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Tracking white hunters' relationship with nature in Eastern and Southern Africa since colonial times

By

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ABSTRACT

This study discusses the way in which hunters perceive and relate to nature and wildlife. Using the qualitative data analysis technique, the study examines how culture, attitudes, perceived nature connectedness and actions toward nature reflect certain characteristics, which makes it possible to establish the type of relationships that hunters have with nature. Known for their popular hunting grounds and historical character, the study draws on examples from Southern and Eastern Africa. Specific value dimensions and wildlife orientations were applied to establish the different types of hunter-nature relationships. Historically, colonial hunting practices (which differed considerably from that of indigenous communities who intermingled freely with wildlife, and conserved their resources according to their cultures) are synonymous with large-scale slaughtering, disregard for natural environments and the extinction of wildlife species. Viewing nature and humans as separate entities meant that hunters had a need to dominate and control nature. Since then, post-independence hunters' relationships with nature have gradually transformed to support a more integrated understanding of connecting and communicating with nature.

Keywords: nature, relationship, hunter, wildlife, values, connectedness

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Background

The relationship between humans, the natural environment and wildlife has played a vital role in the evolution of human existence and the activities they engaged in. Scholars have researched many themes within this field, and approaches have been diverse (see Thomas 1956, Watson and Watson 1969, Orlove 1980, Simmons 1993, Ingold 1994, Glaeser 2001, Schultz *et al.* 2004, Clark 2008, Reis 2009, Frost 2011 and Howell 2013). However, very few sources focus specifically on the relationship that the white hunter in particular has with the natural environment and his/her worldview regarding nature. Reis (2009:574) affirms that 'there has been little or no research in the tourism field that explores not only the importance of the embodied experience of the hunting act to the hunter, but also the crucial role the environment has in the fulfilment of this experience'. In order to better understand the association between humans and nature, one has to look into the content and nature of this relationship. One way of achieving this, is to closely examine the relationship between the hunter and nature.

Before examining this relation, it is important to first clarify the concept of nature since people, including hunters, tend to use terms such as *animals*, *wildlife* and *nature* almost interchangeably which could create some confusion.

Nature is 'one of the most complex words in the language, and ecocritics have had as much difficulty with it as everyone else' (Williams 1983:219). Nature is accepted as a complex set of processes that 'dominate the natural world as studied by the biologist, the physicist, the ecologist, the meteorologist, the pedologist, the botanist and other natural scientists' (Jackson 1985:91). Subsequently, nature has largely come to represent both the natural and physical world. It consists of living creatures and plants, natural resources and climates and involves a variety of biological processes and ecological units that function together. How people conceptualise nature depends on how they use it, how they transform it and how, in so doing, they invest knowledge in different parts of it (Dove and Carpenter 2008:326).

Macnaghten and Urry (1998:13) acknowledge that the 'idea of nature' has various (and even oppositional) meanings and provide the following examples: Nature can refer to; the essential quality or character of something; the underlying force which lies behind events in the world; the entirety of animate and inanimate objects and especially those which are threatened; the primitive or original condition existing prior to human society; the physical as opposed to the human environment and its particular ecology; and the rural or countryside (as opposed to the town or city) and its particular visual or recreational properties (see also Ingold 2000 and Escobar 1996).

Accordingly, as far as hunters' perceptions of nature are concerned, one would also be able to refer to it as 'hunting nature'. The question that arises is what would this hunting nature be comprised of? In view of the preceding discussion, it should be clear

that different dimensions of 'hunting nature' may exist. In more specific terms, what do hunters mean when they speak of the natural world, or nature? These are clearly subjective terms. As a researcher, it was important to be sensitive with regard to the hunters' conceptualization of 'nature' and to determine what this concept entails. When the hunters speak of 'nature', do they automatically include wildlife in this concept, or is wildlife seen as a separate entity? As a result of the various classifications of the concept, it is important to define nature specifically in terms of this study. Therefore, unless indicated otherwise, 'nature' refers to:

i) The natural environment that the hunter finds himself in while hunting.

ii) 'Nature', like 'environment' has a dominant strand in which it means our non-human surrounding (Simmons 1993:11). For this reason, 'nature' is also used as a synonym for, more specifically, the 'natural' environment.

iii) Depending on the context in which it is used, 'nature' includes wildlife.

How participants in this study understood and elaborated on the word nature was indicative of their relationship to nature. Participants tended to define nature by describing their own relationship to nature. They sought to understand 'nature', by making reference to how they felt in nature, what they knew about nature, or what nature meant in their lives. Hunters also indicated whether their understanding of 'nature' included the wildlife, which in this case proved to be twofold. Some hunters automatically view wildlife as part of nature. Other hunters, even though they regard wildlife as part of nature, tend to describe 'nature' in terms of the plant life/flora (trees,

bushes, flowers, etc.) and refer to wildlife as a separate entity although residing within nature.

When speaking of **wildlife**, it is not unusual for hunters to refer to 'animals' or 'game' as 'wildlife'. Throughout this study, when referring to animals, reference is being made to wild animals found in nature, and in the case of hunters, wild animals that are hunted by humans (the Big Five, antelope species, etc.). In most cases hunters would refer to specific species when talking about wildlife. In this study both hunters' accounts and references to 'animals' can be accepted as 'wild animals' or wildlife in general. Furthermore, hunters' understanding of wildlife does not include other natural phenomena such as trees, mountains, and even birdlife.

Secondly, the focus of this study is on white hunters. As will be explained in greater detail in the following section, indigenous societies have an intimate knowledge of and connectedness with nature which found expression in spiritually seeded hunting practices (Booth and Cumming 2009:284; Williams 1983). While literature on the nature of indigenous peoples' connectedness with nature does exist, there appears to be a serious void in respect to whites' and more particularly white hunters' relationship with nature. Fragments of white hunters' relation with nature appear in literature as almost incidental remarks. Nowhere does one find any source devoted to white hunters' connectedness to nature. The phenomenon of industrialisation and urbanisation contributes to the significance of this question on the connectedness of white hunters to nature since living in close contact with nature and living in industrial and urban environments makes for very different experiences. Chardonnet *et al.*

(2002:42-43) explain that city dwellers and rural people tend to view nature from different perspectives. They also stress that after generations of living removed from nature, people are prone to develop the perception of an outsider with respect to nature. Irrespective of where they live their normal daily lives, hunters are people who do make contact with nature when hunting. This made them the logical choice when the target group for this study was identified.

2. Significance of the study

Loveridge, Reynolds and Milner-Gulland (2006:226) explain that beyond subsistence, profit or recreation, hunting has insightful cultural and spiritual importance for some people. These cultural, spiritual and recreational practices are reflected in the hunters' relationship with nature and result in particular values assigned to nature. These values are influenced by the quality and frequency of the individual's contact with nature, hence different hunters hold different values. According to Glaeser (2001:2), 'individuals, ethnic groups and cultural systems construct their own concepts of nature on which they rely and to which they relate'. It is thus plausible to regard an affiliation with nature as relative in that it differs from one hunter to the next and that these differences are what make for interesting studies as they 'are important and contribute to an understanding of the interactive process' (Jackson 1985:92).

Hunter, lecturer and author, Ward Clark, said the following: 'Hunting has a fundamental truth that few non-hunters understand…It's not about death. It's about life' (2008:4). Statements like these evoke interest, and call for further consideration

relating to hunters and their connectedness with nature and wildlife. Within the context of this study, and being the central theme thereof, connectedness with nature implies that the influence of culture; attitudes, values and worldview; perceived connectedness to nature; as well as actions toward nature be considered.

First, in regard to the influence of culture, Seeland (1997:1) says that nature and culture can never be looked at as separate entities, because when separated they lose essential characteristics. Belsky (2000:40) supports this statement when he says that culture has an influence on the 'construction of what nature is perceived to be' while Bratman, Hamiton and Daily (2012:120), provide some perspective by saying that cultures and individuals differ with respect to what are considered to be the attractive and natural components of landscapes. Hence, our understanding of nature and of human relationships with the natural environment are really cultural expressions used to define who 'we' are and who we hope to be at a particular place and time (Williams 2000:79).

Secondly, an analysis of hunters' attitudes, values and worldviews will assist in understanding the reasons why people hunt and also what the hunting experience really means to them. Hunters throughout history have had different attitudes toward nature. In this regard Hall (n.d:1) notes that 'while the indigenous hunter, the ancient nobles, the trophy hunter and the 21st century hunter have all killed animals; the hunting techniques, the wildlife species pursued, the reasons for hunting and the impacts of the hunting activity have all been very different'.

Research has begun to differentiate between different types of environmental attitudes, 'and to develop a theoretical model for the relationship between worldview and specific attitudes' (Schultz *et al*. 2004:33). Worldview (a term used in disciplines such as philosophy, theology, anthropology and education) has been defined as a coherent collection of concepts that we use to construct the world around us. It can be individual or shared by those belonging to a specific group, nation or class (Aerts *et al.* 2007). Kearney (1984) developed a general model for worldviews through cross-cultural studies. He distinguishes between seven worldview universals: Self, Other, Relationship, Time, Space, Classification, and Causality. These universals are contained within an individual's worldview. Kearney describes worldview as a 'culturally organized macro thought; those dynamically inter-related basic assumptions of people that determine much of their decision-making, as well as organizing much of their body of symbolic creations' (1984:1).

Other general worldviews toward nature (which can be applied to establish hunters' motives) that have been identified by Orland (2004:9) include 1) the view that nature and wildlife are primarily a resource to 'be exploited under the market-based system, similar to the attitudes held in early-industrialized societies; 2) the view that nature is simply irrelevant and so it receives little attention, and; 3) the view of 'valuing ecosystems and wildlife for their own sake and for their direct and indirect economic value'. These worldviews are constructed and influenced by the degree of connectedness between hunter and nature.

Thirdly, when analysing the connectedness between hunter and nature, various elements contribute to the 'bond' that hunters have with nature and wildlife. Dimensions of hunters' connectedness with nature include emotional attachment to nature, perceptions of themselves as a part of nature, and activities aimed at nature protection. Schultz (2002:67) defines this connectedness as 'the extent to which an individual includes nature within his/her cognitive representation of self'. It therefore allows for much deeper and more significant motives (i.e. spiritual, cultural, and psychological) to inspire the hunt. On a spiritual level, the nature experience may generate a feeling of connecting to something larger than themselves, perhaps even a 'divine source' (Orland 2004:9). 'The embodied nature of the engagement with the sublime landscape…provides hunters with a sensual experience that not only perpetuates the collective identity but also inscribe the meanings attached to nature' (Reis 2009:583).

The way that humans construct nature, according to Meisner (1991:10), has direct implications for how they act in relation to it. This is reflected in hunters' attitudes and actions toward the protection and conservation of nature and wildlife. For example, a positive sense of connectivity with nature is more likely to foster environmental concern and behaviour. Likewise, a lack of connectivity with nature could result in alienation from nature (Dutcher, Finley and Buttolph Johnson 2007, Nisbet, Zelenski and Murphy 2011). The hunter's role in the conservation of nature and wildlife adds another dimension to his/her relationship with nature. This topic is quite controversial as many anti-hunting lobbies disregard any positive contributions that hunters may put

forward. In this regard, hunting has been labelled as 'unacceptable human behaviour', a 'threat to conservation' and as being 'wasteful and without any deep meaning' (Frost 2011:1). Hunting in Africa has received strong opposition from anti-hunting organisations from all over the world. International NGOs that strongly advocate anti-hunting approaches, projects and practices such as PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals), HSUS (The Humane Society of the United States) and FFA (Fund for Animals) have all raised concern for Africa's wildlife with regard to trophy hunting in particular. Local institutions opposed to hunting include ARA (Animal Rights Africa), A.L.F (Animal Liberation Front) and SAASA (South African Animal Sanctuary Alliance) to mention only a few. Numerous debates have ensued (and are still continuing) in order to establish the role of hunting in modern society. In Defence of Animals (IDA), an international animal rights and rescue organization dedicated to protecting the rights, welfare and habitats of animals, describes hunting as 'a murderous business' (www.idausa.org).

Hunters, on the other hand, who have been accused of being insensitive about game and not acknowledging animal rights issues, find it difficult to satisfactorily explain the reasons and motivations that compel them to hunt and this makes meaningful discourse between the two sides almost impossible. Hunting is an intensely personal, subjective experience, making the interpretation of its inner meaning and significance to non-hunters, and even to fellow hunters, fraught with difficulties (Kets De Vries 2014:48).

According to Larson (2006:112) these ‘attacks’ do not speak directly to the concerns of the majority of non-hunters, but use hyperbole and questionable assumptions to associate hunters with ‘virtually every negative social factor imaginable’. Hunters have expressed in the past that those who are opposed to hunting are misguided and uneducated on what hunting practices entail and are unaware of the contributions of hunting toward conservation. Contrary to the perception of being cruel and selfish, there are hunters working on ground level getting involved in conservation either individually or through associated organisations. It is said that hunters inherently possess an ethical obligation to conserve that which extends beyond self-interest (Holsman 2000:810). This is supported by Mahoney (1996:78) who states that ‘hunters also recognize that you cannot maintain healthy numbers of preferred (i.e. game) species unless you protect many other species of prey and their habitats which in themselves may not otherwise be of direct or significant interest to the hunter’.

Since there are negative perceptions of hunters’ relationship with nature, the main aim of this study is to determine the white colonial and post-independence hunters’ relation to his/her natural environment by evaluating the influence of culture, the attitudes and values of the hunters, their connectedness to nature and finally, their actions toward nature. This can only strengthen the existing body of knowledge pertaining to the human-nature association.

3. Research objectives

After reviewing the literature, one can argue that although topics on humans, nature and hunting have been covered quite extensively, the specific relationship between hunter and nature has not featured in research. In colonial Africa animals were hunted uncontrolled, and both wildlife and the natural environment suffered the consequences. However, it was during the same era that conservation initiatives were initially implemented. Thus the significance of the hunting experience (which has come to mean different things to different hunters) may reveal important characteristics which defines the hunter-nature relationship.

The main objectives of the study are:

- to determine white colonial hunters' relation with nature during colonial times against the background of a particular western worldview.
- to determine post-independence white hunters' relation with nature within the context of a particular (post) modern worldview.
- to determine hunters' motivations for hunting and its possible role in fostering a relationship with nature
- to determine how this relationship influences hunters' role in wildlife and nature conservation.

4. Geographical focus

The geographical focus of this study is on Eastern and Southern Africa. Since colonial times these regions have been preferred hunting grounds for the likes of Roosevelt, Hemingway, Selous, Percival and Selby. Published narratives provided by colonial white hunters, as thoroughly discussed in Chapter 3, disclose a more comprehensive representation of the hunting culture of that time. In contemporary times, these regions are still ideal locations for international hunters and are proudly supported and promoted by local hunters.

East Africa's major draw cards include the game-filled plains and the annual wildebeest migration. Tanzania, affectionately known as the 'African Hunter's Paradise', is open to classic big game hunting and is one of the best countries for safaris. It is also home to some of Africa's finest national parks and game reserves (e.g. Selous, Rungwa and Serengeti).

Southern Africa, with its diverse landscapes and wildlife products, is a prime safari and hunting destination. It is easily accessible and in terms of service provision, it has a highly developed professional hunting and game ranching industry (Damm 2005). Subsequently South Africa offers prime hunting locations and tailor-made hunting packages that cater to all the hunter's needs. It is one of the few destinations where the Big Five can be hunted.

5. Demographic information

The demographic focus is on hunters. Hunters are differentiated on account of the different phases of hunting in Africa; that is from European colonialism (late 19th century) to the post-independence era (20th century to the present). Colonial hunters are represented by Europeans who came to explore and hunt in Africa and the post-independence era is represented by the 21st century hunter. The latter includes local and visiting hunters (mainly the USA and Europe, to ultimately represent the western worldview). A total of 125 male hunters participated in this study that ranged between the ages of 22 and 68. Only 5 female hunters were interviewed.

6. Research design and method

The research methodology is twofold. It consists of a literature study and secondly of semi-structured interviews. These interviews were conducted in two ways; firstly face-to-face interviews were conducted with local hunters and secondly, by means of internet communication according to which the questionnaires were sent to both local and overseas hunters. The field research was executed over a period of three months from June 2016 to August 2016. The design of a research study serves as the 'architectural blueprint…linking design, data collection, and analysis activities to the research questions and ensuring that the complete research agenda will be addressed' (Bickman and Rog 2009:11). Questionnaires were used to collect primary data and existing sources were used to collect secondary data. These sources include

books, journals, articles (both printed and available online) as well as items posted on interactive online forums. Additionally, hunting blogs were also consulted and proved to be quite effective as a reference tool.

With regard to the colonial period, I relied on accounts written by the white hunters themselves. Literature reveals quite extensive detail about the hunting trips and experiences of hunters in Africa during the colonial period. These hunting activities are shared entirely from the hunter's perspective, which provides insight into the colonial worldviews of hunting and of nature.

In terms of the post-independence era, apart from available literature, qualitative research were conducted through correspondence with hunters. This form of research is defined as an 'interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world', where 'qualitative researchers attempt to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (Denzin and Lincoln 2005:3). LeCompte and Preissle (1994:15) state that qualitative research has come to denote any investigation into subjective issues, those involving attitudes, values, beliefs and meaning.

Qualitative research therefore 'seeks to answer questions about why people behave the way they do, how opinions and attitudes are formed, how people are affected by the events that go on around them and how and why cultures and practices have developed in the way they have' (Hancock, Windridge and Ockleford 2007:7). The purpose of this qualitative research, in the words of Taylor and Greenhalgh (1997:2)

is to 'gain an in-depth understanding of the experience of particular individuals or groups'.

6.1. Data collection

6.1.1 Internet

E-mail based interviews

With all the advances in technological communication, the internet is nowadays frequently used in the research process since data collection methods, for example, have evolved alongside internet platforms (Redlich-Amirav and Higginbottom 2014). Internet communication (via email) was applied as the main method for the qualitative interviews. At its most basic, the internet, and email in particular, offers a new way of carrying out traditional, qualitative, face-to-face interviews (Gibbs, Friese and Mangabeira 2002:1). Not only is the internet a rich source of research information and a facilitator of collaborative research contacts, but it also provides a rich, complex setting and medium for qualitative research (Clarke 2000). Other benefits of using this method include the ease with which researchers can gain access to groups, download texts, capture conversations, observe individual and group behaviours, or interact with participants in the field (Markham 2011:122).

Social media, blogs and online magazines

Social media sites, hunting blogs and hunting magazine websites were also consulted. According to Vandrick (2011:9) 'the concept of blogging began to take off in 1999 when free and easy platforms for blogging were made available to the public'. People from

all over the world are taking advantage of these free tools to share their own experiences, thoughts, ideas and opinions with others. Hunters, too, are actively posting and sharing hunting content online. They tend to express experiences and emotions thoughtfully and clearly on these platforms. As such the goal was not only to gain more insight with regard to the modern hunter's choice of hunting location, weapon, preferred animal species to hunt and method of hunting (for example walk and stalk vs. sitting in a hide) but also to obtain insider's information about the total hunting experience as told by hunters themselves.

6.1.2. The questionnaire

An interview questionnaire was developed based on the literature study to identify and uncover hunting motives, environmental attitudes and connectedness to nature. The questionnaire consists of four themes: 1. Background, 2. The hunting experience, 3. Nature affiliation, and 4. The hunter's role in conservation. These themes allow for a broader context of the hunter's perspective on nature and hunting. 'Background', indicates the origin of the love for hunting; 'the hunting experience' is an attempt to get access into the hunter's mind and senses when engaged in the hunt; 'nature affiliation' is a deliberate attempt to determine the hunter's attitude toward hunting and to get insight into the 'bond' or connectedness the hunter feels he/she has with nature. The 'hunter's role in conservation' reveals how the hunter sees him-/herself contributing to conservation, and serves as an indication of his/her connectedness to nature.

