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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Tourism and wildlife photography codes of ethics: Developing a clearer picture

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ABSTRACT

The global wildlife tourism industry's sustained growth has placed significant degrees of pressure on wildlife attractions, even though there is a push to make the industry more responsible. Photography, ethics, and wildlife are all important aspects of the wildlife tourism experience. While research exists on all three of these elements, there is a paucity of research that intersects all three. The aim of this study was to investigate wildlife photography codes of ethics based on a global search of all web sources based on content analysis. Codes were found to be primarily deontological over teleological, and cosmopolitan over local in origin.

Introduction

Photography, ethics, and wildlife are all important aspects of the tourist experience. It is unlikely that we would ever venture off to a destination without a camera or smart phone (or both) to capture the most important moments of our tourism episodes. Increasingly, there are questions around the ethics and responsibility of our interactions with local people (Caton, 2012), animals (Bulbeck, 2005), and even plants (Cohen & Fennell, 2019). A focus on ethics and responsibility in wildlife tourism becomes important given that wildlife tourism is growing at approximately 10% per year (UNWTO, 2015), and, globally, is responsible for US$343.6 billion and 21.8 million jobs (WTTC, 2019). In Africa alone, wildlife tourism represents 36.3% of tourism GDP (WTTC, 2019).

It is problematic, however, that in the face of this massive increase in wildlife tourists' motivation to connect with wildlife, they are largely unable to recognise the negative effects they have on wildlife attractions (Moorhouse, Dahlsjo, Baker, D'Cruze, & Macdonald, 2015). Tourism scholars have consistently argued that education is a key factor in making the industry more sustainable and responsible in wildlife tourism and in tourism more generally (Boyle, Wilson, & Dimmock, 2015). Codes of ethics have proven to be an important tool by which to educate tourists in a variety of different contexts. This is especially true of ecotourism, which seems to have garnered the lion's share of interest when it comes to the connection between codes, education and the tourism industry (Mason, 1994; Stonehouse, 1990).

Along with the popularity of wildlife tourism is a parallel interest in wildlife photography as evidenced by an increasing number of amateur and professional wildlife photographers, and their focus on obtaining professional quality images of rare species in pristine settings (Furtman, 2020; Nicholls, 2020). The fallout from this rising popularity is heightened pressure on wildlife habitats and species (Gabriel, 1991). This has prompted some organisations like Conservation India, to show concern for the safety and wellbeing of animal subjects through wildlife photography codes of ethics (Datatri & Sreenivasan, no date). But as our search of the extant literature will show in the following section, there is very little research that intersects photography, wildlife tourism, and

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ethics, and no studies that do so from the perspective of codes of ethics. It is therefore the purpose of this research to investigate wildlife photography codes of ethics through the use of content analysis. In accomplishing this end, the study replicates the theoretical framework employed by Malloy and Fennell (1998) involving deontological and teleological ethics as buttressed against a cosmopolitan-local frame of reference. A further intent is to investigate how codes of ethics are structured and what messages they are relaying to wildlife tourist photographers for the objective of informing and influencing behaviour according to several key themes. These include getting too close to animals, protection and conservation, modifying landscapes for photography, and food provisioning.

Literature review: photography, ethics & wildlife tourism

Photography has a chequered past in how it informs, or is informed by, the academic domain. In some disciplines such geography, photography has a strong, sustained presence. Geography, for example, is a visual discipline that relies on maps, photographs, videos, slides, etc., in the interpretation of geographical phenomena in what Rose (2003) characterised as a "performance."

In tourism studies, however, photography has received, comparatively, scant academic attention (Crawshaw & Urry, 1997; Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). Much of this research has been informed by the tourist gaze, where the primary sense used to experience tourism phenomenon is visual, i.e., when we gaze we visually consume places (Urry, 1990/2002). The gaze implies sets of discursive determinations that are socially constructed (Larsen & Yrry, 2011). Tourism is thus seen as a production system that is practiced through photography, in which the two are viewed as inseparable and often constitute a closed circle of representation. For example, tourist photographs often reflect and inform typical images of destinations such as postcards (Stevenson, n.d.; Garrod, 2009). Additionally, the concept of power occurs frequently in the literature on tourist photography. For Sontag (1977) in *On Photography*, there is recognition that travel for the purpose of affecting change is much different than travel for the sake of accumulating photographs. In this latter sense, the camera is a tool used to shield the tourist from disorientation while at the same time claiming ownership of international destinations in the most superficial, gratifying and incomplete way. As the tourist's sense of entitlement grows, there can be an erosion of understanding of the places visited (Nudelman, 2014). The reverse gaze has also been explored in the literature on tourist photography, whereby photographers feel a sense of embarrassment as their identity, and their ethics, becomes the subject of the gaze of the photographee (Gillespie, 2008). While much of this literature explores dominant themes around the exotic "other", studies also show that photography can open up opportunities for playfulness, the alleviation of poverty, and intercultural exchange, and togetherness (Markwell, 1997; Scarles, 2012).

The arrival of ethics in tourism is now well documented and shall not be reproduced here. Among a growing number of articles on the topic there are several books in the tourism literature that provide a foundation for continued research in this expanding area of study (Fennell, 2018a; Lovelock & Lovelock, 2013). We are now, more than ever, cognisant of our ethical responsibility as tourists and service providers to protect the interests of nature and other cultures, as noted above (see Bures, 2006). An important component of the moral discourse in tourism lies in the area of codes of ethics. Defined, a code of ethics is "an attempt to purposely influence or control the ethical dimensions of members' organizational behaviour." (Cassell, Johnson, & Smith, 1997, p. 1080). Codes are voluntary mechanisms used to inspire tourism stakeholders to be more responsible in their behaviour.

The industry has generated a profusion of codes of ethics for a variety of different attractions and places, as well as codes for and by a number of different stakeholders (Garrod & Fennell, 2004; Payne & Dimanche, 1996). The inherent challenge in the use of codes of ethics is how to represent the complex needs of so many different tourism stakeholder groups through a common set of ethical guidelines (Fennell & Malloy, 2007). In this regard, some theorists contend that ethics are like a series of anchor points that provide sensitivity of others and for others (Cloke, 2004). Tourism scholars have also criticised the use of codes of ethics by suggesting that they are no more than window dressing (Wheeller, 1994), and because of their focus on rights-based theory according to rules and regulations (Haller, 2017). Better, Haller contends, would be to use the grammar of virtue ethics, which focuses not on what we should or should not do, but rather what type of person one ought to be in the satisfaction of touristic goals.

