the same rights as humans and should be treated with the same respect. This value orientation is well reflected in the conversations with local residents about the harmonious relationship that they say to have with the Balinese monkeys. People explain that they must always respect the monkeys so that a harmonious relationship runs to have a balanced life. A few people mentioned positive and beneficial aspects of the coexisting of humans and monkeys in the Monkey Forest; it is a place where monkeys and humans can come together and try to better understand and learn from each other. One woman perceived tourists taking pictures and getting close with the monkeys as something positive because the monkeys will get more used to people and



Image 2.
Worker and Tourists in Monkey Forest

will be less aggressive. People believe that monkeys are capable of living in relationships of trust with humans, and they respect the monkeys in the forest.

People with a strong mutualism orientation are more likely to engage in welfare-enhancing practices towards animals, e.g. feeding (Manfredo et al., 2009) and are less likely to support actions resulting in harm or death to wild animals, which is forbidden in the Monkey Forest. This belief is reflected in the interviews in which almost all people spoken to said that they would never be aggressive towards monkeys. For them, monkeys must live in a ‘*natural place*’, without any harmful behaviour of human beings. According to many local residents, the Monkey Forest is a place where monkeys can live more acceptable natural lives than in a zoo; they can perform natural behaviour and have more natural elements in their surroundings.

In addition to this, people holding a mutualist value orientation are also more likely to view wild animals in human terms, with characteristics and personalities like humans (Manfredo et al., 2009). Several people mentioned that they see monkeys as similar to human beings. A young man working as a local guide said;

“We feel the monkey is like us. The animals are us, so if you hurt the animal, that means, you hurt yourself.”

Some people said that monkeys have the same ancestors as them, and that is why people should treat monkeys with respect. People value that monkeys are so similar to humans.

4.1.2.2. Tumpek Kandang

When talking about animal welfare in Ubud with the residents of Ubud, the concept of ‘Tumpek Kandang’ came up in almost every interview. Everyone explained to celebrate this day with a ceremony and see it as a birthday for animals. Residents show empathy and compassion towards animals on this day; they care much about animals because of their significant role in their lives. Animals make them feel better and makes people want to protect them from harm. The **value orientation ‘caring’** can here be assigned to the local residents concerning animals. The caring orientation is often regarded as a belief dimension within the mutualism orientation (Jacobs, 2007). ‘Tumpek Kandang’ is celebrated extensively in the Monkey Forest, as the local manager of the forest explained;

“The monkey here, have a very big contribution on the social economics of the community, so we are doing a special, special celebration. Like a monkey birthday.”

In the forest, huge ceremonies are taken place for the monkeys, and the local community provides the monkeys with much food. *“It is nice. Huge piles, fruits, and eggs”*, as a young local girl mentioned. With the celebration in the forest, people show personal emotional attachment to the Balinese monkeys. Monkeys make people feel good, and likewise, local residents want to help the monkeys and prevent them from suffering. They pray for the monkeys in the forest. Interesting to hear was that this celebration was only for monkeys in the Monkey Forest and not outside of the forest, which is further discussed in section 4.3.

As well as these two central concepts in Hinduism, several people told about the concept of karma. Karma is a concept from Buddhism and Hinduism; karma encompasses that the physical and mental actions of individuals have consequences for life and afterlife through reincarnation. Several people explained that they rethink everything they do, to avoid bad karma. As one old local man from a gallery said;

“When you think about the people who do very bad things or corruption, they will never be happy. It does not matter whether they got caught or not got caught; they will never be free. Because they know themselves. So, therefore, the best to do in life, do good karma, from beginning till end. And then you have peace.”

Karma has therefore also an influence on people’s behaviour towards animals. One local girl working at an animal welfare organisation narrated a story about a man from her village that killed a monkey from the Monkey Forest. The man took the corps of the monkeys and buried it somewhere. After that, he started hearing noises and died after a while. Local residents believe that his death was bad karma. This belief in karma makes people behave well to monkeys and other animals. When asked why there are still people doing bad things despite believing in karma; people explained that there will always be people that misbehave and that has nothing to do with religion but with people’s personality. They do not follow their religion.

4.1.2.3. Monkeys in the Hindu Mythology

In addition to animals having a unique role in Balinese Hinduism in general as explained through the concepts of ‘Tri Hita Karana’ and ‘Tumpek Kandang’, multiple specific animal species have a special meaning in the Balinese religion. For this reason, local residents were asked if the monkey has a special meaning for them. Most people explained the story of Hanuman in the Hindu mythology. Hanuman is the reincarnation of God Shiva in the shape of a monkey send to the earth to help Lord Rama, the triumph of good, to fight king Ravana, the evil. Hanuman was the greatest, most faithful helper of Rama in his campaign against Ravana. A local guide who studied history explained this story with great pride. In this story, the monkey symbolises power and is therefore respected by people. Local people who say that they care about monkeys because of this story have a **‘symbolic’ value orientation** towards monkeys. Monkeys contribute through this religious story as a central aspect of the cultural institutions in Bali. Hanuman is one of the most famous deities amongst Hindus and is displaced in temples throughout the island. Hanuman’s picture, often with Rama and Shiva, can be found in almost every Hindu house. Furthermore, Hanuman is often represented in tourist paintings and masks, and a famous Balinese dance for tourists is inspired by the story of Hanuman, shown in image 3.



Image 3.
Balinese Dance

4.1.2.4. ‘The Sacred Monkey’

In Balinese Hinduism, many animals have a sacred status, meaning that they are considered ‘holy’ and are therefore treated differently (with more respect) than animals that are not considered sacred. The Monkey Forest is called ‘the Sacred Monkey Forest’, which raised the question of the monkey are seen as ‘sacred’ animals. People answered differently on this question. A few people said that monkeys are not seen differently than other animals. However, most of the people said that when monkeys live in a sacred area, they are considered sacred. The forest is called ‘the sacred Monkey Forest’ because it is a sacred area for the reason that there are temples where people come to pray. The forest is seen as a holy location and the monkeys living at the temple complex are for this reason considered as sacred. People have here a **‘symbolic’ value orientation** towards the Balinese monkeys in the Monkey Forest. Monkeys have become part of religion and rituals. Nature, including the monkeys, are treated with respect and local people protect the monkeys from harm. Balinese people believe that temples are a place of God and they need to respect whatever lives around the temples and are not allowed to do any improper activities, for example, cutting the trees or disturbing anything in the forest, including the monkey. Here

the *value orientations* ‘*mutualism*’ and ‘*caring*’ can be seen back. The question was raised if tourism in the forest is considered as disturbing for the monkeys by the local residents, which is discussed in section 4.2.

To summarise, a relation between monkeys and local people exist through religion. Balinese Hinduism is central to Bali. Animals carry symbolic and cultural baggage that influence how they are treated and regarded, including monkeys. Within this relation, three wildlife value orientations were identified, including mutualism, caring, and symbolism. All three value orientations seem to have a positive influence on how local people think monkeys should live and be treated. They all encourage good practices towards monkeys. The three value orientations seem to overlap and complement each other. The value orientation ‘mutualism’ and ‘caring’ are both reflected in central concepts in the Balinese religion, and both include respecting monkeys and taking well care of them. When only looking at the role of monkeys in Balinese Hinduism local people engage in welfare-enhancing behaviours towards monkeys in Ubud.

4.2. Monkey Forest Ubud

4.2.1. The Balinese Monkey in the Tourism Industry

Promoted as the cultural centre of Bali, over the years Ubud developed an enormous tourism industry. To have a social constructionist view on the situation Ubud, it was essential to gain more knowledge on tourism in Ubud, and therefore general questions were asked about tourism. Important for this research and what many people state is that through the lack of other industries in Ubud, its economy is highly dependent on tourism. Meaning that when something negative happens and causing tourism numbers to drop, the people of Ubud have barely any income. Two examples are the event in 2002 with the Bali Bombing, the deadliest act of terrorism in the history of Indonesia and in 2017 when the Mount Agung, a volcano in Bali in Indonesia, erupted five times. Both events hit the Balinese tourism industry remarkably, and it took quite some time to recover from it. The last couple of years tourism in Bali continues to grow more and more, including in Ubud. Many other things show how massive the tourism industry is in Ubud at the moment; it is full of restaurants, ‘warungs’ (small, local restaurants), tourist agents, homestays, and everywhere you look many taxi drivers are sitting on the street. Moreover, despite being it low season during the fieldwork, it was so busy with tourists, causing many traffic jams. The town has several tourist attractions to offer, including rice terraces, temples, the palace of Ubud, museums, markets, and Ubud is especially famous for its Balinese monkeys, called long-tailed macaque (*Macaca fascicularis*). Tourism plays a significant role in how people from Ubud engage with animal welfare of these Balinese monkeys. Which makes it interesting is that Monkey Forest Ubud is next to a popular tourist attraction a meaningful component in the spiritual life of the local community. Temples festivals and ceremonies are regularly held for villagers and gods in these areas. The macaque and people of Ubud coexist and interact daily in the Monkey Forest and have done this for centuries.



Image 4.
Guidelines Monkey Forest

Multiple visits were made to the Monkey Forest to observe how visitors and monkeys behave together. The forest is conveniently located near the centre of Ubud, and within short walking distance from hotels, restaurants, and guesthouses along the main roads of the town. The forest was well preserved, and there are ancient temples with statues featured throughout the forest. Even though it was low tourist season during the fieldwork, many people visited the forest. It was surprising how the monkeys showed themselves around all those visitors and were not chased away by them. The macaque can move freely in the forest and can even leave the forest. The monkeys live in the forest in their natural habitat, which was nice to see. Some monkeys were highly focussed on the visitors and came very close, probably waiting to get some food or

steal something. Many tourists seemed scared of the monkeys.