Benefits of using this method of data collection include:

a) Data from email interviews are generated in electronic format and require little editing or formatting before they are processed for analysis (Meho 2006:1285).

b) The researcher can include people previously unavailable for study. This not only increases the pool of participants but also provides the potential for cross-cultural comparisons that were not readily available previously due to practical and financial reasons (Markham 2004:101). Also, internet interviews include text, which is rare in face-to-face interviews, and which can change many aspects of data collection and analysis (Redlich-Amirav and Higginbottom 2014:4).

6.1.3. Written media and face-to-face interviews

Hunting magazines were used to collect information. These magazines contain relevant and up-to-date articles that cover all the important features of hunting. Hunters have the opportunity to write their own stories and share them in the interactive segments, which in return offers the reader a look into the hunter's life and mind.

Although the main method of data collection involved internet communication, a few face-to-face and group interviews were conducted as well. One opportunity for interviews took place on an occasion where I accompanied hunters on a hunting trip. Being able to observe the participants, led to semi-structured, quality interactions. Valuable information was also obtained from verbal exchanges between participants during group interviews. The composition of these groups was not predetermined but based on the incidental presence of hunters at the particular game farm. One of the

advantages of focus group interviews is that respondents can all give commentary and build on the other respondents' answers. This in return leads to valuable data production (Stewart, Shamdasani and Rook 2009:594).

6.1.4. Sample size

Qualitative data analysis is an ongoing process taking place, to some extent, on each level of data collection. This helps the researcher to better understand research questions and to inform sampling (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). The sample size of the interviews depended on the information gathered from the research participants. Seeing that there is no 'set-standard' with regard to estimating and justifying sample size of qualitative interviews (Marshall, Cardon, Poddar and Fontenot 2013:21), the number of interviews depended largely on the scope of information gathered throughout the process, until a level of saturation was reached. The concept 'data-saturation' entails bringing new participants to the study until the data set is complete (Marshall *et al.* 2013:11). This means that the researcher reached a point where nothing new (categories or themes) was being added to the information gathering. The overall sample size of this study, inclusive of questionnaires, face-to-face interviews, group interviews and the hunting content found online via websites and blog entries, amounted to 130 participants. A total of 48 email-based questionnaires were received and 62 internet-based entries (i.e. from hunting websites, interactive hunting forums, blogs and magazines) were retrieved. In terms of interviews, two group-based interviews were conducted, where each group consisted of five hunters while ten informal face-to-face interviews were conducted.

6.2. Data analysis

In general, a variety of methods and sources of information are used in qualitative research, and it is the effective integration thereof that is vital. An effective approach toward data analysis, assists the researcher in the process of decision-making and enables 'better assessment of the validity and generalizations of the explanations you develop' (Bickman and Rog 2009:236). Data analysis can be defined as consisting of three concurrent flows of action: data reduction, data display and conclusions and verification (Miles and Huberman 1984, Berg 2009). Data analysis for this particular study was achieved by following these actions:

Data reduction:

Qualitative data need to be reduced and transformed in order to simplify it and make it more readily accessible and manageable. During this stage the researcher identifies themes and patterns, draws up summaries and creates memorandums. Data collected throughout the research process was grouped together according to the specific chapter where it would be discussed. Data was then arranged in a manner to eliminate that which proved to be excessive. Distinct themes were identified and information was grouped accordingly.

Data display:

This is all about presenting organised information that allows for the drawing of conclusions. By presenting the information in a compact manner, the researcher can gain an understanding of certain data patterns. This is also used to give the researcher

an idea of possible further action that must be taken, or additional data that must be obtained. After the data was grouped to present the different themes in the study, the information was organised within its 'theme'. This allowed for a better understanding of the theme as a whole and also to arrange the information in a thought-consecutive order. During data display, possible voids can be detected and actions can be put in place to address it.

Conclusion and verification:

During this stage, conclusions are drawn from data. These conclusions must be verified to make sure that they are valid After the information was grouped and organised according to the different themes, and then displayed to create the 'flow' of each theme, conclusions could be drawn. To ensure that truthful and accurate conclusions were drawn, they were again evaluated against the data collected.

It is important to note that due to the nature of this study (i.e. sample size and qualitative study method) the results cannot be projected and generalized to include all hunters. The results are representative of a group of hunters (who consists mostly of South African citizens and a small percentage of hunters from Europe and North America). The results serve to give an indication on how hunters perceive nature's influence and role in their lives and also if it bares additional significance relating to the hunting activity. Geographically, the study focuses on hunts conducted particularly (although not exclusively) in Southern and Eastern Africa and therefore results may be reflective of widely-held perceptions and views relating to these regions specifically.

6.3. Objectivity and subjectivity in research

6.3.1. The researcher

The researcher must aim to objectively analyse the data received, especially as the data is comprised of information of a subjective nature. Berg (2009) states that a value-neutral position should be maintained. The researcher must therefore not take any stances (social or political) and not impose his/her own views or ideas and opinions on social issues. It is imperative that he/she remains conscious of and objective about his/her own thoughts. The researcher must abstain from presenting a biased view of what is studied caused by influences that may vary in nature. Influences include the 'milieu' of his/her life (cultural, social, economic and political aspects) and also influence from his/her personality shaped by his/her history, traditions and environments (Myrdal 1969:4). In this regard I have to mention that I am a female researcher who grew up and currently lives in an urban environment. In my family, hunting is not practised as a cultural tradition although some members are active hunters. I have never hunted before and for this reason I could approach this study with no predisposed intentions or thoughts. I believe this made it possible for me to solely depend on the information I could gather, to ultimately deliver a value-neutral representation of the research done on this topic.

6.3.2. Participants

Every participant comes from his/her own unique background. Each participant has his/her own opinions and worldview. The participants answered from a background of

different social, economic, political and psychological beliefs and experiences and therefore it is reasonable to conclude that each response received, was subjective as it represents the specific worldview of the individual. Although hunters have shared interests in this activity, they do not necessarily share similar perspectives on all matters pertaining to hunting. Consequently, responses represent personal opinions, worldviews and ideas, and therefore are subjective in nature.

6.4. Study constraints

6.4.1. Colonial era

Constraints experienced with the colonial era involve the lack of information regarding certain aspects of the hunting experience since not all dimensions of the hunt were covered in the written accounts. Hunters tended to focus on those elements of the hunt which they considered significant (for example the number of animals they hunted and the people they encountered), thus making it difficult to gain proper insight into their personal perspectives on nature and wildlife and the emotions they experienced post-hunt. Also, hunters would mention an important aspect of hunting (that specifically relates to the study), however they would refrain from elaborating on it in more detail. Lastly, in more than one account, hunters tend to contradict themselves in their writings in terms of a certain ‘viewpoint’. For instance, a hunter would express an appreciation for nature (and wildlife), stress its importance and condemn those who act carelessly toward it. Yet in the same publication, he/she would boast about the extensive number of animals he/she was able to ‘bag’ in one trip. (‘Bag’ refers to the

list or record of animals killed by the hunter.) Insufficient information and irregularities in statements of colonial era hunters, makes it difficult to adequately interpret some of the material presented in these sources.

6.4.2. Post-independence era

Constraints on this level were experienced in terms of the fieldwork. Receiving responses from the email-based questionnaires was quite challenging. The majority of respondents were men, who shared that they found it difficult to take the time to complete the questionnaires. The scope and length of the questionnaire may also have influenced the lower response rate from hunters. For these reasons, numerous reminders (via email and telephonically) had to be sent out. In contrast to the face-to-face interaction with potential participants who gave verbal commitment to participating in the interviews, many email participants were not contacted and requested to participate prior to receiving the questionnaire and hence, made no such commitment. Both the negative and the positive aspects were identified while using this method to gather information. The positive aspects relate to the fact that hunters could organise their thoughts around each question and provide well-thought-out feedback that reflects profound and honest experiences. This is an advantage compared to face-to-face interviews during which the participant might feel under pressure to respond quickly and often provides the answer that comes to mind first. On the other hand, the negative aspects involved hunters' responding with single words, short phrases, or a series of single words and/or short phrases. Such answers failed to provide me with sufficient information relating to the hunter's frame of mind.

The briefness of the hunters' responses could be that they interpreted the questionnaire as an exhausting list of items and that what they wrote was adequate. It is also possible that they felt constrained by the apportioned space for their answers.

Of the 120 email addresses the questionnaire was sent to, a total of 48 responded. Nonetheless, most hunters who responded, took care to thoughtfully and thoroughly answer each question.

In terms of the point of saturation, group interviews failed to provide a vast amount of ‘new’ information. The hunters tended to agree with one another on general ideas rather than voicing their own opinions.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Nature and culture

No discipline can, on its own, understand and explain the human-nature relation in a comprehensive way. However, 'each disciplinary approach contributes within its specific and compartmentalized area of knowledge to this vast topic' (Lawrence 2001:4). In the case of anthropology, ecological anthropology developed from a quite natural environmental deterministic approach to one of reciprocity between humans, as they appear in particular cultural group contexts, and their natural environment. Against the background of ecological anthropology, environmental anthropology developed as a means to seek solutions for the challenges posed by the forces of nature. Within the context of this study, environmental anthropology provides for research on people's perceptions of nature, their lay knowledge and experiences of nature and hence, their relation to nature (Kottak 2011, Marten 2001 and Orlove 1980).

A theoretical approach to human-environment interaction gives prominence to nature and culture as interconnected concepts. According to Marquette (1998:2), the natural environment sets certain possibilities or options from which cultures, conditioned by their history and particular customs, may choose. Culture helps individuals to structure the world around them, as Seeland (1997:1) states 'wherever plants, animals and human beings constitute an integrated whole, it is this specific culture that makes sense by ordering natural and social phenomena into a structured world'.

So, to say that man's relationship with nature has been impacted by his upbringing would make perfect sense. From a very young age we are exposed to cultural beliefs and certain ways of thinking. We grow up with perspectives that are part our own, part derived from our culture. These collective constructs are then carried over from generation to generation through tradition.

In hunter-gatherer societies little boys could not wait for their first hunting expedition as this would represent their entry into 'manhood'. Hunting was an essential component of their culture. According to Spirkin (1964), in the process of self-fulfillment, culture defines everything that man does and how he does it. He also adds that culture is a method of the self-realization of the individual and society; the measurement of the development of both. Russel *et al.* (2013:474) assert that this more holistic relationship between people and their surroundings 'has always been a keystone of anthropological inquiry'.

However, we have to keep in mind that the fluidity of culture means that perceptions of nature are subject to change. Vining, Merrick and Price (2008) conducted a survey to examine people's perceptions of their connection to nature. Participants had to state whether they thought of themselves as part of, or separate from nature. The results showed that most of the respondents considered themselves to be part of nature giving reasons such as 'resource, recreation, residence, environmentally responsible behavior and interaction with animals' (Vining *et al.* 2008:5). Those who regarded themselves as 'separate from nature', felt physically far removed from nature due to the locality of their residences. Nevertheless, there are people who experience a

meaningful connection with nature, regardless of where they live and who purposefully engage in nature-related activities. In this regard they express an affirmative relation with the natural world.

2. Attitudes toward nature

Schneider and Morton (1981) emphasise the influence of emotions and how they shape human values to ultimately dictate attitudes (in this case toward nature). If humans are satisfied with their relationship with nature, they would want to preserve that relationship. On the contrary, should humans experience dissatisfaction with nature (caused by fear of nature) they might consider action to control it. They (*ibid.*) explain that different cultures (and different individuals) will differ in reaction to their bond with nature and thereby propose different actions in response. They identified two general types of reactions:

The first type of reaction is that of comfort in the regular pattern or cyclical aspects of nature that includes feelings of adoration and wonder. Affinity for nature is their emotional reaction and their policy of action is to preserve nature.

The second type of reaction is associated with uneasiness, often terror. This group of people tries to reduce their dependence on nature. Other characteristics include a desire to control nature and to bend it for their own purposes. According to Morris (2000:2) this dominant attitude toward nature and animals is typical of contemporary culture, and this was achieved by altering man's ecological position on earth by

exercising increasing control over the physical environment through continuous cultural innovations.

However, according to Fromm (2009:41) the need for western humanity to dominate or control nature, does not necessarily derive from the 'fear of nature', as Schneider and Morton (1981) suggest, but rather from the 'unawareness of a connection with nature that has been artfully concealed by modern technology'. There are many ways in which man can reaffirm this connection with nature and some choose to do so by emerging themselves in nature through hunting.

3. Connectedness to nature

Although primarily non-empirical, ecologists and eco-psychologists have long theorized about humans' psychological relationship to the natural world. The importance of a feeling of connectedness to nature is an early theme in both the work of ecologists and eco-psychologists (Mayer and Frantz 2004:503). The concept of connectedness can be defined as 'a stable state of consciousness comprising symbiotic cognitive, affective and experiential traits that reflect, through consistent attitudes and behaviours, a sustained awareness of the interrelatedness between one's self and the rest of nature' (Zylstra, Knight, Esler and Le Grange . 2014). Schultz (2002) explains that the concept of connectedness can best be theorised by considering people and nature as part of the same community. Connectedness to nature therefore embraces not only the natural and supernatural, but also emotion and reason. Hence, connectedness to nature is subjective as people perceive and interpret experiences differently.

In this modern, technological world that we live in, surrounded by built environments, roads and industrial settings, people have a desire to reconnect with nature. According to Orland (2004:9) in order to 'get away from it all', people from urban centres visit rural or 'wild' areas in their leisure time. This preference for natural settings and wild animals has been labelled 'biophilia', and it is theorised to result from our inherent inclination to connect to natural ecosystems the way our hunter-gatherer ancestors did (Wilson 1984).

People's connection to nature is built and increased by interactive experiences with nature (Russel *et al.* 2013, Laitman 2013) and hunting provides a unique and particular way of connecting and interacting with nature. Through participation in hunting, the hunter can emerge himself in nature, interact with the natural environment and wildlife alike. Such an activity is quite intense as reflected by Clark (2008:1) who explains that 'hunting requires a level of participation unknown in any other human venture - hunting requires a communion with the very primal forces of nature, taking life so that life may be. Hunting requires contact that the non-hunter can never know, a contact with life itself'. Still, according to Martin (2004:8), although these experiences are important in developing relationships with nature, 'not all experiences in nature enhance a relationship'. For this reason, experiences and interactions in and with nature remain exposed to subjectivity.

4. Motivations for hunting

The literature reveals a variety of different motivations for hunting. It also stresses that these hunting motives depend on a number of factors. One of these factors relates to

values. Individuals attach different values to certain experiences and seek different outcomes from these experiences. Therefore, motivations can range from spending time with friends and family, the opportunity to engage with the outdoors, harvesting the animal for meat, for relaxation or to obtain a trophy. According to Nurmi and Salmela-Aro (2006) motivation should be understood as a relationship between people's needs and values and the environments that satisfy them. Therefore, through the evaluation of hunting motives, it is possible to acquire a deeper understanding of the relationship between the hunter and the natural world.

Radder (2005), in particular, has done extensive research on hunters' expectations, perceptions, motives and attitudes, with specific focus on trophy hunters in Southern Africa. Her research findings has contributed immensely to this field, helping to identify and evaluate reasons why hunters hunt, their preference for specific hunting opportunities and the expectations they have when planning a hunting trip. Radder (2005) conducted a study on the motives of international trophy hunters. The results revealed 'Spiritual Motives' as the most important. This category involved concepts relating to nature such as being in nature, experiencing the majesty of nature and reconnecting with the land, as well as being submerged in something greater than the Self. Second place was awarded to 'Emotional Motives'. Hunters linked motivations for hunting to concepts such as the challenge of the hunt, enjoyment, thrill of the chase, excitement and heightened senses.

Radder & Bech-Larsen (2008) did a study on the motivations and values of South African hunters (biltong hunters). The study indicated 'that the experiential and social aspects of hunting are the most important' (Radder & Bech-Larsen 2008:260). Social motivations referred to 'communitas' and the strengthening of the male identity. The findings also contradicted the common belief that South African biltong hunters hunt primarily for the meat.

Radder and fellow scholars Mulder and Han (2013) conducted a study on the motivations and socio-demographic characteristics of (non-resident) hunters participating in a South African hunting safari, and identified three groups of motivations:

1. Appreciation-oriented motivations (such as being close to nature, relaxation, and being with family and friends).
2. Affiliation-oriented motivations (such as being with family and interacting with other hunters).
3. Achievement-related motivations (excitement, challenge, ego enhancement and self-awareness).

The results of the study revealed that 'overall, the hunters were motivated to hunt primarily by appreciation-related reasons, and to a lesser degree, by affiliation-oriented and achievement-oriented reasons' (Radder *et al.* 2013:15).

Van der Merwe and Saayman (2013) also contributed to this field of interest by shedding light on South Africa's game farm industry, its hunters and tourism related

matters. In a study conducted on South African hunters and their motivations for hunting, they reveal seven travel motives for hunting, namely: family togetherness, nature experience (excitement), culture and heritage, adventure, educational purposes, wildlife meat products and spiritual reasons. In this particular study the two most important motives (also classified as intrinsic motives) were 'experience and excitement' and 'spiritual'. They pointed out that aspects such as companionship, experiencing nature and getting outdoors 'appear to be more important than hunting an animal' (Van der Merwe and Saayman 2013:12). Other research studies have shown similar results, proving that nature is a definite role player in directing hunting motivations (see Reis 2009, Komppula and Gartner 2012).

Woods and Kerr (2010) conducted a study on recreational game hunting in New Zealand to identify the main motivations for participating in hunting, factors that influence hunter satisfaction, and to make an assessment of hunting participation levels. The main motivations revealed by the study were that of being in the outdoors and experiencing nature, harvesting animals for meat or trophies and spending time with family and/or hunting companions. Experiencing nature and the social aspects of hunting were the top two hunter-based motivations. Interestingly, with popular hunting literature placing much emphasis on trophies, in this particular study, collecting a trophy was not a primary motivation for most hunters (Woods and Kerr 2010:39). In a 2010 survey conducted by the University of Wisconsin-Madison, researchers found that the most important motivations for hunters in Wisconsin are spending time outdoors and being close to nature. A shift occurred in hunters' motivations, from

achievement-orientated reasons toward reasons such as enjoying nature (University of Wisconsin 2010). From the results of these studies and surveys it is reasonable to conclude that for hunters, the nature-experience (although to a greater or lesser extent) remains significant.

5. Colonial hunters

5.1. Background

Huggan and Tiffin (2010:10) stress that during the colonial era in Africa, the English considered hunting 'a pastime, an upper-class social ritual, not a survival necessity'. Organized expeditions to the interior of the African continent took place to familiarize themselves with the challenging environment and to hunt. The wealthy gentleman-adventurers travelled to remote places to explore 'the wonders of the tropics, the confronting dangers of a tiger or elephant hunt and the thrill of a safari' (Higginbottom 2004:48). Apart from hunting wildlife to set bag records, and gather trophies, animals were also shot as a safety measure (to protect the hunters and human settlements) and to provide meat for the parties involved in the expedition. As more and more Europeans entered the interior of the continent, hunting became a familiar activity.