Like ethics, the literature on wildlife tourism has grown steadily over the course of the last two decades alongside related forms such as ecotourism. Wildlife tourism encompasses both consumptive and non-consumptive uses of wildlife in wild (in situ) and captive (ex situ) settings (Higginbottom, 2004), and consists of activities such as viewing, photography, as well as more consumptive activities such as hunting, fishing, trapping, and feeding live animals to other animals (Fennell, 2012). In contrast, ecotourism emphasises non-consumptive uses of animals in-situ (e.g., parks and protected areas), rather than zoos and other captive sites. A consistent theme in the wildlife tourism literature is the notion that we socially and culturally construct nature and wildlife in different ways according to class, gender, ethnicity, and age (see for example Livingston, 1981; Russell & Ankenman, 1996). We also commodify wildlife (Brooks, Spierenburg, Van Brakel, Kolk, & Lukhozi, 2011) and treat animals instrumentally as objects instead of subjects (Burns, 2015). As such, how we present wildlife to the viewing public often serves the purpose of wildlife tourism producers and consumers around masculine systems of rationality and value that marginalize animals such as polar bears (Yudina & Grimwood, 2016).

Intersections

A review of sources in the tourism studies literature indicates that photography, wildlife, and ethics have intersected in a variety of different contexts. Scholars have investigated tourism and photography, ethics and photography, wildlife tourism and photography, tourism ethics, wildlife photography and tourism, and various other combinations. To our knowledge, there are no studies in the tourism literature that have made all three of these themes a central focus as they relate to codes of ethics. What follows is a brief

overview of studies that have combined photography, wildlife tourism, and ethics in various combinations.

In reference to *tourism*, *photography* and *ethics*, some authors provide an invitation for a renewed ethics of engagement between landscape and vision (through photography)—a type of reciprocal embodied interchange between landscape and photography as representation (Yusoff, 2007). Scholars have also drawn a link between ethics and photography in tourism from the perspective of Levinas's work on relational ethics. The face of the other calls for a heightened sense of not only responsibility towards the other but also critical engagement and reflection. There is a critical turn, therefore, that moves from an ethical focus not on the tourist, but rather on the other (Höckert, Lüthje, Ilola, & Stewart, 2018; see also Grimwood, 2013).

Scarles (2009) argues that photography and photographs are rather like ethical prompts that are both awkward and confusing for tourists (the photographer) and the photographee. Both try to negotiate space, time, selfishness, discomfort, uneasiness, and response in their efforts to define what is ethical and responsible in their fleeting relationships (Scarles, 2013). Even in disciplines outside of tourism there are concerns about the ethical quandaries inherent in photographing others. Nursing students in study abroad programs should be educated about the ethics of photography in efforts to better understand global health issues (Maltby, 2017).

Several studies have emerged in recent years over ethical issues surrounding the use of wildlife in tourism. The foundation of these studies can be found in work by Hughes (2001) documenting the anthropocentric nature of wildlife tourism management, and the need to incorporate ethics in better valuing the lives of animals drawn into the service of the tourism industry (see Fennell, 2012, for a broader discussion on this topic). Other studies have used moral theory to demonstrate how the interests of humans overwhelmingly override the interests of animals. Examples include utilitarianism and marine wildlife (Dobson, 2011), ecocentric theory and dingoes in Australia (Burns, Macbeth, & Moore, 2011), consumptive forms of wildlife tourism in marine systems (Garrod, 2007), various ethical positions in the moral acceptability of gambling and horse racing (Markwell, Firth, & Hing, 2017), helicopter assisted trophy hunting (Lovelock, 2015), and exploring how care ethics can help in the moral development of elephant tourism volunteers in Thailand (Taylor, Hurst, Stinson, & Grimwood, 2019). Food provisioning is also an ethical issue in tourism as tourists clamour to get closer to the objects of their desire. For example, Ziegler et al. (2018) found that tourists favoured the provisioning of whale sharks in the Philippines on economic and enjoyment grounds, as well justification over the belief that the welfare of whale sharks was not impacted by such practices.

Scholars have also placed considerable effort into research on photography and wildlife. While the focus of these studies is squarely on wildlife and photography, often these studies deal with ethical issues although these ethics is not made explicit. Carville (2003) contends that the natural world was increasingly brought into contact with the cultural world through tourism and through the travelogues of amateur natural historians. A big part of these natural history travels, Carville adds, involved the use of photography, which enabled the traveller to bring nature into the life spaces of society contributing to a different and new social construction of nature, often through strict codes of representation of nature as orderly, “benevolent and beautiful” (Stevenson, n.d., p. 1). Stephenson continues by suggesting that what is missing from these photographs is any evidence of humanity—a denial of a human interface—despite the fact that a human (or several humans) was present to take the picture.

Curtain (2009) argues that connecting with wildlife is an experience that is said by tourists to be ‘beyond words’ in emoting feelings of awe and wonder leading to psychological health benefits and spiritual fulfilment. However, Curtain also found that the use of tools such as wildlife scopes and cameras could interrupt the sense of flow (see Csikszentmihalyi, 1990) that is sought in these experiences leading to frustration if camera abilities fall short of challenges. Newsome, Moore, and Dowling (2002) found that at Kingfisher Park in Australia, managers would often modify habitat (e.g., introduction of bird attracting trees and shrubs) and provide a structured feeding program for the purpose of enhancing photographic opportunities of birds, which leads to ethical concerns noted in the previous section (see also Newsome & Rodger, 2008). Other authors have argued that ecotourist photography has the potential of decontextualising animals, such as orangutans, when we see them in captive or ex-captive situations. Russell and Ankenman (1996) found that photographs of ex-captive orangutans were a surrogate for orangutans in the wild, which otherwise are difficult to see, and if seen, are normally high in the canopy and difficult to photograph. The danger of such an approach is that animals are quickly reduced to commodities, with an associated erosion of rationale for species conservation as the value of the commodity diminishes (Russell & Ankenman, 1996).

The ‘photograph as trophy’ theme was explored by Leopold (1949/1966), who argued that a focus on the extrinsic (trophy) takes precedence over the intrinsic nature of the experience. Lemelin (2006) explored this dimension in investigating of ocular consumption and polar bear tourism in Churchill, Manitoba, Canada. Lemelin found that tourists often placed more stock in securing a photograph of a bear than actually understanding the characteristics and qualities of polar bears. He also discovered that photography can be less art and more a chance to mimic the behaviour and images of other photographers who are more experienced. Wildlife tourists can be classified, and perceive themselves, as serious participants, bridging from the serious leisure literature (Stebbins, 1992). The clothes they wear, camera gear they carry, level of skill they possess are all markers that define the nature of their experience (Fletcher, 2014).

Research has also focused on the use of light to access darker landscapes and seascapes. Artificial lighting as said to be a marker of civilisation, and natural darkness as wilderness (Stone, 2018). The question is when we introduce light into wilderness settings are we somehow disrupting this dualism? In a study of the behavioural and pathomorphological impacts of flash photography from scuba diving on several fish occupying benthic regions of an aquatic system, it was found that the effect of photographic flashes was negligible on retinal and ocular anatomy, and with little effect on feeding behaviour (De Brauwer et al., 2019). Tourism scholars investigating nature-based tourism episodes have also found that almost all of the photographs taken by a sample of nature-based tourists (22-day tour) were taken during daylight hours (Markwell, 1997). Markwell also found that as the trip progressed, nature-based tourists took fewer pictures, and that tourists were more interested in being active participants during their tour and less interested in being spectators.