Monkeys stay wild animals and can behave unexpectedly and to reduce the chance something terrible happens between monkeys and visitors signs with guidelines on how to behave around the monkeys, are put all over the forest, and many workers of the forest are walking around to keep an eye on things. In image 4. one of the many signs with guidelines is shown. These guidelines seem to be very important, such as giving the macaques human food can be unhealthy and has led over the years to closer interactions between the monkeys and humans, including several bite accidents. However, despite all the signs and the workers, visitors did not always follow the guidelines. In image 5. can be seen how a macaque tried to steal stuff from a girl who brought things with her that are not advised to bring to the forest, including a bag, glasses, and a head.



Image 5.
Monkey grabbing at Tourist

Another example is when immediately after entering the forest, a girl was posing with a monkey for a picture, she was standing very close to the monkey, and the monkey grabbed at her. More people were coming too close with the monkeys, trying to play with them with twigs, kicking against food and giving them food. Many of these visitors expose a degree of carelessness and the desire to interact with the macaques. This carelessness can affect the welfare of the monkeys, making it interesting to research how local people think of the impact of all the tourists on the welfare of the monkeys.

4.2.2. Local People about Monkey Forest Ubud

As discussed in the first section, in a religious context, local people seem to engage in welfare-enhancing behaviours towards monkeys in Ubud. Tourism has become, next to religion, an indispensable aspect in the lives of local residents. Tourism also influences which value orientations residents hold towards monkeys in Ubud, which can be distinguished from traditional religious practices.

4.2.2.1. Monkey Forest Ubud

The Balinese monkeys are best known from the Monkey Forest, that is also why most of the questions about the monkeys were asked related to the forest. Many local residents like monkeys and regularly go to the forest to see them.

What stood out during the interviews was the amount of knowledge local residents have about how the monkeys live in the forest and how they are taken care of by the workers. People hold here the **value orientation 'attraction'** towards monkeys since they seem to show care, interest, and likes in the

monkeys. The enormous amount of tourists visiting the forest every single day raised the question of how people experience this in reference to these monkeys. As mentioned, the economy in Bali is highly dependent on tourism, making the monkeys economically extremely valuable for the local community in Ubud. This importance can be seen in the answers given by people. Almost all of them see the forest as an excellent place to live for the monkeys. When explaining this, they expressed the economic importance of the monkeys and that the animals are therefore well-taken care of by the people. A woman, who has worked in the forest, explained that the money earned is used for social securities for the local community and that the Monkey Forest provides a lot of job opportunities, which makes it beneficial that the monkeys attract so many tourists to Ubud. She stated;

“The Monkey Forest in Ubud is the best, one of the richest. Because they give a lot of money to the village. So people really take good care of the monkeys.”

A young local boy named the monkeys in the forest a tourism object and therefore they need to be protected. Many people in Ubud see the macaque as an income generator. The forest economically supports the workers of the forest and simultaneously many restaurants, hotels, and souvenir shops in Ubud. The interviewed residents often mention the benefits for themselves. In this case, it seems that many people hold a rather **‘materialistic’ value orientation** towards the monkeys in the forest. The monkeys fulfil people’s needs for economic well-being. One woman even referred to the monkeys as ‘business’. For local residents, the monkeys exist to fulfil human needs, for subsistence and economic well-being and higher-order needs such as recreation needs, and humans natural dominance over and control of wildlife. In general, people holding a materialist value orientation focus on security, safety, and economic stability. They have most likely attitudes and actions that prioritise human well-being over the well-being of wild animals, and they will find actions resulting in death or other intrusive control of wild animals to be acceptable (Teel et al., 2007).

However, in Ubud, this materialistic value orientation seems to come with beliefs within the value orientations ‘caring’ and ‘mutualism’. Residents desire that the monkeys are well-taken care for in the forest, which they also believe to be the case. Values influence human-wildlife relations; this relation is built on the use of animals for people. When asked if the forest as a tourist attraction conflicts with the forest as a sacred area, everybody mentioned that this was not a problem. It is for them a good combination. The temples are for local people to pray, and the tourists come only for the

monkeys and can see the temples from outside. In image 6, a temple in the Monkey Forest is shown with a sign saying it is forbidden to enter the temple area. Balinese people believe that a temple is a place of God. As discussed in the previous section, people have a ‘symbolic’ value orientation towards the Balinese monkeys in the Monkey Forest. The monkeys have become part of religion and rituals. People need to respect whatever lives around the temples and are not allowed to do any improper activities. However, it can be argued that disallowing improper activities contrast with allowing tourism in the Monkey Forest. The main job of the management of the forest is to keep a balance between the sacredness of the forest for the local community and the forest being an attraction for visitors. The local manager of the Monkey Forest underlined this;



Image 6.
Temple at Monkey Forest

“They come here in a bikini, in panty, in bra, and then we need to remind them, you are in a temple complex, you need to change your clothes.”

In the first instance, people only mentioned the positive (economic) side of the Monkey Forest and not any impacts of all the tourists on the monkeys. When explicitly asked for, they did name some negative impacts. Some people think that the monkeys get disturbed by all the tourists and can get crazy because of it. A young girl said that she does not know if the monkeys are very happy now the forest has become so popular. The forest has changed over the years, the amount of monkeys has increased enormously, as well as the number of tourists, which can explain the increase in bite accidents and stealing by monkeys. A local guide said that because of all the tourists coming, the monkeys get stressed and lose their character.

“I think it makes some monkeys like going crazy, yeah, because so many guests come.”

Many people, including the manager of the Monkey Forest, said that it would be better for the monkeys to live without any people, but that there are no other forests for monkeys to live. All these people



Image 7.
Food Box Monkey Forest

express how visitors of the forest has impacts on the ‘*affective states*’ of the monkeys. Mostly negative states are named, such as stress and unhappiness. Many of them say that any suffering should be minimised, for example, by making Monkey Forest Ubud bigger. Again here can be seen that the materialistic value that monkeys have comes together with the **value orientation ‘caring’**; people show empathy and compassion towards the monkeys. The macaque is highly valuable for local residents, which makes people generally willing to protect them from harm. Local people thus have sympathy for the monkeys and show concern about how the monkeys live in the

forest with the enormous amount of tourists. A positive impact of all the tourists on the monkeys is that with the money earned, food is bought for the monkeys. For people, is the fact that they are well fed a sign that the monkeys are treated right. Food is essential for their ‘*basic health*’. Image 7 shows a food box in Monkey Forest Ubud.

Most local residents say they do not have any encounters with monkeys like tourists visiting the Monkey Forest. Local people are used to monkeys and do not come in contact with them directly; this means that WVOs are mainly based on foundational values within individuals and practices.

4.2.2.2. Zoos in Bali

The Balinese monkeys in Ubud live mainly in Monkey Forest Ubud, a place that is totally different from a typical zoo. Bali has many zoos and also close to Ubud, which made interesting how local residents from Ubud feel towards zoos and also in comparison to the Monkey Forest. In a report of The World Animal Protection (2018a) is stated that at all tourist venues in Bali, wild animals experiencing direct interaction with humans, are routinely mistreated. The results of this report raised the question of how local people feel towards monkeys living in a zoo and zoos in comparison to Monkeys Forest Ubud. During the fieldwork, Bali zoo was visited, a zoo not far from Ubud. It was comparable to a Western zoo, but this zoo has more possibilities to interact with the animals. For example feeding tigers and lions, riding elephants, and taking pictures with orangutans. Many animals, including monkeys, are living in cages. The macaque does not live in the zoo, because they already can be seen in monkey forests. In image 8, the monkey species gibbon can be seen. Any mistreatment to the animals was not witnessed.

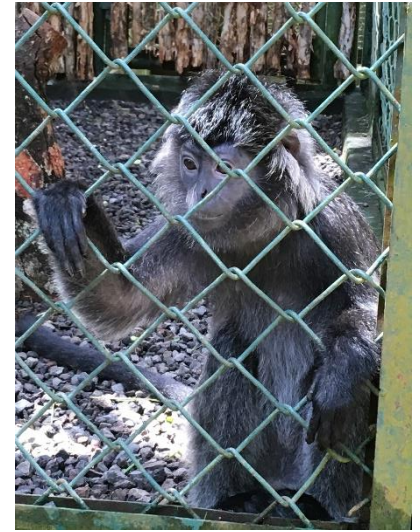


Image 8.
Monkey at Bali Zoo

Most local residents talked to had never been to a zoo, because of the relatively high entry price, this made it difficult to talk with them specifically about zoos in Bali. Therefore general questions about zoos were asked, e.g. what they thought is good and bad about zoos. Both advantages as disadvantages for animals in zoos were recognised. Advantages named by the local resident are that animals living in a zoo are safe from both other animals and humans and they are treated very well. People often mean with this that the animals are well fed. Here again, feeding, a condition for 'basic health' is critical for people. The **value orientation 'caring'** can here be assigned to animals by people. A young man working at a tourist office stated;

"The advantage is that they are safe, and the people treat them good, it will make them healthy and also treat them as good, so the tourists go there to see them."

People show empathy and compassion towards the animals living in zoos. The fact that zoos have a permit from the government is an essential factor for people to believe that animals are treated well in zoos. According to them, the zoo would have been closed if the animals were not treated well. Moreover, for many people, zoos have an educational role, since there are animals in zoos that cannot be seen in the wild in Bali.