The writings of explorers, missionaries and government officials provide detailed accounts of the landscapes and the people of many parts of Southern Africa (Mitchell, 2002:16). For example, the book *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, by James Chapman (1971), tells of his journeys from Natal (today Kwa-Zulu Natal in South Africa) to Walvisbaai (in present-day Namibia) and also his visits to Lake Ngami and

the Victoria Falls. He started his journey in 1860 (accompanied by Thomas Baines) and completed it in 1863. A very prominent feature of these explorer-hunters' expeditions, is the abundant wildlife (both in numbers and in species) that they came across and described in utmost precision and detail. Chapman was certainly an explorer as he penetrated areas in Southern Africa that were previously unvisited by Europeans. How they adapted to the environment and how they slowly started to gain knowledge about the different animals are also mentioned. This allowed for better hunting preparation and strategies.

Recollections of Adventures: Pioneering and Development in South Africa 1850-1911, by H.W. Struben (1920), stresses the abundant wildlife using phrases such as 'swarming with game' and 'dense masses'. He also mentions the variety of species he encountered throughout his travels: 'I used to go hunting in the Bush Veld where in those days, there were large numbers of game, rhinoceros, giraffe, buffalo, kudu, eland, wildebeest, quagga, ostrich, guinea-fowl, pauw, pigeon, geese, lions, hyenas, wild dogs and jackals' (Struben 1920:41). Hunting large game on horseback was the general method of hunting. What is striking in this book is where Struben confesses with embarrassment, the amount of game he killed in one hunting trip: 'I am now ashamed to confess that in two days we shot 22 buffalo…But I was young and thoughtless then and was carried away with excitement' (Struben 1920:55). The mass-slaughter of wildlife was minimised to a 'fun' activity that these explorer-hunters participated in, feeling, seemingly, no remorse.

For the colonial hunter, hunting primarily represented exploration and boldly 'conquering the unknown'. This included showcasing their technological superiority with the advance of firearms. Through this, colonial administrators and the Great White Hunters secured control in, particularly, elephant hunting (Huggan and Tiffin 2010).

5.2. Nature affiliation

It is generally agreed, according to Murombedzi (2003:4), that European colonization colonized not only humans, but nature as well. In colonial Africa, the view of the 'Other' involved specific characteristics attributed to nature and the indigenous folk. Plumwood (2003) identified a range of conceptual strategies that the colonization of nature thus relied on to support supremacism of nation, gender and race (white European male). These strategies comprised of:

Radical exclusion: Nature is treated as an inferior entity and therefore humans are separated from nature and animals. At the same time, the colonizing groups associate themselves with the mastery of nature.

Stereotyping: The Other (i.e. nature), as a member of a stereotyped class, is replaceable and homogeneous and is treated as an interchangeable resource.

Polarization: A divided understanding exists in which an overlap between the human and non-human spheres are denied and discouraged (through exclusion and stereotyping). Nature is only nature if it is uncontaminated by human impact, while human identity is separate from and outside of nature.

Denial, backgrounding: Nature is marked as separated and inferior and represented as inessential. The colonized (the indigenous peoples) are denied as uncivilised with no regimes of rights.

Assimilation: The colonized are devalued and differences are judged as deficiencies and their order is represented as disorder. For this reason, the colonized are available for use by the colonizer. Along with this view, the intricate order of nature is presented as disorder, to be replaced by human order in development.

Instrumentalism: Nature's agency and independence are denied, subsumed in, or remade to coincide with human interests.

While these strategies represent a general approach that was taken toward nature, the appreciation of and interest in nature are also apparent in a variety of colonial writings. Hunters described the landscape in detail, mentioning the trees and grass, the sunset and the weather (Mitchell 2002:16). They wrote about the mountains, hills and valleys. During the hunt they would take notice of the smallest details of their surroundings which confirms the finely tuned senses that have been recorded during the hunt (see Chapman 1971 and Struben 1920).

In the 19th century, according to Pollock (1974:1), many hunters and travellers regarded the whole range of elements associated with a safari and not only the hunt. He specifically mentions the ‘wild animals, the landscape, the climate, the stillness of the night, the flames of the campfire, the smells of the dust and the rain on the thirsty earth and finally the emptiness of unfenced, wide horizons’.

Colonial hunters, specifically the missionaries, also expressed a spiritual connection with nature. Hunting provided them the opportunity to interact with Africans and share the gospel. Bruner (2013:57) explains how 'missionaries often spoke of their hunting exploits in religious terms, either as a form of spiritual retreat with other missionaries, or as a way to demonstrate to African onlookers God's providence in the natural world'. He elaborates further how hunting 'was one means by which missionaries attempted to cultivate in their converts what they thought to be a proper understanding of the relationship between divine or metaphysical beings and the natural world' (Bruner 2013:58). Missionaries also acquired revenue for their missions by leading small hunting expeditions.

6. Post-independence hunters

6.1 Background

With its highly developed professional hunting and game ranching industry, excellent infrastructure and a wealth of other activities to complement hunting, South Africa remains a great experience for any visiting hunter, novice or seasoned old-hand (Damm 2005:1). This is evident from what South Africa has to offer to the hunting industry. Most of the African interior is utilised for hunting where each region has their own unique and specific 'trophies' to deliver.

The most popular types of hunting that hunters engage in today is biltong hunting and trophy hunting. 'The majority of biltong hunters are South African, whereas the majority of trophy hunters are foreigners' (Van der Merwe and Saayman 2013:10). Biltong

hunting, a firm South African tradition, is essentially hunting for meat (also considered a participatory sport) and it usually focuses on the more abundant and cheaper animals (Davies, Hamman and Magome 2009:240). The most popular species hunted for biltong in Southern Africa are springbok, impala, blesbok and kudu. The meat is processed and packaged to fit all consumer requirements. Biltong hunting 'contributes immensely to the income of game ranching and has even been labelled as the single biggest source of income for game farm owners' (Warren 2011:4).

Looking at the history of trophy hunting, it is the same availability and abundance of a wide variety of wild animal species that attracted the early explorer hunters into the Southern African interior, that continues to attract trophy hunters to Southern Africa today (Pangeti and Manyanga n.d:2). In the twenty-first century, hunting in general and trophy hunting in particular, are almost purely recreational. The economic benefits of trophy hunting are quite substantial. Trophy hunting is now a major industry in Africa and generates significant revenue from and for wildlife over vast areas.

6.2. Nature affiliation

It is generally believed (by non-hunters and anti-hunting groups) that the pinnacle of the hunting experience is the actual 'killing' of the animal, the fatal shot. However, this is not necessarily the case. Hunters have been approaching different platforms (social media, magazines, websites and blogs) to tell their side of the story, to explain that for most of them, hunting is much more than just killing. They give account of the deeper meaning that this activity, their natural surroundings and the wildlife hold for them.

Hunting has also been defined as a 'spiritual' experience for some hunters, an experience that allows them to connect to something much bigger. Hunter Jacques Strauss (2012) writes 'I have never felt closer to God than walking in the bush. There's this inner peace that you just can't describe. You appreciate nature in the true sense of the word'. He also writes about becoming one with the animal: 'You spend so much time with the animals that you become one with them after some time…you have to know every detail about them in the battle to outsmart them eventually'. This bares evidence of a deeper bond between the hunter and nature. He goes on by saying that '…being out hunting is the easiest way to get out in the bush and just enjoy the sights and sounds of nature'.

Dr Randall Eaton (psychologist of hunting) and Shane Mahoney (philosopher of hunting) shared their perspectives by explaining why hunting constitutes so much more than what is perceived by the general public. Dr Eaton (2010) describes hunting as follows, 'Hunting is how we fall in love with nature. Among outdoor pursuits, hunting and fishing connect us most profoundly with animals and nature.' He goes on to mention hunting's importance as a basic initiation into manhood, and how the young man is taught about the intelligence, beauty and power of nature. The young man also learns about his 'inseparable relationship with nature as well as his responsibility to fiercely defend it'. He also defends hunting as a spiritual experience 'because it submerges us in nature, and that experience teaches us that we are participants in something far greater than ourselves' (Eaton and Mahoney 2010).

According to Shane Mahoney (Eaton and Mahoney 2010:3), explaining why we really hunt 'is our greatest challenge, but succeeding will be our greatest achievement'. He calls on hunters to correct and change the typical stereotypes attached to hunting (as being wasteful and delinquent), by saying that 'the task at hand is to articulate the relevance of hunting, not its correctness, nor its practical service to human kind' (2010:5). Saayman (Media Briefing 2015) conveyed a similar message when he emphasised hunters' role in how the 'image of the industry' is portrayed. He specifically mentioned social media and suggested that hunters be educated on the manner in which they post hunting-related content.

7. Environmental concern and conservation

Literature on conservation in general, tend to make no specific distinction between the use (and meaning) of 'conservation', 'preservation' and 'protection'. Carruthers (1995b) acknowledges that conservation and preservation can have specific and distinct meanings. Yet despite the variances, the 'main principle involved in both conservation and preservation is the affording of some kind of safeguard, and so protection is also appropriate in this regard' (Carruthers 1995b:5). Like Carruthers, I also perceived 'conservation' as the most commonly applied noun and for this reason, unless quoted otherwise, this term was predominantly used throughout this study.

During the course of the colonial era, wildlife protection and conservation issues were initially not considered, seeing that nature was perceived as an instrument for one's own gain. Adams (2003:21-22) stresses that nature was seen as a resource for human

use, and wildness as a 'challenge for the rational mind to conquer'. He also states that the 'colonial engagement with nature represented a 'destructive, utilitarian and cornucopian view' of the possibility of using nature for financial gain. As a result of massive reductions in the populations of particularly antelope and elephants, conservation efforts were set in motion. The increasing scarcity of game, combined with social and economic changes that took place, resulted in a shift in attitudes (Beinart 1987:16). The wildlife conservation movement grew during the early 20th century and maintained a professed concern for natural environments and wildlife. Most of the concepts and game laws came from Europe where overpopulation and the pressures of civilisation had already paved the way for the necessary sets of rules under which some game could survive.

Colonial conservationists set out to protect and restrict the practice of hunting as the domain of the white sportsmen. According to Hibben (1962:20), the 'curious anomaly' is that it was consistently the hunters themselves who were the greatest conservationists. In *Recreational hunting, Conservation and Rural Livelihoods* (2009), William Adams dedicates a chapter to the history of conservation, specifically in colonial Africa. He highlights the important role of hunting in the history of wildlife conservation: 'the modern patterns and practices of conservation that developed through the 20th century owed a great deal to the political organization of elite hunters'. The realisation of a need for conservation and the implementation of hunting regulation and legislation, reflects a positive approach toward the natural environment and wildlife. This in return reveals a change in how these people/hunters viewed, and to

some extent, cared for nature in comparison to all the mass-slaughtering of animals that also took place during that time.

Today, hunting has been both praised and criticized for its role in terms of animal-welfare, conservation, and sustainability. Increasing awareness of sustainable natural resource practices are pursued as organizations are established to protect the environment and to promote hunting that is regulated and in line with conservation efforts. Apart from generating considerable high revenues, hunting also benefits local communities. Recreational hunting, often combined with other forms of wildlife use such as ecotourism, 'can generate sufficient benefits to provide an incentive for rural communities to conserve wildlife and habitat over the long term' (Jones 2009:157).

The hunter's role in the protection and conservation of wildlife is vital. Hunters realized the importance of preventing substandard hunts that are organized by fraudulent 'operators' and this is how PHASA (Professional Hunting Association of South Africa) was established. 'They worked together with government to establish regulations governing the industry whilst at the same time establishing their own code of conduct and constitution for PHASA' (Dorrington 2005:12).

Unfortunately hunting practices are also abused with regard to illegal hunting activities such as put-and-take operations, canned-hunting (the hunting of fenced-in animals) and poaching (to illegally hunt or catch wild animals). 'Perhaps the most important trend to keep in mind in the history of the relationship between humans and nature is that the ever increasing alteration and exploitation of natural ecosystems for human

use has led to a steady loss of wildlife, biodiversity and wilderness through time' (Orland 2004). Hawley (1975:11) points out that exploitation and misuse is not necessarily from people as such, but rather 'by people who are careless, inconsiderate, or unwilling to submit the costs of maintenance'. To improve our approach toward conservational problems, Schneider and Morton (1981:75) suggest that we first analyse our feelings about man's place in nature and only then will we be able to properly understand our present environmental and related technological crises, 'for these emotions are the driving force behind the changes that can create or alleviate such crises'.

CHAPTER 3: HUNTING IN COLONIAL AFRICA

1. Introduction

The literature reveals a diversity of disciplines that examine the particular human-nature relationship. Human Ecology (the study of the interrelationships between humans and their environments) helps to investigate and interpret the complex connections that people have with the natural world. This can be achieved by studying the interactions that take place between humans and the natural environment (Moran, 2006). As human beings, we are surrounded by nature, we interact with it, we are influenced by it and both humans and nature are transformed by one another. The human-nature relationship is susceptible to constant change. According to Lawrence (2001:3) these changes are constant because 'ecological, economic and other social systems are not static nor delimited by impermeable boundaries'. On an individual level, perceptions of the natural environment relating to physical, economic, social and cultural factors 'are fluid or constantly changing based on new experiences' (Vining *et al.* 2008:9). Due to the influence and consequences of these changes, human-nature relations leave many avenues to be explored.

The colonial hunters' relationship with nature required a certain level of adaptation as they entered and explored areas previously unknown to Europeans. Tolba (2001:681) defines adaptation as 'a set of interrelated processes that sustain human ecosystems in the context of a continual change'. He also states that adaptation depends on

complex biological, cultural, ecological and individual human mechanisms. According to Watson and Watson (1969), adaptation, with respect to the environment, involves coping with problems stemming from man's basic need for protection from the rigors of climate and predators. It is here where hunting gains specific prominence. Although adaptation may represent a certain relation to the natural environment, the challenge is to determine if a closer connection or relationship with nature existed for these hunters. This chapter therefore attempts to identify and assess those factors that may indicate the type of relationship that colonial hunters fostered with nature.

This relationship with nature also extends to involve interaction with wildlife which is 'perceived to be man's friend or his enemy' (Gess 2014:30). Svobodova (2012:136) explains that the 'relationship between people and animals depends on the perception and understanding of the natural environment' and that changes in the relationship were 'caused by changes in perception and understanding of the natural environment'. In terms of hunting, the experience itself is enhanced by contact and interaction with wildlife. According to Shroedter (2008), hunting represents a close association with nature which includes the species that inhabit it and their dependency on the environment for survival. Being in close contact with wildlife generates excitement, but also reverence for the animals. Hunting embraces a more immediate relationship with the animal and 'even though the encounters with the prey are less frequent, the power they exert upon the hunter is of immense magnitude' (Reis 2009:586).

Positive and negative effects stem from human interaction with the natural environment and animal populations through hunting. Frederick (1995:1490) sheds

light on the negative impacts by asserting that human impact 'creates environmental disturbances or cause environmental stress and degradation'. He goes on to say that human actions interfere with environmental balance and disrupt naturally occurring ecological cycles. Negative impacts can be reduced by implementing measures that control and promote environmentally responsible behaviour. Positive impacts stem from conservation-based actions set in motion by humans, who according to Nash (1989), ultimately have the power to determine ethical eligibility and in a sense dispense rights. With reference to colonial Africa, much of the controversy focused on the question of whether the initial implementation of environmental ethics and more specifically, game laws, were utilitarian and instrumental or whether 'nature possessed interests, value, or perhaps rights which people ought to respect even at considerable personal sacrifice' (Nash 1989:124).

From the colonial perspective, humans were 'set apart from their natural surroundings, viewing nature so to speak from the outside and from a superior, deserving or even exalted position' (Frederick 1995:149). Hunting had provided an irresistible lure to the interior of the African continent, a convenient subsidy to other colonial activities during the time of white advance. It was also a source of 'pride, power, prestige and popularity' (Mackenzie 1987: 58). Motivations for hunting ranged from conquering the African wilderness to obtaining the biggest and the best trophies. Not only that, colonial hunting was, at least partially, motivated by the 'thrill of the chase', particularly amongst the colonial elite hunting in the more remote areas of East and Southern Africa (Loveridge, Packer and Dutton 2009:109).

In *Nature and the colonial mind*, W.M. Adams (2003) discusses the significance of colonial thinking about nature and how it influenced conservation under colonialism. Adams (2003:42-43) identified five features representative of the general colonial 'view' of nature: Firstly, the manner in which knowledge had been acquired, processed and shared reflects 'techno-scientific' characteristics. This meant that they favoured a modern approach to acquiring and processing knowledge, rather than considering native or 'folk' knowledge. Colonials preferred a formal and centralised way (their own way) of interacting with nature above the informal and local way.

Secondly, nature was portrayed as separate from human life. Nature was perceived as a resource to be raided or preserved. According to Geisinger (1999:71) a lack of empathy resulted from this separation, 'and without any feeling of empathy, a heightened willingness to do harm'. Nature was a wilderness to be explored or to be protected from human influence and destruction. In the colonial line of thought, nature was 'out there' and never 'in here'. Deliberate actions applied to getting-to-know nature were rarely considered.

Thirdly, when engagement with nature did occur, it was regulated by bureaucratic control. Enthusiasm existed for the development, and later conservation, of nature. However, nature was approached with an instinct for classification and standardization. It was not seen as unique and diverse, let alone treated as such. Standardized methods of landscape management were applied across the board.

Fourthly, colonialism approached its engagement with nature through regulation and coercion. Nature had to be regulated, disciplined and bound to authority of imperial development. Regulation and control were important factors, and disciplining unruly nature (and people) was achieved by patriarchal external imposition.

Lastly, deliberate engagement with nature was aimed at increased productivity. Rather than working with nature, the resulting strategies worked against nature. Colonial scientific knowledge was applied to production and to the benefits humans could derive from nature. Through drastic restructuring, colonial nature was made productive and was conquered despite itself.

2. Phases of colonial hunting

2.1. Background

The accessible wildlife numbers in Africa had become an ‘asset’ to those who occupied it during the colonial era. According to Carruthers (1995a:20) hunting ‘provided a fairly easy and dependable income’. Opportunities and benefits derived from hunting proved to be profitable as it was applied for commercial and trading purposes. Murombedzi (2003:11) states that game was a vital expansionist resource as it was a ready source of meat, a way of paying for labour and it was used as trade items to supplement other forms of economic activity. International trade in hunted products is said to have blossomed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, when the Delagoa Bay traders established contacts with Southern African communities. Trade was market orientated since it was linked to the demands of the outside world.

Specific demand for ivory was received from Asia and Europe. Records of hunters and traders show that Southern Africa was part of the East African coast trade network. In the process, trade with the local communities for ivory began and European trade goods such as cloth, metals, beads and firearms were acquired by the locals (Pangeti and Manyanga, n.d: 6). Carruthers (2008:41) acknowledges that all the communities in the interior lived from hunting and raiding and without their exports they would not have been able to sustain themselves.

An animal that was especially targeted for hunting was the lion, and for various reasons. Colonials had an antagonistic attitude toward lions as they were viewed as vermin and killed wherever possible. Early hunting expeditions to the Serengeti typically killed large numbers (sometimes hundreds) of lions often in 'the mistaken belief that removal of carnivores would 'protect' ungulate populations, thereby providing improved opportunities for hunting' (Loveridge *et al.* 2009:109). Colonials also felt they had to protect their cattle against these predators. Additionally a successful lion-hunt, as Carruthers (2005:191) points out, came to be the 'ultimate test of masculine bravery and strength' thus bolstering the hunter's public image.

The colonial era in Southern Africa was known for its extensive animal slaughter, impacting the environment and wildlife populations on a large scale. Protection and conservation issues were not considered at first, as nature was seen as a tool for personal gain. In this construction, as Adams (2003:21) stresses, nature was seen as

a resource for human use, and wildness as a challenge for the rational mind to conquer. And that is exactly what the European explorers did.