Confluence

As noted above, there is little research in tourism studies that positions photography, ethics and wildlife tourism together as a central theme. The closest is work by Bertella (2013) who used promotional pictures of animals to show concern or lack of concern for the ethical treatment of animals, and how these relate to theories of animal rights, eco-feminism and utilitarianism. Lemelin and Wiersma (2007) make passing mention of these themes in combination in their work on polar bears in Churchill, Manitoba. They conclude that if wildlife viewing is to succeed in polar regions, there must be an overall respect for nature as well as dignity for species, like polar bears, in the pursuit of a broader environmental ethic for wildlife tourism.

Another notable approach to photography that resonates with the present study is referred to as conservation photography. This practice takes place at the intersection of skill in photography, environmental knowledge, and commitment to conservation—art, ethics, and action in the words of Mittermeier (2005), or "camera for a cause" (Norton, 2016, p. 11). Conservation photography has been investigated in environmental education as a legitimate pedagogical enterprise (Farnsworth, 2011). It has also been used as a powerful message for achieving conservation objectives. For example, foundations and NGOs often use photographs for fundraising (Kennedy, 2009), as well as by professional and amateur photographers (Norton, 2016). Some regions have taken the lead in ethical wildlife photography in efforts to avoid behaviours that compromise the interests of animals, and the enjoyment of other wildlife photographers. Tasmania's "Guidelines for ethical nature photography in Tasmania" includes four main sections (Natural Resource Management South, n.d.). Section A is on general principles of ethical nature photography; section B on ethical wildlife photography (with subsections on bird photography and shorebird photography); section C on ethical flora and landscape photography; and section D on risks associated with camera technologies including drones and camera traps.

Theoretical framework

We base the theoretical framework for this paper on work by Malloy and Fennell (1998), who used one conceptual framework based on two theories: theoretical ethics (the content of codes) and the other on locus of analysis (the place of codes), to investigate codes of ethics used in the tourism industry. The aim at this juncture is not to replicate exactly the essence of the discussion around this framework (refer to Malloy & Fennell, 1998), but to provide a basic overview of their approach.

In order to answer the question on *what should I do in a particular situation*, theoretical ethics provides guidance. On one hand, deontological ethics arms us with the ability to act in accordance with rules, laws, theological doctrines, or social contracts that allows us to do our duty. Deontology, therefore, describes ethical conduct according to the right means, i.e., if we follow the proper policy, procedure, or rules, we will have done our duty, we will have acted ethically. In this sense, the consequences of our actions are judged to be secondary in importance. In reference to the present study, we would follow a code of ethics to the letter of the law, therefore, in the absence of any rationale for doing so because it is our duty.

By contrast, teleological or ends-based theories of ethics focus on the proper consequences of our actions. Malloy and Fennell (1998) argue that there are two main theoretical domains inherent within the teleological manner of reasoning. The first is hedonism where the focus is on the greatest pleasure and least amount of pain for an individual agent. The second, utilitarianism, refers to the greatest good and least amount of pain for the greatest number. One form of utilitarianism, rule-utilitarianism, is premised around the notion that the best end for the most people may be obtained by following prescribed rules. As such

> Rule-utilitarianism, it may be argued, has most relevance to the codification of behaviour because it not only provides a prescriptive code of behaviour, it also indicates the rationale for doing so. For example, *one must follow a particular policy X because it results in the greatest good Y for the greatest number Z*.
>
> (Malloy & Fennell, 1998, p. 455)

Locus of analysis refers to the scale in which codes of ethics have been developed. The local context refers to a reference point that is geared towards organisations as well as regional and national contexts. A code of ethics that has been developed for Tasmania, for example, would be considered as a local code of ethics, where the members of that region, and those who choose to visit this region, would need to internalise the norms and values in guiding their behaviour in that region. The cosmopolitan context focuses on the global perspective or even the profession or society-at-large if this is defined according to a broad-scale context. Fig. 1 provides an overview of the theoretical dimensions of this research.

Methodology

Content analysis

Content analysis can be employed to analyse any piece of communication—written, oral, or visual. Defined, content analysis "is a research method that provides a systematic and objective means to make valid inferences from verbal, visual or written data in order to describe and quantify specific phenomena" (Downe-Wambolt, 1992, p. 314). The interpretation of meaning from content adheres to the naturalistic inquiry paradigm, and our research is characterised as descriptive in our pursuit of meaning, understanding and process, which we gain through words (Creswell, 1994; Merriam, 1988). Content analysis has the benefit of being an unobtrusive form of analysis that does not necessitate having significant time or financial resources to complete research (Bengtsson, 2016). It is frequently used in a number of disciplines and fields including psychology, sociology, political science, media studies, marketing, and tourism (Garrod, 2009).

		Theories of Ethics	
		Deontology	Teleology
Locus of Analysis (LOA)	Cosmopolitan	Cosmopolitan deontology (e.g., 'recognition that all forms and all aspects of tourism have an impact on the environment')	Cosmopolitan teleology (e.g., maintaining and promoting natural, social and cultural diversity is essential for long-term sustainable tourism, and creates a resilient based for the industry')
	Local	Local deontology (e.g., in Canada: 'foster greater public awareness of the economic, social, cultural, and environmental significance of tourism')	Local teleology (e.g., in Switzerland: 'tourism should not involve speculation leading to rocketing land prices, which make property too expensive for locals')

Fig. 1. Theoretical framework: Ethics-LOA matrix.
Adapted from Malloy and Fennell (1998).

Content analysis can take on one of two basic forms. The first is manifest content analysis, which involves the analysis of observable content from a source or surface structure, i.e., "What has been said?" The second, latent content analysis, searches for the underlying meaning of the content of a source or deep structure, i.e., "What is intended to be said?" (Bengtsson, 2016). Furthermore, there are three different approaches that have evolved in content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The first, conventional, is characterised by observation, codes defined during data analysis, and codes derived from the data. The third, summative, is characterised by a focus on keywords which are identified before and during data analysis, and where keywords are derived from the interest of researchers or a review of literature. We employed the second approach referred to as directed content analysis. This involves an approach where codes are defined before and during data analysis, and where codes are derived from theory (our theoretical framework, above) or relevant research findings (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p.1286).

