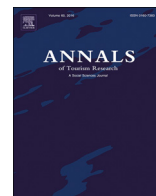


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A review of animal ethics in tourism: Launching the annals of tourism research curated collection on animal ethics in tourism



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ABSTRACT

A review of research on animal ethics and tourism, based on a sample of 74 articles in ten tourism journals is presented. A range of ethics positions was identified including rights, ecofeminist, ecocentric, welfare, utilitarian, and instrumental. Some studies challenge the ontological bases, and therefore the moral considerability of animals used in tourism: speciesism, native/introduced, a wild-captive continuum and domestic animals. Other themes include the harm caused to animals, and an 'animal gaze' which commodifies animals as objects. The ethical positions of the tourism industry, regulatory groups and tourists were also identified. Overall, the articles challenge the use of animals for entertainment, and confirm the imperative for a developing body of research in the field of animal ethics.

Introduction

The use of animals for private and public entertainment has been a largely unquestioned and accepted practice for centuries. The modern tourism industry has intensified and facilitated proximity and access to animals to enable tourist experiences with a vast range of species across the globe. In line with many other animal-using industries, the ethics of animal use for entertainment, including tourism is being questioned. Animal ethics is concerned with the moral position of individual animals, and that their sentience and interests should be taken into consideration by humans in their interactions with them. Until very recently, animal ethics in tourism research has been ignored, even though substantial work has been conducted in other disciplines (Fennell, 2012a, 2012b, 2013a; Shani & Pizam, 2008). Fennell (2008a, p. 223) describes tourism's approach to animal ethics as "isolationist", and associated research as "virtually *terra incognita*" (Fennell, 2014, p. 983).

Animals are enormously important to tourism, with estimates that non-consumptive wildlife tourism alone accounts for between 20 and 40% of all international tourism (Moorhouse, D'Cruze, & Macdonald, 2017). Approximately 2.6 million animals are held captive in 800 zoos and aquaria, in 80 countries (The International Species Information System, 2011, cited in Fennell, 2013b). World Animal Protection estimates that 16,000 elephants are held in captivity and of those used in entertainment, 75% were originally taken from the wild (Coldwell, 2014). Tourism comprises only a part of humans' animal use in industries such as veterinary science, cosmetics and medical testing, agriculture and animal husbandry, biotechnology, transport, textiles and clothing. Fraser and MacRae (2011) report that at any one time, the number of animals being raised for food is estimated at about 22 billion, with 100 million animals used in laboratories. Most of these animals are privately owned, and with the exception of pets (estimated at about one billion) and some animals used in rural tourism, they are kept in institutions like laboratories where they are not generally accessible by the public (at least while they are alive).

Tourism presents unique uses of animals, and access to species that are very different to those with whom most people are

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involved in their daily lives. Tourists undertake journeys as tourists to view and have interactive experiences (such as petting, swimming, riding, taking selfies) with dolphins, tigers and other charismatic, endangered and exotic animals. They may also eat parts of the same type of animals they have come to see, literally consuming the destination (Kline, 2018a). Tourists also require that their experiences are safe, that is, that they will not be harmed by large, wild and perhaps 'dangerous' animals. In today's urban societies, tourism is one of the main ways through which people can contact a vast range of animals and as such, these encounters have the capacity to shape humans' relationships with, and perceptions of animals, that in turn have dramatic impacts on individual animals' lives (Carr & Broom, 2018).

Animals pay a heavy price for entertaining the public and providing the industry with financial benefit: animals are hunted and captured in the wild, permanently confined, used as transport, eaten, cruelly trained, abused and intentionally killed (Carmeli, 2002; Cohen, 2013, 2014a; Hughes, 2001; Shani & Pizam, 2008). For example, tourism is a major promoter of bullfighting, the *corrida*, one of the most violent forms of human entertainment which kills approximately 250,000 bulls annually (Humane Society International, 2020). Animals are forced to live in places and under conditions that deny their innate needs, and to perform unnatural behaviours which harm them: confined to a cage, drugged, constrained by ropes and controlled through cruel practices. Elephants are trained using 'bullhooks', horses and donkeys are regularly beaten, and cetaceans are confined in small tanks that cause suffering through sensory deprivation. Many animals used in the tourism industry, live in desperate situations from which they will never escape, and there are innumerable examples of their abuse and cruel treatment. While such practices may have been acceptable in the past, a relatively small group of tourism researchers are raising issues that demand we address the use of animals in tourism, using ethical principles that help to answer questions about whether or not this use can be justified.

As entertainment, tourism is a non-essential use of animals, for which there are lower levels of public support than for their use in medical testing, agriculture and food (Knight, Nunkoosing, Vrij, & Cherryman, 2003). Shani and Pizam (2008) argue that tourist organizations can no longer afford to ignore public criticism of animal use, and this is indicated by the closure of circuses that use animals, and captive dolphin display in the UK (Carmeli, 2002; Hughes, 2001). The film *Blackfish* alerted the public to the cruelty of captive cetacean displays with a resulting decrease in the popularity of such attractions in western countries (Ventre & Jett, 2015). Bullfighting has been banned in several Spanish cities and the region of Catalonia, as well as Argentina, Canada, Cuba, Denmark, Italy, and the UK (Humane Society International, 2020).

Concurrent with a growing interest in animal welfare however, millions of tourists continue to participate in the 'animal gaze', and increasingly, they are demanding more intense experiences involving a "close, embodied, but nonconsumptive encounter" with animals (Cohen, 2019, p. 96). This is exemplified in the trend of 'animal selfie tourism', which The World Animal Protection organization researchers found, increased by 292% between 2014 and 2017 (Coldwell, 2017). Over 40% of images show inappropriate interactions, such as a person hugging or holding a wild animal which can have serious welfare impacts on the animals (Coldwell, 2014; Daly, 2019; McIvor, 2017).

Carr and Broom (2018) predict that animal based tourism will intensify, driven by increasing urbanization, and a demand to see and interact with animals. This desire however, is accompanied by lower levels of understanding and knowledge about animals' biology and their needs. As tourism academics are well aware, the context within which this animal use exists, is the diverse, global tourism industry that is virtually impossible to regulate and control. For example, no global body regulates wildlife tourism attractions (Moorhouse et al., 2017). Cruel practices in controlling and training animals are undertaken 'backstage' and out of public sight, where access is strictly controlled (Cohen, 2014a; Winter & Frew, 2018). The abuse of animals in large scale industries, which includes entertainment, is systematic and mostly ignored (Cazaux, 1999). The *National Geographic* magazine recently published a report depicting the appalling conditions in which animals used for tourism and 'animal selfies' live (Daly, 2019). Tourism presents unique uses of animals "that have traditionally been designed to cater to the desires of the human population utilising animals as products rather than sentient creatures with individual 'rights' and 'needs' in the process" (Carr, 2009, p. 409).

Ethics is a new and growing field in tourism that Cohen (2018c) assessed as being further advanced than philosophy or theology. Macbeth (2005) calls for a sixth tourism platform relating to tourism ethics, primarily directed to the natural environment and sustainable development, with a critique of the anthropocentric focus of tourism, and the dominance of the North over the South. Caton (2012, p. 1923) calls for a "moral turn" in tourism that would see "responsible scholarship", stating that "unreflexive scientific notions of pure academic freedom don't square well with public responsibility" for academics who are paid by the public purse. Wijesinghe (2014) outlines a proposal of virtue ethics, which aims to develop tourists' moral character. These papers do not however, specifically mention non-human animals, other than in general references to environmental ethics and sustainability. Given the dominance of anthropocentrism in western societies and in the tourism industry, it is essential that where animals are concerned, ethics must make specific reference to animal interests, and provide sufficient assurance that the needs of individual animals will be considered. In other words, it is imperative that animal ethics is further developed as a specialized field within broader tourism ethics. The aim of this paper is to provide a very brief summary of animal ethics positions, and a review of the state of research in tourism and animal ethics concerning individual animals.

Method

An online search reveals there are many papers on animals and ethics, however, relatively few relate to tourism, or individual animals, and the majority concern ecosystems, management and sustainability.

For this review, ten tourism journals were selected, three of which were because of their status as high impact journals; *Annals of Tourism Research*, *Journal of Travel Research* and *Tourism Management*. The *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* and *Journal of Ecotourism* were selected because of their focus on the natural world. Five journals that publish articles on many different themes were also

included; *Tourism Analysis, International Journal of Tourism Research, Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change, Current Issues in Tourism and Tourism Recreation Research*. The sample is not a comprehensive list of all articles on animal ethics in tourism, but it is intended to provide a sample of the work being undertaken within the tourism field.

A list of 540 potential articles was generated using a simple search conducted on Google Scholar (1970 to 2019) for each journal individually, using the key words 'animal ethics tourism'. The key words, abstract and in many cases the whole article were perused to assess their relevance to 'animal ethics' using the following criteria. Articles that were included were those which made specific reference to animal ethics in theory or application, research about visitors that related to animals and ethics, reference to individual wild or domestic animals, papers that extend moral considerability to animals, contributions towards new ways of perceiving animals and the use or consideration of ideas that challenge existing thinking in order to progress the field of animal ethics in tourism. Some articles were selected because they clearly reflect anthropocentric ethics about animals, thus providing a contrast with animal-centric ethics. Some papers made only a very small reference to animal ethics, but provided a worthwhile, new or unique insight. Articles that were excluded from the initial list included those with an incidental use of 'animals' and/or 'ethics', or a concern only with management, sustainability and/or wildlife as species. Ultimately through this process, 74 sample articles were selected, with many papers that referred to animals being excluded for the reasons given above.

In addition to the sample articles, a further 75 items were used. These items were not identified through a systematic search, but were sought to address and support specific themes and ideas. A total of 37 were based in tourism, including 20 journal articles on ethics, and 17 books and book chapters (mentioned in the next section). Thirty-eight items were from fields outside tourism including ethics, research methods, environmental management and the media.

A small collection of books has recently been published on animal-human relationships within tourism and leisure, and while 17 chapters are included in this review, it was not possible to include all of them. Tourism scholars are therefore encouraged to source these texts, not only for research but for teaching. Neil Carr and Don Broom's (2018) text, *Tourism and animal welfare*, is aimed at a broad audience, giving a range of perspectives about animals. Fennell (2017) *Tourism and animal ethics*, provides a detailed description of animal ethics with a wide coverage of historical, social and scientific perspectives on tourism-animal relationships, sourcing material from within and external to tourism. Markwell (2015a) *Animals and tourism: Understanding diverse relationships* contributes to current debates about human-animal relationships within the growing field of tourism and anthrozoology, and questions animal use in a number of roles. *Domestic animals, humans and leisure: Rights, welfare, and wellbeing* by Janette Young and Neil Carr (2018) gives a much needed focus to domestic animals, whose position barely surfaces in the dominance of wildlife studies. Two edited texts by Carol Kline, *Animals, food and tourism* (2018a) and *Tourism experiences and animal consumption: Contested values morality and ethics* (2018b), form the bulk of academic research regarding the ethics of using animals for food in tourism.

The method used to analyse the sample articles can be broadly described as an interpretive content analysis (Neuman, 2011), with the objective to identify themes that help portray the state of tourism research in animal ethics. An annotated bibliography was prepared by typing and copying summaries and quotations from the sample articles into a Word document, which finalised at about 40,000 words. The text from this file was then coded and transferred into 55 separate Word files, each representing a particular theme (Wienclaw, 2019). Information and summaries from the 75 non-sample articles were added throughout the process of forming the review.

The ethical positions were identified a priori and formed the structure of the analysis that guided the identification and conceptualization of emergent themes (Wienclaw, 2019). The 55 theme files were read and reviewed, during which a few were removed, others added and some combined, reducing the themes to about 30, which form the basis of this paper. Construction of the figures and tables evolved concurrently with the text analysis, with each processing through several iterations, and which helped to conceptualize the final six overarching themes. An Excel spreadsheet listing the themes and authors, was also used to conceptualize the associations among the themes.