Colonial hunting took place in different phases, each phase representing an altered motive for hunting. The phases essentially do not follow chronologically, but there are places where an overlap occurs. Steinhart (1989:252) identifies the different types of hunting and summarises it as follows:

2.2. Primary exploitation of big game

The first type of hunting can be described as the primary exploitation of big game. In this era the largely unrestrained group of explorers, traders and pioneer administrators killed animals in prodigious numbers, not to say wantonly. Their purposes varied from providing meat for themselves and their porters, retainers and native allies, to the quest for ivory and valuable trophies animated by both commercial and 'sporting' motives.

During the Victorian era of the 1800s, South Africa was seen by Europeans as a hunting paradise. According to Beinart (1987:16), Victorian attitudes to Africa's animals were, to put it mildly, predatory as vast quantities of animals were slaughtered. In 1860, 'The Great Hunt' was organised for Queen Victoria's middle son, Prince Alfred, on the farm, Bainsvlei, just outside of Bloemfontein (in the Free State province of South Africa). 'On this occasion, a thousand mounted Barralong tribesmen drove about 30 000 head of game toward the Bainsvlei homestead, where more or less 5 000 head were killed' (Philippe, 2010). During this time it was common to shoot 90 elephant in

one trip and records show that some hunters could easily double this amount. Objectives of 'The Hunt' were the collection of trophies and natural history specimens, the establishment of records (animal and horn size) and the pursuit of manliness and moral edification through 'sportsmanship' (Mackenzie 1987:42).

However, early European hunters did not abide by the codes of sportsmanship that exists today. They fired recklessly, killed females and their young, and did not pursue wounded animals. In *Five years of a Hunter's life in the Far Interior of South Africa* published in 1850, Roualeyn Cumming grieved the decline of game in the Cape Colony, although ironically he claimed to have shot hundreds of elephant, rhino, wildebeest and other animals himself (Conservation, Communities and Colonials, n.d.:2). By the 1900s the Cape, Orange Free State and the South African Republic as a whole had lost almost their entire wildlife heritage due to excessive hunting. The country was treated as a playground by the colonials to shoot animals just as they pleased. This became evident in accounts given of famous hunters that took to the interior of South Africa to shoot large numbers wild animals.

Frederick Selous, perhaps the most famous white hunter of them all, killed 548 animals between 1877 and 1880. This serves as but one example to indicate the vast amount of wildlife that was wiped out. These hunts had a devastating impact on the wildlife populations of Southern Africa. The fear of the extinction of animal species was (initially) not a pressing matter. Shocking amounts of animals were hunted without any regard for the possible extinction of animal species. The blue buck and quagga

became extinct and other species such as elephants were greatly reduced in number and distribution (Lindsey 2006:41).

The African elephant was synonymous with early European hunting expeditions in Southern Africa. The ivory trade was booming and those who traded in ivory, made substantial profits. European exploration of the southern African interior 'was closely associated with hunting large game, particularly elephant for sport and trade, and the sale of ivory served to finance many of these early expeditions' (Booth and Cumming 2009:283). According to Mackenzie (1987:41), the ivory hunting frontier in Southern Africa 'was at one and the same time a prime impulse to the interior and the marker of the white advance'. There was an enormous demand for ivory from Europe and the United States of America. Elephant hunting was a co-operative initiative and by 1752 there was a substantial trade in ivory. More and more British pioneers got involved in the profitable elephant hunting and ivory trade business which eventually led to the slow decline in elephant herd numbers.

The extermination of wildlife was also the inadvertent and inevitable result of the progressive growth of agriculture and civilization. Settlers in the Boer-occupied areas engaged in hunting far more than in the basic subsistence farming which was their supposed occupation (Steinhart 1989:6).

In contrast to the permanence of the established settlers, the visiting sportsman came to spend a short, sharp and often ruthless period of a few weeks to a few months of intensified slaughter.

Even with the extensive colonial butchery of game taken into consideration, worse was yet to come. The devastating Anglo Boer War (1899-1902) dealt another blow to the wildlife of South Africa. The British 'scorched earth policy' ruined the habitat of the wildlife to such an extent that the midlands of this country became almost devoid of all game. What was left, were driven to the more densely bush and border areas.

2.3. The settler-hunter

The second phase of wildlife destruction saw the appearance of a new type of hunter: the white settler. The arrival of the settlers, who took up extensive tracts of land in the most fertile areas in the Colony, heralded the longest, and therefore most destructive, period of hunting. The extermination of wildlife was a frequently stated objective of the settler-hunter. In this regard, hunting was merely the sharp, cutting edge of the sword. The most destructive practice was the clearing of the animals' habitats and turning it into privately-owned farmlands and grazing areas for cattle and sheep, fenced and cleared of all game but for the smallest animals and birds.

2.4. Game control

The third phase saw game control as the principal activity of the Colonial Game Department and as an essential part of the services provided to the settlers. In these control operations, hundreds of animals, especially elephant and rhino, were killed each year to prevent the destruction of crops and fences on settler farms. They also destroyed herds of game for tsetse-fly and rinderpest control purposes.

With few exceptions, any animal found on private (settler) land was fair game and could be killed with impunity and without a game license by the landowner. Nash (1989:58) asserts that ecologists tended to oppose the government's efforts to control, and even, in the early years, to exterminate, large carnivores that shared a link in the food chain with humans. As a result, concerns, and later support, for the conservation of wildlife increased.

2.5. Emergence of sport hunting

Hunting activities practised in colonial times contributed to the evolution of hunting as a basic means of survival to a 'sport'. This 'shift' saw the emergence of two trends in hunting. One was that of the specialist hunter with special training and equipment. The other was the emergence of hunting as a sport for those of the upper social class. Elephant hunting, in particular, was considered to be the prerogative of visiting sportsmen and an indication of high socio-economic status. Damm (2008:7) explains that 'the fair chase movement at the end of the nineteenth century was intended to distinguish the real hunter from the market hunter who had indiscriminately killed to the point of eradication'. Formal sport hunting according to Adams (2009:133), 'was practised by those who respected certain moral codes of sportsmanship'. This participation in safaris marked the beginning of recreational hunting in South Africa. The tourism sector was stimulated by Western tourists' increased interest in nature and wildlife conservation, affordable travel and accessibility to unspoiled areas (Novelli, Barnes and Humavindu 2006:65).

3. Relationship with nature

3.1. Hunters' accounts

Although many hunters explored and hunted in the African interior, not all of them documented their hunting activities. It is therefore difficult to give an accurate account or representation of the hunter's relationship with nature in general. This relationship with nature will be interpreted through information published by those hunters who recorded their expeditions in Africa. The researcher acknowledges that the information available, fails to represent the worldview of all colonial hunters and therefore conclusions will be made based on the literature presented in this study. Hence, analysing the worldview of colonial hunters, required an interpretive approach to their writings, decoding and translating the way in which they described their experiences. This enabled the researcher to get an idea of their attitudes and feelings toward nature, and to determine the level of nature-connectedness that existed.

A study of the colonials' ventures in Africa, and their detailed descriptions of their hunting trips, reveals certain characteristics of their relationship with nature. The manner in which they wrote was very descriptive. Hence, they succeeded in painting a very clear picture of all the experiences they encountered. Because the areas they explored were relatively unknown, they deemed it necessary to provide a thorough, detailed description thereof, enabling readers to reconstruct these scenes in their imaginations. As fauna and flora were being discovered with every expedition in Africa, the species were described in remarkable detail. The discovery and classification of

species afforded the explorer hunter a great sense of achievement and satisfaction (Mackenzie 1987) and contributed to the legacy of the colonial powers.

They did not easily share their feelings with the readers; i.e. how they emotionally experienced particular events. These hunters were 'tough' explorers who seemed to prefer giving account of their bravery and courage rather than write about their emotional experiences. Thus, to communicate on an emotional level with the readers, and share personal feelings may just have discredited their image.

They seldom wrote of personal matters other than their encounters with the natives, the wildlife, the environments and the conditions in which they lived and travelled. Personal issues would only be discussed in so far as it related to hunting. For instance, some colonial hunters would refer back to a childhood memory or event that initially sparked their interest in hunting (see Kittenburger 1929, Hibben 1962). Hunters seldom shared aspects relating to their personal lives, therefore we know very little about their personal lives. The African expeditions were approached in an organised and professional manner (later on it did become an official profession for the white hunters), that required dedication and focus on the planned expedition or safari (see Herne 1999 and Steinhart 2006).

According to Mackenzie (1987:51), hunting exploits were often equated with heroism in literature on heroism. He also mentions that many hunters noted the effects of such writings in their childhood and the manner in which they 'turned to small-scale hunting in their own local environments, fantasising about the big game that would eventually come their way'. Kittenburger (1929), for example, writes how he derived his initial

knowledge of lions from picture books. He read such stories 'with a certain reverence and thrill' (Kittenburger 1929:3). Hibben (1962:9) asserts that the hunting fever appeared at an 'early age' and in a 'very strong form'. The books these hunters read, as children and adults, had a big impact on their view of hunting. Hunting in Africa has been romanticised in many hunters' published written accounts and inspired countless men (and women) around the world to pursue the life of a hunter in Africa. According to Frye (1971), in every era the ruling social (or intellectual) class' ideals are romanticized in one form or another. In the colonial sense the heroes (the hunters) represent the ideals, and the villains (the wildlife) represent the threats to their dominance. 'The quality of this "romance" is marked by its extraordinarily persistent nostalgia, its search for some kind of golden age in time or space' (Frye 1971:186), akin to 'living in paradise' (Carruthers 1995:11).

Although they were living in nature, hunters did not share their personal views on nature specifically or in detail for that matter. Nature as such was only discussed to the extent that revealed the hunter's immediate surroundings. Hence, an appreciation for nature was generally revealed indirectly. Insights into a connection with nature is derived through the analysis of their descriptions of nature, at least in so far as the way in which they describe natural elements can be interpreted to reflect a positive or negative relation to nature. A few hunters shared their thoughts on being in close contact with nature and on the hunting activity itself.

Hunting experience and being in nature

> The traveller, explorer, naturalist and hunter are all devotees, all actuated by the same desire for direct sensation - to sample life from the original source. This readiest outlet for this ambition is in the hunting of wild beasts: the first and most natural occupation. This pursuit takes men into strange and wonderful environments; they see solemn dawns from the summits of unknown mountains, and terrible sunsets in the midst of wildernesses of inspiring solitude (Foran 1988:7).

Foran (*ibid.*) clearly succeeds in indicating a deeper connection between man, more particularly the hunter, and nature with an almost romantic appreciation of the aesthetics and dimensions (environments) of nature. Being in close contact with nature resulted in different experiences for each hunter, and therefore their experiences and ultimately their writings, are subjective in nature.

Another hunter who succeeded in expressing the hunter's deeper connection with nature, and the experience of hunting in a remarkable way, was Thomas Richard Hornby Owen. He was a colonial administrator who spent 27 years of his life in Sudan, Uganda and Kenya. Not only was Owen a professional hunter, he also severed on several game agencies. In *Hunting Big Game: With Gun and Camera in Africa, 1960,* he shares his experiences. What is notable about his accounts is how he focuses more on the hunting experience as a 'whole', rather than merely the pursuit and killing of the prey as so many other colonial hunters tended to do. He elaborates more on the 'finer'

details of the hunt, making specific reference to the natural surroundings. He writes, for example, that the 'enjoyment of the pursuit of an animal, depends not only on the nature of the animal itself, and certainly not on the ultimate success of the quest, but also largely on the surroundings into which the pursuit takes you and the sights, sounds and experiences incidental to it' (Owen 1960:66).

Hunting during the colonial era, according to Steinhart (1989:247), was a major element 'in the struggle for survival, for development and for power among the various forces vying for control of resources of land, water and animals, wild and domesticated'. These forces influenced the major motives for hunting. The question is, what were the perceptions the hunters themselves had of hunting? The role that hunting played, and its impact on early human history has been highlighted in many literary works. Hunting as an act of survival, was carried out to serve the most basic and immediate needs. However, apart from basic needs it also served a purpose in terms of establishing authoritative positions, rites of passage, familial provision and spiritual properties.

Some colonial hunters believed that the primal hunting instinct is derived from our ancestors (reference to the biophilia hypothesis). Bryden (1897:281) perceives hunting as a 'natural and irrepressible instinct of man - an attribute which, no doubt, originally formed a part of that strongest of all human instincts, self-preservation'. On the same note, Hibben (1962:9) explains that 'the urge to hunt is latent in all of us, dating perhaps, from that ancient age when our ancestors hunted to live'.

Other hunters have highlighted their relationship with nature in particular. Frederick Courtney Selous, British explorer, hunter, conservationist and naturalist was famous for his exploits in Southern and Eastern Africa. His main focus was on the natural history of animals. He had great knowledge of the animals as he spent much of his time observing them. In his book, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences* which he dedicated to Theodore Roosevelt, he shares his experiences and thoughts on Africa and its wildlife. Selous writes about the element of hunting that he cherished most:

> Having spent many of years of my life in the constant pursuit of African game, I have certainly been afforded opportunities such as have been enjoyed by but a few civilised men, of becoming intimately acquainted with the habitats and life-history of many species of animals (1908:13).

Sharing Selous' (*ibid.*) sentiments, Foran, reminiscing about his hunting years, states that 'it was a great life, while it lasted, none better. Such adventures must make a strong appeal to all, and not just for the lust of killing. Great pleasure is to be found in the joy of living next to Nature and the excitements of taking big risks' (1988:10).

Motives for hunting (apart from meat and trophies) were not specifically addressed and therefore conclusions must be drawn from features of their writings. C.J.P. Ionides, white hunter and naturalist, hunted in East Africa and later became a famous game warden devoted to the conservation of wildlife. A friend of Ionides, once asked him to explain why he hunts, and he answered: 'I would not answer such an imponderable, nor will I attempt to here. I prefer to stick to what is far more interesting

and that is my romance with these rare and delightful creatures. It was the great love affair of my life' (Ionides 1965:128). This strongly expressed love for the animals is a solid display of the intense relationship he had with nature. By comparing his love for wildlife to that of a love affair, he indicates just how special his bond with nature was.

3.2. Determining a relationship with nature

Multiple scales that have been developed to measure certain elements linked to the human-nature relationship (i.e. oneness with nature, nature relatedness, well-being, happiness and health). A very prominent feature is that of connectedness and hence, the individual's relationship to nature. Schultz (2002:66) explains that 'at the heart of the discourse on human-nature relations is the recurring theme about a relationship with nature.' He goes on to say that this relationship is assessed in terms of ethics, morals, culture, values and experiences in order to determine the individual's understanding of his/her place in nature. Therefore different measurement scales have been applied to measure not only connectedness, but also worldviews, values and beliefs with regard to nature. Each measurement scale has contributed in its own significant way to the understanding of human-nature relations.

The literature in general comprises of various compilations of value-dimensions that explore the importance and influence of values in varying contexts. However, due to the nature of the colonial accounts, and a lack in supporting literature, not all values could be applied to the colonial era. For this reason only values applicable to this particular time period (as supported by literature) were used for interpretation

purposes. Additional values (see Dayer, Stinchfield and Manfredo 2007) that are not applicable to this era, will be considered for the post-independence era in Chapter 4.

Two studies have been identified that best assist in achieving this goal. The first is derived from Stern and Dietz (1994) who present a theory of values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviour emergent from a basis of environmental concern. They identify three value bases that shed light on the values that people place on nature and the corresponding actions.

Egoistic values - Self

This value represents the 'egoistic self.' Approaches to valuing the environment are based on the economic and social benefits that can be obtained. 'Egoistic values predispose people to protect aspects of the environment that affect them personally, or to oppose protection of the environment if the personal costs are perceived as high' (Stern and Dietz 1994:70). Hence, the focus here is on personal prosperity, health and satisfaction.

Altruistic Values - Others

Also known as social-altruistic, these concerns focus on the welfare of others. 'The individual experiences a sense of moral obligation and acts on it when they believe adverse consequences are likely to occur to others and that they personally can prevent those consequences' (Stern and Dietz 1994:70). Concerns are projected toward humanity, future generations, communities and children and how they may, for example benefit from the conservation and protection of nature and wildlife.

Biospheric Values - Environment

These values are prominent in the thinking of ecologists and environmentalists. According to Stern and Dietz (1994:70) 'people judge phenomena on the basis of costs or benefits to ecosystems or the biosphere'. Weighing the pros and cons of certain actions and reflecting on how it will influence nature, determines decision-making and directs the handling of the well-being of animals and the natural environment.

The second study of values, founded as part of the Biophilia hypothesis, presents nine value dimensions to indicate the human dependence on nature as a basis for survival and personal fulfilment. The latter is relevant in the current context. According to Kellert and Wilson (1993:42), human identity and personal accomplishment, to some degree, depend on our relationship with nature. They add that this relationship extends to influence our emotional, cognitive, aesthetic and even spiritual development, and that it goes beyond material exploitation. Written accounts of hunters will be evaluated in terms of these nine value dimensions as proposed by Kellert and Wilson (1993:44-58), and will be discussed under each heading to the extent that it bears relevance to the respective value. These extracts prove to be valuable in that it expresses some aspect and level of the hunter-nature relationship.

Utilitarian

This tendency reflects the belief that the value of something (in this case nature and wildlife) depends on its utility. The focus is therefore on the practical, functional and effective use of certain elements of nature. Importance is placed on material value and

the physical benefits that can be derived. Kellert and Wilson mention the advantages that humans gain in exploiting nature's abundance of food, medicine, tools and other materials (1993:44). With reference to the colonial hunters, Adams (2003:22) states that their interaction with nature was 'a destructive and utilitarian view of the probability of applying nature to gain economically'.

Naturalistic

This tendency involves the satisfaction derived from being in contact with nature, as well as the admiration and interest derived from an intimate experience of nature's 'diversity and complexity' (Kellert and Wilson 1993:45). It allows for an increased level of knowledge and understanding obtained from discovery and exploration. Mental benefits from contact with nature include tension release, relaxation and peace of mind.

Ecologistic-Scientific

This approach to nature includes the study of relations and interactions between organisms and the environment, based on methods and principles of science. It involves a need for precise and systematic inquiry and empirical study of the natural world and the belief that nature can be understood through these measures. Although science differs from ecology in terms of experiential contact with nature, 'the depth and intensity of the pursuit for knowledge, can often lead to a profound appreciation of nature's wonder and complexity' (Kellert and Wilson 1993:48).

Aesthetic

An appreciation of the physical beauty and appeal of the natural world as well as feelings of wonder, 'tranquillity and a sense of psychological well-being' are associated with the aesthetic tendency (Kellert and Wilson 1993:50). Aesthetic values can also include emotion and sensation (i.e. experienced while observing the beautiful scenery/natural object).

Symbolic

Symbolic expression represents an idea or quality that bears significance for the individual. According to Kellert and Wilson (1993:51) it refers to the act of 'using nature to facilitate communication and thought'. Natural symbols (found in mythology, fairy tales, stories and legends) are 'an important means for confronting the developmental problems of selfhood, identity and expressive thought and abstraction' (Kellert and Wilson 1993:51).

Humanistic

The humanistic tendency emphasizes empathy and also the good in human behaviour. It involves having a strong interest in and concern for the welfare, values and dignity of humans in respect of animals and other elements of the natural world. Kellert and Wilson (1993:52) define this tendency to include feelings of deep emotional attachment, strong affection (even love) to individual elements of the natural environment.

Moralistic

Strong feelings of affinity, ethical responsibility and reverence for the natural world is associated with the moralistic tendency. Intensions, decisions and actions are based on a standard stemming from the individual's beliefs. A moralistic outlook may foster 'feelings of kinship, affiliation and loyalty' (Kellert and Wilson 1993:55).