One woman working in a homestay explained that it is okay when animals are caged or chained because people need to take a picture to remember the moment. More people mentioned that if that is what tourists want, it is all right. Here can be seen that some people do not look at the welfare of the animals, but at what people want or need. Here again, a **'materialistic' value orientation** is assigned, only differently than in with the Monkey Forest. Wild animals exist to fulfil the needs (recreation needs) of the people, in this case, visitors of the zoo. Zoos in Bali are not owned by the local community (which is the case with the Monkey Forest), who will not directly receive money from it. In the case of zoos, some people find actions that result in intrusive control of wild animals to be acceptable and the more likely they find justification for the treatment of animals in utilitarian terms, which is common with a materialist value orientation (Teel et al., 2007). Here it does not come together with the beliefs of the value orientations 'caring' and 'mutualism'.

For local residents, the main disadvantage for animals in a zoo is that the animals are not free and do not live in their own habitat. In the wild, macaques live in groups together and that is possible in the Monkey Forest. A young man at the tourist office explained;

“The disadvantage is that the animals of the zoo do not have their free wall like us, they are just in the area, and cannot explore other areas.”

All the people spoken to said that Monkey Forest Ubud is a better place for monkeys to live than in a zoo. In the forest, monkeys are still free and can go wherever they want to go. As long as the monkeys are free and live in nature, it is considered okay for many people. A local man, working as an English teacher argued;

“Better at the monkey forest, because they still free, very well and then they can go around there.”

For most of the people, it is essential that the monkeys live in a ‘*natural place*’. In the Monkey Forest, monkeys have the ability to live acceptable natural lives, more than in a zoo. They can perform natural behaviour and have natural elements in their surroundings than in a zoo.

During the fieldwork, a Monkey Forest in Sangeh, in a big forest village near Ubud, was also visited. In this monkey forest, there were fewer tourists compared to the forest in Ubud. Furthermore, in this forest, there were fewer signs with rules on how to behave. The monkeys were less focused on people and did not seem aggressive, making it a more comfortable place to visit. In other words, it seems that fewer rules can also have a positive effect on mutual behaviour/conflicts. This forest is not as much promoted as a tourist attraction, like the Monkey Forest in Ubud. Monkey forest is located in the centre of Ubud this other one is more distanced from the centre different locations. The monkeys seem to have less stress, people are allowed to take pictures with the monkeys, and the monkeys seem to be okay with it.

A worker from an animal welfare organisation said that the monkeys in Monkey Forest Ubud are spoiled by the many tourists, and that there are too many monkeys in the forest and that there is a competition over food, which may make them aggressive. The monkey forest in Sangeh is more quiet, which is according to him better because when animals are at a place visited by many people, they are often not comfortable and they can show aggressive behaviour. Visiting both places, the same opinion is formed. Monkeys seem to be more at ease when they are not surrounded by people.

Local residents say religion is the most important thing in life, however it might seem like that tourism is prioritised over religion. However, local residents argue that this is not the case; according to them, tourism and religion do not conflict. A local tour guide stated:

“ The tourism bring the economy, the economy supporting the culture and the religion. If you taking the best of influence, the best of the West, and then you can combine, combine with the Balinese traditional.”

4.2.3. Tourists and Expats about Monkey Forest Ubud

In the previous section is discussed how local people feel towards the Monkey Forest and the welfare of the monkeys. In the context of the Monkey Forest, local people seem to engage in welfare-enhancing behaviours towards monkeys in Ubud. The perspective of tourists and expats are also explored to get a complete picture of how local people engage with the welfare of Balinese monkeys. Every year Ubud is visited by thousands of tourists next to the many expats who found their place in Ubud. Often these people come from a country with a totally different culture than the Balinese culture, including values on how animals should live and be treated. This raised the question of how tourists and expats think of the way monkeys are treated and live in Ubud. Expats are more used to the Balinese culture than tourists and have most likely a better idea of what is going on ‘backstage’, things that people will not see when they are shortly visiting the island as a tourist.

Interestingly, expats were at times rather critical on local people's attitudes and behaviour. Multiple people were saying that local residents only care about money. An English man argued that people do not care about nature and animals anymore like they used to. It is all about tourism in Ubud, and the Monkey Forest is just for the tourists. This view does not reflect the beliefs of the value orientations mutualism and caring. It is even said that the name Sacred Monkey Forest is more a western invention to attract tourists. Here can be seen how important tourism is for the evolving value orientation towards monkeys that has increasingly become materialistic by nature. One girl from Jakarta mentioned;

"The problem is money and tourism here, for a lot of Balinese money and tourism is God."

She sees a correlation with the growing amount of tourists in the forest and the monkeys getting naughtier. According to her, the monkeys are highly trainable and she is convinced that the workers train the monkeys to steal. More expats suspect that the monkeys are trained by the workers to steal things from the tourists, the workers will try to get it back and get paid for it by the tourists.

An Australian girl, living almost two years in Ubud, has never been to the Monkey Forest because she keeps hearing how traumatic it can be. According to her, tourists are encroaching on the space that the monkeys have always occupied, she has seen that the monkeys are venturing further out of the forest for food and adventure. According to her, a massive behavioural change has taken place in the monkeys from increased tourist numbers. She has been to monkey forests that were less touristic which she founds more natural and favourable for the monkeys. She emphasises that it is for her important that monkeys live acceptable '*natural lives*' by having natural elements in their living space and by performing natural behaviour. Monkeys are there still 'cheeky' but can source their food from the forest and are not reliant on humans.

Tourists were also asked what they think of Monkey Forest Ubud. They all agree that the forest is not the worst place for monkeys to live. Of course, it is better when they live in the wild without any tourists, but that cannot happen anymore; the monkeys have become dependent on humans. Many tourists visit the forest to experience being around free monkeys, and most of them like the experience. Some tourists did not want to visit the forest. For example, two American tourists heard about monkeys stealing stuff and biting frequently. Many tourists come, and it seems like they have adapted to interact with humans. They might be dependent on tourists and are constantly being watched, which will make them feel uncomfortable. The tourists here are concerned about the '*affective states*' of the monkeys, feelings that are experienced as unfavourable. In general, tourists did not see any local people misbehaving towards animals.

Summarised, a relation exists between people of Ubud and Balinese monkeys through the use of monkeys in the tourism industry, which generates income for the local residents. Within this relation, people are in a different situation and engage in different practices than in a religious context. Other value orientations are therefore identified than in a religious context. The value orientations that people hold towards monkeys seem to be dependent on the context. In a tourism context in Ubud, the value orientation 'materialism' seems to be the dominant value orientation. Because of the economic value that the monkeys have for the people of Ubud, the local community wants to have the monkeys well-taken care for. Furthermore, some people do see adverse effects on the monkeys in the tourism industry and mention that this needs to be improved. What can be drawn from this is that those value orientations held both in the context of religion and tourism local people seem to engage in welfare-enhancing behaviours towards monkeys in Ubud. This is in contrast with what expats argue, namely that in general,

people in Ubud mainly care about money and not about nature. Through the years, the values orientations of 'mutualism' and 'caring' have been crowded by the value orientation 'materialism'.

4.3. Conflicts

4.3.1. Human - Monkeys Conflicts in Ubud

So far, the Balinese monkeys in the Monkey Forest are discussed; however, these monkeys also go out of the forest, leading to regular conflicts in neighbourhoods. Conflicts between monkeys and local people can influence the values that they have towards monkeys. Human-wildlife conflict (HWC) is increasingly becoming a critical threat for many animal species (Distefano, 2005). There are a variety of global trends that are contributing to the escalation of these conflicts worldwide, including human population growth, fragmentation and degradation, land use transformation, species habitat loss, increasing wildlife population as an effect of conservation programmes, and increasing interest in ecotourism (Distefano, 2005), including wildlife tourism.

A woman working for a welfare organisation for monkeys explained that local effects of these global trends can be seen in Bali. Over the last centuries increasing human populations and tourism numbers, and intensifying agricultural systems have heavily influenced the relationship between humans and macaque. Many large animals in Bali are decreased in numbers, including silver leaf monkeys. Other species like the Bali tiger went extinct. The macaque monkeys, on the other hand, continue to thrive in Bali, especially in and around neighbourhoods and temple complexes, but the main effects can be seen in the deforestation and the natural habitat of the macaque getting smaller. Macaques are very attentive monkeys that adapt easily to the environment and human areas. They are not scared fast, live in groups, and their habitat is getting smaller and smaller, resulting in many conflicts between monkeys and humans. Most of the monkeys live in the Monkey Forest, the forest is not that big, and sometimes they cross the borders of the forest and come to the surroundings of the forest, down the road and to all the little shops and restaurants. Sometimes they go further to causing many problems in neighbourhoods and plantations where people plant their vegetables. The woman working at the organisation for monkeys emphasised that is not the fault of the macaque, but purely the fault of the people who destroy their area, as in Bali there is little forest left. These conflicts over space and resources can affect the relationship between residents and monkeys.

4.4.2. Local People about Human – Monkey Conflicts

As already discussed in the first two sections, value orientations 'materialism', 'caring', 'mutualism', and 'symbolism' are held by local people in the context of religion and tourism and they will be likely to engage in welfare-enhancing behaviours. The tolerated, provisioned, and protected treatment of the Balinese monkeys in the monkey forest, does not seem the same for monkeys outside of the forest. Even though the monkeys are economically and religiously valuable for the local community in Ubud, conflicts with monkeys outside the forest can change how people from Ubud feel towards monkeys. It can create different dynamics between them. During the field research, no conflicts between monkeys and local people were witnessed, however, multiple people explained that there are definitely conflicts in Ubud. These conflicts are often one-sided as the monkeys seem to irritate the local residents and may not experience it as a conflict. These moments are explained differently by different groups.