Results

Sample description

Of the 540 articles located, 74 were included in the sample which is 13.7% of the initial search pool. The distribution of the articles in the journals was: *Tourism Recreation Research* (16), *Current Issues in Tourism* (15), *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (15), *Journal of Ecotourism* (12), *Annals of Tourism Research* (8), *Tourism Management* (4), *Tourism Analysis* (2), *International Journal of Tourism Research* (1), and *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* (1). It is notable and disappointing, considering the journal's high impact, that no articles on animals and ethics were found in the *Journal of Travel Research*. The 74 papers were published as follows, notably with none before 2000, and illustrating a clear increase over time: 6 (2000–2004), 12 (2005–2009), 25 (2010–2014) and 31 (2015–2019). The most prolific author was David Fennell who wrote or co-authored 14 (19%) of the sample papers.

Table 1 details the animal types that were the subjects of the sample's research, in which 45 papers (some concerned two or three animals) focused on specific animals (as opposed to 'animals' or 'multiple' types such as at a zoo): terrestrial mammals = 31 (large charismatic x 13, domestic x 13, smaller animals x 5), marine = 12, insect = 1 (*Odonata* - damselflies), extinct animals = 2, bird = 1 and reptile = 1. As Markwell (2015b) notes, the range of taxa studied in tourism has been limited, focused on captive animals and on wildlife comprising large, readily observable animals that occur in large numbers. Of the 74 papers, 20 were conceptual/theoretical, with 18 case studies incorporating a range of methods at a specific site. There was a range of qualitative, quantitative and multi-method studies, including two using economic techniques (choice modelling and willingness to pay). Cousquer and Allison (2012) used 'empirical and normative' methods as a way to provide an 'ethical roadmap' for the analysis of mules used in mountain trekking.

Table 1
Sample characteristics: Animals, methods and region ($n = 74$).

Animals	Freq	Methods	Freq
Cetacean	6	Conceptual	20
Fish	6	Case study	18
Elephant	5	Interviews/focus groups	9
Horse	4	Multiple methods	9
Dog - domestic	3	Document/photo/website analysis	8
Mule/Donkey	3	Observation	4
Bear – Polar, Grizzly, Panda	3	Questionnaire	4
Dinosaur	2	Creative Analytic Practice	1
Monkey	2	Empirical and normative	1
Bird – Albatross	1	Total	74
Bull	1		
Deer	1		
Dingo	1	Regions	
Giraffe	1	North America/Canada	10
Lamb	1	Europe	10
Lion	1	Oceania	9
Moose	1	Asia/India	8
Odonata	1	Africa	6
Penguin	1	Global – multiple countries	5
Pig	1	South America	2
Reptile	1	Antarctica	1
Rhino	1	<i>Jurassic World</i>	1
Tiger	1	Middle East	1
Multiple/not specified	13	n/a	24
n/a	16	Total	77
Total	77	Note: Some studies were conducted in more than on country, or on more than one animal.	

Bertella, Fumagalli and Williams-Grey (2019) used Creative Analytic Practice to create a fictitious narrative between humans and a dolphin.

Questions and potentially critical comment by research academics may not be welcomed by operators, raising problems for data collection (Bauer, 2017; Tully & Carr, 2019). The requirement for academics to obtain ethical clearances for site access may preclude collection of data from the backstage, and publication of results. The use of website material from sites such as TripAdvisor, proved to be a useful data source for studies that analysed tourist comments, as well as information about the numbers and status of animals used in attractions across the globe (D’Cruze et al., 2018; Font, Bonilla-Priego, & Kantanbacher, 2019; Moorhouse et al., 2017; Ziegler et al., 2018). Content analysis of website materials was used to study ecotourism operators’ food offerings (Fennell & Markwell, 2015), the marketing communications of hunting organizations (Descubes, McNamara, & Claasen, 2018), digital activism (Mkono, 2018), photographs used for tourism destination promotion (Bertella, 2013), tourism regulation and policy (Sheppard & Fennell, 2019) and a range of information about providers at a destination (Yudina & Grimwood, 2016).

Table 2 presents a chronological list of the contribution for each of the 74 papers, towards an aspect of animal ethics. They form a collection of different philosophies and foci on animals.

Six main themes that were developed through the analysis, and which provide an assessment of the current status of research within the field of animal ethics in tourism are as follows.

- Animal ethics positions
- A tourism-animal ontology
- Evidence of harm caused to animals in tourism
- Proximity: Feeding and confinement
- Ethics of the tourism system: Regulators, operators and tourists and
- The animal gaze: Power and manipulation of animals’ identity.

Animal ethics positions

This theme describes the main ethics positions, and situates the work of the sample articles in tourism research, with Fig. 1 listing those that provide a discussion on one or more ethics positions. David Fennell and his colleagues, have provided a series of papers that outline the various schools of ethical thought, and how they can be applied to tourism. Only a very brief mention of each can be included in this review, and readers are encouraged to access these articles as detailed resources: applied ethics (2000), animal rights (2012a), utilitarianism (2012b), welfare (2013a), zoos, ecocentrism and welfare (2013b), ecocentrism (2013c), biocentrism and ecocentrism (Fennell & Nowaczek, 2010) and ecofeminism (Yudina & Fennell, 2013). Nowaczek (2013) presents a summary continuum of economic-political and socio-cultural perspectives on ethical animal use in tourism, and notes that empirical research is needed to further develop the model.

Table 2

Sample author list – chronological list of contributions towards animal ethics (n = 74).

Author/s	Year	Contribution of paper to animal ethics
Fennell	2000	Situates the beginnings of animal ethics in tourism within an overview of history, terminology and dilemmas.
Holland et al.	2000	Expresses an ecocentric ethic in response to Fennell's rights based comment on billfishing.
Hughes	2001	Outlines a range of animal ethics views in relation to captive dolphin displays.
Orams	2002	Review of the impacts and risks to wildlife as a result of feeding to gain proximity for tourists. Describes the range of animal ethics positions.
Holden	2003	Describes development of environmental ethics, and that the current conservation ethic remains anthropocentric. Argues for an ethic dealing with humans' actions on species and ecosystems as well as individual beings.
Garrod & Fennell	2004	Analysis of 58 whale watching codes of conduct, globally, including nature of interactions, management orientations and impacts on cetaceans. Raises concerns for potentially serious animal welfare issues.
Buckley	2005	Analysis of a dilemma involving killing of narwhal, considering animal ethics, economics, law and cultural tradition.
Curtin	2006	Tourists swimming with dolphins demonstrated cognitive dissonance about the animals' captivity and welfare, but justified their own behaviour.
Brandin	2009	Re-assessment of the notion of 'wild' as relational to space, using three types of human-moose encounters: zoo, safari and moose park.
Carr	2009	Editorial for special edition. Calls for tourism research beyond wildlife, to include domestic animals and to incorporate animal rights perspectives.
Kontogeorgopoulos	2009	Links different animal ethics (anthropocentric and ecocentric) to practice and tourist types at elephant camps in Thailand, with impacts to the welfare of elephants.
Lemelin	2009	Challenges speciesism in tourism. Introduces 'creepy-crawly trails', 'nature work' and extends considerability to cold blooded beings.
Markwell & Cushing	2009	Describes the animal display at a reptile park over several years, demonstrating changing technology, and a consistently anthropocentric perspective.
Mordue	2009	Social constructivist study of fishing, demonstrating its anthropocentric nature, and lack of concern for the fish.
Reis	2009	Illustrates the anthropocentric, social construction of recreational hunting, where 'the kill' is regarded by hunters as but one aspect of their experience.
Rodger et al.	2009	Penguins acknowledged as a key component in an Actor Network Theory based study to design a wildlife research program.
Shani & Pizam	2009	Focus groups of tourists at animal based attractions in USA, found that most were aware of captive animal ethics, but many ways were used to justify their visit.
Wright et al.	2009	Case study of Australian Indigenous world views that incorporate human and animal societies with the land.
Cohen	2010	Raises issues about equity of differential treatment and resource allocation for captive animals, based on socially constructed criteria, that are unrelated to animals' needs.
Fennell & Nowaczek	2010	A framework for 'Human priorities and actions in recreational interactions with fish', based on environmental, welfare & rights ethics. Argues for sentience in fish.
Knight	2010	Details a 5-part process used to attract wild macaques to a site for tourists in Japan. Potential impacts on the animals' welfare and their 'wildness' has been ignored.
Burns et al.	2011	Promotes 7 principles for dingo management, including intrinsic value, moral obligations, moral reasoning and precautionary, to improve the current anthropocentric approach. Contrasts ecocentric, biocentric and anthropocentric ethics.
Duffy & Moore	2011	Elephant welfare in Thailand and Botswana. Highlights how global regulations and power relations need to acknowledge different local conditions, to avoid negative impacts to elephants.
Fennell & Sheppard	2011	Case study of the sled dog cull, 2010 in Canada following the Olympic Games. Analysis of case using utilitarian, rights and ecofeminist approaches.
Cohen	2012	Analysis of human manipulation of tigers and their identity, from a wild animal to 'an apparently harmless plaything for patting tourists'. Acknowledges tigers' resistance.
Cousquer & Allison	2012	Study of mules' welfare as 'pack animals' in mountain trekking. Outlines 'an ethical roadmap' using a 5-step process of empirical & normative methods. Examines relationships between mules, guide, client and muleteer.
Fennell	2012a	Argues that the rights position is 'almost entirely antithetical to tourism'. Outline of the animal rights position from Regan's notions of intrinsic value and subject-of-a-life.
Fennell	2012b	Introduces utilitarian theory based on Singer, with particular application to zoos. Clarifies the distinction of utilitarianism from the rights view.
Koichi et al.	2012	Challenges the category of introduced/native for rainforest pigs and illustrates the social constructivism of animals as 'feral/pest'.
Qingming et al.	2012	Describes different views of western and Chinese perspectives regarding science and the ethical treatment of animals.
Shani	2012a	Critique of the animal rights view regarding zoos as idealistic and that the zoo offers protection for animals compared with perils of the wild.
Bertella	2013	Analysis of the range of ethical positions that underlie photographs of animals in tourist promotions.
Fennell	2013a	Application of welfare theory to zoos and sled dog tourism, and to tourism scholarship and research. Provides definitions and measurements of welfare.
Fennell	2013b	Examines zoos as a moral issue using animal ethics. Concludes zoos fail in conservation and education therefore ought not be classed as ecotourism.
Fennell	2013c	Ethical argument as to whether billfishing should be classed as ecotourism, considering biocentric and ecocentric views.
Nowaczek	2013	Provides a continuum of perspectives on ethical animal use in various contexts: economic/political, sociocultural and animal consumption.