Moral views of hunters

> Carnivores have been killed as vermin, elephants for profit from their ivory, defenceless animals for food for myself or native porters, buffalo and other dangerous beasts in actual self-defence, and some for the acquisition of a really exceptional trophy. Not one single creature, except a crocodile, was ever killed just wantonly. I have tried always to live up to a self-imposed rule of never shooting at any animal unless reasonably sure of killing my quarry outright or as soon as possible after wounding it. It is much better to lose your prize than to fire when there can be only a hope of maiming the beast (Foran 1988:20).

Some hunters have strong moral decrees which they apply to hunting. Some strongly believe in killing only what you intend to use for a specific reason (providing food, commerce, collecting specimens for museums) and not simply shooting at anything that moves. Pursuing an injured animal to prevent further suffering forms part of the moral code. Stoneham (1932:144) strongly asserts that 'what a man hits, he should

get'. He explains that there is no excuse not to put a wounded animal out of its misery and he labels a man who leaves a creature wounded in the veld, a 'brute'. Hunters would call out 'unsportsmanlike' methods of hunting which are 'unfair to game' Chapman (1908:296). In terms of emotions experienced post-hunt, hunters very seldom conveyed personal thoughts or emotions about the prey. However, three specific accounts reflect the sorrow or remorse the hunter experienced after the hunt:

> Poor beast! I was sorry for her. She was of enormous size…She had two cat-like cubs inside her, which made me feel more sorry for her death (Bisset 1875:220).

In this first account the hunter killed a 'beautiful lioness' but then realised his mistake. He was unaware that she was carrying cubs and would not have shot her had he known.

> The feeling of accomplishment does also dispel the sentiment of sorrow for the death of such a magnificent creature. The sorrow reflects the admiration for the animals and most importantly, the performance shared with them (Reis 2009:587).

In this second account the sorrow stems from the realization that the 'magnificent creature' was still alive just moments before and is accompanied by respect and sentiment for the animal.

> I was annoyed and remorseful. I had no use for more than one buck - even one would provide more meat than I could use (Stoneham 1932:144).

In this third account the hunter wanted to shoot one buck, but ended up accidently wounding another. He realised that he had no use for the second buck and that this wasteful 'result' is unacceptable. He is upset with himself for causing this and also feels remorse for the wounded animal which was not supposed to be killed. These extracts are an indication that these hunters had a very special connection with not only the animals, but probably with nature as well. Showing consideration for nature and wanting to 'do things right' reflects the hunters' healthy and positive relationships with nature.

Dominionistic

This involves exercising control over the natural world. Mastering not only bare nature but animals as part of nature as well, forms a primary interest. Important aspects of this tendency (that relates to the colonial hunter) mentioned by Kellert and Wilson (1993:56), are the struggle to survive, which necessitates some measure of the proficiency to subdue, the capacity to dominate and the skills and the physical prowess, honed by an occasional adverse relationship to nature. It also refers to the increased knowledge of the natural world gained by 'the predator', also relevant to the human hunter.

Negativistic

This tendency is characterised by fear, aversion and antipathy toward the natural world. Actions include the avoidance, isolation and even harming of those elements of nature considered to be a threat. Pessimistic attitudes toward nature are combined with a critical and sceptical system of thought. Fear and alienation from nature and fear of injury or death in nature can all foster unreasonable human tendencies and the infliction of excessive harm and even cruel behaviour on animals and other elements of nature (Kellert and Wilson 1993:57-58).

The three value bases identified by Stern and Dietz (1994) overlap with the nine value dimensions of Kellert and Wilson (1993) in that they are reflected in and can be grouped with certain of the nine value dimensions. For example, egoistic values can be grouped with the utilitarian and dominionistic values, altruistic values can be grouped with the moralistic and humanistic values, and the biospheric values fall under the naturalist, moralistic and ecological-scientific values.

When it comes to descriptions of animals and the environment, the illustrative nature thereof gives the reader insight into the knowledge the writer had of the animals, their habitats, feeding patterns, coat colours and other indicators that enable the hunter to classify the animal species. This knowledge can be interpreted as an interest in nature.

As will be indicated hereafter, the value dimensions discussed above, manifest themselves to a greater or lesser extent in the literature on wildlife and the natural

environment. Colonial writings will be evaluated in terms of these values as far as they bare relevance to these descriptions. Wildlife was portrayed in three distinctive ways:

3.2.1. Wildlife

> The blesbok, in his manners and habits, very much resembles the springbok, which however, it greatly exceeds in size, the English fallow-deer. It is one of the true antelopes, and all its movements and paces partake of the grace and elegance peculiar to that species. Its colour is similar to that of the sassayby, its skin being beautifully painted with every shade of purple, violet and brown. The belly is of the purest white, and a broad white band adorns the entire length of its face (Cumming 1879:109).

This description expresses an appreciation of the 'aesthetic' beauty the animals possess. Some hunters described the animals (i.e. their physical appearance, eating habits and character traits) from an aesthetic point of view. This point of view is portrayed by descriptive adjectives the hunters used when describing an animal. Cumming *(ibid.)* writes about the 'grace' and 'elegance' of the blesbok and its skin being 'beautifully painted'. Hunters would then explain the state of awe in which they found themselves while observing the beautiful animals. This manner of describing the animals, speaks of appreciation and a positive outlook on nature. This aesthetic appreciation also points to 'naturalist' values, which is reflected in the satisfaction that the hunters experience when they are in contact with the wildlife.

> To be a successful hunter, it is not only necessary to be a good rider and a steady, cool and deliberate rifle shot, but also to be well acquainted with the shape of the spoor imprinted in the sand of the different varieties of game pursued; and from continual practice, to possess and retain the gift accurately determining whether such spoor is fresh or stale (Nicolls 1892:21).

Descriptions such as this one showcase the extensive knowledge that the hunter possessed. The hunter describes the animal in great detail, identifying specific traits, eating habits and habitat preferences of the animal. This type of information is necessary for a successful hunt. To intimately know the natural environment and the wildlife that the hunters may possibly face, requires some research prior to their expeditions. Increased levels of knowledge derived from exploration, also represents 'naturalistic' and even 'ecological-scientific' values. This, however, does not necessarily mean that they had an appreciation of, or a connection with nature. Some only acquired the knowledge to enable them to successfully track and kill their prey, which could be motivated by 'utilitarian' values.

An additional factor relating to the accumulation of knowledge is the knowledge gained from the local population, namely indigenous knowledge. To learn to adapt to a new and different environment, in terms of the use of resources, climate patterns, the attributes of plants and the behaviour of animals is knowledge that 'takes decades to be acquired and few people could survive it without support' (Moran 2006:40). For this reason, indigenous African hunters accompanied the white hunting parties as they had

extensive knowledge of the environment and the animals. Their roles on these trips were as gun bearers, trackers and camp followers in various capacities. The white hunters learned from the natives by spending time with them, and the information gathered was indispensable to the hunters. Few written accounts make special reference to the impact the natives had on, not only the hunter's life, but on his relationship with nature. Ionides (1965) gives credit to the African trackers from whom he learned immensely: 'I have learnt from these men, I can track for myself, to some extent. Those men were naturalists who possessed both a knowledge of wildlife and an intimacy with the bush' (1965:152). He says that by associating with such people, one soon learns to do things their way. He applied it to such an extent that it changed his outlook on life. He specifically mentions that he experienced a 'release from civilisation' and that he discarded his watch when he found out that the sun could tell him all he needed to know about time (1965:152). This 'release' can be interpreted in a 'symbolic' way, as it bares significance for the hunter and has particular value attached to it.

The natives indirectly facilitated a transition in the hunters' relationship with nature, by teaching them to live closer to nature, and that nature is more than enough, if it is all that you have. Drummond (1972) also gives recognition to the 'professional natives' as he called them. He contributed his successes in nature (as a hunter) entirely to them: 'Whatever success I may have had as a hunter was entirely due to what I learned from professional natives, who make up for every deficiency by their wonderful skill in still hunting and tracking, their capacity to undergo great hardships and

fatigues, their exhaustive knowledge of the haunts and habitats of the game, and their resolute perseverance in its pursuit' (Drummond 1972:4). In this sense, the hunter expresses characteristics associated with 'naturalistic', 'scientific-ecologistic' and 'humanistic' values. His admiration of, and interest in nature increased through these experiences and the knowledge he gained from it. Bryden (1897:216) complimented the natives on being 'marvellous trackers', 'athletic' and for possessing 'wonderful powers of endurance'. The reverence he showed for these people, facilitates a deeper connection with the different elements of the natural world.

The third way of portraying wildlife reflects a disregard for the animal and shows no indication of any form of respect or appreciation of wildlife. The animals are purely appreciated on a 'utilitarian' level, where the hunter benefits either from the meat (for food), the skin, or the trophy. The hunters' need to control or master the wildlife through the widespread animal slaughter that took place, often in terms of a successful military campaign, reflects the 'dominionistic' values they prized. Prestige obtained from bagging as many animals as possible (and from different species) was more important to these hunters than realising the consequences of their actions in the long run. Hunters who were famous for their (often ruthless) animal slaughter include William Charles Baldwin, who during his last four years in Africa, spent his time blundering about the continent. Baldwin himself wrote, 'we fired alternatively, three of us putting sixteen bullets in different parts of her head' (Baldwin 1894:19, on hunting a hippopotamus). According to Le Roux (1939), on Baldwin's last trip to Africa, his bag consisted of 61 elephants, 23 rhinoceros, 11 giraffes, 30 buffaloes, 71 quaggas, 4

lions, 14 wildebeest, 23 eland, 12 sable antelope, 14 roan antelope and 90 buck of other species. Another hunter, John Dunn, is reputed to have shot, during his time, 'several hundreds of elephants and over 1000 each of hippopotami and buffaloes' (Le Roux 1939:106).

3.2.2. The natural environment

> In the diversity of the forms the water takes, I believe that the beauty of the Victoria Falls is quite unparalleled….Nor does the magnificence of the view end with the prospect of the giant waterfall itself. Let us raise our eyes towards the blue horizon; another glorious spectacle awaits us. Stretching far away in the distance are the numerous islands with which the river bed is studded, the gorgeous verdure of their fan-palms and saro-palms standing out in striking contrast to the subdued azure of the hills (Holub 1881:193).

The physical landscape was a strong drawcard for hunters. Van den Berg, Hartig and Staats (2007:840) explain that the 'aesthetically pleasing stimuli that natural environments contain, encourage processes of exploration and sense-making'. They add that this stimuli attracts and easily holds a person's attention. Furthermore, the 'manner with which a landscape is described may play a crucial role in the way it is rated' (Bratman *et al.* 2012:127). Therefore it should be possible to determine the hunter's view on the natural environment from the way he describes what he sees.

According to Pollock (1974:1) in the 19th century, many hunters and travellers appreciated not only the hunt, but the whole range of elements associated with a safari. Hunters mentioned the climate, stillness of the night, flames of the campfire, smells of the dust and the rain and the wide unfenced horizons. Even today images of the African sunset and the majestic wildlife in its natural habitat captivates the imagination of prospective visitors.

Interpretations in this regard reflect 'naturalist' and 'aesthetic' values. Hunters described their natural surroundings in detail. Many regions were undiscovered and unknown to the Western world, and therefore hunters took great care to thoroughly describe what they encountered. Holub (1881), a Czech physician, explorer, cartographer, and ethnographer in Africa, took special care to share his admiration and appreciation of what he was observing, making his connection to nature quite obvious.

Although landscapes were described quite at length, few references were made with regard to plant and tree species. Hibben (well-known archaeologist, big game hunter and great conservationist), for example, wrote about the 'beautiful' papyrus plant; 'it feathers out, perhaps twelve feet tall, in a burst of fine spider web fronds which glint in the early morning sunlight, like thousands of soap bubbles throwing the spectrum of the sun in all directions' (1962:158). Holub (1881:277) wrote about the white-thorned mimosas being in full bloom, 'covered with hundreds of small globular blossoms of bright yellow colour and pleasant fragrance…their flowers are tender and sensitive'. Most accounts contain positive and inspiring notes of the natural environment.

In contrast to this, because of aversion and fear, 'negativistic' values were also associated with nature. Hostile environments (i.e. weather related problems and disease-prone areas) made it difficult to travel and camp, and hunters were often exposed to possible encounters with predators that roam the same landscape.

Kellert and Wilson's (1993) value dimensions cover a broad spectrum of attitudes and beliefs and principles with relation to nature. However, I was able to identify two additional value dimensions addressed in the hunters' accounts that are not adequately covered in the nine value dimensions. These two values refer to the 'spiritual experience' and the 'sensory experience' of nature. The spiritual relationship does not necessarily include symbolic meaning attached to specific natural elements, but rather represents an existential encounter with nature. In terms of a sensory experience, the value dimensions primarily cater to sight with 'aesthetic beauty', thus excluding the other senses.

3.3. A spiritual relationship

> By seeking a relationship with nature, often through interactions with other animals we may be able to connect with what is often a spiritual sense of wonder at being part of a vast interconnected network (Vining *et al.* 2003:88).

Very little information on a 'spiritual' or 'religious' connection to nature is available from the written accounts of hunters. Although these two constructs overlap, they are different in meaning. Howell *et al.* (2013:169) define religion as 'specific institutions or

organised models of belief systems' and spirituality as 'encompassing a broader perspective relating to perceptions of sacredness and the divine that are not necessarily based in belief in a specific deity, faith or credo'. Jones, Macola and Welc (2013:4) assert that the 'hunting vernacular spoke of gunplay, exploration and masculine renewal' but also of the 'appreciation of wild landscapes and spiritual immersion in nature'. A few cases have been identified where the hunter mentions but fails to elaborate on the spiritual or religious connection he experienced, thus leaving it open to interpretation.

Kittenburger (1929), hunter and representative of the Hungarian National Museum, collected zoological and especially ornithological material in East Africa. Kittenburger (admiring the beautiful landscape and the wildlife) writes that 'the scenery is wonderful and the wildlife abundant and varied. All the characteristic big game of Africa may be seen here. This country seems to be the Creator's game reserve' (1929:152). Whether he is referring to God specifically cannot be assumed just by his mentioning 'the Creator', although he does give the reader the impression that he is aware of a higher power responsible for creating such magnificence. His appreciation of the wildlife and its 'Creator' almost ascribes a particular sanctity to nature.

According to Egri (1999:58), the 'aesthetic beauty of nature in all its forms is a source of spiritual and cultural inspiration as well as emotional sustenance'. These elements then represent something deeper for the hunter. Sir Fredrick Jackson, hunter, naturalist and notable pioneer and explorer of Africa, used the word 'magic' when he referred to the call of curlew and ringed plovers, suggesting that the birds, and more

specifically their call, had the power to bring up certain 'pleasant' memories for him (Jackson 1930:8).

Additional features that link to 'spirituality' were identified: the environment as a source of energy and mindfulness. Richardson and Hallam (2013:45) explain how a connection to the earth's energy can be interpreted as a refreshing experience that makes a person feel alive. This is exactly the case with Abel Chapman, English, Sunderland-born hunter-naturalist. He wrote that 'the experience seem eloquent of the superb climate of these highlands and of its recuperative qualities…there exists some health-giving property, an elixir that yet remains to be defined by medical science' (1908:7). Chapman adds 'after each of my expeditions there [East Africa] I have personally felt reinvigorated and about four years younger' (1908:7). The interaction between Chapman and nature is quite powerful as described by him. Nature is elevated to being an 'elixir', a panacea that gives him energy and leaves him feeling rejuvenated. It ultimately strengthens his bond with nature. His experience is what Wang (1999:358) describes as 'existential authenticity', a special 'state of being' according to which one is in touch with his/her own true self. Certain activities, spaces and objects aid the individual in finding his/her authentic self and for hunters this is accomplished through the hunting activity, being in nature and being in close contact with wildlife. In these instances, the hunter is being true to him/herself and although subjective, the experience is real and authentic to the hunter. According to Wang, being outside of the mainstream, dominant spaces, makes it easier for the

authentic self to be fulfilled in a space (nature) that defines cultural and symbolic boundaries (1999:361).

Hunters displayed mindfulness in their actions and descriptions of nature. Mindfulness refers to the cultivation of conscious attention and awareness in the present (Richardson and Hallam 2013). This awareness resulted in enhanced emotions and sensations experienced by the hunter. Holub serves as an example when he shares his thoughts while observing the waterfall, how the colours and forms of the jets and streams 'make up a spectacle that cannot fail to excite a sensation of mingled astonishment and delight' (1881:193). One of the consequences of mindfulness, according to Bai and Scutt (2009:38) is an increased resonance with nature and distinct individuality, because the self is not sensed as separate from everything else.

3.4. Nature and the senses

> For a hunter whose eyes are open and senses alert, it is far more easy to understand and learn to try to describe what his experiences have been (Kittenburger 1929:15).

The theme of 'immersion' in the natural environment being a full sensory experience is successfully presented in hunters' writings. These sensory and sometimes emotional experiences are shared through written presentations. Hunters wrote in great detail of how engaged their senses were throughout the hunting process, not only for survival purposes but also to allow them to experience the beauty of nature. This awareness of the different elements of the natural environment, reflects a

relationship with nature based on knowledge accumulated over time but also an appreciation of what nature offers. Owen (1960) talks about his senses being heightened, specifically smell (of newly burned grass and certain shrubs and plants). 'There is no other sense which holds and records memories like scent' (1960:66). Owen also expresses his appreciation for wildlife when he describes the hartebeest: 'his hue, a very rich reddish-gold, is beautiful and against the light green of fresh young grass in the early rains make one of the loveliest and most typical of all the blendings of African colours' (1960:23). The more senses involved, the more immersed the hunter becomes. To experience nature through all of the senses, is to enrich the overall adventure, thus increasing admiration and appreciation. By interpreting the description in terms of the senses, makes it possible to detect the intimacy of the relationship with nature. Instead of simply describing the scenery or the hunting activity as it happens, they explicitly mention the finer sensations that were picked up by their senses. Sight appears to be the sense most acknowledged in their writings.

Holub (1881:10) places emphasis on observing the beauty of nature, since he writes that 'every hundred steps an enchanting picture is opened to the eye'. Hibben (1962:160) mentions observing a herd of lechwe for a period of ten minutes, 'being totally amazed by the grace of the animals and observing their movements attentively'. Kittenburger (1929:338) asserts that there is no greater pleasure (afforded to the sportsman in Africa) 'than sitting on a hill-top and from there observing the lives of free, wild animals'. Drummond (1972:362) supports this by adding that 'even a very young and keen sportsman cannot fail to be interested in watching a large herd of wild

game peacefully feeding, unsuspicious of danger, within a few yards of him - so interested sometimes as to forget that he has a gun'. This is a very fascinating statement that he makes as hunting was their main goal…and here he gets 'lost' in observing the animals to the extent that he forgets that he is actually supposed to be pursuing them. Another sense that bears testimony of hunters' experience and appreciation of nature, is smell. Cumming, for instance, describes the smell of the blesbok in a striking way when he says that 'like most other African antelopes, his skin emitted a delicious and powerful perfume of flowers and sweet smelling herbs. A secretion issues from the hoofs, which has likewise a pleasing perfume' (Cumming 1879:109-111). Descriptions like these show how the hunter is not only connected to the landscape, but to the wildlife as well.

Hunters also wrote about their sensitive hearing which involved getting to know what each animal 'sounds' like. Most of the noise heard, is identified without any trouble, as the hunters get to know nature and their ears get accustomed to the sounds. Kirby (1899) gives an example of how sounds proved to be 'welcoming' especially when it led them to their prey: 'We halted for a drink (at a water hole), and while doing so heard the welcome sound of a breaking branch echo sharply through the forest, less than a hundred yards distant, and soon after caught the rumbling noise made by elephants when feeding' (1899:271). Hunters got so acquainted with nature that they naturally developed a sensitivity for the sounds, sights and scents of nature. This allowed the hunters to experience a certain kind of intimacy with nature, that others, not 'tuned into nature', would never experience.