People directly working in the tourism industry answered, on the question how local people and monkeys conflict in Ubud, that the monkeys do not come out of the forest; thus there are no conflicts

with monkeys in the neighbourhoods. Interestingly, people not involved in the tourism industry, especially expats, explained that the reason that local residents don't say there are conflicts is that it could scare tourists away. The income local residents get from tourism is so important for them that they would not take that risk.

There are also local residents that did say that the monkeys irritate local residents in Ubud. The monkeys come out of the Monkey Forest and come into the neighbourhoods where they damage people property and steal food. People try to scare the monkeys away, but say they would never do this by hurting or killing them. *"Only scare them with noises and slingshot without stones"*, as a local man explained. Monkeys are accepted by most of the people as most monkeys lived in the forest area before the people did, and monkeys are respected in Hinduism. Humans and macaque are part of the same environment and should not be hurt. A local guide from outside Ubud said;

"Sometimes, there are conflicts because when the monkey is in the wild, not like monkey in Monkey Forest, the farmer and the monkey are always fighting. They do not hurt the monkey, but they try to spit water to scare away the monkey. I mean is like not saying something bad, something like that, is like to make them scared."

As already mentioned by expats that local residents working in the tourism industry do not always tell the truth about conflicts, some people argue that it is not the truth that local residents never hurt monkeys. A local girl talked about when monkeys invaded the village next to hers, looking for food.

"They invaded the village, the village was like my god, got all their guns and started to shoot the monkeys."

A local tour guide explained that maintaining a harmonious relationship with monkeys is a dilemma for people, monkeys bring much money, but on the other side, monkeys are often a problem for the community, damaging residents' houses and gardens. If monkeys live outside the sacred environment, they are poorly treated. It seems that at these moments, people held the **value orientation of 'repulsion'** towards the monkeys, instead of the value orientations of 'caring' and 'mutualism', which are held by the people in their religion. These two orientations are crowded out by the value orientation 'repulsion'. Repulsion seems to emerge when people experience anger at losses caused by the monkeys, e.g. damaging of crops. People only care for monkeys when they do not interfere with people's property; value orientations shift here temporarily; it truly seems to depend on the situation. A young man working as a local tour guide explained first that he would never harm any nature, including monkeys. He explained that people have to respect nature and that Balinese people learn that at school. Also, because of the monkeys sacred meaning, which shows he has 'symbolism', 'mutualism', and 'caring' orientations towards monkeys. However, he also mentioned that in a situation in which you have to protect yourself or your property, in the worst case, you have to use violence. In this case, people have multiple conflicting WVOs. More people mention that in Bali it is important not to hurt animals, but in a situation where people have to protect themselves, others or their property, they are 'forced' to hurt the animals.

The manager of the monkey forest explained that the fast-growing population of the macaque sometimes causes conflicts between people and monkeys. Around 900 monkeys live in the forest, and it will only increase, and it is not possible to expand the land of the forest because it is located in the middle of Ubud. He does not know if the monkeys experience any stress, but in the peak seasons when more than 5000 people visit the forest, monkeys seem to fight more with each other, more people get bitten, and the monkeys increasingly go out of the forest causing problems in neighbourhoods. The forest is not big enough for so many people and monkeys. A worker from the Monkey Forest said;

“In my opinion, this is also a problem about monkeys if they live in a place that is considered sacred they will be treated well, but if they do not live at the sacred place sometime, the people will be hunted then because they are considered disturbing.”

As there are different views on if there are conflicts between local residents and monkeys, there are no real conflicts between different groups of people on this topic. It seems like people understand the choices that people make in certain situations. On the question, if there are conflicts between groups of people about monkeys, a woman working at a welfare organisation said that there more conflicts between people that trade monkeys in Bali and people working at animal welfare organisations and want the trade to stop.

The conflicts that take place between the monkeys and the people in Ubud also evoke other WVOs. One group of people expressed their fear of monkeys, as a couple of young boys explained that they were terrified of monkeys because they are dangerous and could have rabies. The **value orientation of ‘human safety’** is assigned here, because of the concerns for threat monkeys may pose for their security and safety. Furthermore, some local people are afraid that the monkeys have rabies. A local boy from a tourist office said:

“I just heard of the rabies of the monkeys, if I get bitten, I get rabies, that is why I am scared of monkeys.”

Another group of people also explained that they do not like monkeys. They mentioned that the character of monkeys is to steal, which is perceived as something negative for the people. Another young boy working at a homestay mentioned;

“I do not really like monkeys, and then the monkey in the monkey forest in Ubud is a little bit aggressive, and they are really smart, when they see something like sparkling or like food they are just like, snatch it.”

This section discussed the relation of local people and Balinese monkeys in Ubud based on conflicts, which can evoke the value orientation ‘repulsion’ leading to welfare-diminishing actions and attitudes. The welfare-enhancing behaviours related to value orientations in the context of religion and tourism, seem no longer be applied when the monkeys are outside of the forest and interfere with property of people. Value orientation seems to shift here, depending on the situation. Outside of the Monkey Forest, the monkeys do not live in a sacred area anymore and are not protected any longer.

4.4. Animal Welfare Organisations about Monkeys in Ubud

In Ubud are multiple animal welfare organisations, which makes animal welfare not an unspoken topic. That so many animal organisations are located in Ubud is said to be because Ubud is very touristic and the organisations get most of their donations from tourists. Most of these organisations are founded by foreigners and are focussed on dogs because Bali is dealing with an overpopulation of dogs. Fortunately for this study, some of these organisation are involved in improving the lives of monkeys in Ubud.

4.4.1. Monkey Forest Ubud

One of the ways organisations are involved in improving the lives of monkeys is by working together with the Monkey Forest. The organisations all mention having a good relation with Monkey Forest Ubud. People from Monkey Forest Ubud welcome any advice from organisations and are willing to

work together because they want the best for the monkeys. The organisations help the management of the forest when there is a problem with the monkeys. One of the issues that many organisations mention is the ridiculous amount of monkeys living in the forest. Overpopulation is a big problem and the population has gotten totally out of hand caused by feeding of the monkeys by both tourists and workers, making them very dependent on humans. The monkeys no longer have to be actively looking for food, so the monkey population keeps growing beyond the natural carrying capacity of the forests they inhabit. So far, too many baby monkeys are born, and they remain alive, which is different in the wild. The organisations emphasise that it is essential that the monkeys can live acceptable '*natural lives*' by performing natural behaviour and having natural elements in their surroundings. To stop the increasingly growing population, a few organisations help with the sterilisation of monkeys, and they advise the Monkey Forest not to allow tourists to feed the monkeys anymore and let the monkeys only be fed by a few people who work there at permanent places and times. The growing number of monkeys makes it hard to control monkeys crossing the border of the forest and related forms of human-wildlife conflict as previously described.

When the welfare organisations were asked how the enormous amount of tourists has an impact on the monkeys, most of them explain that when many people visit a place with animals, these animals can feel uncomfortable and can show aggressive behaviour. Moreover, on the question if the 'harmony' is seen back that is so central in Balinese Hinduism, one organisation said that for Balinese people, harmony is feeding the monkeys and the tourists letting taking pictures. 'Tri Hita Karena', central in the Balinese Hinduism is not so much a command, but rather a way to perceive or think about relationships in general. People put the notion of harmony not into practice. According to organisations are the beliefs in the value orientation 'mutualism' not dominant. Local residents do not care so much about the monkeys as they say they do. Tourism is their number one priority, and when this is at the expense of the welfare of the monkeys, then it is just like that.

4.4.2. Animal Markets

Next to the situation in Monkey Forest Ubud, welfare organisations want to change the situations of baby monkeys being sold at animal markets in Bali, which is a huge problem. Most of the animal welfare organisations spoken to believe that monkeys are generally not treated well in Bali when they do not live in a monkey forest. The macaque is an unprotected species and readily available to buy from the Denpasar Market. They are tied to a chain either around the neck or waist, which can be seen in image 9. Monkey traders bring the monkeys to the market after murdering their mothers, fathers and other monkeys who try to protect the baby from being taken. People, both tourists and local people, buy baby monkeys with little knowledge of care and housing requirements. Animal welfare organisation in Ubud can save these animals, but cannot put them back in the Monkey Forest, because they will be killed by other monkeys that do still live in a group. Monkeys have to stay at the organisation, or someone has to adopt the monkey. Tourists buy the monkeys at the market and set them free, thinking that they saved these monkeys, yet the next day there will be another monkey in the same cage. A worker from the most famous animal welfare organisation in Bali said;



Image 9.
Monkeys at Animal Market

"There are many animal markets in Bali that also sell monkey, living monkeys and then by responsible tourism we encourage people not to visit place like that, especially buy monkey from them, because,

because they think that they help that monkey but by the next they there will be another monkey to replace that, that empty cage.’’

Local people know that tourists have much empathy and that they have much money to spend. There is not an animal market in Ubud, but people mentioned that they visit animal markets at other places and know that baby monkeys are sold. They do not think it is acceptable when monkeys are taken from the forest to be sold, but when they are breed in captivity it is less harmful.

The organisations argue that macaques have a difficult time in Indonesia, and it is a monkey type that is very common and is sadly the victim of trade. Monkeys are not protected in Bali, and local people do not have a good relationship with the monkey. A woman involved in saving macaque said the Balinese show no compassion for monkeys. They are uneducated, considering ‘abuse’ as normal and they do not provide food and adequate housing for monkeys. There appears to be no respect or compassion given to these animals. The respect that local people have for monkeys in the forest cannot be seen for monkeys outside of the forest; both local people and tourists see them as a pest, they are aggressive, steal, and disturb the neighbourhoods. So while local people are saying they would never hurt monkeys, organisations say differently. Local residents are not always treating the monkeys right; they throw rocks and sometimes even shot monkeys.