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Table 2 (continued)

Author/s	Year	Contribution of paper to animal ethics
Shani	2013	Short summary of the literature on tourist animal confinement and engagement settings, with links to different values and ethics.
Yudina & Fennell	2013	Application of ecofeminist theory to the use of animals as food in tourism as 'moral encounters'. Outlines the ethics of care.
Butcher Cohen	2014 2014a	Provides an anthropocentric argument with respect to Fennell's call for UNWTO Global Code of Ethics for tourism. Describes tourism's role in promoting bullfighting, with an analysis of the thick layer of culture used to justify animal slaughter for entertainment.
Cohen	2014b	Presents a series of settings in which recreational hunting is framed. Illustrates the hunters' paradox of killing a 'loved' and respected animal.
Duffy	2014	Illuminates linkages of neoliberalism, nature and tourism - how elephants are 'decontextualized from their ecosystem' and brought into the global economy as commodities
Fennell	2014	Calls for the addition of an animal ethics article to the UNWTO Global Code of Ethics, arguing that the current code is anthropocentric.
Breakey & Breakey	2015	Re-assessment of the Leopoldian land ethic, and its 'cultural harvest' to develop tourists as virtuous agents of sustainability.
Fennell & Markwell	2015	Content analysis of ecotourism websites with respect to sustainability and ethical food provision including animal welfare.
Oded & Ram	2015	Challenges the automatic, negative treatment of species who are non-native and classified as 'pests'. Illuminates the social categorization of animals.
Whittle et al.	2015	Alert for tourism about resurrection of extinct species' as a real possibility, for which tourism may be seen as a key promoter. Challenges the native/introduced category.
Cohen & Fennell	2016	Analysis of the ethical argument relating to the Copenhagen zoo's killing of Marius the giraffe - to whom they had given a 'higher moral standing'.
Notzke	2016	Shows the many social categorizations and ethical positions of wild living horses in the USA and Canada. Argues for their protection as a tourist attraction.
Sneddon et al.	2016	Propose the addition of an animal welfare value to the list of universal values as a guiding life principle.
Yudina & Grimwood	2016	Ecofeminist perspective for analysis of promotional materials about of polar bears in Canada and their influence in constituting 'performing spectacle bears'. Illuminates the anthropocentric/instrumental views of tourism, and the power relations in human-animal relationships.
Bach & Burton	2017	Choice modelling study found tourists were willing to trade off proximity and time with wild dolphins if it meant better welfare for the animals.
Bauer	2017	Describes severe welfare impacts to newborn lambs as a result of their being used as photo props for tourists in Cusco, Peru.
Carr	2017	Acknowledges the pet dog in peoples' lives as part of their travel and holidays. Expands notions of moral considerability for domestic animals.
Carrigan et al.	2017	Study about sustainability in small food business, where a small result emerged about animal welfare.
Moorhouse et al.	2017	Reports a large study of wildlife tourism attractions, showing 50–60% are detrimental to individuals <i>and</i> species. Tourists are unable to accurately assess animal welfare.
Newsome & Hughes	2017	Considers the movie, <i>Jurassic World</i> as representing the exploitation of wildlife for mass tourism. Argues that film can shape public perceptions, presented as a 'de facto trivialization of wildlife' in the real world.
Øian et al.	2017	Discursive framing of fishing. Analyses the ethics of 'catch and release', within biocentric and ecocentric positions, each entangled in social practice.
Saayman & Saayman	2017	Economic study shows the monetary value of individual rhino in Africa for tourist viewing is higher than that for trophy hunting.
Cohen	2018c	Conceptual paper incorporating animal ethics into a broader review of tourism's grounding in philosophy, ethics and theology.
D'Cruze et al.	2018	Audit of wildlife tourism attractions in Latin America evidencing negative welfare impacts to wildlife. Vulnerable IUCN species targeted for close interactions with tourists.
Descubes et al.	2018	Study of trophy hunting providers' e-marking communications. Illustrates the anthropocentric nature of hunting, where 'ethics' refers to a 'fair hunt'.
Lück & Porter	2018	Tourists expressed cognitive dissonance about feeding wild sea birds, but did not change their own behaviour (to continue their own experience). Suggests that a hedonism utilitarian view is more appropriate.
Mkono.	2018	Examines 'Cecil gate' and the efficacy of online activism following the 2015 killing of Cecil the lion. Framing of animals differs between local communities and the animal rights movement. Questions trophy hunting from an ethics perspective.
Verbos et al.	2018	Ethical considerations found to be a factor that influenced tourists' preferences for the least intrusive methods to gain proximity to view grizzly bears.
Ziegler et al.	2018	Study on feeding wild whale sharks using utilitarian ethics. Tourists' cognitive dissonance examined through concepts of the 'want' and 'should' self, and 'ethical fading'.
Bertella et al.	2019	Ecofeminist theory applied to a fictional conversation between human and dolphin to assess possibilities for co-creation of experiences in tourism.
Cohen & Cohen	2019	Review of sociology of tourism including a section on animals, arguing they are still treated as objects.
Font et al.	2019	Large study of trade associations indicates utilitarian practices are prevalent, and that TAs often choose to manage perceptions rather than improve animal welfare.
Higgins-Desbiolles, & Wijesinghe	2019	A study of sustainability in restaurants, where animal ethics relates to welfare concerns such as 'humane' treatment. Limited evidence found for animal rights views.
Notzke	2019	Argues that horses are active agents in horseback tours in Switzerland. For most of the tourists, horse welfare is of key importance to their experience.

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Table 2 (continued)

Author/s	Year	Contribution of paper to animal ethics
Sheppard & Fennell	2019	Content analysis of tourism policies about animal welfare, across 73 countries shows evidence of progress over time, but an instrumental view remains dominant. Rights and welfare are used almost exclusively for humans as part of development.
Sturød et al.	2019	Describes multiple realities of the horse for local people and tourism, inspired by post-humanism. Challenges the separation of humans/society from non-humans/nature.
Taylor et al.	2019	Tracks how volunteers at an elephant camp developed an ethic of care through moral development while working with animals and witnessing their abuse.

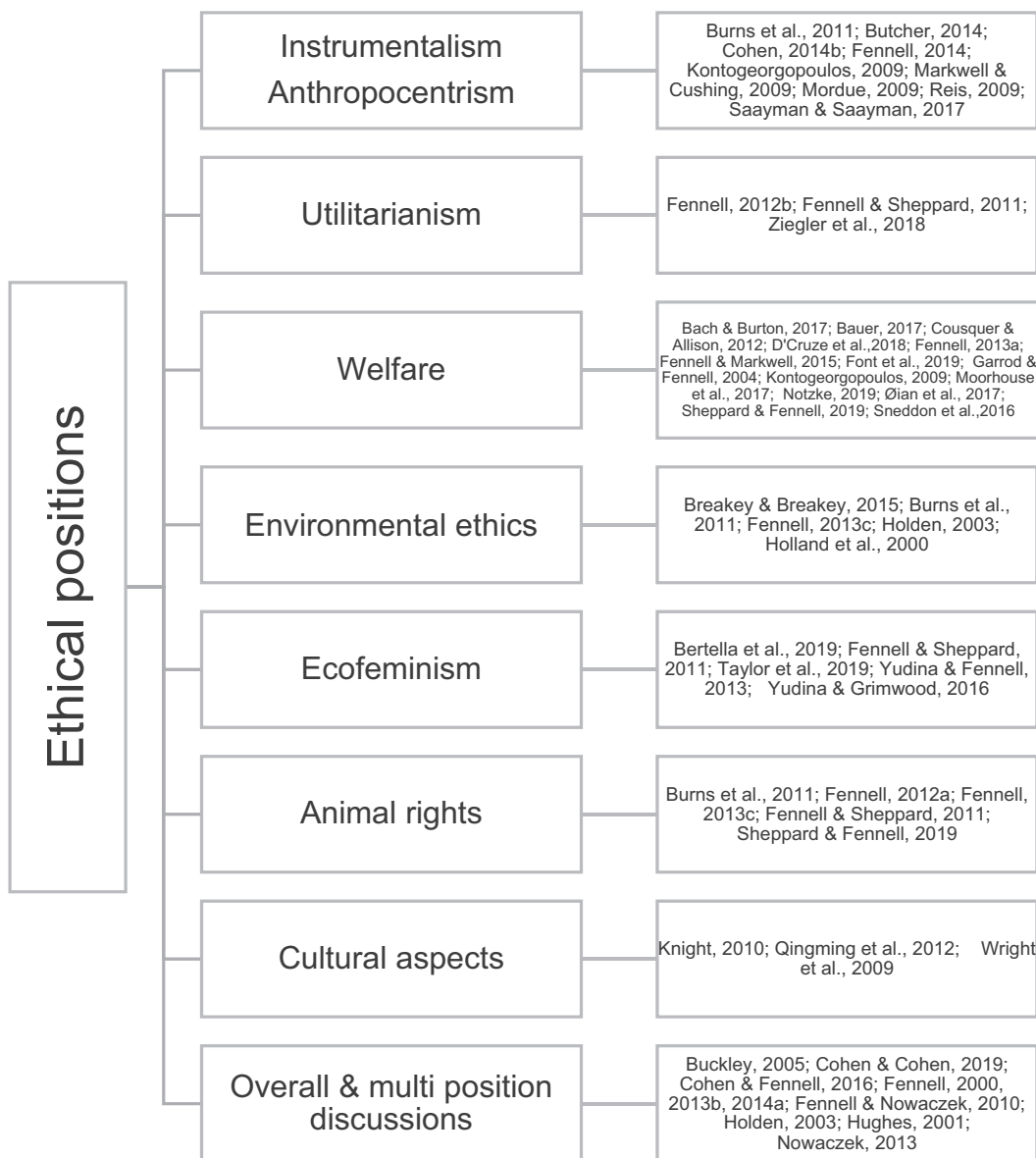


Fig. 1. Ethical positions discussed in sample articles.

Anthropocentric and instrumental

Anthropocentrism is a world view representing a collection of values that position humans as the preeminent species, and at its most generous, as the master steward of all other earthly life forms. As such, anthropocentrism is not an animal ethic, but has been included here to provide context. Its underlying premise of human superiority supports instrumentalism, and the view that animals exist to be used for humans, that they have no individual rights and that welfare should be provided only if it suits human needs

(Holden, 2003; Stern, Dietz, & Guagnano, 1995). Anthropocentrism currently dominates the forms of animal use in tourism, and it is reflected in the lack of attention to animals in the UNWTO 1999 Code of Ethics (Cohen, 2018c; Fennell, 2014). Similarly, Burns, MacBeth, and Moore (2011), p. 192, refer to the “intergenerational anthropocentrism” of the World Commission on Environment and Development. For a summary of some of the anthropocentric arguments used to assert human superiority over animals, see Butcher (2014).

The sample articles describe a range of tourism situations in which instrumental use of animals is evident, and where animals are treated as objects. Markwell and Cushing (2009) describe the confinement of reptiles, while trophy hunting of lions is discussed by Mkono (2018). Kontogeorgopoulos (2009) showed how an anthropocentric view at elephant camps resulted in lower welfare for elephants and a different tourist clientele, compared with a camp run from an ecocentric perspective with subsequently higher levels of animal welfare. Financial gain is a key objective for tourism business operations, and for wildlife this means that “[R]evenue is created by transforming natural resources into privately owned goods that can be marketed to tourists” (Moorhouse et al., 2017, p. 506). Duffy (2014) provides a detailed study of the ways in which elephants are brought into the global economic system as commodities, but promoted as if they are natural entities. Economic analysis can help secure protection for animals, as shown in Saayman and Saayman's (2017) study, which used the willingness-to-pay method, to calculate that rhinos are worth far more alive as tourist attractions, than if they are killed by trophy hunters. Anthropocentrism is not necessarily harmful to the interests of the non-human world, but a positive outcome for animals occurs only if their interests coincidentally align with the interests of humans. The problem with anthropocentrism for animals, is that in a conflict situation, human interests will win out (Vilkka, 1997).

Utilitarian

Utilitarianism is “a teleological or ends-based theory that focuses on optimum outcomes, ends or consequences of an action” (Fennell, 2012b, p. 240). Ethically correct actions then, are those which result in the greatest good, aggregated for all those impacted (Franklin, 2005). Within this view, it is almost impossible to avoid sacrificing individual beings, and much animal suffering in entertainment such as zoos and rodeos is justified, on the basis that pleasure is provided for so many more humans (Franklin, 2005).

In his book *Animal liberation*, Singer (1975) made a compelling case that as sentient beings, animals should be considered in utilitarian based calculations, and that their interests should be weighed equally with those of humans. Singer promotes preference utilitarianism, which goes beyond the classical utilitarian bases of pleasure and pain, to include a being's ‘interests’ and “the satisfaction or frustration of his or her preferences” which includes a preference to continue living (Fennell, 2013a; Franklin, 2005, p. 9). Fennell (2012b) describes Singer's ethic as:

The interests that non-human animals have in not suffering outweighs the many marginal interests (of their use) for human benefit. This means that those beings (animal or human) that suffer more should be accorded a higher level of concern than those suffering less (Fennell, 2012b, p. 241).