3.5. Ethical concerns

> It must be obvious that so grand and fertile country cannot long remain a sportsman's paradise in the sense that it has been (Cranworth 1919:323).

Cranworth's passion for nature is revealed when he remarked that 'it was more pleasurable to be in the company of hunters who were also naturalists' (Cranworth 1919:322). Not only was this an opportunity for him to be in the company of like-minded hunters, but also to share thoughts and information on their shared interests relating to nature. He also referred to the expeditions being done not for the idea of sport alone, but also for 'the attractions, adventure, exploration and research' (Cranworth 1919:319).

Many hunters commented on the decline in wildlife numbers. Hibben (1962:21) writes that more and more colonists began to realise that the game, which they were destroying so rapidly, 'was one of their most valuable assets'. Some even attempted to give some advice on how to combat the issues at hand. Chapman (1908: 296), for instance, suggested: 'What is wanted, is something practical - the energy to wake up while yet there is time, to assure the safety and wellbeing of those faunas that still survive, and to render any repetition of such barbarities impossible'. This awareness and conservationist thinking articulates something about the colonial hunter's relationship with nature. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that support directed at

conservation efforts, bares testimony that there were hunters who appreciated and cared for nature and shared an appreciation of it.

Written accounts revealed three primary 'approaches' that hunters had toward nature and specifically, the conservation of wildlife. The first relates to an ethical or moral approach where the hunter only hunted to the extent of what he could use. He was not wasteful and abided by personal ethical guidelines. This hunter held 'biospheric' values in terms of the environment as his concerns were for the welfare of both the animals and the environment. Altruistic concerns were also expressed by this hunter, i.e. that conservation is imperative so that future generations will also be able to experience the African nature and wildlife.

The second approach involves a shift in attitude. According to Beinart (1987:17), it is a 'deep irony' of colonial history, that some of 'the most ardent game conservationists came from the same social group of travellers, settlers and officials which a generation earlier produced some of the most blood thirsty hunters'. Bryden writes of Selous, saying that 'of all the pursuers of game, Selous has been upon the whole, the most sparing and least wasteful. In his early years it is true that he pursued elephants for their ivory, as a means of livelihood and a matter of business. But apart from this, Selous has always been one of the most merciful of hunters, killing only for the sake of procuring specimens or to supply food to his followers' (1897:298). 'Egoistic', 'dominionistic' and 'utilitarian' values transitioned to naturalistic and humanistic values instead. The archetypal colonial worldview is altered through these thought processes.

The hunter views nature and wildlife in terms of its great value to civilisation, rather than its economic and material value.

The third attitude belongs to the hunter who was seemingly unaffected by conservation issues. He did not give opinions on this matter and was not confined in any way by moral obligations toward nature. Mackenzie (1987:50) remarks that 'the writings of these hunters make it clear that they were indulging in the hunt, a symbol of white dominance, a marker of manliness and the moral worth of sportsmanship, at one and the same time a ritual and a scientific pursuit as well as a practical activity'. Having control over nature and reaping benefits from nature for one's own gain, meant that these hunters projected their 'utilitarian', 'dominionistic' and 'egoistic' values on nature.

In some cases, an awareness of wildlife conservation was apparent. However, we have to take into consideration that to express environmental concerns, does not necessarily reflect an honest concern about nature. Schultz *et al.* (2004:42) explain that a person can still be concerned about nature, even when he/she has less of an association with nature. Those concerns are then focused on matters that affect the individual directly. 'Egoistic' values are displayed as the focus is on the 'self' and how prestige and honour can be attained by the hunter.

4. Colonial conservation and legislation

4.1. The conservation movement

With its exceptional landscapes, abundant wildlife and vast natural resources, Africa presented an 'Eden' to the European colonial powers. This 'Eden' had to be protected

and preserved, particularly in Eastern and Southern Africa where European ambitions had extended to permanent settlement (Anderson and Grove 1987:4). According to Neumann (1995:80), 'this sentiment was a major motivation behind the conservation laws and national parks'.

This is but one motivating factor among many that initially drove conservation initiatives. Throughout the environmental history of Africa, the effects of human impact on nature have been documented comprehensively. European establishment in Africa was characterised by the exploitation of animal resources and tracts of land carved out for agricultural purposes. However, these activities could not be 'sustained forever as they led both to a gradual decline in animal numbers and to a reduction in animal habitat' (Cioc 2009:23).

In his foreword to Selous' *African Notes and Reminiscences*, Theodore Roosevelt (1907) touched on both the decline and value of wildlife:

> Throughout historic time, it [big game] has receded steadily before the advance of civilised man, and now the retrogression, or to be more accurate, the extermination is going on with appalling rapidity.
>
> The love of nature, the love of outdoor life, is growing in our race and it is well that it should grow. Therefore we should prize exceedingly all contributions of worth to the life-histories of the great, splendid, terrible beasts whose lives add on immense majesty to the far-off wilds, and who inevitably pass away before the onrush of the greedy, energetic,

> forceful men, usually both unscrupulous and short sighted, who make up the vanguard of civilisation.

Conservation enterprises, the implementation of laws and regulations and the establishment of game reserves and national parks took place in different regions, at different times and under different conditions. Consequently, 'approaches to conservation differed considerably between the imperial powers' (Carruthers 1995a:29). Rules were established as a response to the socio-political conditions, pressures and environmental issues that existed in the various regions of the colonies. Although some laws were implemented by more than one colony, no set regulations and laws were at once applicable to all the colonies.

4.2. Features of colonial conservation

The literature reveals prominent features relating to colonial conservation. These features expose the dominant and egocentric ideologies in respect of nature. Humans and nature were regarded as separate from one another and initial wildlife conservation practices were implemented to keep matters that way. Adams and Mulligan (2003:4) assert that European colonial powers regarded colonized peoples and nature as inferior, as they were cast outside of the 'ideals' of 'civilized' Europe. Practices during the colonial period were dominated by 'extensive separation of human beings from their natural environment through various policies' (Mkumbukwa 2008:590). On the one hand, animals were restricted to reserves to be shot when they pose problems or transgress boundaries, on the other hand people were kept from

'intruding' protected areas through 'paramilitary anti-poaching patrols' (Adams 2003:39).

The exclusion of indigenous communities from conservation practices was a very prominent feature of colonial rule that reflected structural inequalities. The Europeans introduced practices of wildlife conservation, based on the exclusion of the community, to their colonies (Mkumbukwa 2008). People being displaced from their land led to the breakdown of traditional authority and community regulation over common resources (Dore 2001:1). This in turn, resulted in poaching, illegal harvesting of forest products and the destruction of infrastructure (Average and Desmond 2007:108). Rather than supporting and including the indigenous communities, the establishment of many protected areas served only the interests of the European visitors, settlers and hunters. Communities were condemned by those in power, and were prohibited from owning firearms and were for all practical purposes 'treated as second-class citizens or non-citizens' (Ramutsindela 2008:361). Had colonial powers included these communities in their land use strategies, the results would not have been so dire. The inclusion of indigenous communities in matters affecting the land could have been encouraged by traditional institutions that would have empowered communities to manage their resources more sustainably (Dore 2001:1), or simply by involving them in development issues by making them stakeholders in decision-making at all levels (Average and Desmond 2007:112). Nevertheless, conservation was a means to assert even more power and control over nature and wildlife. For conservation purposes, hunter-naturalists gathered natural history specimens for various museums abroad.

This gave colonials not only a 'morally accepted' motive for hunting, but also the opportunity to name species and places and so create a legacy for themselves. Murombedzi (2003) affirms that the naming and admission of specimens in museums was an attempt to master nature. Colonialism therefore promoted the naming and classification of 'both people and places, as well as nature, in each case with the aim of control' (Adams 2003:24).

Conservation was driven by different pressures from landscape and wildlife related concerns. Although actions were in place to combat these concerns, the motives behind it, were not always for the greater good. Some laws were established in the light of conservation purposes, but essentially served to benefit only a particular group. This was also the case with hunting. Game policies were designed to preserve wildlife in order to sustain the sport hunting activities of the settler elite.

Carruthers (2007) argues that the idea of protected areas in South Africa resulted from sport hunting rather than the science of nature conservation. Specific game species were assigned to protected areas where hunters could engage in their 'sport'. Cioc (2009:1) adds that prominent hunters were often far more concerned with the 'protection of specific hunting grounds and prized prey than with the safeguarding of habitats, ecosystems, or bioregions'. Social and material conditions allowed elite hunting to flourish and the substantial revenues generated by hunting, turned it into a commercial enterprise for the rich (Benson 1998).

The establishment of the Shikar Club in 1907, symbolised the virility of British imperial big-game hunting. The club allowed comradery and friendships to be fostered among powerful and significant sportsmen. These hunters had, not only exceptional hunting skills and accomplishments in common, but also shared economic, social and political status to various degrees. With the growing emphasis on development and conservation at the time, the club sought the membership of politically influential sportsmen to sanction their position in support of conservation practices. The club was a product of hunting tradition and became an 'institutional focus for socially powerful men who upheld the traditions of "true" masculine shooting in which merit was derived from effort and respect for game and habitat' (McKenzie 2000:73). Nevertheless, hunters contributed to the fundamentals of the 'hunting dilemma' in the words of Steinhart (1898:253), who states that the wealth, social standing, class and background of hunters, reinforced 'the belief that proper hunting was the sport of gentlemen who obeyed a civilised and humane set of rules of the game'.

4.3. Laws and regulations

4.3.1. Background

Mkumbukwa (2008) recognises that colonial wildlife conservation policies and practices often evolved from several different sources. The first source was the activities and experiences of the colonialists in Europe, the USA, and other former or early colonies such as India. Second was the fact that colonial policies were formulated after certain laws had been enacted in the metropolitan countries (the First

World countries) and thus represented their scramble for resources in Africa. The third source was the misunderstanding or conflict of interests between the colonial government and environmentalists on the one hand, and Africans – mainly pastoralists and cultivators – as the dispossessed locals on the other hand (Mkumbukwa 2008:593).

The rapid decline of game populations toward the end of the nineteenth century, called for drastic measures to be implemented to combat wildlife losses. According to Adams (2003:27-29), this led to 'the emergence of ideas about controlling hunting, and ideas of protected areas'. The initiative to conserve nature and natural resources on the African continent was pioneered by the colonial powers through the Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals, Birds and Fish in Africa (also known as the London Convention of 1900). This multilateral treaty on wildlife preservation was signed by the African colonial powers - Germany, France, Britain, Portugal, Spain, Italy and Belgium (Adams 2003). The aims of the agreement were:

> Preventing uncontrolled massacre of wild animals and ensuring the conservation of the diverse wild animal species. It set up a selective mechanism for the protection of 'useful' or rare and endangered wild animal species and the sufficient reduction of 'pest' species. It also encouraged signatories to engage in the creation of reserves (UICN Environmental Policy and Law paper 2004:3).

Signatories failed to endorse the principles laid down in the convention. As a result the convention never entered into force. However, the first initiative was not worthless. It helped some signatories to enact legislation related to the protection of wild fauna in their respective colonial territories. After 1900, throughout the Western world, increased awareness and prominence were given to protectionist issues relating to matters of government (Carruthers 1995a:29).

The next step was the creation of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (SPWFE), established in 1903 by a small group of big game hunters (Neumann 1995), to campaign for wildlife conservation with the British Colonial Office. The establishment took place at a 'critical moment in the formalization of colonial wildlife conservation' (Prendergast and Adams 2003:251) and in due course, greatly influenced policy-making in the colonies (Mkumbukwa 2008). The society corresponded and lobbied with key figures (i.e. landowners, government and sport hunters) to pass hunting legislation pertaining to South Africa and East Africa. Adams (2003:29) states that the conservation of protected areas 'predominantly took the form of game reserves for the first half of the 20th century'. Although reserves served different functions in the region and within individual countries, their primary role was to protect wildlife for hunting purposes.

The first South African parks and reserves established include the Sabie Game Reserve in 1892 (to become the Kruger National Park in 1926) and the Pongola Game Reserve in 1894. Parks and reserves established in eastern Africa include the Ukamba Game Reserve and Amboseli National Park in 1899, the Selous Game Reserve in

1922, the Nairobi National Park and Tsavo National Park in 1948, the Serengeti National Park in 1951 and the Arusha National Park in 1960.

An event whose impact and influence was considered a breakthrough, was the signing of the 1933 London Convention (*Convention relative to the Preservation of Fauna and Flora in their natural state)*. Steinhart (2006:180) confirms that 'the overall significance to global and international conservation, and the Convention it drew up, continues to be recognized as a landmark'.

The Convention presented varying degrees of protection for two classes of species. Class A: These species are to be hunted or otherwise killed only with special permission that was to be granted exclusively for scientific research or other critical purposes. Class B: Authorization for hunting the species in this class is allowable by special permit, but for any purpose. Also, this convention was extended to include plant species (UICN Environmental Policy and Law paper 2004:3). The 1933 London Convention was superseded by the African Convention on Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in 1968.

4.3.2. Laws

Due to the extensive nature of colonial literature pertaining to the various laws and regulations that were established in the different European colonies in Africa, this section presents only a brief overview of the most prominent features and role players in colonial conservation in Southern and East Africa. Regulations and laws are discussed to the extent of the identification of the law and what it entailed.

South Africa

The Law for the improved regulation of the hunting of elephant and other wild animals in South African Republic of 1858 was enacted in order to regulate commercial hunting. 'This law also prevented blacks from having easy access to marketable wild animals, and game was on its way toward becoming a resource for the exclusive use of whites' (Carruthers 1995a).

The Cape Act for the Preservation of Game of 1886 made detailed provision for control over the hunting of animals, and recognized the rights of the landowner to shoot game on his private land. The Act required all sportsmen to hold, and pay fees for, licenses issued by the Resident Magistrate for the hunting of game (Prendergast and Adams 2003).

The Game Law Amendment of 1891 and Game Preservation Ordinance Act of 1899 brought about the end of frontier exploitation by adventurers such as ivory hunters in Southern Africa (DeGeorges and Reilly 2009:740).

East Africa

The German East African Game Ordinance of 1896 was promulgated by Governor Hermann von Wissmann. By far the most important of the new colonial laws. He convinced the German Colonial Office to 'turn some of the game-rich areas of German East Africa into a National park' (Cioc 2009:8).

The Kenyan Game Ordinance of 1900 was passed, effectively banning all hunting except by licence (Graham 1973).

The Game Preservation Ordinance of 1921 was the first comprehensive conservation legislation in Tanzania (Mkumbukwa 2008) which stipulated 'basic rules for game reserves, game licences, professional white hunters and trophy dealers'. No one could hunt without a licence and without the 'consent of the governor' while a licence to hunt could not be issued to a native (Shetler 2007:181).

The enactment of the Game Ordinance of 1940 lead to more areas being declared national parks. The implementation of provisions from the 1933 London Convention, led to the Serengeti Closed Reserve being chosen to become Tanganyika's (today Tanzania) first National Park (Este 2014:116).

The Fauna and Flora Conservation Ordinance 1954 was enacted for improved conservation within national parks in Tanzania (Mkumbukwa 2008).

5. Conclusion

Colonial hunters were mainly driven by the challenge that nature presented. The challenge to establish themselves as sought-after hunters. Hunters wanted to be remembered for their bravery and for the enormous amount of wildlife that they were able to bag during a single hunting expedition. These hunters were mostly spurred on by selfish and cruel intentions, disguised as courage and potency. No thought was spared for future generations in terms of the conservation of wildlife species (or nature in general). Alternatively, hunters who appreciated nature and showed reverence for

nature and wildlife were marginal. These hunters revealed aspects of nature that they found to be endearing and inspiring. They also revealed a level of mindfulness relating to deep and meaningful nature-experiences.

This study finds that hunting practices in the colonial period reveal a general irresponsibility characterised by the slaughtering of game to the point of extinction of certain species. Although this irresponsibility was tempered (to a limited extent) by hunters who really displayed a connection with nature as revealed through their writings, nevertheless it appears that they were the exceptions.

CHAPTER 4: HUNTING IN POST-INDEPENDENCE AFRICA

1. Introduction

It is generally argued that in Western and developed societies, due to advances in technology in a post-independence era, people are experiencing a sense of being separate from nature for a variety of reasons. Nature has become 'objectified' and separate from humans 'as technology provides artificial substitutes for the material and physical relationships previously provided by nature' (Peterson *et al.* 2010:128). Orland (2004:8) describes this separation as 'being buffered from the natural world' while Nuse (2014:1) designates it as 'the divorce from nature'.

However, just as some people are increasingly drifting away from nature, others in the post-independence era are intentionally and enthusiastically (re)connecting with nature. Schneider and Morton (1981:286) refer to this as a continuing paradox, where we are simultaneously detaching from and becoming more embedded in nature. People determine their own relationship with nature and the separation from nature can only occur to the extent that it is allowed. There are individuals and groups who actively engage in activities that bring them in close contact with nature, such as hiking, camping, fishing and hunting. Consequently, the modern understanding of the human-nature relationship can be described as 'ambiguous and encompassing a wide range of emotions and rationales for its exploitation, domination and preservation' (Uggla 2010:80).

In terms of post-independence hunting motivations, achievement-oriented goals are no longer among the primary motivations for hunters to hunt, as it once was. Hunters tend to lean more toward aesthetic or appreciative oriented motivations for hunting such as being close to nature and being with family and/or friends (Responsive Management 2008, Radder and Bech-Larsen 2008, Radder *et al.* 2013).

The focus of this chapter is thus to determine the relationship that post-independence hunters have with nature as it is reflected in aspects relating to culture, their attitudes toward nature, their perceived connectedness with nature and ultimately their actions toward nature in terms of ethical hunting conduct and support for conservation drives. This chapter reports on the findings of the questionnaires, interviews and online hunting forums to determine the relationship that hunters have with nature and the extent thereof. The chapter is structured according to the same four themes (i.e. introduction to nature, hunting experience, perspectives of nature, wildlife conservation and ethical considerations) that navigated the questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. Where a respondent captured the emotions and perceptions of the majority of hunters, such responses were quoted. In the process, a significant number of quotes from different respondents were obtained.

2. Introduction to nature

The first theme was designed to determine where the hunter's love for hunting originated from and how the interest in nature, and more specifically hunting, first came about. Hence, this theme investigates the extent of the exposure to nature from an

early age, and also the influences that initially drew the hunter's attention to hunting. In addition, hunters' perspectives were obtained with regard to the appropriate age that children should hunt for the first time as well as the age at which the hunter hunted for the first time.

2.1. Childhood exposure to nature

The study shows that initiation into hunting occurred as early as the age of six for some hunters, however for most of them it was between the ages of 10 and 13. Initiation took place primarily through the father, grandfather or an uncle. Hunters with extensive interest in hunting, generally come from families with strong ties to hunting. Nevertheless, a number of hunters who share the same passion for hunting, expressed that they were raised in non-hunting families and were only exposed to hunting in their adult lives. This indicates that there is no 'set' process when it comes to the development of the hunting identity.

Hunters specified that for most of them the love for hunting started at a very young age. Most of the South African participants grew up on farms and were exposed to natural environments and animals in their daily lives. Participants from other nationalities (assembled from blogs and other media platforms) do not necessarily share in this kind of upbringing and for this reason, some hunters have been even more motivated to get closer to nature later in life.