Data and sampling framework

Our sampling framework involved an online search of wildlife and nature photography codes of ethics using keywords such as "wildlife" "nature" "photography" and "ethics" in various configurations. Saturation took place when redundancies were encountered through the search process, i.e., the same codes began to appear in different publications. Furthermore, the units of analysis selected were the individual guidelines of the 38 codes of ethics found, comprising a total of 456 individual statements or guidelines (see Appendix 1 for a list of these codes and their URLs). The codes used in this study represent many world regions (Fig. 3) and are representative of industry, individuals, government, associations and NGOs. The Cochran formula was employed to insure the selected sample size represents an ideal sample (n). To do this, the total search results obtained with the above keywords searching in Google was consider as the population size (N). The search results showed a record of 1080 documents comprised of blogs, websites, codes of ethics and other documents. Considering this population size with a desired level of precision (d = 5%), desired confidence level ($\alpha = 0.05$), and the estimated proportion of the attribute present in the population (p = .5, q = 0.5), the minimum recommended sample size was 37 codes of ethics.

Each of the 456 statements was subject to a manifest content analysis, i.e., the frequency of times a word occurs in sample of codes of ethic, which is then turned into quantitative data. To this end, all 456 statements were interpreted and placed into one of four main categories according to the ethics-LOA Construct (Fig. 1). This was followed by the identification of six other data categories and their subcategories (Fig. 2) based on the characteristics of the data. "Developed by" and "Developed for" statements were classified in four subcategories respectively. Associations and individuals developed most of the online available codes of ethics, while most of statements were developed for wildlife photographers. "Mood of message" was determined according to statements that were written in a positive mood, i.e., "do this", while negative statements were written as "don't do this". "Statement Type" was defined in reference to a specific animal, e.g., bird, or in the sense of wildlife tourism photography in general. "Main focus of guideline" was subcategorized along five different dimensions including people, resource base, man-made sites, animals and an "other" subcategory.

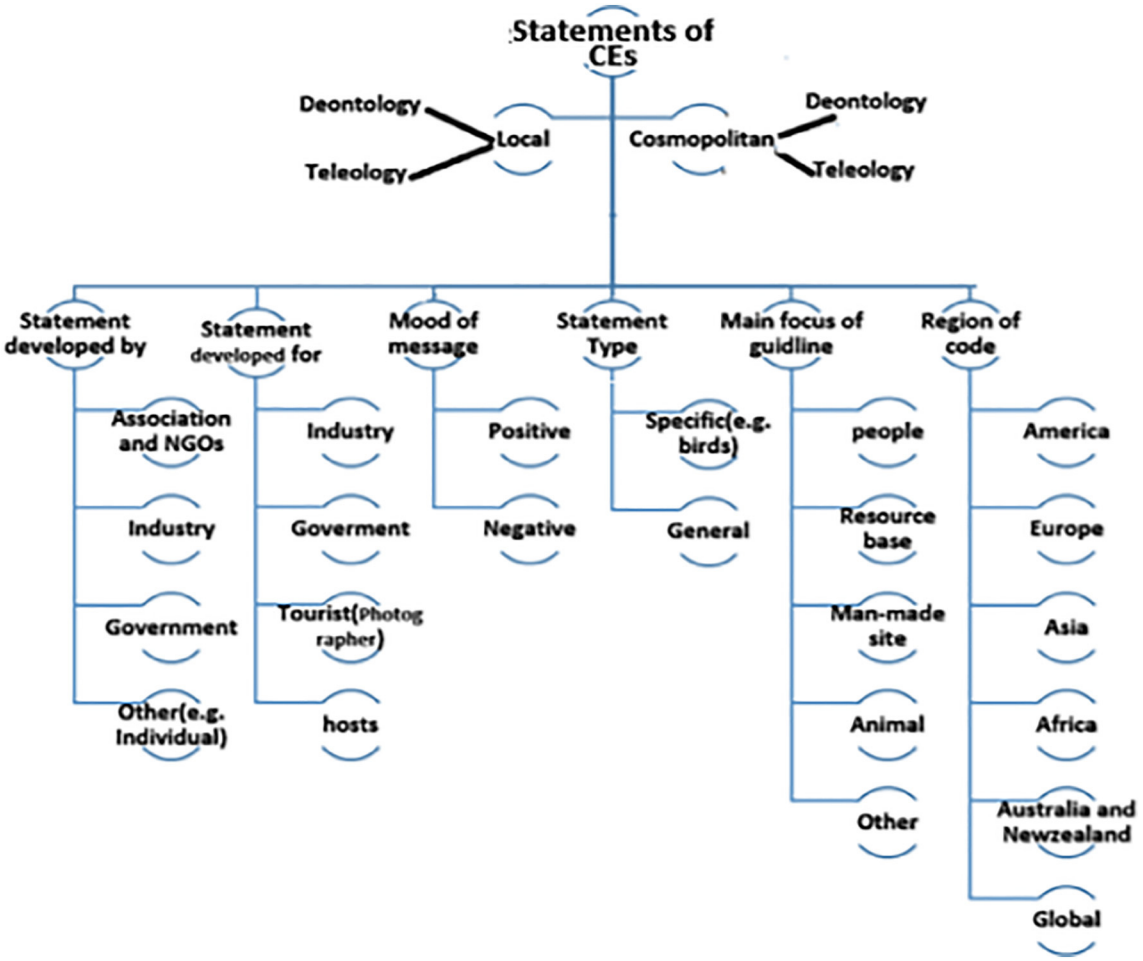

Fig. 2. The methodology applied to wildlife photography codes of ethics (CEs).

Finally, region of code was included to investigate the geographical distribution of codes across different continents.

Categories and sub-categories for analysis were determined according to the following framework identified by Kaid (1989): (1) formulating the research questions to be answered, (2) selecting the sample to be analysed, (3) defining the categories to be applied, (4) outlining the coding process and the coder training, (5) implementing the coding process, (6) determining trustworthiness, and (7) analyzing the results of the coding process. Codes were analysed manually and by use of Microsoft word for the process of counting and categorizing statements and phrases. Two researchers were involved in the coding of the data in order to determine reliability. The first coder completed an analysis of the entire data set, while the second coder drew a randomized sample of 50% of the statements. An inter-coder reliability factor of 96.8% was attained using this method. Finally, the collected data was examined to find patterns and draw conclusions by using statistical analysis in response to our research question.

Given that our main objective was to investigate the relationship between theories of ethics juxtapostioned with locus of analysis, we state the following null hypothesis:

$H_{0:}$ The frequency of statements in the four main categories of cosmopolitan deontology, local deontology, cosmopolitan teleology and local teleology categories is the same.

A chi square (X^2) statistic is used to test for differences between observed frequencies and frequencies that were expected for different statements. The formula for the chi-square statistic used in the chi square test is:

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{(o_i - e_i)^2}{e_i}$$

where o is the observed frequency and e is the expected frequency.

Table 1
General information.