Animal welfare organisations name several aspects that influence how local people engage with animal welfare, these are the lack of education on animals, the developing economy of Bali, and laws on animals that are not enforced or taken seriously. To get a social constructivism view on animal welfare in Ubud, it is important also to discuss these subjects.

4.4.3. Economy

Welfare organisations explained that animal welfare for many local people is not a priority. A local student explained that the problem here is complicated because the welfare of the human is not high here, Bali is an undeveloped island and people are already struggling to take care of themselves and their families. How can they take care of the animals? When they earn more money, they probably have more things as their priority. A local man working at a gallery compared it to taking care of the environment;

“Same as, how can you take care of the rubbish, when you cannot eat. When you can eat properly, when you have a house, a nice house, of course, you will make a nice garden. When you think about tomorrow that you make some money to live, you cannot expect them to take care of the environment; they do not even think about it, you know.’’

The organisations say that monkeys should live in the wild without tourists, but that that is in Bali hardly possible because the island is the number one tourist destination in the world. People keep coming, so all that the organisation can do is look at how tourism can support and improve the lives of both monkeys and people. Because of the economic situation of local people in Ubud, the materialistic value is assigned, they need the monkeys to have some income. Furthermore, when monkeys come in the neighbourhoods and damage, e.g. rice fields, which is valuable for people, it can raise the value orientation ‘repulsion’, as some people simply need to ‘survive’.

4.4.4. Education

In general, animal welfare organisations say that Balinese people should be more educated about how to treat animals. They argue that many residents have a lack of knowledge about how to treat their animals, but that they do love them. While animals have a central role in the daily lives of the people,

they do not learn anything about it at school. Organisations, therefore, have a focus on education. An organisation focused on monkeys, talked about an educational project regarding monkeys;

“We have made a book about monkeys, and we provide information at schools. We also do that when there are problem areas where monkeys attack people for example, or where there are many problems with wild monkeys because often people also feed the monkeys and that, of course, is a big problem. People make monkeys more or more dependent, causing many accidents to happen.”

It is hard to change peoples’ mind; the way they live with animals is often related to traditions and culture. Residents that do, or did university seem to have a different view on how people treat animals than residents that did not. The students are more aware of what is good or bad for animals. For example, even though they are Hindu, they know that certain things in their culture are not suitable for the animals. The organisations see that over the years, there is a change visible in the way how local people treat animals. The younger generations care more about animal welfare now because they read a lot of news, television, school, and social media. Moreover, over the years, more and more NGO’s and organisations are active, because they have more access to information.

People that assign a value orientation of ‘caring’ do really want to protect the monkey, but do not know what is good for the monkeys; meanwhile, they want the best for the monkeys. It is therefore critical that there are educational projects according to the organisations.

4.4.5. Law Enforcement

Another significant factor that influences the animal welfare in Ubud is law enforcement. According to animal welfare organisations, the government has a lack of focus on improving the welfare of animals. Laws to improve the situation do exist; however, these laws are barely enforced. When people do mistreat animals, the police does not take it seriously and probably does not even know the laws regarding animals. So people keep doing what they are doing because they do not get punished. People also do not report it when they see something happening. Often animal issues get posted on social media, but nothing is done with it. Local residents would solve things more likely within the community instead of getting the police involved. There is no special animal police. Animal welfare issues have never been a number one priority for the government. The best-known animal welfare organisation in Bali argues;

“Animal welfare things in Indonesia especially, is quite new, even we already have the law, but that cannot regulate or control the animal welfare issue, but it is rarely applied, or enforced.”

The macaque has an unprotected status in Bali. Nevertheless, as welfare organisations explain, wild animals lack a protected status. Furthermore, protecting the macaque is not a priority for the forestry and that is a huge problem, especially the pet trade. They could easily tackle this because rules exist; they just need to be applied.

Animal welfare organisations believe that value orientations ‘materialism’ and ‘repulsion’ are currently over-prioritised in contrast to value orientations of ‘mutualism’ and ‘caring’. While the materialistic value orientation of monkeys has a positive effect for monkeys in the forest, this is not the case for monkeys involved in conflicts with people and monkeys sold at animal markets where people try to make a living out of monkeys. Welfare organisations further do not see the harmonious values back in how monkeys are treated, especially not at animal markets. The organisations name three aspects that could influence the shift of value orientations, namely the lack of education on animals, the developing economy of Bali, and laws on animals that are not enforced or taken seriously.

5. Conclusion

This study has contributed to knowledge about local residents' engagement with the welfare of Balinese monkeys in Ubud, Bali, in Indonesia. To gain in-depth knowledge about these engagements, interviews were held with the key players in the field; local residents, expats, tourists, and animal welfare organisations. This allowed for a significant evaluation of local people's engagement with the monkeys. To research this topic, wildlife value orientations of local residents regarding Balinese monkeys were identified. The main wildlife value orientations found are mutualism, caring, symbolism, materialism, and repulsion.

This research showed that wildlife value orientations shift temporarily depending on the place-specific situation and practices of local residents. For instance, people hold the WVO mutualism at 'sacred' places, but within a conflict with monkeys outside of 'sacred' places some people hold the WVO repulsion. This finding is further discussed in section 6.1. Another interesting result is that local people emphasised mainly the (economic) opportunities and benefits of monkeys in the tourism industry. In this case, the materialistic value orientation is a dominant value orientation. The dominance of this value orientation is discussed in section 6.2.

Using the concept of WVOs was useful in this research since it provided contextual meaning to people's values concerning monkeys and these values are culturally guided ways of meeting people's existence needs and society's cohesion needs, for example having harmony between monkeys and people and economic security. By using a social constructivist approach to WVOs, this research illustrated that WVOs are not static and universal, by looking at people's culture it showed that WVOs are dependent on the place and situation.

It is important to mention here that Bali has a unique culture that can be easily distinguished from other places in the world by its enormous tourism industry and the practice of Balinese Hinduism. Both have a significant influence on the relation between local residents and Balinese monkeys. This relation can be considered as complex since the macaque has a range of unique meanings for the people of Ubud. In the context of tourism (as an income generator, in which the WVO materialism is dominant.), religion (as a 'sacred' animal in which the WVOs caring, mutualism, and symbolism are dominant), and conflicts (given that the monkeys are poorly treated then, the WVO repulsion is here dominant). This research shows that these human-macaque relations are subject to the wildlife value orientations people hold, but nevertheless remain dynamic by nature as orientations shift in practice. The question arises here: do people hold/maintain these different WVOs at the same time? Or should we see these orientations as more dynamic processes that are also subject to change amongst individuals/in cultural context? This research points more towards the latter, but more research is needed on this subject.

Wildlife value orientations and how they change should be well understood because of their significant role in explaining the variation in local people's behaviour toward monkeys and their attitudes toward topics related to the treatment of the monkeys. People in Ubud with a mutualism, caring, and symbolic WVO seem to have a more positive (animal friendly) influence on how local people think the Balinese monkeys should live and should be treated; they all encourage good practices towards monkeys. Interestingly, people in Ubud with the value orientations materialism towards monkeys also engage with welfare-enhancing behaviour. People say they take well care of the monkeys because of their economic importance. In contrast with the other WVOs, people with the value orientation 'repulsion', seem to engage in more negative behaviour towards the monkeys. This observation coincides with previous observations related to the value-behaviour gap in the wider social sciences (see also section 6.4).

The importance of the welfare of Balinese monkeys seems to be dependent on both people's wildlife value orientations and relations with the monkeys. In the context of religion and tourism in Ubud, people

speak about good welfare of monkeys. The three value-dependent views about conditions that promote good basic health and biological functioning, 'affective states' of the monkeys, and the ability of monkeys to live acceptable natural lives by performing natural behaviour and having natural elements in their surroundings, were all named. Especially when people are in conflict with the monkeys, they have different values on the monkeys' welfare, these 'standards' do not seem to stand anymore. This has been especially evident in the example of people stating that people shoot monkeys in conflicts.

Overall, the identification of the wildlife value orientations local residents hold towards monkeys is useful for guiding the development and management directed towards the conservation of the Balinese monkeys in Ubud. Important for animal welfare organisations to take home from this research is that it is important to look at local residents culture and living situation, including people's values, to understand why people think or behave in certain ways towards the monkeys.

6. Discussion

The objective of this research was to get a deeper understanding of local peoples engagement with the welfare of the Balinese monkeys in Ubud. Wildlife value orientations that people hold towards monkeys were investigated, in which multiple results of the research stood out that needed further discussion.

6.1. The Dependency of Wildlife Value Organisations

The social constructivist approach used in this research gave to opportunity to look at wildlife value orientations as a contextual concept instead of a static and universal one. This research showed that WVOs change depending on the place and practice of people. From the results can be laid out that people have different value orientations at different places and specific situations. The main wildlife value orientations found in this study are mutualism, caring, symbolism, materialism, and repulsion.

In a religious context, the value orientations ‘mutualism’, ‘caring’, and ‘symbolism’ were dominant and seemed to have a positive influence on how local people in Ubud think monkeys should live and should be treated. These wildlife value orientations hold towards monkeys especially takes place around temples (in monkey forests) and less at other places. All three value orientations overlap and complement one another since they all have a positive influence on how local people think monkeys should live and should be treated.