Ziegler et al. (2018) used utilitarianism in their case study involving the benefits being received by a local community as a result of tourist activity from feeding wild whale sharks. In this situation, the correct decision (whether or not to continue feeding the sharks), would be that which provides the greatest good to the greatest number of interests, and “whether the suffering prevented in the local community is more important than the suffering incurred by the whale sharks” (Ziegler et al., 2018, p. 271). They commented on the difficulty of being able to measure all of the interests of humans and non-humans, an assessment of which could only be achieved through a cost-benefit analysis, including the ecological costs to the animals. The study concluded that because the cost-benefit analysis has not been done, under the precautionary principle, the whale shark provisioning should be considered unethical (Ziegler et al., 2018). Fennell and Sheppard (2011) provide a detailed analysis of utilitarian principles in relation to the killing of sled dogs in Canada, including weighting of potential good over harm (between the operator and dogs), the dogs' interests in living as displayed by their fear, distress and anxiety about their immanent death, and that the requirement for ‘replaceability’ was not achieved. Relatively few studies used the utilitarian ethic, and this may be because of the extensive resources required to assess the interests of all parties, including subjective interpretations of ‘not suffering’.

Welfare

The first sense in which ‘welfare’ is often used, refers to a more abstract notion of how animals should be treated. Francione (2008, p. 1), states however, that “[O]ur use of animals is a separate matter from whether our treatment of them is ‘humane’ or ‘cruel’, and argues that the notion of ‘welfare’ is inherently anthropocentric and instrumentalist because it assumes animal use is acceptable. As such he notes that “[T]he primary focus of animal welfare is the *regulation* of animal treatment” (Francione, 2008, p. 1). Rather than taking a zoocentric position, that would take particular species' needs into account, welfare tends to relate to humans' use of them (Aaltola & Wahlberg, 2015; Carr & Broom, 2018). For example, studies involving the slaughter of animals for food found that respondents were not so much concerned that the animals were killed, but that they had lived good lives and were killed ‘humanely’ (Carrigan, Lazell, Bosangit, & Magrizos, 2017; Higgins-Desbiolles & Wijesinghe, 2019).

The second aspect of welfare relates to its measurement and the actual wellbeing of the animals, making it perhaps the most difficult aspect of animal ethics to define (Fennell, 2013a). While humans may acknowledge moral and legal obligations to treat animals ‘humanely’ and to avoid imposing ‘unnecessary’ suffering there is debate about what these terms actually mean from the animals' perspective (Aaltola & Wahlberg, 2015; Francione, 2008). Fennell (2013a, p. 328) outlines a number of scientific means through which welfare can be measured including physical and emotional factors, and notes that sentience, suffering and pain may include “boredom, exhaustion, grief, thirst, and hunger”.

Some studies express concern that the dominance of financial considerations can result in animal welfare being compromised - see Kontogeorgopoulos (2009, elephant camps) and D'Cruze et al. (2018, wildlife tourism attractions). Moorhouse et al., (2015, p. 12)

found that “[A]ll WTAs (Wildlife Tourism Attractions) at least partially trade-off values of conservation, animal welfare, visitor satisfaction and profitability”. Font et al.’s, (2019, p. 134) study of trade associations found a very low awareness of animal welfare, and that “selling activities with poor animal welfare is highly profitable”. Sheppard and Fennell’s (2019) content analysis of global tourism policies found that the key word ‘welfare’ was the least likely word to be used at all, and even then, it was used mainly in reference to humans. Studies in the sample describing significant welfare implications include: newborn lambs used as tourist photo props in Peru (Bauer, 2017), tigers used for close interactions with tourists (Cohen, 2012), mules with leg injuries forced to walk with loaded packs on mountain treks (Cousquer & Allison, 2012) and elephants used for work (Duffy, 2014; Duffy & Moore, 2011). On a positive note, Bach and Burton (2017, p. 181) used choice modelling to measure tourists’ preferences, and found that although tourists placed a high value on guarantees of proximity, time and predictability to view wild dolphins, they “were willing to trade off these aspects if they improved dolphin welfare.” Notzke (2019) found that tourists in equestrian ventures demanded high standards of welfare for the horses with whom they travelled.

Environmental ethics: ecocentric and biocentric

In accord with a focus on wildlife and sustainability, the ecocentric position has informed the bulk of research about animals in tourism to date (Hughes, 2001; Yudina & Grimwood, 2016). Many articles located in the initial search were excluded from this review because they focused only on ecosystems, without consideration of individual animals. Fig. 1 therefore does not reflect the true extent of the overall body of research in this field.

Environmental ethics consists of two main positions which are sometime confused as well as being conflated with animal rights. Biocentrism (Holden’s, 2003, libertarian extension) focuses on individual animals in nature, and while ecocentrism (Holden’s, 2003 ecological extension) values an ecosystem and all entities within it, individuals may be sacrificed in a holistic concern for the greater good. In between lies a continuum of positions from a ‘weak anthropocentric’ view to a ‘deep green’ perspective (Duffy, 2002). The difference between ecocentrism and biocentrism is reflected in a debate on the moral considerability of billfish. Holland, Ditton, and Graefe (2000) adopt an ecocentric view and attribute moral considerability to the ecosystem, and are thus less concerned if individual fish are harmed, providing the species remains protected. Fennell (2013c, p. 199) on the other hand, argues that billfishing is inherently harmful to individuals and “would not qualify as a form of ecotourism because it does not protect the interests of animals as a first priority.”

Rolston (1995) argues the ecocentric position thus:

In an evolutionary ecosystem, it is not mere individuality that counts, but the species is also significant because it is a dynamic life form maintained over time by an informed genetic flow. The individual represents (re-presents) a species in each new generation. It is a token of a type, and the type is more important than the token (Rolston, 1995, p. 67).

Breakey and Breakey (2015, p. 93) propose a re-assessment (which they admit is ‘mildly anthropocentric’) of Leopold’s land ethic, the cornerstone of the ecocentric position. They propose using the notion of the “cultural harvest” to create “virtuous tourists as agents of sustainability”. Their argument assumes that animals will be protected through this approach, but it does not provide a way of out situations involving a dilemma between the interests of humans and animals, or between individual animals and the ecosystem.

Some tourism researchers advocate the consideration of both individuals *and* ecosystems in natural environments (Holden, 2003; Hughes, 2001; Sneddon, Lee, Ballantyne, & Packer, 2016). Other studies report findings on situations where tourist activities compromised the welfare status of individual animals *and* the conservation status of their respective species (Bach & Burton, 2017; D’Cruze et al., 2018; Moorhouse et al., 2015, 2017; Ziegler et al., 2018). Vilka (1997) argues that we should not isolate individuals from their environments because the well-being of an animal requires that its environment also be well. It is only individual animals who are sentient and can suffer, while a ‘species’, as Holland (1996) observed, is an abstract concept that does not actually have a life. Burns et al. (2011) present a case study outlining the complex nature of ‘managing’ native dogs (dingoes) in a protected area, and the ethical positions involved. Their study proposes a detailed revision of the current anthropocentric management style that would incorporate and take into account the needs of humans, the ecosystem and individual dingoes. Hughes’ (2001) study of dolphins in the UK concludes that dolphins in the Moray Firth are valued as species and part of ecosystems by scientists, but the public overall values individual animals, and gives them names, illustrating animal rights, welfare and moral considerability.

Ecofeminist

Ecofeminism is the least frequently used ethic in tourism research, but advocates argue for its usefulness, because of its capacity to accommodate different contexts, particularly cultural situations, and to offer “a lens that recognizes the multiplicity of social, political, and other factors that influence our interactions with other-than human animals” (Yudina & Fennell, 2013, p. 65). Ecofeminism developed as a response to the rule based utilitarian and rights based ethics, with which it exists in a degree of tension. Yudina and Grimwood (2016, p. 718) note that ecofeminism “seeks to illuminate ways of knowing and being that have been devalued over time”, and move towards “the restoration of emotional responses, sympathy, empathy, and compassion”. It introduces the ‘ethic of care’ into decision-making about animals (Yudina & Fennell, 2013). Ecofeminism acknowledges that animals have their own ways of understanding and behaving, as Bertella, Fumagalli, and Williams-Grey (2019) acknowledge in their co-creation experiment with a fictitious dolphin. As Bertella (2013, p. 286) notes, “[P]articular importance is accorded to the dignity of animals, the respect towards their way of living and their freedom to choose in this regard”. In their analysis of sled dogs, Fennell and Sheppard (2011, p. 206) argue that from an ecofeminist view, “[O]ur gut reaction to this case should factor into our analysis” and this allows them to give a voice to the dogs to show “the dogs were not treated with care; they suffered in life and in death and this is morally and ethically wrong.” Taylor, Hurst, Stinson, and Grimwood (2019) applied the principles of ecofeminism and particularly the ethic of care, to

track the moral development of a group of volunteers working with elephants in Thailand. The study found that moral questioning and consideration of tourist activities from the elephants' perspective, helped to evolve the volunteers' moral development through this reflective processing (Taylor et al., 2019).

Animal rights

In *The Case for Animal Rights* Tom Regan (2004) sets out an argument that animals are morally equal to humans, and as moral patients, they have a right to justice and respectful treatment as their due, based upon their sentience, consciousness and inherent value (Fennell, 2013c). Regan (1986) sees the struggle for animal rights as part of a broader, global effort to secure rights for human groups including women, workers and minorities. A key component of Regan's argument is the subject-of-a-life criterion, which incorporates the bases of his case for animal rights:

individuals are subjects-of-a-life if they have beliefs and desires; perception, memory, and a sense of the future, including their own future; an emotional life together with feelings of pleasure and pain; preferences; welfare interests; the ability to initiate action in pursuit of their desires and goals; a psychophysical identity over time; and an individual welfare in the sense that their experiential life fares well or ill for them (Regan, 2004, p. 243).

Beings who are the subject-of-a life, are deemed to hold inherent value, which is independent of any other being's value or use, and as Regan (2004, p. 240) states "all those who have it, have it equally". Vilkkka (1997) argues that intrinsic value is generated by the being herself, not bestowed by another being (such as a human). Regan (2004, p. 248) argues that "the respect principle sets forth an egalitarian, nonperfectionist interpretation of formal justice", as an individual's due, and which also demands a duty by others to assist victims of harm and injustice.

Regan recognizes two main types of harm, the first of which is infliction, and acknowledges that "Suffering is not just pain" but can have psychological bases (Regan, 2004, p. 94). The second type of harm is deprivations, which means that individuals can be harmed but not suffer as a result. For example, the quick, untimely killing of an animal may not hurt or cause suffering, but "Death is the ultimate harm because it is the ultimate loss - the loss of life itself" (Regan, 2004, p. 100).

Animal rights is often conflated with welfare, but as Francione (2008) notes, the rights view seeks to abolish all animal use and their status as human property, while the welfare view seek to continue animal use. Regan's (2004, p. 250) view is also antagonistic to utilitarianism, and he states that "[N]o individual who has inherent value may justly be treated as a mere receptacle in order to secure optimal consequences for all affected by the outcome".

Application of the animal rights view would challenge all tourist activities that use animals (Fennell, 2012a; Hughes, 2001), with Fennell and Sheppard (2011, p. 199) commenting that "[E]ating, hunting, experimenting with and displaying non-human animals is wrong", regardless of humans' needs and culture. Relatively few studies in tourism have adopted the rights perspective, with some noting that the position is unrealistic in today's world (Shani, 2012a). Sheppard and Fennell's (2019) recent review of 123 tourism policies across the globe found no reference to rights in the context of animals, and respect appeared once only as a general reference to the natural environment.

Cultural issues

The notion of cultural relativism, that some practices should be exempt from critique, creates a potential conflict between tourists and local traditions, and between different ethical positions. Cohen (2018c) observes that bullfighting is particularly contentious in this regard, pitching animal ethics against long standing cultural traditions, that provide substantial income at the local level. Carr and Broom (2018, p. 156) add that within tourism in particular, culture influences perceptions of animal welfare, and that "while animal welfare is an objective concept, it is situated within a subjective setting". Qingming, Honggang, and Wall (2012) for example note that Chinese people feel an attachment to monkeys and believe that close encounters with them will have no impacts on the animals. They argue also that western scientific ways of understanding and protecting animals from human intervention can be at odds with Chinese cultural practice. Mkono (2018, p. 689) describes how western animal rights views against the killing of Cecil the lion, were not shared by local Africans, but rather that the "dominant pattern was resentment towards what was viewed as the neo-colonial character of trophy hunting, in the way it privileges Western elites in accessing Africa's wildlife resources". In a paper co-authored by three geographers and two Indigenous tour operators in Australia, Wright, Suchet-Pearson, Lloyd, Burarrwanga, and Burarrwanga (2009) outline the ways in which tourists are invited to understand Indigenous relationships with the land and animals. Cultural differences in food practices, including methods of slaughter, preparation and the animals that are eaten, is a highly sensitive issue in tourism that is considered in a following section.