Overall exposure to the natural environment as a child was high as most hunters had the privilege of growing up on a farm. Time spent on these farms ranged between

permanently living on the farm and visits to the farm either every weekend or during school holidays. The hunters who did not grow up on farms, were still exposed to nature through farms belonging to family members or friends and annual visits to nature reserves (specific reference was made to the Kruger National Park by more than one hunter). A few participants indicated that the primary school they attended was located on a farm so they were constantly in contact with nature. One participant grew up in Venda, and another in 'Rhodesia' (today Zimbabwe), and they both emphasised the impact that it had on their growing connection with the outdoors. Exposure to nature extended to activities such as swimming in dams and rivers, camping, hiking, fishing and accompanying family members on hunting trips. Kahn and Kellert (2002:760) state that children who hunt, fish and bird-watch have a much deeper understanding and knowledge of the natural environment than children who do not engage in these activities.

Family tradition plays an important role as hunting interests are often stimulated by relatives who actively pursue the sport. For hunters, it is an honour and a privilege to carry a tradition from one generation to the next, as one father expressed:

> Now that I have recently become a father, I plan to instil the same hunting tradition and values in my son as early as possible before video games have a chance to warp his mind. All this assuming he wants to go of course (Respondent).

There are clear indications that early nature-exposure positively affected hunters' views on nature. Hunters who were exposed to nature from a very young age, continue to foster a relationship with nature. It is not an uncommon result as these nature experiences shape the individual's environmental path.

2.2. Mentorship

> It was a good way for me and my father to spend time together, and in the process, it was a good way to learn values and respect for the land and the creatures around us. A day afield mentoring a young person can teach more about life than a year in a classroom (Respondent).

Wells and Lekies (2006:13) states that 'when children become truly engaged with the natural world at a young age, the experience is likely to stay with them in a powerful way'. Environmental education plays an important role, whether it is supplied by the parents, school teachers or other professionals. According to Wilson (1994) the relationship between humans and nature is reflected in the environmental education that the child received, or the lack thereof.

In terms of human development, Verbeek and de Waal (2002:8) stress that 'it is during the childhood period that we are most motivated to explore the natural world around us'. This is reflected in the memories of quality time spent in nature and the learning processes shared by hunters. Those who grew up on farms, recalled being engaged in farming activities where daily chores such as caring for the animals, feeding the horses and milking the cows meant constant exposure to nature. Studies have shown

a variety of benefits derived from being out in nature (see Wells and Lekies 2006, Mayer *et al.* 2009, Nisbet *et al.* 2011, Humberstone 2013, Capaldi, Dopko and Zelenski 2014) and therefore the hunters support and encourage time spent outdoors.

Most hunters were fortunate to receive proper nature and hunting guidance from a mentor in the form of a father, step-father or uncle. Some hunters found mentors in other relatives, a neighbour and even farm labourers. By guiding the beginner and teaching them what they need to know about hunting in an ethical and respectful manner, it is possible to instil a long-term love of the sport. Historically, according to Larson (2006:116), older hunters educated the young hunters on hunting ethics, 'usually transferring from father to son in our male-dominated hunting society'. This 'male dominated' theme is still prevalent and came through in a powerful way as participants recollected memories from childhood hunting, mostly involving the 'father figure'. Everything that they learned from their mentors and the opportunity that hunting generated to spend quality time together, will always be valued. One of the lessons that featured a great deal, was that of respect. One hunter shared:

> From day one, my dad (a licensed professional hunter) has instilled in me a sense of deep respect for the wildlife that we hunt. He gives an audible 'thank you' to every animal that is shot, regardless if it is taken by his gun, or a client's.

2.3. Conditions that enhance the interest in nature and hunting

> Back in the day we didn't have TV, books and DVD's, only radio. We were forced to play outside and being outside became second nature. Going into the woods alone, building bush cabins and swimming in farm dams strengthened my preference for nature above being in the city (Respondent).

Books, magazines, television shows and other forms of media have the power to encourage and support interests in various ways. Hunters mainly consulted books for learning more about nature and hunting. One hunter shared: 'Some of the earliest books I read on Africa, were hunting books. I hungered for a taste of the wilds, the wide savannah, the cool forests and the lush swamps of Africa'. Outdoor magazines, the National Geographic magazine and wildlife photography collections were also listed under reading material. Other hunters enjoyed watching hunting/wildlife/nature-related documentaries, DVD's and television shows.

Reading and viewing material aside, hunters also indicated that participating in certain activities, contributed to their love for nature and hunting. These activities included school excursions, adventure courses, camping, fishing and hiking. Visits to game reserves and national parks were also listed. Interestingly, although the question referred to physical utilities that ministered the hunting interest, most hunters revealed that their love for nature was never dependent on any external or additional stimulus. Just 'being in nature' was enough as it was an integral part of their lives from the start. One hunter's response captures this accurately:

> I think we have access to nature by default in SA and that is why we are used to it. Not really necessary for something to 'flame' the interest- it's just already there. I have a natural tendency to love nature. It just comes naturally and wasn't triggered by a specific event/thing.

According to Wilson (1992:4), ongoing positive outdoor experiences may increase a sense of connectedness with the natural world, as children 'tend to develop an emotional attachment to what is familiar and comfortable to them'. This was reinforced by a hunter who shared that 'growing up, nature was an integral part of our everyday lives. Everyone was interested in nature and shared these interests with each other. I think the more exposure you get, the greater the love…and we were well exposed'!'

2.4. Hunting for the first time

Hunting for the very first time is a very intimate and emotional experience. Proper guidance and preparation is imperative to ensure a successful hunt. Participants were asked to indicate the appropriate age at which they feel a child should hunt for the first time and to explain why. The results presented two distinct perspectives. On the one hand hunters immediately indicated a specific age, accompanied with a short explanation. Hunters feel that children should be exposed to hunting (and participate) as soon as possible. According to Purdy, Decker and Brown (1989:17) children who are exposed to hunting in families where hunting 'is important and culturally rooted, usually begin hunting at early ages under the tutelage of a parent'. The age groups that were most prevalent were between 6-8 years and 10-13 years. Hunters feel that

the sooner the child gets ‘trained’ in the different aspects of hunting, the better. Some hunters motivated an older age to start as they pointed to the level of psychological and emotional maturity and also the child’s ability to handle a firearm responsibly.

On the other hand, hunters expressed that everything depends on the ‘readiness’ of the hunter regardless of his/her age. Hunters feel that a child must first exhibit certain characteristics before he/she can participate in hunting. In their responses, ‘being ready to hunt’’ is dependent on the following factors:

2.4.1. Guidance and preparation

> Appropriate and sufficient guidance is crucial. The person must have sufficient knowledge about hunting and have the ability to effectively convey all the dos and don’ts to the beginner (Respondent).

The introduction to hunting must be treated with sensitivity and patience. Therefore it is advised for a beginner to receive suitable guidance from a mentor. Shot placement, identification of animal species and the ability to differentiate between responsible and irresponsible actions are crucial to this sport. Children learning all the ins and outs of hunting and the associated practices, can be shaped into well-trained, ethical hunters. Hunters indicated that exposure to hunting can take place much earlier than the first hunt. Children who show interest in hunting should accompany other hunters and observe them. Decker, Provencher and Brown (1984:41-43) explain that observing the different elements of the hunt (being in nature, the camaraderie, the skill, the chase and psychological rewards afterwards) ensure that the killing of game does not take

place in a ‘vacuum’. One respondent shared that ‘the conflicts which the youngster may have concerning hunting are slowly resolved as he/she assimilated the attitudes, beliefs, and values of the hunting guardian without being psychologically burdened with responsibility for the kill’.

Preparation for hunting takes place on different levels (i.e. physically, emotionally and mentally) and is an important requirement for hunting. Possible risks and other complications can be reduced, or even better, eliminated through thorough preparation. For instance, to wound an animal and to experience its suffering may negatively impact the first-time hunter. Hence preparation in terms of target practice is essential to ensure accurate shot placement and a clean kill.

2.4.2. Expressed motivation

> This, however, presupposes that the child WANTS to hunt. As a game farm owner I have seen children being pushed into hunting to satisfy the ego of an over-zealous father, and I abhor this (Respondent).

It is very important to hunters that the child shows a definite interest and willingness to hunt. As one hunter stated, the reasons behind wanting to hunt must be communicated as this will give an indication if the child is ready or not. Simply ‘to kill something’ is not the right frame of mind. Hunting is about much more than that. ’Taking a life is an emotional experience and therefore it is preferred that the child must wait until he/she is ready and motivated to hunt. One hunter suggested that exposure to hunting must take place gradually, allowing the child to ‘grow’ within the

sport. The child must know what the different processes of hunting entail and freely chooses to partake in it.

Manfredo *et al*. (2004) define 'motivation' as a particular force that guides an individual's behaviour in order to satisfy a goal. Hunting motivations are very important as it reveals a lot about the hunter, for example his/her maturity level and ethical considerations. Hunters expressed that the child's motivation for hunting must justify the hunt and that the child must have a thorough understanding of what it means to hunt. Motivations for the first hunt will set the standard for future hunting and for this reason it must be considered in depth. Hunters take love and respect for nature seriously and feel that it must be reflected in hunting motivations. Children must therefore provide sincere reasons for hunting, and only when it is considered acceptable to the mentor, will the introduction process to hunting start.

2.4.3. Maturity

> It depends on the level of exposure to different elements of hunting. It is not so much about the age as the proficiency required, respect for animals and fellow hunters, hunting ethics, firearm usage and related legislation (Respondent).

Hunting for the first time requires that the child possesses a satisfactory level of psychological maturity and the ability to make conscious decisions. The age for a first hunt will depend on how much exposure the child had to hunting by experiencing and observing hunts with his/her elders. It is highly recommended that the child receives

environmental education to some extent as it fosters ‘an appreciation of beauty and diversity and fosters growth in all the developmental domains, that is; physical, mental, social, emotional and spiritual’ (Wilson 1994:24). Due to the responsibilities and dangers involved in hunting, the child must anticipate and be prepared for certain situations that may arise during a hunting trip. Children can also benefit from following hunting courses that are usually presented by hunting organisations or clubs. Professionals in the hunting industry assist in training and equipping children for hunting.

2.4.4. The meaning of life

> And it dawned on me that I had removed life from an animal. I felt sad, but I'm grateful to my father for that experience. It brought the whole idea of life into stark focus for me, something I'd never really considered until that point. It wasn't that I understood it any better, but it was very clear that it was something fragile and fleeting (Respondent).

Understanding the concept of life and death relates to the maturity principle. The first-time hunter must know the difference between life and death, and be able to comprehend what it means to take a life. The child must be able to anticipate the consequences of his actions and must be prepared for the end result. Once more, respect for nature and wildlife in this regard, is strongly advocated by hunters.

2.4.5. Firearm control

> Being competent with a rifle, knowing all about rifle safety and handling a rifle comfortably without any assistance (Respondent).

Physical strength and the ability to handle a firearm responsibly are prerequisites for hunting. Safety is on top of hunters' priority lists and therefore hunters are strict when it concerns proper gun-handling and safety. Again, training and knowledge of species, shot placement and an awareness of the dangers involved, are of utmost importance. Hunters agree that the child must be capable of confidently using a firearm without any assistance.

In general, childhood proves to be an important platform for initiating hunting through establishing a love for the outdoors and getting acquainted with the natural environment as well as developing and pursuing an interest in hunting. Hunters seem eager to share their passion for nature and hunting and pass it on to their children or other young adults who are interested. This enthusiasm to educate others about safety, proper hunting conduct, ethical considerations and stewardship reveals something about the hunter-nature relationship.

3. The hunting experience

This theme presented the most challenging question to hunters, which is: 'Why do you hunt'? To a large extent, these responses revealed aspects of the hunter's relationship with nature. As a result, hunting motivations have the ability to shed light on hunters' values and beliefs in general toward nature. Hunters were encouraged to share

thoughts and emotions that relate to the hunting activity itself. Hunters also discussed hunting preferences relating to the method of hunting, weapon choice, location, season and species. This information presented an added dimension to the hunter-nature relationship. Hunters' perceptions and worldviews can be defined as the outcomes of 'reality, mind, action and history' (Kearney 1984:47). Combined, these factors influence how the hunter sees and experiences the hunt, and also what he/she wants to achieve with and obtain from the hunting experience. These expectations are thus the 'standards against which hunters subsequently evaluate their hunting experiences' (Van der Merwe and Saayman 2013:11).

3.1. Values as measurement tool

It is important to keep in mind that the interrelations between humans and their surroundings are manifested through a wide range of physiological, psychological and cultural processes (Lawrence 2001). These processes include beliefs, doctrines, ideas and values that have an impact on hunters' motivations for hunting. It also strongly determines attitudes and actions toward nature, which as a result, affect the 'quality of both human life and the natural environment' (Schneider and Morton 1981:5). Values are defined as 'abstract ideals, positive or negative, representing a person's beliefs about ideal modes of conduct and ideal goals' (Rokeach 1968:124) and therefore can provide a better understanding of the human-nature relationship. This is supported by Kahle and Kennedy (1988:52) who state that values provide more information than mere demographics, because 'people can share demographic similarities yet attach meaning to different things'. Factors that influence environmental values include the

extent of nature-exposure, perceived benefits derived from nature, 'the capacity for self-reflection and the willingness to abstract from nature' (Glaeser 2001:2).

By conducting interviews with post-independence hunters and addressing related topics directly, it was possible to identify additional value dimensions not previously covered in this study. These so-called wildlife value indicators have been developed by Dayer, Stinchfield and Manfredo (2007) as a means to elicit perceptions of wildlife cross-culturally in order to improve the understanding of the relationships between humans and wildlife. The extension of the nature and relevance of the wildlife value indicators, made it possible to compare and apply it to the evaluation of the post-independence hunter-nature relationship in this study. These particular values were not addressed in terms of the colonial era as they were not applicable to the literature pertaining to that time. These value indicators are, however, supported by post-independence literature on hunters' accounts, and according to Dayer *et al.* (2007:311), comprise of the following:

Materialism: Wildlife exists for human use since human welfare is prioritized over that of wildlife.

Hunting/Fishing: Positive focus on wildlife as the object of hunting and/or fishing rather than of mere viewing or other non-consumptive activities.

Mutualism: Wildlife is perceived as capable of relationships of trust with humans; wildlife has rights like humans and wildlife is regarded as part of an extended family.

Caring: Personal emotional attachment to animals; animals make humans feel better and likewise humans want to help animals and prevent them from suffering.

Attraction/Interest: Interest in and a desire to know more about wildlife and a belief that wildlife enhances life experiences.

Concern for Safety: Concern related to interacting with wildlife because of the possibility of harm or contracting disease. In this sense, wildlife is also regarded as dangerous.

Environmentalism: General concern for protecting the environment which can extend to preserving wildlife and a conviction that humans are impacting on the environment in a negative way through their actions.

Scientific: Belief that humans can solve any environmental problems by applying science and technology.

Respect: Basic value that wildlife and the environment should be respected and valued; respect may be expressed in many different ways: as a general respect for life, a more utilitarian respect which involves utilising and interacting with wildlife and the environment in a proper and respectful way.

Rational/Scientific: Rational or scientific explanations about the way the natural world works and the way animals behave (as opposed to spiritual or religious explanations).

Spiritual/Religious: Viewing wildlife and the environment as created and controlled by a higher power(s) and explaining the workings of the natural world from a spiritual or religious viewpoint (as opposed to a scientific or rational viewpoint).

Apart from the wildlife value indicators, Kellert and Wilson's (1993) nine value dimensions and the three value bases of Stern and Dietz (1994) applied in Chapter 3 for the colonial era, were also applied to the post-independence era. Using a universal evaluation method, by applying the same values to interpret nature relationships, allowed for a more comprehensive comparison to be drawn between the two time periods. To recall, these values are: 'egoistic', 'altruistic' and 'biosperic' values (Stern and Dietz 1994) and 'utilitarian', 'naturalistic', 'humanistic', 'ecologistic-scientific', 'aesthetic', 'symbolic', 'dominionistic', 'moralistic' and 'negativistic' values dimensions (Kellert and Wilson 1993).

There are areas where an overlap occurs between the value dimensions of Stern and Dietz (1994) and Kellert and Wilson (1993) and the wildlife value orientations, distinguished by Dayer *et al.* (2007), for example: 'ecologistic-scientific' and 'rational-scientific'; 'altruistic', 'respect' and 'humanistic'; 'naturalistic', 'biospheric' and 'environmentalism'; 'caring' and 'moralistic'; 'symbolic' and 'spiritual'; 'egoistic', 'dominionistic' and 'materialism'. The wildlife value orientations of 'materialism', 'mutualism', 'caring', 'attraction/interest' and 'concern for safety' are aimed at perceptions toward wildlife only and exclude the natural environment. Therefore, where applicable, these specific values will be used to solely evaluate the hunters' perceptions about wildlife. Since values held by individuals affect their behavioural

orientations and choices, I will interpret the hunters' responses to identify characteristics that can be linked to these particular values.

3.2. Considerations for hunting

Considering the fact that hunting was once conducted primarily for survival purposes, over time it gradually evolved into a 'cultural complex with different significance for different peoples' (Adeduntan 2014:1). Hunting for survival in the 21st century generally does not apply anymore (in any case, not to the focus group of this study). Nevertheless, hunters express a multitude of motivations for hunting that reveal their values and ultimately govern their behaviour (Bauer and Giles 2002). Among contemporary hunters, there is a tendency to emphasize the emotional, psychological and social benefits derived from hunting and, more specifically, from being in nature. This is evident in reports given by hunters to whom the chase constitutes as much, if not more than the fatal shot (refer to 4.8. *Hunting as a holistic experience*). For these hunters, personal fulfilment is not dependent on a physical end-product, but rather the overall impact of the nature experience.

Hunters are aware of the difficulty to successfully explain why they hunt. They are aware that hunting is a controversial and relatively sensitive subject, and they want to answer and explain to their best ability as not to diminish the activity in any way. Also, for some hunters the connection to hunting and nature is experienced on such a deep psychological level that they deem the task of explaining their true reverence and passion for it, as almost impossible. As one hunter noted: 'reasons and motivations

that compel people to hunt are hard to explain and the fact remains that no hunter can explain his passion to a non-hunter satisfactorily'. Unfortunately, responses like these can easily be misinterpreted. People opposed to hunting accept such answers as indirect confessions that hunting, indeed, has no justifiable relevance in society today. Mahoney (Eaton and Mahoney 2010:1) suggests the following: 'If we want continuity and recruitment, if we want respect and tolerance for what we do, then we best get busy earning it…by explaining to the reasonable majority what hunting really is'. Hence, the aim here was to get hunters to explain what the hunt 'really' represents for them. The results of the hunting motivations are discussed according to its position of prominence as indicated by hunters.

3.2.1. Being in nature

> Hunting brings me in contact with the natural world in the most natural way (Respondent).

The strongest motivational factor for hunters proved to be nature-inspired. Hunters expressed a great need to be in nature, to connect with nature and experience the benefits that nature provides. According to Greider and Garkovich (1994:1) people define the natural environment 'from a particular angle of vision and through a special filter of values and beliefs'. Thus, hunters who cited nature as the driving force behind hunting, have affirmative values and beliefs regarding nature.

Vining *et al*. (2008:8) explain that the experience of place may be 'directly tied to one's connectedness to nature'. This immersion in nature takes place in different ways. For hunters who value nature for its 'aesthetic' properties, walking in nature and soaking

up the sights offer much enjoyment. 'Naturalistic' values are exhibited by those who listed 'exploring' and 'getting to know the environment' as important. Through this discovery of the environment, knowledge and understanding is obtained which is particularly valued by hunters. Most hunters who participated in the study strive to improve their knowledge of nature and wildlife, and when they are out in the field, they get the opportunity to test this knowledge. According to hunters, nature also helps to build character. However, the most prominent lessons that hunters learn, relates to respect. One hunter explained, 'when you are a hunter and you have experienced this respect for wildlife and habitats, there is a richness about life and our environment, a special personal closeness to the outdoors that simply cannot be matched'.