In a tourism context in Ubud, the value orientation ‘materialism’ is the dominant value orientation. This wildlife value orientation takes primarily place at touristic places, e.g. Monkey Forest Ubud, where the monkeys are considered as an income generator. In the first instance, the beliefs of people holding a ‘materialism’ orientation seem to contradict with the beliefs of people holding ‘caring’ and ‘mutualism’ orientations, but in the case of Monkey Forest in Ubud, the value orientations seem to go hand in hand. The economic value that monkeys have in the tourism industry in Ubud makes people want to have the monkeys well-taken care of. However, expats in Ubud argue that through the years the values orientations of ‘mutualism’ and ‘caring’ have as such been crowded out by the value orientation ‘materialism’, tourism is no longer unthinkable in everyday lives of the local people.

So far, wildlife value orientations hold by people towards monkeys in the Monkey Forest Ubud are discussed. Different value orientations are held towards monkeys outside of the forest (touristic and religious places). Monkeys going outside the forest can get involved in conflicts with local people. These conflicts between local people and Balinese monkeys in Ubud can evoke the value orientation repulsion when people experience anger at losses caused by the monkeys. Value orientations hold towards the Balinese monkeys seem to shift here depending on the context. When the monkeys are outside the forest and come into the neighbourhoods, the beliefs that people hold towards the Balinese monkeys in the Monkey Forest are crowded out by the value orientation ‘repulsion’. The WVOs ‘caring’ and ‘mutualism’ value orientations conflict with ‘repulsion’.

As discussed, wildlife value orientations seem to shift temporarily depending on the place-specific situation/practice by people. Interestingly enough, the apes do not behave differently, but the people do in different locations and associated functions of those places. The current literature on wildlife value orientations does not discuss the crowding out or temporarily shifting of value orientations. Fulton et al., (1996, p.28) discuss that “wildlife value orientations are defined by the pattern of direction and intensity among a set of basic beliefs regarding wildlife much as fundamental value orientations have been defined as clusters of interrelated fundamental values.” Fundamental values are not based on specific situations or objects with which a person experiences or comes in contact. Instead, they are more abstract cognitions regarding desirable modes of conduct and end-states, in general. Thus, unlike

specific norms, attitudes, and other higher-order cognitions, fundamental values transcend specific situations and influence norms, attitudes, behaviours, and beliefs across experiences in people's life (Fulton et al., 1996). WVOs based on fundamental would in that case also not be dependent on specific situations. Other literature also does not discuss the change of WVOs in different types of contexts. This study showed that value orientations might indeed be crowded out by other value orientations corresponding to different locations and practices. Deruiter (2002) explored determinants of wildlife value orientations, and four significant dimensions were found as determinants; personal characteristics, experience, socialisation, and place. Based on this study, we can argue that indeed place matters, but so do practices like tourism, religion, or everyday lives of people living next to or amidst wildlife like the macaque.

6.2. The Dominance of Materialism

Another important result from this research is the dominance of the WVO 'materialism' through tourism and people's persistent self-interest. Richins and Dawson (1992) characterise the concept of materialism as a value structure linked with beliefs held about the significance of possessions in a person's life, related to centrality, happiness, and success. They define materialism as "...the importance ascribed to the ownership and acquisition of material goods in achieving major life goals or desired states" (Richins, 2004, p. 210). In their definition, they speak of 'material goods', in my research the Balinese monkeys are considered as 'material goods' that are used in the tourism industry by the local residents. Ubud is considered as the cultural centre of Bali and developed an enormous tourism industry on which the economy is highly dependent. The Monkey Forest is one of the main attractions of the place, and that makes the Balinese monkey in the forest extremely important for the residents of Ubud, that have 'the desire' to be economic stable.

The fact that materialism is dominant in Ubud, located in a developing island, is surprising since, for a long time, materialism has been associated with Western post-industrial life (Kilbourne & Pickett, 2008). My research can be an addition to the research done by Ger and Belk (1996b, 1990) that indicate that a lot of people living in developing countries are more and more emulating this materialistic culture from the West. They argue that developing countries may even have higher materialism levels than the West, whereby the desire for luxury products is bigger than for many basic sustenance products. This research shows that developing countries, like Ubud, Bali are indeed emulating a materialistic culture. Decades ago, religion was everything in Bali; now next to religious values, economic values have become more prominent in Bali. There is a shift in the meaning of monkeys for local people. This change happened over the years and did not take place all of a sudden. Since most of the people in Bali are not rich, it would be understandable that people are searching for more economic stability, security, and safety. Furthermore, over the years, tourism is rising in Bali, the local residents are coming more and more in contact with western people and their living style. This might cause them to have the same living standards, and this can be at the expense of the post-materialism values that are central in Balinese Hinduism.

Burns (2004) argues that local peoples relationships with wildlife tourism differ between less-developed and more-developed countries. Local communities in less-developed countries seldom initiate tourism development without input (e.g. financial) from external actors such as international conservancy agencies, local NGOs, or private tourism operators (Burns, 2004). Bali is a less-developed island, but differently, than Burns mentions, tourism development (concerning the Monkey forest) is not initiated by input from external sources. The Monkey Forest in Ubud is owned and managed by the residents of the village Padangtegal and the money for the local community is spent to help people in

the community. That the local community gets the money earned from the forest may also have a great influence on people holding materialistic value orientation. Traditional societies, like Bali, have in general great willingness to share and a high level of generosity, which may also partially account for the rise in materialism. These societies tend to be more collectivistic (i.e., societal goals are prioritised over individual pursuits) (Cleveland & Chang, 2009). This local ownership of the forest positively influences the relationship between people and monkeys. The people are responsible for tourism within the forest, including the monkeys.

There is an early conflict remaining between researchers supporting materialism because of its ability to promote self-identity and economic growth and researchers opposed to materialism because of pernicious effects it has on social well-being. (Kilbourne & LaForge, 2010)

Arguments in favour of positive social aspects of materialism have become centred around traditional economic criteria on standards of living of the society. Here, materialism is considered as the result of capitalist societies in which growth is the main criterion of success. Economic growth in such societies has become equal to progress, which is defined as material progress. In this context, materialism is considered as a positive attribute, beneficial for society in the long-term by advancing even more growth. (Kilbourne & LaForge, 2010) The people of Ubud see the benefits and potential of wildlife tourism more than any of its disadvantages. The monkeys attract so many tourists to Ubud that not only the local village has benefits, but the whole town can take advantage of it, e.g. job opportunities. The monkey Forest supports the workers of the forest but also many restaurants, hotels, and souvenir shops in Ubud.

Contrary to the supporters of materialism are the people who argue that materialism has primarily negative social consequences. These consequences of materialism revolve around the environmental impacts of materialism (Kilbourne & LaForge, 2010). Here it is argued that, while each person may be free to chase material gain, all cannot attain what each wants to have, because the environment will unavoidably become degraded (Dobson, 2007). This research had not as goal to measure the animal welfare, but several animal welfare organisations and expats did let know that the main focus of local residents on earning income via tourism has negative effects, including on the welfare of the animals involved.

6.3. Lively Commodities

As discussed, materialism is a dominant wildlife value orientation in Ubud. 'Materialism' is a broad value orientation and can be more specified in the case of monkeys. The monkeys in a tourism contexts seem to be commodities for some local residents. Therefore, the concept of 'lively commodities' is a great addition to describe the relation between some of the local residents and the monkeys.

Leys and Harris-White (2012) regard commodification as the dominant process in all societies since the mid-19th century. Capitalistic commodification can be defined as "a process in which things (objects, creatures, ideas, etc.) are assigned an economic value and converted into goods for market exchange (Carvalho & João, 2015)." In wildlife tourism, encounters between animals and humans have been brought on the market of global tourism as commodities to be sold and consumed. Tourism thus reconfigures nature, including wildlife, in order to produce economic value from the experience of encounters with certain animals (Duffy, 2013). The encounters between monkeys and tourists in Ubud do produce economic value.

Barua (2016) proposes in his paper analytics for understanding commodification in more relational than humanist terms using the concepts of 'lively commodities' and 'encounter value'. Both concepts are

applicable to understand the relation between some of the local residents and the monkeys. ‘Lively commodities’ can be defined as “counters of circulation, exchange and consumption whose ‘value derives from their status as living beings’” (Collard and Dempsey 2013, p. 2684). Monkeys in Ubud can be considered as lively commodities as of their economic importance. With the rise of tourism in Bali, monkeys as living beings emerged as undeniable indispensable in Ubud’s economy. The primary type of commodification of Balinese monkeys is through encounters of monkeys and people in the Monkey Forest. Barua (2016) discusses three distinct forms of encounter value as a commodity.

The first refers to utilising experiences of encounters in nature into consumptive products. This form of encounter value can be applied to the encounters between Balinese monkeys and people in the Monkey Forest. The forest is no longer only used to pray, but also to attract tourists. The Monkey Forest facilitates a place for commodified encounters. Monkeys’ behaviour and actions create value, which plays an essential role in its commodification. People visiting the forest want to get inside the ‘normal’ life of monkeys, e.g. see them eating, playing, and fighting. Encounters are commodified through the liveliness of monkeys and their ability to come close to the people. The economy of the Monkey Forest is largely dependent on these charismatic, slightly naughty animals. Specific conditions are set up to make encounters between people and monkeys possible. Firstly, there are no cages or fences, and secondly, there are rules made to avoid encounters going wrong. The encounters are emerging from dynamic interactions between the people and Balinese monkeys. Encounter value modifies ecological and social relations, which co-create productive economic activity. The monkeys in Ubud draw thousands of tourists eager to get an inside in the life of the monkeys. The commercialisation of encounters witnessed in the forest might have lasting effects on the monkeys’ behaviour.