A tourism-animal ontology

This theme concerns the categories into which animals are grouped, which at once, specifies their moral considerability and their use for humans. These classifications are influenced by ethics that ultimately determine animals' moral worth (Epstein, 2018). Fig. 2 shows the categories derived from the sample which include: speciesism, wild animals (introduced/native), a wild-captive continuum, and domestic animals. O'Sullivan (2007, p. 9) argues that categorization of animals and their associated protections are not based on the needs of species, but "[R]ather, they are based on an animals' industrial usefulness. There is no such thing as a Prevention of Cruelty to Rabbits Act". This theme, and the attempt to 'flatten' current animal classifications, is not to deny animals' own reality, and the value of science in understanding species' particular needs as Carr and Broom (2018) argue. It does however, aim to deconstruct and challenge the artificial, socially created barriers that can be used to justify unethical treatment of animals, which are then supported and reinforced by tourist practice (Carr & Broom, 2018; Kline, 2018a, 2018b; Lemelin, 2013). Ontology then, is an

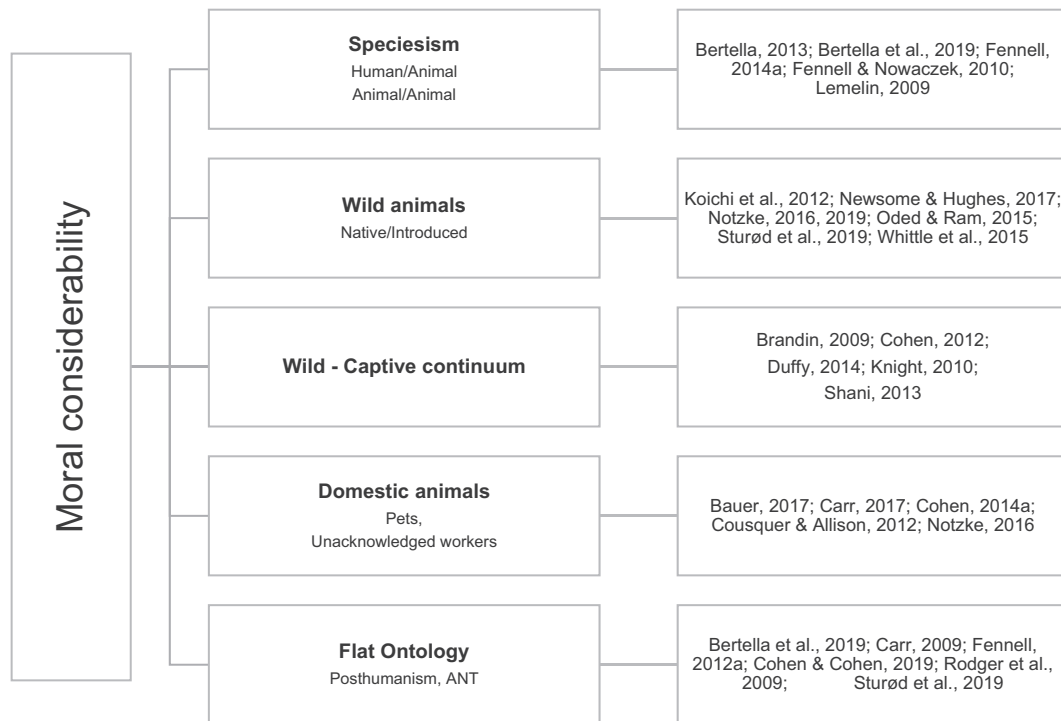


Fig. 2. Discussion and challenges to the tourism-animal ontology.

inquiry into the nature of entities, with questions relating to how they are set up, and in particular, which are the products of nature, and which of humans (Epstein, 2018). A flat ontology is where all kinds of entities exist, but stand in no priority to one another, examples of which include assemblage theory and Actor Network Theory (ANT).

Moral considerability concerns whether or not, and the extent to which, animals should be considered by humans. Other factors however, can mediate the ethical importance of an animal relative to humans, or to other animals (O'Sullivan, 2007). Under animal rights views for example, entities are morally considerable by virtue of their sentience, intrinsic value and interests (Francione, 2008; Regan, 2004), and entities with full moral status have it equally (Jaworska & Tannenbaum, 2018). Hale (2011, p. 54) argues however, that the “claim that everything in the world is morally considerable ought not to be conflated with the claim that every existing entity has equivalent moral status”. It is also known that intrinsic value may be attributed to an entity, but be over-ridden by a stronger instrumental view (Winter, 2005). Holden (2003) for example notes that under ecocentrism, or (ecological extension), moral standing is attributed to all living entities within an ecosystem, however, priority is given to the greater whole.

Post-humanism and Actor Network Theory (ANT)

Post-humanism and Actor Network Theory (ANT) present possibilities for improved human-animal relationships, by removing the human/nonhuman dichotomy, and acknowledging it as a political and social construction that facilitates the use and abuse of animals, “thereby rejecting the basic premise of human exceptionalism” (Cohen, 2018b, p. 418). Few studies used post-humanism or ANT, but Rodger, Moore, and Newsome (2009) included penguins as the non-human actors in their research, with their role being to indicate disturbance from interactions with humans. Notzke (2019) argues for horses as active agents in riding tours. Sturød, Helgadóttir, and Nordbø (2019), state their study was inspired by post-humanism and ANT research, with respect to the horse in Kyrgyzstan, as a non-human actor. They illustrate the social construction of the horse finding that she belongs to multiple realities – food, fighter, cultural and historic symbol, a container of genes and pet. Each ‘reality’, means a horse has an associated moral standing which can change radically, as the quotation below illustrates.

With European tourists demanding healthy, well-treated horses with names, the distinction between the *tulpar*, a packhorse and a milking mare is blurred. Where the dun mare formerly was one of countless horses, she is now not only producing healing milk or perhaps giving birth to a *tulpar*, she also has a name and a Dutch friend – who most likely will not be at the party where she eventually will be enjoyed as *beshbarmak* [i.e. eaten] (Sturød et al., 2019, p. 13).

Cohen concludes post-humanism is not feasible in practice because it relies upon sharing and reciprocity, which is not something animals can or perhaps wish to do – as Bertella et al. (2019) suggest. Cohen (2018b) raises the possibility however, that post-humanism may be able to reduce abuse of animals in tourism by sensitizing tourists and practitioners to animals' position. Cohen and Cohen (2019, p. 161) observe an irony in the application of ANT, that while inanimate objects have been acknowledged as having agency, “live animals seem to lose their status as sentient beings, paradoxically within the very approaches that advocate a post-humanist ontology”.

Speciesism

It can be argued that tourism is inherently speciesist, not only because of its anthropocentrism, but also, because many tourists have a bias towards 'charismatic mega-fauna' (Kerley, Geach, & Vial, 2003). As D'Cruze et al. (2018) found, International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) listed Vulnerable animals were those most likely to be used in attractions for close interactions with tourists, placing them in situations that threaten the welfare of the individuals and also the conservation status of their species. The attraction of IUCN listed endangered species is supported by Mkono's (2015) work in Africa. Lemelin (2013, p. 156) terms this touristic tendency to favour wild, unique and exotic animals as "institutionalised speciesism" that has been normalized over generations. Lemelin (2009, 2013) challenges the speciesism against insects and "anthropomorphism (the general disposition for animals most 'like-us') and entomophobia" (which ignores how some people love butterflies, but hate moths) (Lemelin, 2013, p. 155). Similarly, Bertella (2013, p. 290) found that fish and crustaceans were "excluded from the human moral universe", and equally, Elder and Kline (2018, n.p.) state that "[S]eafood' denotes a mass of swimming protein whose only end is to be consumed by humans". See also, Fennell and Nowaczek's (2010) article on fishing, the practice of 'catch and release' and the recent scientific findings evidencing that fish are sentient beings.

As O'Sullivan (2007, p. 4) observes, "The suggestion that the human/non-human division is arbitrary, illogical, and speciesist, and therefore should be repealed, has not been embraced by the mainstream. The orthodox liberal view continues to assert that there is something special about humans that differentiates humans from, and preferences humans above, all other animals". O'Sullivan (2007) further argues that all animals should be treated equally, thus proposing a flat ontology within the animal category. She acknowledges this may pose a risk that some animals could be worse off, however it would necessitate an informed public debate that would bring into the open, issues of abusive treatment. In his comparison of the status given to two iconic animals, panda and elephant, Cohen (2010) notes that preferences can result in inequitable resource allocation that can impact animals.

Wild animals: introduced/native

In addition to prioritizing species over individuals, the ecocentric view seeks to protect 'native' species within an ecosystem, while 'introduced' animals are likely to be denied an intrinsic value, classed as 'pests' who should be exterminated. Oded and Ram (2015) challenge the automatic attribution of good/bad value that is associated with the native/introduced classification, and in their study of tourism as victim, not vector of biological invasion, they argue that each species ought to be considered on the basis of its contribution. Burns et al.'s (2011) study deals with native dingoes on Fraser Island in Australia who are seen as a 'nuisance' because they compete with tourist access and activities. Koichi, Cottrell, Sangha, and Gordon (2012) describe wild pigs as 'exotic species', 'unnatural', that are considered 'out of place', because they destroy the rainforest. Tourists however, who were unaware of the pigs' 'feral' status, could see them as 'natural' and an acceptable part of the environment. Animal rights views argue that the pigs have a right to live, while the welfare view would argue they can be controlled using 'humane' methods. A pig living in a rainforest is unlikely to see herself as a 'pest' who should be destroyed.

The reliability of such classification can also be questioned when much longer time scales are taken into account (Callicott, Crowder, & Mumford, 1999), and that at some point in the ancient past, a contemporary 'native' species may actually have been 'introduced'. Whittle, Stewart, and Fisher (2015) describe the very real possibilities of resurrecting extinct species ('de-extinction'), suggesting that one of the possible avenues for the use of these animals is tourism. The authors further suggest that ethical consideration of such ventures is needed now. Newsome and Hughes (2017, p. 1311) compare the treatment of the resurrected dinosaurs in the movie *Jurassic World* with the realities of wildlife tourism, and the use of "extensive, 'wow factor' facilities" which trivialize highly evolved animals. Their comments are especially relevant in the light of current work being undertaken in 'de-extinction.'

A wild-captive continuum

Various typologies have been developed to conceptualize the ways that wild animals are used in tourism, from wild or free living through semi-captive to captive settings (Orams, 2002; Shani, 2013). Cohen's (2009, 2013) four-part categorization of animal 'settings' reflects the animals' declining autonomy and gradual domination by humans, from being unrestrained in the wild in *fully natural* settings, to *fully contrived* places that involve forced animal performances. The same animal can move through these levels of confinement, being subjected to different treatment, that is supported by ethics: protected as a completely wild, native animal within an ecosystem, to being treated under instrumental and utilitarian ethics as an object for tourist entertainment. For tourists the illusion is that the animals are tame, but as Cohen's (2013) study of the tiger shows, this is not the case at all, and once free living animals are systematically abused to conform their behaviour to the needs of their human handlers.

Longitudinal studies of the incremental impacts on animals is needed in situations involving the gradual transformation of wild animals to tourist attractions. Knight's (2010) study of the monkey park in Japan, using processes of provisioning to entice wild macaques to come out of the forest for tourists illustrates what appears to be an early stage in commodifying the animals. Brandin (2009, p. 413) argues that across three different spatial settings (zoo, moose safari and moose park), moose, and the meaning of 'wild' "becomes practised as 'exotic stranger', 'admired acquaintance' or 'close personal friend'".