Category	n = 38	%
Statement developed by		
Association (e.g. NGOs)	12	31.6
Industry	5	13.2
Government	6	15.8
Other (e.g. individual)	15	39.5
Statement developed for		
Industry	6	15.7
Government	4	10.5
Tourists (photographers)	28	73.8
Mood of message		
Negative	20	52.6
Positive	18	47.4
Main focus of guideline		0.0
Wildlife photographer	10	26.3
Resource base	8	21.1
Man-made site	1	2.6
Animal	14	36.8
Other	5	13.2
Region of code		
America	12	31.6
Europe	8	21.1
Asia	4	10.5
Africa	2	5.3
Australia, New Zealand	3	7.9
Global	9	23.7

Results

General information

Most of the codes of ethics were developed by individual wildlife photographers (39.6%) followed by associations (31.6%), while government and industry developed 15.8% and 13.2% of the codes, respectively (Table 1). The most prominent group the codes were developed for was tourists (wildlife photographers) representing almost three-quarters of all guidelines, followed by industry (15.7%) and government (10.5%). Just over one-half (52.6%) of the statements were written in a proscriptive or negative manner forbidding or restricting behaviour (e.g., "*Do not move or remove anything around a nest or den, as it may be providing both essential camouflage and protection from the elements*"), while 47.4% of the statements were written in a positive manner (e.g., "*We mostly stay on roads, paths or trails and we do everything to keep the habitat disturbance to a minimum*"). This suggests that codes of ethics and their respective guidelines are not overwhelmingly positive or negative in their construction.

The "Main focus of guideline" in Table 1, indicates that the majority of codes were focused on wildlife animals and photographers. This category was developed to provide more detailed information on the subject or direction of guidelines. In general most statements focused on animals (36.8%) and people (26.3%) followed by resources (21.1%) and man-made sites (2.6%). The "other" subcategory included statements that gave off multiple messages and was difficult to put in one discrete category (13% of statements). Table 1 also shows that most of the codes were derived from North America (31.6%), while 36.8% were general or global in nature and 21.1% of the 38 codes derived from Europe. Less than one-quarter of codes were derived from Asia (10.5%), Australia- New Zealand (7.9%), and Africa (5.3%).

Frequency of different ethical categories of codes

Fig. 3 shows the frequencies of statements for 8 different categories. Because some statements were developed for a specific species (e.g. mammals or birds) we categorized the specific-based statements as four different categories using the same methodology as we did for the rest of the statements. Table 2 shows some examples of the analysed statements. Overall, 72% of statements were general and 28% were classified as species-specific statements.

The prevalence of deontology as an ethical basis of codes of ethics is seen in Fig. 3. The four deontological categories (specific cosmopolitan deontology, specific local deontology, cosmopolitan deontology, and local deontology) represented 71% of all statements. By contrast, 28.9% of all statements were teleological in nature. More specifically, of the 456 statements analysed, 207(45%) were found to be cosmopolitan deontology, 22(4.8%) were local deontology, 21(4.6%) were classified as local teleology, and 78 (17.1%) were cosmopolitan teleology. Regarding the specific-species statements, most of these (74.3%) were deontological in nature while 25.7% were teleological.

Furthermore, within the deontological realm alone, the vast majority of codes were cosmopolitan in their locus (82%) with only 18% as local deontology. Most of the codes of ethics, therefore, were deontological in nature and established in a general

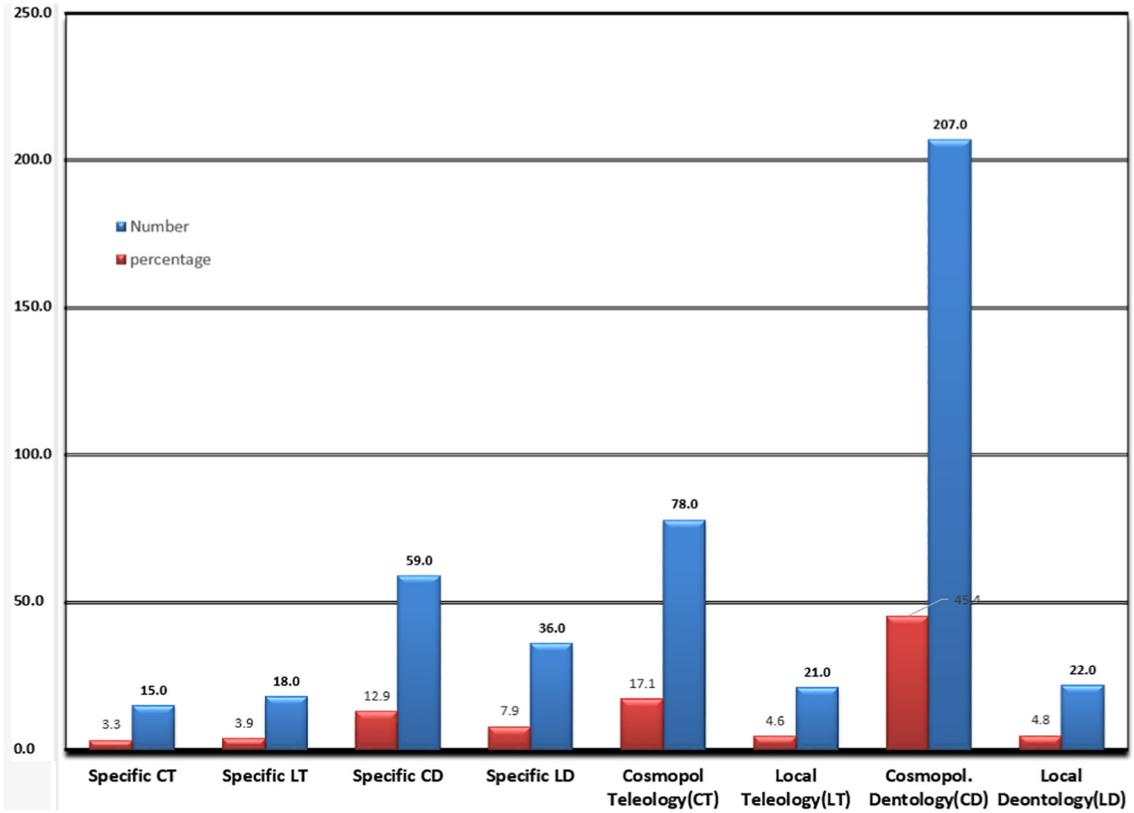

Fig. 3. Ethics-Locus of Analysis data.
Frequency (blue) and percentage (red) of statements in eight ethical categories.
"Specific" means the code was developed for a specific animal or group of animals such as birds. (For interpretation of the references to colour in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article.)

Table 2
Examples of different ethics/LOA categories of codes.