The second mode involves the commodification of animals in the context of captivity through the traffic in animal bodies themselves, happening in the circulation and exchange of animals through trade. This type of commodification is seen at animals markets where Balinese monkeys they are sold. People sell monkeys to gain economic benefits. There are multiple encounters between monkeys and people in the trade circulation.

The third mode refers to virtual encounters, streamlined and manipulated to promote conservation. This mode cannot be seen in the Monkey Forest; it is tried to show the monkeys as much as possible in the wild. Nothing is manipulated regarding the monkeys in the forest to attract more tourists despite some people saying that Balinese monkeys are trained to steal. Another example of the commodification of monkeys is through the story of Hanuman, used to gain economic benefits, e.g. through the performances of local dances and souvenirs.

Since the monkeys in Ubud only produce money when the monkeys are alive, as ‘lively commodities’, and to have encounters between monkeys and tourists, its important to have healthy monkeys. That’s the main reason that local residents find the welfare of the monkeys in the forest as important.

6.4. The Influence on Behaviour

Wildlife value orientations and how they change should be well understood because of their significant role in explaining the variation in people’s behaviour towards wildlife and their attitudes towards topics related to the treatment of wildlife (Teel et al., 2007). While this research has its main focus on wildlife value orientations, it is important to mention that people’s behaviour towards animals is not only influenced by values. The debate concerning the influence of nature or nurture on human behaviour is one of the oldest debates in psychology. Different branches of psychology take different approaches regarding this topic (Zaky, 2015). Nativists take the position that human behaviours and characteristics are all most fully the result of inheritance. Their basic assumption is that human beings are the result of only evolution (Zaky, 2015). Environmentalists take the position at the other end of the spectrum. They

believe that at the beginning of everyone's lives, the human mind is a blank slate, gradually filled as a result of learning and experience (e.g. behaviourism). It is widely accepted now that not just one of the two positions is correct. A person's genes and environment do not act independently. Instead of researching one of the two positions, the interest of most psychological researchers lays with the interaction between nature and nurture (Zaky, 2015). It is not likely for value systems to be genetic, but more from learning and experience. So this research has taken more an environmentalist position.

Teel et al. (2007) argue that particular attitudes drive an individual's wildlife-related behaviour towards wildlife and are guided by wildlife value orientations. The main WVOs in this study (mutualism, caring, symbolism, repulsion, and materialism) come with particular behaviour towards the Balinese monkeys.

Teel et al., (2007) state that people with a strong mutualism orientation are more likely to engage behaviour enhancing the welfare of wildlife (e.g., feeding, nurturing hurt or abandoned animals) and are less likely to support behaviour leading to harm or even death to wildlife. People in Ubud with a mutualism orientation towards monkeys say to engage in such behaviour. They would never be aggressive towards monkeys and treat them with respect. The value orientation 'caring' which can be considered as part of 'mutualism' comes together with similar behaviours of people towards monkeys. Local people participate in celebrations and offerings for the monkeys to show their gratefulness and empathy towards the animals. In this study, the value orientation 'symbolic' also comes with welfare-enhancing behaviour. People do not participate in improper activities towards the monkeys, and the monkeys are protected in the forest. All three value orientations seem to have a positive influence on how local people think the Balinese monkeys should live and should be treated; they all encourage good practices towards monkeys. When people hold a strong materialism orientation are more likely to engage in behaviour that will prioritise the well-being of humans over it of wildlife. They will find behaviour that results in intrusive control of wildlife (e.g. death) to be acceptable, and the more likely these people will find justification for the use of wildlife for human interests (e.g., support for hunting). They will find actions that result in harm to wildlife more acceptable (Teel et al., 2007). Interestingly, people in Ubud with the value orientations materialism towards monkeys engage with welfare-enhancing behaviour. People say they take well care of the monkeys because of their economic importance. When people hold the value orientation 'repulsion', in contrast with the other WVOs, they show more aggression towards monkeys, e.g. throwing rocks. The respect that local people have for monkeys in the forest cannot be seen for monkeys outside of the forest.

Since no bad behaviour towards monkeys by local residents was witnessed it is hard to draw conclusions about the relation between behaviour and its influence. However, since multiple people state that monkeys are not always treated right, it is likely that in some cases there is a gap between attitudes and behaviour. This makes it necessary to discuss this briefly.

There is a great amount of literature about 'attitude-behaviour gap' linked to sustainable consumption and environmental awareness. Despite significant changes in the levels of general sensitivity, awareness, and anxiety towards social and environmental and questions, many people have not altered their purchasing decisions, life style, or general behaviour. The problem is that "a person's values or intentions are not put into practice" (Signori & Forno, 2016, p. 476), the so called 'attitude-behaviour gap'.

Steg and Vlek (2009) argue that there are underlying factors that change behaviour that need to be understood. Factors determining behaviour include (1) moral and normative concerns, (2) perceived costs and benefits, (3) contextual factors, (4) affect and (5) habits. In Ubud, for instance with regard to costs and benefits the choice of treatment of monkeys is dependent on variables such as economic income and the perceived benefits of the monkeys in the tourism industry. Costs can be when monkeys damage people's property and steal food. That seems to steer people to bad behaviour towards monkeys. Higher moral and normative concern for monkeys is associated with more welfare enhancing behaviour

towards monkeys. Hibbert et al., (2013) add a sixth factor can explain the gap between attitudes and behaviour, namely a variety of identities. It questions the assumption that changes in behaviour can be effectively managed when a person needs to manage a multiple identity interests. Thus, it is assumed that behaviour can change based on the identity a person takes on (Hibbert et al., 2013). This seems to be applicable to this research, since people can have a different identity in different situations, in the tourism industry, in religion, and in conflicts. These identities come together with certain behaviours.

In addition to this, Wieczorek Hudenko, H. (2012) explores ways in which cognition and emotions influence decision making concerning negative human-wildlife interactions. Interactions between wildlife and humans are characteristically emotionally charged events; individuals will experience excitement, worry, pleasure, fear, or a variety of other emotions. During an interaction, emotions can drive an individual's behaviour and the person's interpretation of that event. Emotions associated with an interaction between people and animals can drive an individual to engage in behaviours that encourage adverse events and can even lead to conflicts between humans and wildlife. When macaques come out of the Monkey Forest and come into neighbourhoods and damage people's properties, people will experience high emotions, e.g. anger, that may influence their behaviour. These emotions can explain that, even though people with value orientations related to welfare-enhancing behaviour, can practice harmful behaviour towards monkeys.

Moreover, Wieczorek Hudenko, H. (2012) argues that the level of risk associated with an interaction between humans and wildlife may affect the behavioural response of both humans and wildlife. Next to consequences for the behaviour of individuals, it has been argued that the risks perceived by the public regarding wildlife may negatively influence support for the conservation of wildlife. In a human-wildlife encounter that can lead to a conflict, the use of rational decision-making processes may be limited by certain factors (e.g., geographic setting, species type, number, and people's behaviour). Such limitations favour the incorporation of emotional aspects and thus, the usage of integrative models to explain and understand the processes of decision making. For example, the uncertainty of an event will increase the role of emotions in decision making.

Additionally, under much stress, individuals will rely on their immediate assessment of circumstances and associated emotional signals. When people experience anger at losses caused by the monkeys, e.g. damaging of crops, which is are very valuable for them, e.g. income of a family is depending on it, this can give much stress. In highly emotionally charged events like this, people often do not make rational decisions.

6.5. Human-Monkey Conflict

Lastly, it is necessary to reflect on the 'conflicts' between monkeys and local residents. Even though the monkeys are economically and religiously valuable for the local community in Ubud, there are conflicts with monkeys outside of the forest. These conflicts are often one-sided as the monkeys seem to irritate the local residents and may not experience it as a conflict. The apes do not behave differently, but the people behave differently at different places and associated functions of those places. In Ubud, interactions between people and monkeys seem to be a cause of conflicts between local people and monkeys and might be the reason the monkeys go out of the forest into the neighbourhoods.

Hudenko (2012) explains that habituation and food conditioning of wildlife can create risky and uncertain situations leading to negative human-wildlife interactions and are seen as significant causes of human-wildlife conflict. Both habituation and food conditioning seem to contribute to the conflicts in Ubud. Next to the fact that not many forests are left for monkeys to live in Bali, and they are therefore forced to enter human spaces.

Habituation is the waning of a behavioural reaction on repeated exposure to non-threatening stimuli. Typically, habituation of wild animals is the lack of behavioural fear response of animals to the presence of people after repeated, nonconsequential encounters. Habituated wild animals may use human spaces regularly and may travel or search for food within close range of humans (Hudenko, 2012). In the Monkey Forest, the monkeys are surrounded by people the whole time. In the forests are no cages and fences to keep the monkeys and people apart allowing (in)direct interactions between people and monkeys. Through the years the monkeys have been used to the people visiting the forest, and they are not scared for people. In the case of Monkey Forest Ubud, people come into the habitat of the monkeys. They were the first ones to take that place, not the other way around.

Another process that takes place in Ubud that may be one of the causes of conflicts is food conditioning. Food conditioning is the process by which animals associate people or human spaces with food and can occur either through a classical or operant conditioning mechanism (Hudenko, 2012). Under operant conditioning, it is more likely that a behaviour that is followed by satisfying or pleasurable stimulus (i.e., reinforcement) occurs again. Classical conditioning refers to an association that evolves between a conditioned stimulus and a conditioned response. Food conditioning can also arise if wildlife habituated to people is rewarded for approaching people or human spaces. In general, food conditioning leads to adverse outcomes for both humans and wildlife (e.g., sub-optimal habitat or diet) (Hudenko, 2012). In the Monkey Forest monkeys get food by tourists and the workers at fixed places and times which is not allowed. At the temples in the forest, people also lay food as part of the offerings, also at fixed places and times. The provision of food can have as a consequence that the monkeys come more often outside of the forest in the neighbourhoods to get food.