Domestic animals

Research about domestic animals in tourism has received far less attention than wild (free living and captive) animals. Young and Carr (2018) suggest four reasons for this, with the first being the unequal relationships of power, where humans control all aspects of domestic animals' lives. Second, domestic animals are part of the mundane and 'everyday', not seen with the interest that tourists hold for strange and exotic animals. Third, they argue there is a tension created with the huge numbers of domestic animals who are so overtly used as food. Fourth they argue that because of their controlled existence, domestic animals are perceived as less authentic

than wild animals.

Domestication is a process whereby wild animals and humans form a close relationship that extends over many generations, during which the animals' genetic characteristics and behaviour are modified by humans through selective breeding (Gamborg, Gremmen, Christiansen, & Sandøe, 2010; Russell, 2002). As such, domestication is a substantially different process to the capture and confinement of a wild animal. The wild/domestic dichotomy, can be reconsidered in the light of processes involving 'de-domestication' (introducing previously domestic animals back into the wild), which also challenges the categories of animals included within environmental ethics (Gamborg et al., 2010). Domestic animals living in the wild are often framed as 'feral' or 'pests' and given no moral considerability. Under a rights view, they would be treated equally with native animals.

The horse is an example of an animal that occupies several places within an animal ontology, incorporating not only domestic/wild features, but multiple (human based) identities. Notzke (2016) finds a range of social constructions of horses, each having different moral considerability and the subsequent ethical judgements upon them. They are seen as both natural and cultural heritage to varying degrees in the USA and Canada, "persecuted as exotic pests in Australia", controlled in New Zealand and used in restorative ecology in Siberia (Notzke, 2016, p. 1246).

Most domestic animals today are owned by humans, and are subject to high levels of regulation and control as 'property'. Neil Carr (2009) is a champion for domestic animals in tourism, especially dogs, and he calls for more research and ethical consideration about them. Pets are a unique category, and Carr (2017) notes the trend of pets being attributed with intrinsic value and rights, as part of human families, and acknowledged as having their own leisure needs. Carr and Cohen (2009) address the issue of taking pets on holiday and that there is strong desire but low actualization, with one of the main reasons being the lack of pet friendly accommodation.

While charismatic mega fauna are sought after and admired, other animals are all but ignored, and there is very little academic work on domestic workers in tourism. Animals such as donkeys, mules and horses, carry out some of the heavy drudge work, transporting tourists and materials along mountain trails or through traffic in large cities. Seaside donkeys in the UK provide fun times for tourists, but their own welfare is ignored and the animals are treated as objects and oppressed (Tully & Carr, 2019). It is a promising step that 13 of the sample articles deal with domestic animals, some of whom are free living (horses and pigs) although only two describe positive welfare for them. The other domestic animals are treated as objects or 'pests' and used as workers: lambs (Bauer, 2017), bulls (Cohen, 2014a), mules (Cousquer & Allison, 2012), sled dogs (Fennell, 2013a; Fennell & Sheppard, 2011), horses (Notzke, 2016, 2019; Sturød et al., 2019) and wild pigs (Koichi et al., 2012).

Evidence of harm caused to animals in tourism

This theme provides the basis for an imperative to protect animals from harm as a result of their use by tourism. Within the tourism literature there are many studies of negative impacts to animals in the context of wildlife as species, relating to sustainability and management, but without discussion of the underlying ethical positions. Far fewer studies deal with individual animals as sentient beings.

Direct, intentional destruction of animals

Consumptive activities are those in which the objective is to kill an animal: fishing, hunting, bullfighting and use as food, are examples of an anthropocentric and instrumental philosophy. The contexts underlying these practices are complex, and can be framed within social ethics reflecting class and status, cultural tradition, settler ideology and practices conducted as ritual, all of which deny an animal ontological perspective, and facilitate the justification of recreational slaughter (Cohen, 2014a, 2014b; Hughes, 2001). Mordue (2009, p. 540) shows that fishing practices can be applied and perceived differently between cultures in the US and UK, as "ethically democratic" or "ethically elitist". Cohen (2014a, p. 545) describes bullfighting as "human-initiated agonistic animal contests", in which the "the public slaughter of a confused animal", is justified by a heavy overlay of tradition and culture, and supported by tourism (Cohen, 2014a, p. 554).

Hunting ethics include the notion of 'fair chase' to justify recreational killing of animals as sport, and to suggest that there is an equal contest between the human and the prey (Cohen, 2014b; Descubes et al., 2018). A 'clean kill' or 'humane' killing of the animal is used to suggest the animal has not suffered, but perhaps more importantly for hunters, it is a demonstration of their skill and attention to ethical hunting principles (Descubes et al., 2018; Reis, 2009). Darimont, Coddling, and Hawkes (2017) consider that trophy hunting may be part of a signalling behaviour where the hunter can boast of their accomplishment on global social media. Mkono (2018, p. 1620) concludes that "[T]hus, like pro-hunting African politicians, hunters maintain a utilitarian-consequentialist ethic, emphasising the revenues generated and claiming their use in turn for conservation goals". In some accounts, the final act of killing the animal is downplayed, or even dismissed as but one aspect of the hunter's experience in which the animal is treated as an object (Cohen, 2014a, 2014b; Mordue, 2009; Reis, 2009). Reis (2009, p. 582) found that hunters describe a "sensual experience" within "an almost sacred ritual of male connectedness, not only to the land as a settler, but to fellow men who also share this settler identity". Fennell (2012a) suggests that ecotourism may provide the type of nature-based experiences that hunters enjoy (such as communing with nature, being with like-minded friends, and the skill needed to pursue animals), but which do not compromise animals' rights.

Food

The ethics of eating animals in tourism "remains practically untouched" and for most people, eating meat is an unquestioned, "non-reflective activity", part of a "natural routine" (Cohen, 2018a, p. 1, 2). Some authors in the sample investigated food chains and

restaurants that claim to use ethical and sustainable practices and found respondents justified meat eating claiming 'humane' treatment of the animals before they were killed and eaten, thus reflecting a utilitarian view (Francione, 2008). Higgins-Desbiolles and Wijesinghe's (2019) case study research of twenty Australian restaurants featuring sustainability found only one vegan restaurant. Respondents were conscious of sourcing 'product', from farms with good animal welfare, and where notably, all of the 'rights' issues were in relation to humans and none to animals. Carrigan et al. (2017) also found some evidence of a welfare view, which for the respondents meant knowing that the animals were slaughtered humanely, that they were organic and free range. Fennell and Markwell (2015) found little evidence of animal ethics in a sample of Australian ecotourism food service operations.

The irony of tourists viewing animals and then eating them is noted by Yudina and Fennell (2013, at Beijing Zoo), at moose parks in Sweden (Brandin, 2009), the 'Kyrgyz horse' (Sturød et al., 2019), and wild animals in Africa (Mkono, 2015). Burns, Öqvist, Angerbjörn, and Granquist (2018), discuss tourists eating seals and whales, and explore how some tourists consider whale hunting unethical, but by temporarily suspending their ethics, tourists can be happy to eat them.

Experiencing culture, literally through the consumption of unique destination foods is a key part of tourism, yet very little research has been conducted on it from an animal ethics view. The exception is two edited books by Carol Kline (2018a, 2018b). Kline (2018a) includes 11 case studies raising awareness of the sacrifice and suffering caused to animals in their use as food. In particular, is Venegas and López' (2018, n.p.) study of the cruel and painful 'preparation' and slaughter involving a slow death of newborn goats for the expensive *cabrito* dish in Mexico. They consider the several sociocultural justifications for this practice, and conclude that consumption of *cabrito* is a "more-or-less unconscious act of complicity with unethical practices". Bertella (2018) focuses on vegan food from an ecofeminist view, arguing that the practice of veganism induces a notion of care and respect for animals.

Kline's (2018b) second text includes 15 chapters, on a range of ethical issues across the globe in which tourism is involved. Cohen (2018a, p. 5) refers to the need to address the ethical issues of the 'cascading down' of "co-responsibility for the suffering or killing of animals for meat", and offers an agenda for issues concerning the ethics of food. Brown (2018) analyses the Yulin Lychee and Dog Meat Festival and finds that a part of its success lies in the fact that the on-site slaughter of the dogs gives people the assurance the meat is safe to eat. While there is scientific evidence and acceptance of animal sentience in western countries, it is not so in China, where there are few animal protection laws. For these reasons, festival goers "are unmoved by the scenes of dogs in distress and in pain" (Brown, 2018, p. 198). At the same time, in western countries she notes, animal slaughter is undertaken behind closed doors and can be more easily ignored.

Harm caused by non-consumptive tourism

The labelling of some activities (including zoos) as non-consumptive, assumes they are less detrimental, have better welfare outcomes for individual animals and are therefore ethically superior to activities classed as consumptive. This view is increasingly being challenged by research (Shani & Pizam, 2008; Tremblay, 2001; Yudina & Grimwood, 2016, 729) that also illustrates their underlying anthropocentric and instrumental perspectives. Cohen and Fennell's (2016, p. 174) analysis of the Case of Marius the giraffe, who was killed because he was deemed 'surplus' by the Copenhagen zoo, illustrates "the extent to which the professional ideology of the Zoo (as of Western zoos in general), actually serves to mask its financial interests as business enterprises." Their analysis concluded that "positive duties were owed to Marius because of the higher moral standing he was given by the Zoo itself".

In an extensive, worldwide audit of Wildlife Tourism Attractions, (non-consumptive, non-zoo and excluding animals in national parks and protected areas) Moorhouse et al. (2015, 2017), concluded that 50–60% of the estimated 236,000–561,000 individual animals involved, suffered from impacts to their individual welfare and to the conservation status of their species. D'Cruze et al. (2018, p. 1563), studied non-consumptive wildlife tourism involving close interactions (such as feeding, swimming and petting) with wild animals across Latin America, and found "altered feeding and reproductive behaviour, stress and other physiological responses, injury, disease or death". Cohen (2013) describes tigers being chained on short leads, left in the hot sun, subjected to touching by hundreds of tourists per day, beaten, punched and sprayed in the face with urine, drugged and kept in small cages for up to 21 h per day. Bauer (2017) observed newborn lambs being used as touristic photographic props, as being malnourished, subjected to *brutish handling*, not bonding with their mothers, suffering from hypothermia and in need of urgent veterinary care.

'Catch and Release' as a fishing practice can be framed from an ecocentric position as having lower impacts on fish species (Holland et al., 2000), but contested from an animal rights position because the intent is to cause harm to individual animals (Fennell, 2013c). Øian, Aas, Skår, Andersen, and Stensland (2017) found the mortality rate for released fish is not clear, and that these practices are actively debated among members of recreational fishing groups. A discussion on catch and release in relation to ecotourism and the sentience of fish, can be found in Fennell and Nowaczek (2010).

Proximity: feeding and confinement

One of the primary objectives of tourists is to gain close proximity to animals, which allows them convenient and optimal viewing, and other forms of entertainment. The dominant method in the past, supported by instrumentalism, and which remains immensely popular, has been simply to lock up the animals in cages. Increasingly, tourists demand 'experiences' beyond 'just looking', with captive and wild animals (swimming, petting, walks, taking selfies). Proximity to wild living animals can be achieved by the age old trick of handing out food.

Feeding (provisioning) is a tactic designed to encourage animals to approach tourists to provide for viewing or closer interactions. Although the long term impacts on animals remain unclear, the practice is common (see Orams, 2002). In particular is Knight's (2010, p. 757) study of a complex, four step feeding regime which involves habituating an entire troop of wild macaques, to come out of their forest habitat at specific times. The timing coincides with the arrival of tourist buses, which then "allows visitors to have the

pleasure of the view without the hardship of the search". It appears no consideration has been given to the impacts of the regime on the macaques, reflecting utilitarian and instrumentalist views which place the 'convenience' of tourists above any concern for the impacts on the animals.