Category	Example statement
Local deontology(LD)	When in our park, please do not photograph animals at their nests or dens.
Cosmopolitan deontology(CD)	Do not photograph animals at their nests or dens.
Local teleology(LT)	When in our park, please do not photograph animals at their nests or dens, as this stress may lead to disturbance of young.
Cosmopolitan Teleology(CT)	Do not photograph animals at their nest or dens, as this stress may lead to disturbance of young
Specific LD	When in our park, please do not photograph osprey at their nests.
Specific CD	Do not photograph osprey at their nests.
Specific LT	When in our park, please do not photograph osprey at their nests, as this stress may lead to disturbance of chicks.
Specific CT	Do not photograph osprey at their nests, as this stress may lead to disturbance of chicks

(cosmopolitan) context. The same pattern was evident with respect to the teleological codes. 78.8% of the general teleological codes were cosmopolitan, while 21.2% were local in origin. However, in regards to the species-specific teleology, local teleology codes (18 statements) were more numerous than cosmopolitan teleology (15 statements) ones. Considering equality in frequency of different categories as stated in H_0, the chi-square test indicates statistically significant evidence ($\chi^2 = 7.6$, $p < .0001$) at $\alpha = 0.01$ to show that H_0 is false. While we expect an equal frequency (114) of statements for the four main categories of cosmopolitan deontology, local deontology, cosmopolitan teleology and local teleology categories, the observed frequencies were 266, 58, 93 and 39, respectively. The chi-square test indicates that majority of codes were in cosmopolitan deontology.

Frequency of statements that a wildlife photographer should follow or be familiar with

Our investigation showed that in total, 81 out of 456 statements are about the key rules that a wildlife photographer should follow or be familiar with (Fig. 4). The most frequent statement that a wildlife photographer should be familiar with was distance. This statement was mentioned in 62% of the codes. This includes both photographer as well as animals (e.g. *View wildlife from a safe,*

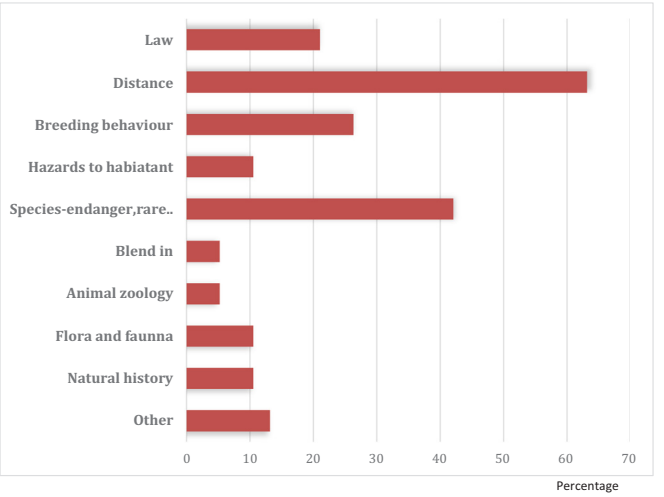

Fig. 4. Frequency (%) of statements that a wildlife photographer should follow or be familiar with in the wildlife photography codes of ethics.

respectful distance for both you and them…100 yards for bears and wolves; 25 yards for all other wildlife). Just over 42% of the 38 codes have at least one statement about endangered and rare species, illustrating that it is important for photographers to understand threats to wildlife species. Publishing photographs of these species may have negative and positive consequences. For example, poachers could use the information from where an image was taken to target certain species. On the other hand, wildlife photography can be a great tool for raising awareness about endangered species and environments in need of conservation.

Wildlife photographers should also be familiar with breeding behaviour of animals, which is also listed as one of the top three subjects (26%) in the codes of ethics. It is important to avoid any animal disturbance during their breeding season, especially for birds when it distracts them from courtship and nest-guarding behaviours. To protect wildlife, there are many laws (just over 20% in Fig. 4) that a wildlife photographer must follow, which vary according to location, species, purpose, and method of photography. Wildlife photographers are encouraged to always respect the laws and the rights of others (e.g. "*Entering private property only with the owner's permission*", or "*Respect those lawfully hunting and fishing within these multiple use lands.*"). In some cases, wildlife photographers were encouraged to follow a 'golden rule' such as "*Take nothing but photographs, leave nothing but footprints, kill nothing but time*" (see Chapman, 2019).

A wildlife photographer must also be familiar with hazards to habitat, flora and fauna and natural history of an area, as well as animal zoology, which were listed in 10% of rules in the codes of ethics. Wildlife photographers must also attempt to blend in with the environment to reduce their visual distraction. Approximately 14% of codes were not categorized in any above categories (e.g., "*Know the culture of local people*"). This finding corresponds to the "other" category under Main Focus of Guideline in Table 1. The Chi Square distribution was used to test whether observed frequencies in different categories of Fig. 4 differ significantly from theoretical expectations. The Chi-square test showed ($\chi 2 = 57.2$, $p < .00004$) a statistically significant difference between observed and expected frequencies for different statements, with "distance", "specific and endanger species" and "breeding behaviour" the most common and frequent statement in the codes of ethics.

Frequency of statements that a wildlife photographer should not do

Analyzing the frequency of "should not do" statements in the 38 codes of ethics (Fig. 5) shows that the most frequent statement is disturbance (81%). This includes statements such as "*The golden rule with wildlife photography is to observe and photograph but to minimize the disturbance to the wildlife*," and "*Blinds offer a great way to watch and photograph birds without disturbance*". The second and third most frequent statements in codes of ethics include baiting (70%) followed by damage to habitat (58%). Disturbance and damage to habitat statements often cause serious stress to the animal. Baiting and feeding (38%) of wild animals for photography can alter the way in which wildlife behave and interact with humans, animals' eating habits, and may ultimately pose as a health risk.

Photography can sometimes lead to abandonment of the den or nest (illustrated in 30% of the codes). Crowding animals (30%), especially during animal reproduction/breeding season, can contribute to fear or stress. Night time photography and "nocturnal" animals was mentioned in 23% of the codes of ethics. Using a flash to shoot nocturnal creatures (such as nightjars, owls, Slender Loris) can temporarily blind and animal because of powerful flashes. It is better to use night vision cameras or a red/orange flash filter, If flash must be used.

Photographers should not share information about an animal's specific location without discretion (20%). Manipulation of the natural environment (21%) as well as harm (10%) to living creatures is also listed frequently in the codes. Photographers should also not pay local people to collect animals for photography. Furthermore, photographers should not pay money for the unethical use of animals (e.g., snake charming or costumed monkeys on chains that are forced to pose for 'hilarious' photos with tourists). WPs should not participate or pay for such a animal photography, which otherwise encourages the cruel practice to continue. It is very also

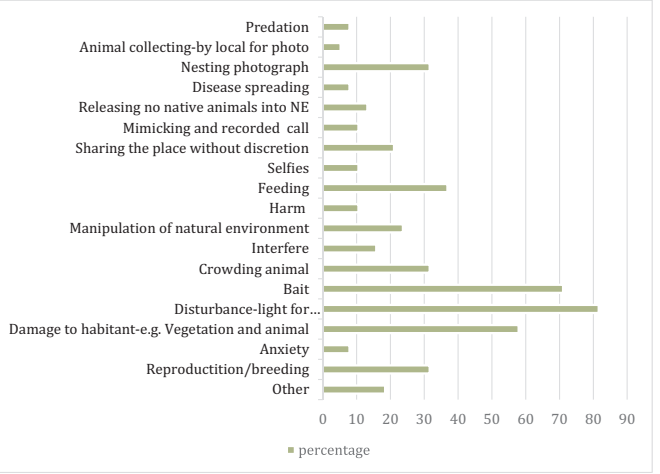

Fig. 5. Frequency (%) of "should not do" statements in wildlife photography codes of ethics.

unethical to keep an animal in captivity purely for benefit of paying photographers.