The decisions made by humans play a crucial role in both habituation of wild animals (e.g., approaching a monkey for a photograph) and food conditioning (e.g., giving the monkeys bananas in the forest) processes. These processes, in turn, may have impacts on the ways local people in Ubud interact with the Balinese monkeys, often leading to conflicts.

6.7 Suggestions for Future Research

This study has explored new topics of interests and raised new questions for further research. Firstly, future research can focus more on what influences people's perspective on animal welfare. During the fieldwork, it became clear that the term 'animal welfare' should not be studied as a self-contained concept, as several other aspects influence people's engagement with animal welfare in the society of Ubud. Animal welfare organisations named several aspects that influence how local people engage with animal welfare; these are the lack of education on animals, the developing economy of Bali, and laws on animals that are not enforced or taken seriously. Within and across different societies, there might be more or other aspects that influence people's perspective on animal welfare. Attaining information on how people think animals should be treated and why, is useful for guiding the development and management of policies, and educational efforts directed towards the conservation of wildlife.

In addition to this, as discussed in this research, wildlife value orientations are dependent on the context and can get WVOs crowded out by other WVOs. Further research can explore which WVOs get prioritised and why, by exploring more different contexts. Just as Schwartz' circular motivational continuum in which values are ordered, there might be an order among WVOs.

Tourism in Bali has grown the last decades enormously and will only grow more. At this moment, the WVOs concerning monkeys in a religious and tourism context seem to go well together, but when tourism continues to grow, these orientations must be 'monitored'. A shift in wildlife values alters the social context in which people treat animals. So if the WVOs in the religious context, with welfare-

enhancing behaviour towards animals, will get less important and materialistic values will get more important, there might be not a balance anymore, which can lead to harmful behaviour towards monkeys. This must be further researched.

Furthermore, in Ubud, the local community get the benefits from the Monkey Forest. They feel a responsibility towards the monkeys. Monkeys fulfil people's economic needs, and therefore, the materialistic value orientation was identified. Because of the monkeys' importance, people want to the Balinese monkeys to be well-taken care for. However, in many cases, wildlife parks or attractions are not owned by the local community. Different wildlife value orientations might be identified in these settings where local residents do not own the attraction.

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Appendix 1.

Codes	Colours
Basic health and Functioning	
Natural living	
Affective states	
Use of wildlife	
Conflict H-W	
Conflict H-H	
Cultural meaning	
Religious meaning	
Other	
Materialism	
Mutualism	
Symbolism	
Caring	
Attraction	
Repulsion	
Human safety	
Environmentalism	
Other	

Table 2. Code Scheme

Appendix 2.

Observations in Monkey Forest Ubud:

Posters with the guidelines for the tourists how to behave in the Monkey Forest are shown everywhere, and they are obvious. However, the moment I entered, I saw a girl posing with a monkey, she was standing next to the monkey and was very close. The monkey grabbed at her.

As mentioned the poster was everywhere, but I saw many times tourists doing things they were not allowed to do, like coming too close with the monkeys, trying to play with them with twigs, kicking against food, looking them from close into the eyes. Also, many tourists were wearing glasses, having plastic bags, bottles....etc.. Some tourists were even trying to scare the monkeys by making noises and by cutting their fingers.

At some places, I saw many tourists where there were a lot of monkeys, which made it look like the monkeys were a little stressed.

There were a lot of employers in the park, interacting with the tourists and looking if everything was okay. However, I never saw them saying things to tourists when they were doing something wrong.

In the Monkey Forest, I did not see any posters or signs with an explanation about the special/religious meaning of monkeys in Bali. *(makes me wonder if they think that is not interesting for tourists, that tourists just want to take pictures of the monkey, with knowing their meaning?)*

Little observation: many souvenirs animals, including many monkeys.

Observations in Bali Zoo:

It started with the deers that were walking around freely. Tourists did pet them, while it was not stated somewhere that that was allowed (I would then not do it). Same with birds. Also shows. Riding elephants, feeding lions and tigers. You can have breakfast with the orangutans. Riding on a pony, birds on your shoulders. There are many possibilities to interact with the animals, for a small amount of money. There were both Indonesian and foreign tourists. And there were many employers.

Everywhere there were signs what was not allowed to do with the animals, for example feeding them. Heard a tourist saying that it is sad the monkeys in the cage, but maybe they would die in the jungle. In my opinion, the monkey cages were not big. A few monkeys (gibbons) were living in the trees.

At the end they asked me to fill in a survey, about my opinions about certain things, also about the enclosures, cleanliness, different animals, how the employers were, if anything could be approved etc.. There were no Balinese monkeys in the zoo.

Observation Monkey forest Sangeh (a village near Ubud)

What I noticed is that there were way fewer tourists in this forest than the Monkey Forest in Ubud. In Monkey Forest Ubud, it was very busy. Also, there were way fewer signs with rules about how to behave. The forest is also way bigger than the other forest. At this forest I felt way more comfortable, the monkeys, in my opinion, were way more relaxed. One even was on my lap, and I gave a pinda. I would never have done that at the other forest. In the Ubud I saw workers interacting with the monkeys this was not the case in Sangeh. The few tourists I saw did nothing wrong.

Little observation homestay: have little birds in cages and chicken all day in cages.

Observation in Ubud animals

In the streets the only animals you see are dogs. The dogs are most of the time ignored by both tourists and local people. They often do not look that healthy. What I do see is that local children sometimes scare the dogs away or throw things at them. I see little birds in little cages, just as chickens.

Observation Monkey forest Ubud

A worker was feeding a monkey, every time the monkey clapped his hands it got a pinda. And this happened over and over again, a lot of tourists were watching it. One tourist was trying to give a monkey a plastic bottle, this is forbidden. Children were screaming, parents didn't say anything, screaming is discouraged in the forest. People come very close to the monkeys to take a picture of themselves with the monkey. I saw a monkey hanging on a visitor. I saw a staff member throwing food hard to a monkey, from very close. People with a selfie stick come very close to the monkeys. In the forest they also have a show, sacred dancing. This is without monkeys. I also saw a monkey stealing food in a plastic bag from a visitor. And a monkey trying to steal a plastic bottle. I saw once that a staff member corrected a tourist to not come close to a monkey.

Observation day tour Bali

In the car of the tour driver were some thick red ants, what I noticed is that he didn't kill the ants but grab them and through the window he got them outside.

The first visit of the day tour was to the Barong & Kris Dance, the Balinese mythological dance. It is a dance story (Hindu). In the introduction of the dance, the Barong (representing goodness) is followed by his friend the monkey. Three men try to take revenge on the Barong because it killed one of their children, but instead of killing the Barong, the nose of the three men is cut off by the monkey.

The third visit was to a place where they make tea and coffee, including the Luwak coffee. This is the most expensive coffee in the world, and from Bali. This coffee is very popular with tourists. The Luwak, the Asian Palm Civet, eat only the prime coffee cherries chosen by itself; ripe and clean, then they poop this out, and this will be used for the coffee. I heard stories that the Luwaks were not treated well because many people want to earn money with them, and don't really concern their welfare. I asked a worker if people catch them to earn money, but he said that is not the case. The Luwak lives in the jungle, and the people will look for the poop. The Luwak is very special for them. They did themselves did have Luwaks at their place. But it was open, so the Luwak can go away, they say.

During my stay in Ubud so far I have seen a lot of dogs in the streets in Ubud. It is totally different than in the Netherlands. A lot of these dogs are Balinese dogs. Some of these dogs look good, but a lot of them look unhealthy. Most of the locals ignore the dogs, they don't touch or pet, but also don't chase them away. They will always take care they won't hit the dogs when they are on the street. The dogs are not aggressive to people (still a little scared sometimes). I have seen a house where little dogs, not the Balinese dogs, are chained most of the days in front of the house, with a very short chain.

On the way to the beach, going outside of Ubud, I see a lot of houses that sell birds in little cages, I saw that less in Ubud where all the tourists are. Makes me wonder if they hide it from the tourists.

Day tour 2 observation:

Traditional house: many animals, dog cat, chicken bird. The birds were in little cages. The tour guide does not like them, needs to be in the wild. Turtle Island in Bali: turtles are not on the beach, they are in small seemingly swimming pools but not deep. People can hold them for a picture. They actually encourage you to do it. there were also other animals who you can hold or touch for a picture. You can also feed baby monkeys. They say that half of the money earned with the pictures will go to the animals. They say it is also for education. There were many students there, but it didn't really look like education. For me there were too many people at the places with the animals. They were running and screaming. Birds were on robes. Students were holding snakes. Didn't get a lot of information, not really education. They really wanted me to hold and touch animals, but I didn't want too. They say they saved the animals, but I'm not sure about that. They say the turtles were from fishermen.

A saw a gathering of men in public, I asked a man what was going on, he said it was for fighting off the chicken. I did not watch. But it didn't seem something ceremonial. They were not wearing special clothes. Furthermore, the people were actually only men, and they didn't seem happy but tenser.

Animal market Denpasar:

It was a small market with a lot of animals in small cages. They had a lot of guinea pigs, birds, but also bats, baby monkeys, reptiles, cats, puppies, geese, and chicken. The baby monkeys were chained or in small cages. Many animals were put in one cage. What I noticed is that there were mostly local people, almost no tourists. A lot of men.