Confinement is the end result of the capture and transport of wild animals to bring them directly to 'the tourist gaze.' As Mason (2000, p. 338) notes, "[Z]oos are a form of museum. Unlike other museums they exhibit live objects". Hughes (2001, p. 324) points out, "[Q]uite clearly the animal rights perspective would reject putting animals in captivity outright", and Fennell (2013b, p. 9) states that zoos "violate an animal's status as a free-living creature and the ability to express normal behaviour". Animal activists such as Linda Stoner (2013), the CEO of Animal Liberation in Australia refer to zoos as a 'prison'. Zoos are now seeing a need to justify the confinement of animals, and have thus begun to rebrand their operations as centres for education and conservation (Carr & Broom, 2018; Shani, 2012b; Shani & Pizam, 2008). Fennell (2013b) finds that education and conservation would satisfy the ethics of zoos for preference utilitarians on the basis that both tourists and animals have their interests served. Hughes (2001) considers that a welfare view would see the sole objective of entertainment as morally wrong, but may be acceptable if education were included. An eco-centric view may see support in zoos if there were a role to reintroduce a species into the wild, or to conserve a species (Hughes, 2001, p. 324). Markwell and Cushing's (2009) analysis of the display strategies of a reptile park over the past 50 years found there was a distinctly anthropocentric perspective, based mainly on entertainment.

The serious impacts resulting from the confinement of very large animals is illustrated in the documentary, *Lolita: Slave to Entertainment* (Gorski, 2003). The film depicts the violence and death caused to a pod during the capture of infant orca from the wild, and the suffering caused to them by deprivations, including isolation from their family, and denial of their sensory needs by confinement in small chlorinated tanks. Ventre and Jette (2015, p. 142) state that "it is becoming increasingly obvious that marine mammal captivity is unethical". Their study of orca at SeaWorld details the multiple injuries and serious welfare issues, as well as early deaths as a direct result of their confinement, and that according to nearly all metrics, their survival rate is far lower than in the wild. Conservation is often cited as a reason to justify orca confinement, but the aquarium entertainment industry has contributed to the decline of orca populations in the wild (Gorski, 2003; Ventre & Jett, 2015). While orca entertainment centres are in decline in the USA, SeaWorld is continuing to explore investment opportunities in countries such as Russia, the Middle East and Asia.

In several studies, some tourists were aware of the ethical challenges relating to both confinement and provisioning, resulting in their experiences of cognitive dissonance. Research results regarding the ways tourists deal with their concerns are in the section following.

Ethics of the tourism system: regulators, operators and tourists

Political and regulatory groups

Little research appears to have been conducted in relation to the ethical positions of government and regulatory groups, which is a concern given the nature of the tourism industry as a global, multi-faceted and self-controlling industry. Fennell and Sheppard (2011) focused on analysis of policy, through examination of 123 tourism policies across 73 countries, and found that although there has been some progress towards consideration of animals, the notions of respect, welfare and rights continue to be used almost exclusively for humans. They concluded that overall, "the policies reveal an instrumental level of concern for animal welfare" (p. 139) and that development policies are focused on providing benefits for humans. Garrod and Fennell (2004) analysed a global sample of 58 whale watching codes of conduct and found there was much variation between them. Their concern was that the vast marine range of whales extends beyond and across the different regions' codes. They suggest that voluntary regulation and cooperation between tour operators, local communities, non-government organizations (NGOs), and scientists may help to develop an internationally recognized code. Duffy and Moore (2011) examine global governance and accepted welfare standards for the use of elephants in trekking and safari tourism. They highlight that problems can occur in the attempt to apply universal principles – in their study, to Thailand and Botswana. In these situations, they argue that engaging with local practices is necessary to ensure global standards are workable for tour operators, animal welfare NGOs, elephant camp owners and tourists (Duffy & Moore, 2011).

Operators

Many animal welfare issues were highlighted by researchers relating to tour operators, from very small locally based studies, to global web based surveys of operators. The contexts include small boat tours (Lück & Porter, 2018), elephant camps in Thailand (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2009) and monkey parks (Knight, 2010). Following their review of national inbound and outbound travel associations, Font et al. (2019, p. 134) conclude that "the meaning of welfare is utilitarian and context-specific, and that an acceptance of responsibility towards sustainability and AW (animal welfare) is still rare". Moorhouse et al. (2017, p. 511) also note that "the prevalence of neo-liberalism and privatisation means that regulation is often unwelcome, especially when directed and led by the state".

Studies have found that operators may elect to undertake deceptive practices, rather than improve animal welfare. Some of the travel associations involved in Font et al.'s (2019, p. 134) study tended to "manage stakeholder perceptions, develop lobbying strategies and co-opt threatening stakeholders, often to introduce considerably lower industry requirements". Similarly, Moorhouse et al. (2017, p. 510) found wildlife tourism attractions were not always "accurate or honest, when describing their benefits and intentions to the wider public". Shani's (2012b, p. 153) results show that, in the face of criticism about confining animals, some attractions have successfully shifted their marketing position from pure entertainment, to a more socially acceptable family orientation, but with no change to animal welfare.

Tourists

Several studies focused on tourists and their ethical positions regarding the animals they had come to see. In a concerning finding, Moorhouse et al. (2017, p. 513) conclude that “[T]he status quo in effect requires tourists to act as arbiters of what constitutes acceptable use of wildlife. Tourists, however, are poorly equipped for this role”, and “the less obvious welfare issues went undetected by most tourists”. Plous (1993, p. 14) argues that one reason to explain why animal cruelty is tolerated relates to factors that are external to a consumer, and which help to “dissociate consumptive practices from the infliction of pain or suffering”. Language is a common method, particularly euphemisms for killing (‘harvesting’, ‘controlling’, and ‘managing’) (Plous, 1993), and referring to animals in the wild as ‘resources’ or ‘stocks’. The practice of hiding cruel practices such as those used in training for example, partly explains their acceptance by the public, as Cohen describes for the Tiger Temple (2013) and preparation of bulls for a bull fight (2014a). Winter and Frew (2018) show how thoroughbred racehorses are treated as valued and loved animals on the ‘front stage’, but can suffer death and injury in the ‘back stage’ areas, where the public has no access.

A frequent finding was that tourists experience cognitive dissonance when confronted with a choice between their own enjoyment, and the welfare of the animals. In almost all cases, tourists successfully justified their actions to continue, and the list of reasons and justifications, detailed by studies in this review is impressive (Curtin, 2006; Lück & Porter, 2018; Verbos, Zajchowski, Brownlee, & Skibins, 2018; Ziegler et al., 2018). Shani and Pizam (2009) found that most of their respondents were aware of ethical issues surrounding animal confinement, but raised justifications in three main areas which include education, conservation, research, government supervision, safety, training methods and a natural environment). Shani (2012b) found tourists justified the confinement and use of animals using similar reasons, including the claim that confined animals have better welfare compared with life in the wild. Curtin's (2006, p. 313) sample group, at a captive dolphin display, experienced “cognitive dissonance, which is relieved by concentrating on the emotional labour of the trainers towards the dolphins, their level of care and the conservation efforts that presumably their visit supports”. In Verbos et al.'s. (2018, p. 416) study, some visitors “stated an internal, ethical dilemma when considering desired proximity to wildlife” and acknowledged the impacts of their presence on the wildlife (grizzly bears).

Ziegler et al. (2018) introduce Sezer, Gino, and Bazerman (2015) ‘should self’ and ‘want self’ to describe tourists' cognitive dissonance regarding feeding whale sharks: where the ‘want self’ is “the side of us that wants immediate gratification (which becomes dominant when a decision is made, and the ‘should self’ as the side that wants to make responsible and ethical decisions. They noted the presence of “ethical fading”, described as where “[S]elf-deception causes the moral implications of a decision to fade, allowing individuals to behave incomprehensively and, at the same time, not realize that they are doing so” (Tenbrunsel & Messick, 2004, p. 224). Ziegler et al. (2018) found that tourists used the notions of ethical fading, but their ‘want self’ won out over their ‘should self’, and they justified the feeding because the whale sharks seemed happy.

Uncertainty about the impacts of one's behaviour on animals created a degree of concern for some tourists, but it also allowed them some leeway in justifying their actions. For example, researchers found that positive comments posted by other tourists on sites such as TripAdvisor were used by tourists as reassurance, and the fact so many others were undertaking tours, supported their decision to do the same (Moorhouse et al., 2017; Ziegler et al., 2018). Given the public's concern for animal welfare, Sneddon et al. (2016) propose the use of an animal welfare value dimension defined as “the empathetic concern for the welfare of all animals, with the goal of reducing suffering and enhancing the well-being of animals as sentient beings” (Sneddon et al., 2016, p. 235).

Solutions regarding responsibility for the harm caused to animals are complex, as illustrated by Buckley (2005, p. 129) whose position is that for ecotourism, an “ethical test cannot be incorporated into operational criteria for any practical application of ecotourism”. He explains this view by outlining a complex situation involving hunting of endangered narwhal, and analyzes the dilemma in making an ethical decision that considers local indigenous cultural tradition, national law, ecocentric ethics and tourist perspectives, to consider what action he and his fellow travellers ought to have taken (Buckley, 2005). On another point, Butcher (2015, p.76) argues that issues including animal rights are political issues, but “[R]ather than ‘the personal is political’, it is more apt to say that the personal occupies the space once inhabited by politics”.

The animal gaze: power and manipulation of animals' identity

This theme refers to the power of the tourism industry directed towards establishing animals as objects, which in turn allows for their use in entertainment. Tully and Carr (2019) argue that tourism is “a facilitator of animal oppression”, operating through economics, unequal power and ideological control. Kline (2018c) too, notes that tourism reinforces human domination through routine practices such as eating animals three times per day, and “within this system, efforts to attribute moral considerability to animals, and protect them can be resisted by “societal forces belittling those who ‘anthropomorphize’ animals or who are ‘overly sentimental’ towards them” (p. 215).

Tourism can be perceived as a technology of power, operating in a Foucauldian sense, which, according to Nealon (2008), has intensified over recent decades in western societies. Rather than being directly oppressive, Foucauldian power is positive and productive, as Nealon (2008, p. 24) states, “power produces desires, formations, objects of knowledge, and discourses, rather than primarily repressing, controlling, or canalizing the powers already held by pre-existing subjects, knowledges, or formations”. Being entertained, seeing, and being seen online with exotic and large, dangerous animals is a positive motivator for tourists, driving their desire for more exotic, more personal and ‘Instagrammable’ experiences. The zoo, in particular, manifests humans' sense of entitlement, the ultimate strategy of power and control over an animal, with convenient and safe proximity, and which Fennell (2013b, p. 8) refers to as “the one-way gaze.” Tully and Carr (2019) show how cruel instrumental views of ‘seaside donkeys’ have been disguised and hidden behind images of happy, fun times at the beach, for decades. The donkey's sentience is obscured by marketing that is used to make “oppressive practices acceptable”, and normalized within an historical context of family entertainment (Tully & Carr, 2019,

p. 12).

One of the products of power is the animal ontology, that creates relationships of use between animals, operators and tourists, each entailing specific ways of interaction, knowledge and experience. The objective is tourist enjoyment, but the effect is animal suffering. Power creates increasing categories of animal 'types', that are independent of their biological characteristics, but which allow human intervention and use. Johnson (2011, p. 96) states that an example of the positive aspect of power is the 'knowledge' that the use of animals and parts of animals, is appropriate and socially supported.

Ecofeminism sees power as emanating from the patriarchal system of domination, extending directly over animals through discourse, which produces, maintains and normalizes instrumental relationships. Using a post-human feminist view, Bone and Bone (2015) analyze how both women and elephants in Thailand are forced to perform "the same 'dart trick'" for an oppressive male tourist gaze. As Yudina and Grimwood (2016, p. 718) point out, "[W]hen particular meanings and practices of and about the world are (re) produced and disseminated via dominant discourses, they become authorized as truth and privileged as legitimate knowledge." Ecofeminist tourism researchers have analysed discourse in the photographic images of animals in tourist promotional materials, to illuminate the operation and effects of the underlying mechanisms of power. As Bertella (2013) notes, local portrayals of animals in touristic photographs are not neutral, but can be read to uncover speciesism, and in most cases, animals are depicted as being controlled by humans in some way.