WPs also should not release non-native animals into natural locations. Spreading infectious disease is one of the important issues that a photographer should be aware of. Furthermore, taking selfies is likely to disrupt or alarm animals being photographed. Approximately 18% of statements were about other issues before, during and after wildlife photography (e.g., cameras, lenses, as well as the use of drones). To compare the expected frequencies of different statements in figure, with the observed frequencies in the codes of etic we used Chi-square test. Statistical analysis shows that there is a significant difference ($\chi 2 = 73.2$, $p < .00005$) between observed and expected frequencies of the different statements in Fig. 5. "Disturbance", "Baiting" and "Damage to habitant" statements are mentioned in the majority of codes, with "Disease spreading", "Selfies", "Paying locals for animal collecting for photography", "Harm to habitant" and "Anxiety for animals" were mentioned in less than 10% of the codes of ethics.

Discussion & conclusion

As wildlife tourism and ecotourism continue to grow as important sectors of the tourism industry, care needs to be placed into how tourists interact with the natural world. Getting closer often means subjecting animals to undue stress in efforts to maximise our viewing pleasure. Consistent with the tourism industry in general (Malloy & Fennell, 1998), codes of ethics remain an important tool to educate tourists about the impacts of their behaviours (Stonehouse, 1990), and they often act as anchor points that provide sensitivity to others (Cloke, 2004; Scarles, 2009). In the context of this study "others" include the interests of wildlife drawn into tourism's sphere of influence.

We found that the vast majority of codes and their respective guidelines were deontological in nature (71%) with the remaining (28.9%) teleological. This corresponds to the findings of Malloy and Fennell (1998), who found that 77.2% of all codes examined in their study were deontological in nature and 28.9% were teleological, as well as Garrod and Fennell (2004) who found that whalewatching codes of ethics were overwhelmingly deontological (81.1%). This means that codes of ethics for wildlife photography, like general codes used in the tourism industry, fail to provide the user with any sort of rationale for following a code. This finding is also consistent with the general literature on codes of ethics, whereby decision makers will follow a code without the need to question why they ought to behave in the manner suggested (see Kohlberg, 1984). Furthermore, most of the codes were cosmopolitan in nature (78.7% of all guidelines) compared to 21.2% as local, meaning that they were not tied to any one specific region of the world but globally orientated. Scholars argue that universally based reasoning is more ethically evolved because it moves beyond the letter of the law in a particular location towards the spirit of the law that may be applied in a grander scheme (Railborn & Payne, 1990).

Individuals, followed by associations, developed the vast majority of codes and with far fewer developed by government and industry. As observed by Malloy and Fennell (1998), for an individual to develop such a code and publish it on the web demonstrates a heightened sense of moral development (see also Hodgkinson, 1996). Additionally, most of the codes were developed *for* tourists (73.8%), followed by industry (15.7%) and government (10.5%), despite the fact that there was a more even distribution of who among these three groups actually developed the code of ethics, as noted above. Malloy and Fennell (1998) argue that it is of considerable interest that the stakeholders (government and industry) that are most influenced by codes of ethics in terms of organisational reward and punishment have the fewest number of codes of ethics. By contrast, the group that has the least pressure, at least from an organisational standpoint, has the highest number of codes (tourists). The question remains, therefore, which group ought to have the most pressure on them in terms of appropriate behaviour in the field: operators or tourists? We argue that a greater degree of leadership needs to originate from the deliverer of the service (operators) in their efforts to better educate both themselves and tourists regarding what is right and wrong in the pursuit of wildlife.

Given the cosmopolitan nature of codes of ethics found in our study we argue that consistency should be a goal through the development of an internationally recognized code of ethics for wildlife photography. Building off the results of this study, sharing

knowledge and collaboration between NGOs, governments, tourism industries, local communities as well as wildlife photographers ought to be a primary objective in protecting the integrity of global flora and fauna. Having said this, we recommend a two-tiered system of codes of ethics: one that is general and has applicability in most contexts, along with others that are specific to certain species and geographical contexts (e.g., "… *the use of tape lures (recorded bird song and calls being played to attract birds) can disrupt the natural behaviour of birds*"). There is precedence for this approach in tourism ethics research according to work by Fennell (2018b), who argued that a pluralistic and integrated model of ethics in tourism sometimes demands both a macro social contract and a micro social contract (after Donaldson & Dunfee, 1994). While the macro social contract provides the essential ground rules and generally agreed upon principles to govern tourism morality, a micro social contract provides an element of moral free space that provides distinctiveness in addressing local cultural, religious and philosophical factors within a community. While such a model has been developed for human agents in the tourism milieu, there is further scope for adapting such a model to address human-animal interactions.

There is clear guidance in our results that indicate what wildlife photographers should do and what they should not do in their pursuit of wildlife. We found that being sensitive to distance, endangered and rare species status, breeding behaviours, local laws, for example, are all important for the wildlife photographer to internalise. Similarly, the codes of ethics were abundantly clear in reference to the avoidance of disturbance, baiting and feeding (Ziegler et al., 2018), damage to habitant, crowding, and interference with animals during breeding season (Newsome et al., 2002; Newsome & Rodger, 2008).

There are interesting contrasts with Malloy and Fennell (1998) in reference to mood of message. Malloy and Fennell found that 86% of codes were positive in their orientation, with only 14% that were found to be negative. By contrast, we found that most statements (52.6%) were worded negatively (i.e., "do not" statements or other statements like "refrain" or "never"). The literature makes reference to the fact that individuals are more likely to be receptive to codes of ethics that are worded positively than negatively (Blangy & Nielsen, 1993). Wildlife codes should therefore endeavour to develop accordingly along these lines.