Several researchers note how animals are portrayed as objects and commodities, where "the animals are more often manipulated than recognized as purposive agents or actors in their own right" (Shani & Pizam, 2008, p. 683). Commenting on wild polar bears, Yudina and Grimwood (2016, p. 726) state that they "are reduced to objects or commodities, identified and exploited as if they are indistinguishable from their souvenir counterparts", while Duffy (2014, p. 92) describes how "the capitalisation of nature" creates new products through commodification of elephants, which are sold as if they are not 'products'.

The animal gaze as discourse, reinforced by tourists, has far reaching effects, not only in physical impacts to animals, but through manipulation of their identity, specifically the subjugation of knowledge about their innate 'wildness'. Carr and Broom (2018) argue that over many decades a "perceived domestication" of the wild has occurred, manifest through animal-related tourism. They argue further that all kinds of parks, sanctuaries national parks and wilderness which is infiltrated by tourists "have the potential to erode the 'wild' in wild animals, modifying them and increasing the perception that they are domesticated to varying extents" (Carr & Broom, 2018, p. 157). Knight's (2010) analysis of the provisioning of macaques and Brandin's (2009) analysis of wildness and moose, support this notion of transformation. As noted earlier, the very early processes of domestication, involving selective breeding and changes to animal behaviour, is an entirely different process to this transformation of identity.

Carr and Broom (2018, p. 31) cite the example of Yosemite National Park, where the bear was "transformed from a wild and potentially dangerous animal into the teddy bear". Cohen (2012, 2013, 2019) analyzes the processes where high level predators (tiger and crocodile) were taken from their wild settings, and confined in 'contrived settings'. Here the tiger is subdued through cruel training and methods of control to become "a plaything to be patted by tourists" (Cohen, 2012, p. 200). Similarly, "emasculatation of the crocodile's ferocity, which engenders a transition in the touristic perception of the crocodile from that of a dangerous, ferocious predator to an innocuous pet-like creature than can be mastered, fed, and hugged by humans" (Cohen, 2019, p. 83). Importantly, Cohen (2012, 2013) argues the animals are not domesticated, but remain wild, and only appear tame due to their fear of severe punishment from their handlers if they do not perform.

As Yudina and Grimwood (2016, p. 728) point out, animal use is "not inherent to human and other-than-human animal relationships", but is socially constructed through discourse. The role of research in uncovering the ways in which tourists can be influenced, and even fooled by certain portrayals of animals, may help to persuade tourists that other, less manipulative and tortuous relationships with animals are possible. Relationships that are based upon manipulation, cruelty and abuse, or expecting that viewing animal prisoners will expand one's understanding of other beings, are superficial and ultimately, meaningless efforts that demean humanity.

Conclusion

Tourism uses enormous numbers of animals, and this review supports evidence in the academic literature and the popular media, that many animals are abused and cruelly treated as a result. Fig. 3 provides a model derived from the sample articles, where the circular flows depict the mutually supportive interactions between the components of an 'animal gaze' in tourism. The model suggests an ethics 'start line' for a series of conceptualizations that ultimately impact animals' lives, most of which appear to be negative, including death, compromised welfare and manipulation of their very identity. An instrumental ethic for example, supports hunting for entertainment, but where a 'clean kill', demonstrates hunting skills. Utilitarian theory is not extensively used, perhaps as some indicated, because of the costs needed to make an adequate assessment of the benefits and harm that may accrue to all beings impacted by a decision (Ziegler et al., 2018). Some of the most critical work overall, has been conducted from an ecofeminist perspective, which finds evidence of power over animals, treating them as objects for a tourist gaze. Ecofeminism also offers solutions through the notion of an ethic of care, that acknowledges and incorporates humans' capacity for emotion, empathy and compassion for other beings. Finally, the animal rights view would see almost all tourism cease because it violates animals' right to life, and to be treated with respect.

Ethics informs a tourism animal ontology, and its constructivist nature is well illustrated by analyses about the transformations of wild animals to 'docile' tourist attractions (Cohen, 2012; Duffy, 2014). The long standing anthropocentric dominance of the animal ontology is challenged by several papers in this review, thus providing some direction towards overcoming the kinds of social constructions that deny moral considerability to animals, particularly through speciesism, not only human/animal but animal/animal

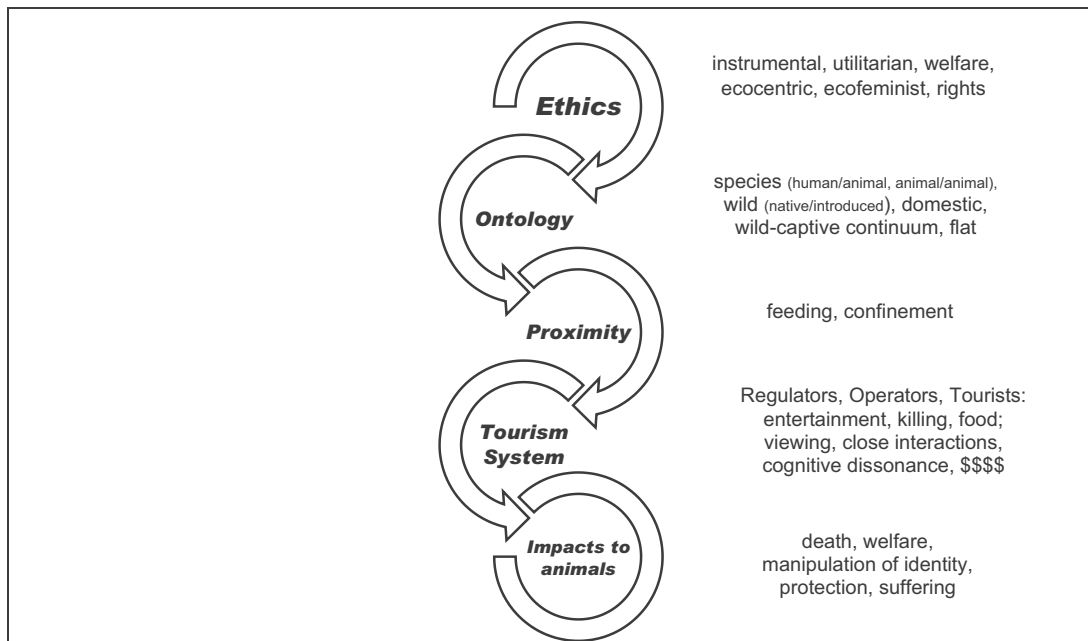


Fig. 3. The animal gaze: A model of animal ethics research in tourism.

(Bertella, 2013; Lemelin, 2009). Ecocentric ethics establish boundaries around native/introduced animals which can be at odds with the flat ontology of animal rights and ecofeminism (Burns et al., 2011). Domestic animals, who perform some of the heavy drudge work for tourists and the industry, have been conveniently ignored, at great cost to their welfare. They too should be featured in tourist research, including those used in small scale ventures, and animals who are part of human holiday-making families (Bauer, 2017; Carr, 2017; Tully & Carr, 2019). Research that illuminates these portrayals of animals is needed, accompanied by application of specific ethical positions (Burns et al., 2018; Koichi et al., 2012; Lemelin, 2009; Oded & Ram, 2015).

The animal ontology, further justifies the ways in which animals are controlled, most commonly by the very effective methods of feeding and confinement, simply to provide tourists with proximity to them. There are close links between the provision of access and the tourism system, represented by tourists, operators and regulators who benefit from animal use in a number of ways; killing (for entertainment or for food), viewing, close interactions, and financial benefit. The studies reviewed here indicate that many tourists are aware, at least to some degree, that their activities may cause harm to animals, which causes them to experience cognitive dissonance. At the same time, tourists are adept in offering innumerable defences to justify their behaviour, with the result, that few appear to be dissuaded from using animals for their own entertainment (Curtin, 2006).

Finally, the effect of an ethical position is manifest in the impact on animals, and while protection is a possibility, the majority of studies show that animals are more likely to be harmed by the tourism system. Most of all, those beings who are killed and eaten as food are almost totally ignored, and with the exception of Kline (2018a, 2018b), these animals are ignored in research. In addition, the 'animal gaze' operates as part of a technology of power which creates animals as objects to be used. Tourism further manipulates animals' identity, creating the illusion that high level predators are toys, pets, docile and domesticated (Carr & Broom, 2018; Cohen, 2012, 2013, 2019).

What is now needed above all, is the application of specific ethical principles to tourism situations involving animals, and research about unique human-animal relationships that exist within touristic encounters. A 'roadmap' is provided by Cousquer and Allison (2012) for practical situations, while ecofeminist discourses analyses detail methods of discourse analysis (Bertella, 2013; Yudina & Fennell, 2013). The articles provide a range of future directions emphasizing that if the lives of animals are to change, then co-operation from different institutions and groups within and outside the tourism system will be needed, including operators, tourists, governments, scientists and animal welfare groups (Carr & Broom, 2018; D'Cruze et al., 2018; Font et al., 2019; Moorhouse et al., 2017). A common finding however, is a lack of concern, and an unwillingness to take necessary action because of the relatively higher value placed on economic benefits above animals. The difficulty of obtaining research data can partly be overcome by accessing online sites such as TripAdvisor, or in policy documents, web-based sites and photographs, to identify ethical positions that impact touristic use of animals.

Clearly, there is a substantial gap in our knowledge to explain why so many tourists fail to change their behaviour, and perhaps the use of a scale, perhaps based upon Sneddon et al.'s (2016) proposed animal welfare value, could be used to measure large scale samples of tourists. The majority of tourists seem unable to detect all but the most severe of negative animal welfare issues (Moorhouse et al., 2015, 2017), with researchers recommending education as a solution, especially given that abusive practices are often carried out on the 'back stage'.

Cross cultural work is also necessary as demonstrated in different attitudes to animals, their relationship to humans as well as

knowledge of animal biology (Knight, 2010; Qingming et al., 2012). Indigenous cultural traditions may help to provide new ways of understanding human-animal relationships (Wright et al., 2009), but as Buckley's (2005) analysis of indigenous hunting shows, these situations can involve multiple ethical dilemmas. Fennell's (2008b) literature review of the global, historic evidence regarding environmental management, suggests a cautious approach to assumptions about the positive or negative impacts of indigenous and traditional stewardship. Some of the most sensitive cultural issues are found in the methods used to slaughter and 'prepare' animals to be eaten, illustrated in the case study about the transformation of newborn goats to *cabrito* (Venegas & López, 2018). Global regulation is needed for some ventures such as wildlife attractions and zoos (Moorhouse et al., 2017) but at the same time, broad scale regulation and intervention that fails to consider local conditions can cause further negative impacts to some animals (Duffy & Moore, 2011). Longitudinal studies are needed, and in particular, to identify the ethical positions that justify transformations of animals at different stages of use (from wild, free living to confinement) and biological studies on the impacts of provisioning.

The anthropocentric wall of defence built upon economic imperatives remains a substantial barrier for animals. Yet a concerned and educated public may decide that it is not worth going to see an animal prisoner, or to experience internal dilemmas through being part of processes that cause pain and distress to animals. This review has confirmed the importance of ethics, and that although it is an abstract social construct, human ethics result in very real physical impacts to millions of animals, which are severe and widespread. As tourism academics, researchers and educators, there is a great deal of work that can be done to help improve animals' lives. The challenge is enormous and complex, as well as emotionally demanding. At present however, millions of individual animals across the globe, who are imprisoned in small cages, abused, intentionally killed and unable to escape, are facing down the great force of human domination, reinforced and supported by the actions of tourists, for the sake of entertainment. One of these animals is the orca named Lolita, who has been confined to a very small tank at an aquarium in Miami for 50 of her 56 years, with virtually no prospect of any substantial change in what remains of her life. Lolita's case, and the thousands like hers, provide an imperative for tourism academics to address the serious ethical issues involved in the human use of animals.

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