Future research in this area should look at the ethics of wildlife photography using non-representational theory, i.e., a focus not on what is produced but rather in the practices and performances that emerge organically from the intersection of animals and humans (Dirksmeier & Helbrecht, 2008). Termed otherwise, what it is like to be more-than-human in our multi-sensual spheres of life (Lorimer, 2005). Consistent along these lines should be a continuation of work by Lemelin (2006) on if the value of a photograph becomes more important than the characteristics of animals, and how in the process of obtaining our photographs (as trophies or not) we reduce animals to basic commodities (Russell & Ankenman, 1996). To this end, work also needs to be conducted on the richness of the experience that photographers get with the animal other, especially in light of our tendency to socially construct nature through the intermingling of culture and nature (Carville, 2003). Furthermore, there is a need for observational studies that look specifically at the behaviour of wildlife tourism photographers both in situ and ex situ, especially as their actions reflect or do not reflect the spirit of codes of ethics. To this end, it would be useful to investigate if hard path wildlife tourists and ecotourists differ from soft path groups when it comes to how they approach the photography of wildlife.

As wildlife photography continues to grow, and as technology in the form of cameras, lenses, and other gear becomes better (not necessarily cheaper) improves, we argue that education on how to be an ethical wildlife photographer has never been so important. Codes of ethics, as voluntary mechanisms, must have a central place in this educational regime given the rather diffuse nature of the activity in time, space, expertise, motivations, and degree of environmental mindedness of participants. The number of codes of ethics on wildlife photography that we found indicates a push towards legitimacy of the profession and the practice through a set of normative guidelines that are designed to place the interests of wildlife over those of the photographer. The timing of this fits well as a new wave of concern for animal ethics permeates tourism scholarship and practice around respect, dignity and the reduction of suffering (Bertella, 2013; Fennell, 2012). "Do no harm" should be the primary objective of the wildlife photographer, along with a deliberate attempt to induce others to protect habitat, raise conservation funds and awareness (Mittermeier, 2005), and provide socio-economic benefits through travel to remote places for those who might otherwise use wildlife in a destructive manner (Wilson & Tisdell, 2003).

Appendix 1. Wildlife photography codes of ethics used in this study

1. The nature photographer's code of practice
https://www.thephotographicangle.co.uk/the-nature-photographers-code-of-practice/
2. Ethics in wildlife photography: code of conduct
https://www.naturettl.com/ethics-wildlife-photography/
3. The Photographer's Guide to Ethical Wildlife Photography
https://www.format.com/magazine/resources/photography/ethical-guide-to-shooting-wildlife-photography
4. Nature first principles
https://www.naturefirstphotography.org/en/principles
5. The unspoken code of conduct of nature photography
https://besdrongos.wordpress.com/2015/12/27/the-unspoken-code-of-conduct-of-nature-photography/
6. Stop! Don't Shoot Like that — A Guide to Ethical Wildlife Photography
Conservation India's Guide to Ethical Wildlife Photography (booklet download)
7. Think Before You Shoot: How to be an Ethical Wildlife Photographer: Handy tips for shooting in the wild
http://www.natgeotraveller.in/think-before-you-shoot-how-to-be-an-ethical-wildlife-photographer/
8. Wildlife Photography – Ethics and Conservation Issues?

https://focusingonwildlife.com/news/nature-photography-ethics-and-conservation-issues/
9. Some Random Ruminations on the Ethics of Wildlife Photography
https://animamundimag.com/
10. Some Wildlife Photographers Use Bait, But Is It Worth The Shot?
https://www.npr.org/2017/04/03/521101207/some-wildlife-photographers-use-bait-but-is-it-worth-the-shot
11. Wildlife & Nature Photography Ethics
http://www.ingridtaylar.com/wildlife-photography-ethics/
12. Wildlife Photography Ethics
http://www.naturalart.ca/voice/photography_ethics.html
13. Wildlife Viewing Ethics
https://www.adfg.alaska.gov/index.cfm?adfg=viewing.ethics
14. Mile High Wildlife Photo Club's Guide To Ethical Wildlife Photography
http://www.mhwpc.org/info/guide_to_ethical_wildlife_photography.php
15. Ethics and Etiquette for Wildlife Watching and Photography
https://www.couwpc.com/Ethics.html
16. Ethics in nature photography
www.dansuzio.com/ethics
17. Miss the Shot: A Guide to Ethical Wildlife Photography Kindle Edition
https://www.amazon.ca/Miss-Shot-Ethical-Wildlife-Photography-ebook/dp/B01MECSYOJ
18. Our ethics
https://www.salvafauna.com/en/ethics-wildlife-photography
19. My Code of Ethics
https://www.imagesbyjohnknight.ca/about/index
20. Wildlife Photography
https://www.dstappan.com/wildlife-photography-code-of-ethics/
21. The ethics of wildlife photography
http://resourcemagonline.com/2018/04/the-ethics-of-wildlife-photography/88734/
22. How to Photograph Wildlife Ethically
https://www.worldnomads.com/create/learn/photography/how-to-photograph-wildlife-ethically
23. Audubon's Guide to Ethical Bird Photography
https://www.audubon.org/get-outside/audubons-guide-ethical-bird-photography
24. Darker side of wildlife photography: understanding ethical practices
https://www.picturecorrect.com/tips/the-darker-side-of-wildlife-photography-understanding-ethical-practices/
25. Ethics From Empathy, How to increase your chances of capturing beautiful wildlife photographs without compromising your subject's welfare
https://www.outdoorphotographer.com/pro-perspectives/melissa-groo/ethics-from-empathy/
26. Wildlife Photography Ethics That Makes You a Responsible Photographer
https://www.photoblog.com/learn/wildlife-photography-ethics-guide/
https://www.ontarioparks.com/parksblog/etiquette-for-nature-photography/
27. How to photograph wildlife ethically
https://www.nationalgeographic.com/animals/2019/07/ethical-wildlife-photography/
28. Ethical Wildlife Photography: What You Need to Know
Sharehttps://www.wta.org/news/signpost/ethical-wildlife-photography
29. Are You An Ethical Nature Photographer?
https://improvephotography.com/44382/ethical-nature-photography/
30. Four Vital Tips for Ethical Wildlife Photography
https://blog.nwf.org/2018/02/four-vital-tips-for-ethical-wildlife-photography/
31. Be a more ethical wildlife photographer
https://www.amateurphotographer.co.uk/technique/wildlife_photography/ethical-wildlife-photographer-127999
32. Code of conduct for the photography of birds
https://www.osnz.org.nz/sites/osnz.org.nz/files/Code%20of%20Conduct%20for%20Photography%20of%20Birds%20-%20Guidelines_2.pdf
33. The good the bad and the ugly
https://www.markcarwardine.com/uploads/articles/bbc_wildlife/ethical_photography.pdf
34. Principles of Wildlife Photography Ethics
https://tetonphotographyclub.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Principles-of-Wildlife-Photography-Ethics.pdf
35. Ethical nature photography in Tasmania
https://www.nrmsouth.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/17_10_24_NRM2866-Ethical-Photography-Guidelines-OUTPUT-WEB.pdf
36. The Nature Photographers' Code of Practice
https://rps.org/media/1xcnsuga/the-nature-photographers-code-of-practice.pdf

37. Principles of ethical field practices
http://www.naturephotographers.net/ethics.html

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