Being in nature prompts hunters to feel certain feelings. 'Pleasure' is a word that was used quite often. Being in nature proves to be a pleasurable experience for most hunters. To be surrounded by all things natural, the trees, plants and the animals tend to elicit feelings of being 'one with nature' among hunters. This links with feelings of peacefulness and calmness that were cited as well and is therefore evidence of 'naturalistic' values held in this regard. Hunters experience satisfaction which is derived from close contact with nature.

Nature provides an escape for hunters – an escape from their daily lives, from pressure and stress caused by work and other responsibilities. These factors contribute to hunters feeling 'far removed' from nature which spurs a yearning for contact with the natural world which is less altered by human activities (Bates 1964:111). In this regard,

nature is a type of haven where hunters can go when they want to get away from everything and just 'be'. The positive qualities of nature received strong support as well as its ability to satisfy particular needs. One hunter shared: 'We are biological creatures and I believe we are engineered to love and connect with nature. I believe nature is an important component in our intellectual, social, emotional and spiritual development. This is an element of life that many have lost touch with. When I am in nature, I am home. I feel whole and stress free. All the artificialness of civilized life is gone.'

Nature motivations are also extended to wildlife in particular. Hunters appreciate that they can observe animals in their natural habitat. Being surrounded by the wild is considered a privilege and general respect for animals is frequently confirmed. One hunter stated, 'I feel a kinship with the animals. We get to know them in a far deeper way. We know their personalities, their habitats, what they eat'. This response reflects a sense of 'mutualism' where the hunter perceives himself and the wildlife as part of an extended family.

Hunting as a nature related activity, brings hunters in contact with nature in a way that is quite unique to the activity. Hunters often mention that (according to them) they get to experience nature and the wildlife in a manner that few others could experience except through hunting, as one hunter explained: 'I am a nature lover and once you start walking out in nature you see things that most people don't even know of. You

appreciate nature in the true sense of the word'. Symbolic values are placed on nature as it facilitates communication and thought that bears significance to the hunter.

3.2.2. Hunting for meat

> To me, hunting your own food brings you an appreciation for your meal that you will never get from a grocery store or restaurant. Most people never think of where their food comes from or what it takes to get it on the plate (Respondent).

Harvesting an animal for the meat carries great significance for some hunters. Knowing where your food comes from and being in a position where you can provide for your family is of high importance to hunters. The traditional view of hunting narrates that men hunt to provide for their families (Gurven and Hill 2009) and to some extent, this is still relevant for hunters today. One hunter referred to the harvest of a natural food source as 'a primal urge' that hunting satisfies. Going through the whole experience of preparing for the hunt, stalking the animal, securing a clean kill, processing the meat and putting food on the table is rewarding on many levels. Hunters value the fact that they can be part of this whole process and express satisfaction for fulfilling the role of provider. Meat products are processed according to the hunter's preference which may include it being processed for biltong, droë wors (dried sausage), stewing meat, mincemeat and/or for braai purposes i.e. steaks and chops (Van der Merwe and Saayman 2008:36). While some hunters prefer to have

their meat processed and packaged for them, the majority prefer to be involved in the processing of the venison.

Hunters also listed 'healthier and cheaper meat' as a motivation. According to Peterson *et al.* (2010:135-136) hunting for your food 'offers an alternative approach to linking humans and nature'. They add, that hunting stories and other aspects of the hunt are shared at dinner tables 'which tend to reinforce connections to natural systems' (*ibid.*). One hunter explained that 'people are a part of the food chain too. They buy food that is grown by farmers. Hunters know this personally. They know the satisfaction and responsibility that comes from getting their food first hand'. This motivation is one of few that accommodates 'utilitarian' values as hunters place significant importance on the material gain of the activity. It should be mentioned however, that all the hunters interviewed expressed at some time, values of 'respect', 'care' and 'moral behaviour' toward wildlife. These values represent an ethical approach to game so that animal suffering is prevented, wildlife is utilised in a proper way and that ethical responsibility and reverence for the natural world is maintained.

3.2.3. Spiritual considerations

> We encounter something other, or even greater than ourselves, we might speak of the power and wisdom of nature, soul or psyche, or we reflect on mightier creative forces in the cosmos such as that of God, the Divine, Spirit or the manifesting Universe (Respondent).

Spiritual considerations were strongly motivated, notably with diverse meanings associated to it. The 'spiritual' experience is interpreted and expressed in different ways and does not necessarily make reference to any particular religion. When spending time alone in nature, some hunters fall into a 'meditative state' (Kheel 1996:36) where they feel strongly connected to the presence of God/the Creator/a divine Spirit or a Higher Power.

Hunters expressed 'spiritual awareness' in two distinct ways. The first relates to 'empowering spirituality' which refers to an awareness that is 'self-affirming and grateful for God's gifts to us' (Mananzan 1992:693). In this regard, hunters show appreciation for the beauty of nature and the diverse animal life, in essence, for God's creation. By being immersed in nature, they automatically become more aware of these elements.

The second type of awareness relates to 'contemplative spirituality' which refers to 'moments of reflection, meditation and contemplation' (Mananzan 1992:694). Here hunters expressed a connection to a 'higher power' that materializes in nature. This connection makes hunters feel at one with nature, blessed, as part of something bigger than the self, peaceful and content. The rejuvenating properties of nature and its effects on mind, body and soul are also closely related to the spiritual. One hunter wrote that 'hunting is almost a religious experience, as it is good for the soul'.

Other references made in terms of the spiritual, were that of i) Sacredness: 'The relationship with nature is uniquely honest, it has sacredness to it. It teaches basic

truths about life and death, where everything else in life masks reality' (Respondent). Haldene (1992:44) explains that 'experiencing the "real" and being consoled by it, is also referred to as "spiritual enlightenment"'. ii) Authenticity: 'Hunting represents a way of engaging with authentic nature, with the wild, embodied in the game. Real hunters gain some of their authenticity from their contact with true wildness' (*ibid.*), and iii) Pilgrimage: 'For me, hunting is a pilgrimage - a transformational journey that involves leaving home and coming back a different person' (*ibid.*). Likewise, Clark (2008:4) defines the hunt as a pilgrimage 'to our beginnings, to lay hands on our heritage as members of the biotic community'. Thus, it is evident that hunters hold strong symbolic and spiritual values in this regard. The natural world is perceived to be created and controlled by a higher power and explanations of this experience stem from a spiritual or religious point of view.

3.2.4. The challenge of hunting

> The thrill, anticipation and excitement of pursuing your quarry in its natural habitat. Strategizing your approach, checking the wind direction etc. (Respondent).

Hunting and being in nature presents the hunter with a variety of challenges that occur on a physical and psychological level. Physical challenges relate to the walking and stalking portion of the hunt which also depends on weather conditions, type of topography and unpredictable game behaviour. Hunters describe the physical hunting process and the thrill of the chase as 'exhilarating and it gets the adrenaline pumping';

others refer to the ability to ‘master an animal in its own habitat’, and the challenge of ‘measuring yourself and your capabilities against the accomplishment of the hunt’.

This response, and those similar to it, reveals a ‘dominionistic’ value to the hunting experience as hunters exercise a certain level of control over nature. This value is defined by mastering not only nature, but also animals as part of nature through skills and physical prowess. Reis (2009) describes three factors that render the ‘challenge’ as something that has deeper meaning, namely: the opportunity to feel and act as their predecessors did by tapping into primal instincts; being immersed in a remarkable and beautiful landscape surrounded by plants, trees and wild animals and moving away from the conventional routine settings to a remote location that is detached from the usual day-to-day life and activities. Reis (2009:583) further states that whether it is physical or emotional, being ‘absorbed in a dramatic environment enhances the idea of the challenge’.

Hunting also requires problem solving abilities, sound judgement, innovative thinking and the ability to make immediate decisions that adds to the ‘challenge’ facet. According to Bauer and Giles (2002:21), this combination of ‘sensory perception, movement skills, immersion in nature and knowledge on environmental stimuli, makes hunting a unique experience’. Thus, nature experiences are subjective and are expressed in different and unique ways.

3.2.5. Social and recreational considerations

> The right friends make the sport exciting, more meaningful and allow for a great connection between nature and the social realm (Respondent).

Social considerations ranked quite high in terms of the overall hunting experience. As humans, we are social beings and have a need to interact and form bonds with other people. Quality time with friends and family is strongly advocated as a social consideration. Hunting creates the opportunity for families to get together and participate in an activity that they all share a passion for. Apart from spending time with family, hunting also contributes toward building friendships with fellow hunters. Hunters also value the camaraderie of being part of a group of like-minded individuals who share a common interest. Hunters share hunting stories and give advice and support one another. Littlefield and Ozanne (2011) affirm that hunting skills can be improved through social interaction and challenges among hunters. Groups provide a supportive environment for hunters to progress in terms of experience and skill. It is also an opportunity for groups of friends to do some catching up, to socialize and banter with one another. Hunters also mentioned that hunting provides an opportunity for male bonding. Furthermore, different generations hunt together (grandfather, father, son) and share in the tradition.

Hunters expressed a great need to ‘get away from it all’. According to Gullone (2000:314) this need is absolutely warranted as the majority of individuals are

surrounded by ‘manufactured environments’ every single day and that our lifestyles are ‘falling short from the psychological benefits’ that increased exposure to the natural environment enables. Sitte (1965, cited by Appleton 1975:68) refers to it as a ‘craving for nature’, where city residents just want to get out into the open air and into the great outdoors. Nature has the ability to help relieve stress and pressures from daily work and responsibilities. Hence, nature is being valued for its therapeutic properties. One hunter used a metaphor to articulate this experience: ‘being in the outdoors is like ointment for the soul - it restores and revitalizes’. Another shared, ‘to describe the serenity I feel from hunting would be completely impossible, and I feel blessed, as most hunters do, that I can find such exhilaration in nature’. Capaldi *et al.* (2014) explain that it is possible for those who are more connected to nature, to benefit from the affective and revitalizing effects of nature.

Relaxing in the outdoors involves spending time with friends and family and enjoying the sights that nature offers. Kaplan (1995:174) states that people prefer to engage themselves in natural settings for restorative opportunities. One hunter expressed himself as follows: ‘I love spending time and relaxing in nature so much so that pulling a trigger is not the highlight of the hunting experience’. These social and recreational considerations conveyed by the hunters strongly support ‘humanistic’ values, ‘aesthetic’ values and ‘naturalistic’ values as admiration, strong affection for nature and feelings of psychological well-being are present. To some degree, ‘symbolic’ values are also identified as hunters associate and experience certain benefits with nature exposure.

3.2.6. Cultural considerations

> I hunt to keep the tradition going. I do it for time to reflect, for the challenge and the scenery. Hopefully, I will be able to hand down the traditions and knowledge you can only learn in nature (Respondent).

Culture plays an important role in the establishment of hunting interest and hunting traditions in an individual's life. As stated in the previous section, through culture, the hunting tradition is cultivated and supported from a very young age. Hunters consider it an honour and a privilege to share these traditions with their children and encourage them to do the same. In this way, hunting generates positive associative bonds between the hunter and the natural environment. One hunter stated that 'respect for hunting traditions provides a bond between hunters and the landscape'. This bond is therefore preserved through culturally based rituals and traditions associated with hunting. These traditions may include a certain degree of reverence for nature and wildlife, ethical concerns and general hunting protocol as determined by the specific culture. Hunters also tend to interpret hunting as a 'universal culture' and in this approach hunters perceive humans as inherent predators and hunting as a response to an inborn instinct and a way of channelling the subsistence lifestyle of ancestors.

3.2.7. Trophy hunting

Three participants of this study were trophy hunters and listed it as their main motivation for hunting. One hunter shared that he is nearing the completion of his trophy collection. Once the collection is complete, his main hunting motivation will shift

toward procuring meat. According to Cole (1973) this type of hunting is individually centred as it is 'bound by aspects such as challenge, competition and achievement' as well as economically centred, 'relating to the usage of the meat, skin, and trophy'. Peterson *et al.* (2010:131) argue that in such conditions, a connection with nature is lost as the symbolic meaning of the search becomes equivalent to 'that associated with athletes entering a playing field'. Trophy hunters therefore express 'utilitarian' values as the success of the hunting experience is entirely dependent on the hunting product, which is the trophy.

3.3. Considerations of a personal nature

3.3.1. The opportunity for self-reflection

> I hunt to be nourished in other ways: to learn about myself and the place I inhabit, to participate in the rhythms of the land (Respondent).

Being in nature provide hunters with an opportunity for self-reflection. Self-reflection is experienced on an intimate and personal level and is influenced by the hunter's perceptions and values. According to O'Hear (1992:53) 'we alone are in a position to enjoy particular perceptions and to evaluate the fruits of those perceptions'. Hunters reflect on their lives and on the various relationships they have with others and with the world. In a sense, they are reconnecting with themselves and learning more about themselves. 'Accomplishment', 'a sense of pride', and a 'sense of belonging' are some of the feelings hunters experience while spending time alone in nature. In this instance, as identified by Kellert and Wilson(1993), hunters exhibit symbolic values as they are

using nature to enable communication and thought and confront problems relating to the self (i.e. identity and expressive thought). Dizard (2014:23) captures it so accurately when he describes hunting as an 'indelible part of our repertoire and like stunning athleticism, astonishing scientific discoveries, and sobering ethical reflection on what it means to be human, hunting has its place in teaching us who we are'.

Hunting in itself proves to be a learning school for hunters, helping them to develop and improve on certain aspects of their character. Hunters who value this in particular, listed qualities that they feel have improved through hunting which include better self-control and self-discipline, getting to know your weaknesses and strengths, becoming a better person and hunter and realising that there is always room for improvement in terms of knowledge and skill. Additionally, hunting also promotes character virtues such as self-reliance, responsibility, competence, discipline and resolve. One hunter shared that 'being humbled in nature brings me to a point to self-evaluate, self-reflect and do some soul searching'. This is supported by Herzog and Strevey (2008:750) who assert that contact with nature 'might also enhance personal growth by aiding in such areas as setting priorities and achieving goals'.

3.3.2. Engagement of the senses

> While hunting, I am very aware of every sound, track, sign, smell, movement, breath of wind, and whatever other phenomenon and beauty I might come across (Respondent).

All participants responded positively to the perceptual experience of hunting, although differences presented themselves in terms of the level and depth of awareness. Hunters all agree on being fully engaged and alert. Their attention is divided among many things. They pay attention to wind direction, they look for tracks while watching their step, constantly scanning the environment, while trying to remain undetected. One hunter stressed the level of multi-tasking, saying that 'it requires keen eyes, immediate action and instant decision-making, which must be accomplished while dealing with a rush of adrenaline and the potential flight of the animal'. Another hunter aptly described himself as a 'sponge' because he is 'soaking everything up!'

Engagement of the senses is a very prominent subject in terms of general awareness when hunting. Mahoney (2008:20) describes hunting as 'a great force subjugated by the senses engaged to their fullest'. Hunters report the importance of extra sharp senses (sight, sound, smell) which 'stress the embodiment of the hunting act and how this practice is a fully, multi-sensory one' (Reis 2009:583).

Knowledge and skills also play a vital role in the hunting activity. Having intimate knowledge of game species and their habitats will help the hunter to 'succeed in this endeavour' (Peterson *et al.* 2010:131). It also leads to the strategic utilisation of the environment while scouting and stalking.

Awareness also extends to safety considerations. Hunters explain that nature remains a dangerous place and you must never get too comfortable when you are out in nature. Being 'aware' can better ensure safety should problems arise.

3.3.3. Hunting as an emotional experience

> Hunting is freedom, a tie to our ancestors, peace, contentment, happiness, joy, sweat, close calls, exploring, stealth, exhilarating, tiring, satisfying, challenging, and a thousand other things (Respondent).

This study revealed the scale of emotions that hunters experience while hunting. In some instances, hunters are overwhelmed by a collection of emotions. One hunter mentioned aspects of the hunt that elicits the strongest emotions: friendships moulded by hunting, communing with nature, the thrill of the hunt; outwitting a master of its environment'. Emotions reveal the intensity and extent to which hunters are engaged in the activity.

Hunters were asked to recall and specify the type of emotions they usually experience during the hunt (that is searching, walking in the bush and stalking the game). The top three emotions were 'adrenaline', 'excitement' and 'calmness'. The latter is in stark contrast to other emotions mentioned and the hunters explained that they experience calmness because they know they are in charge, they have the experience, the skills and the right weapon to secure the desired shot. Other emotions listed include 'freedom', 'joy', 'peace', 'thankfulness' and 'anticipation'. Nisbet, Zelenski and Murphy (2009:735) explain that as individuals become more related to nature, they may feel more positive emotions. That said, not all emotions have a positive undertone, as hunters also recorded 'nervousness', 'pressure' and 'anxiousness'. A few hunters stated that they sometimes experience 'mixed emotions'.

Hunters also had to recall the emotions they usually experience after shooting and killing their quarry. The top three emotions were ‘mixed’, ‘thankful’ and ‘sadness’ (for the death of the animal). Additional emotions included ‘accomplishment’ and ‘sense of achievement’ - the hunter set out to achieve a certain goal, and he succeeded. ‘Appreciation’, ‘compassion’ and ‘being humbled’ were terms used to describe the experience as a whole. ‘Satisfaction’ and ‘relief’ was directed at a clean kill and for the fact that the animal wasn’t wounded. One hunter said he feels ‘anxious’ if the animal doesn’t fall immediately because it ‘makes you question your shot’. Some hunters feel extreme gratitude after the hunt, and they express it by saying a prayer, thanking God for the opportunity for a successful hunt. One hunter explained that ‘pleasure at the death of an animal has certainly never been an emotion I experienced, and to describe hunting as mere fun, is to deliberately belittle the passion of what we do’. Many hunters cited ‘mixed emotions’ explaining that to experience more than one emotion at a time happens more often than not. These emotions usually contain a positive emotion (excitement, appreciation, relief) accompanied by emotions such as sadness and sorrow. According to Reis (2009:587) the sorrow reflects ‘the admiration for the animals and most importantly, the performance shared with them’.

4. Perspectives of nature

4.1. Background

According to Daigle, Hrubes and Ajzen (2002:2) it has become clear that hunting is so much more than just harvesting game. It affords opportunities to actualize a variety of

social, psychological, emotional and physical benefits. These benefits are derived from being in direct contact with nature and wildlife. Tang, Sullivan and Chang (2014:5) explain that a connection to nature helps individuals to find 'comfort in nature' and it describes both 'psychological identification with and physical enjoyment of nature'. Positive interaction with nature can result in 'emotional affinity' (Schultz 2002:68) and is likely to include 'reflections on one's life, priorities, possibilities, actions and goals' (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989:197).

On a psychological level, the attitude that a person develops toward nature is directly related to the degree to which he/she associates with nature (Schultz *et al.* 2004:39). Hunters were questioned specifically on nature in order to determine the status of the hunter-nature relationship. Furthermore, hunters were asked if they would say that they have a passion for nature and also to explain the general role that nature plays in their lives. This section attempted to establish the extent to which the hunter 'supplements' his/her interest in nature for example by reading books or watching television programs that cover aspects of this interest. Lastly, hunters were asked to give their opinions on the 'hunting paradox' which refers to killing that which is perceived to be beautiful i.e. why kill an animal that you find aesthetically pleasing and show reverence for?

4.2. Nature and the hunting experience

> The hunter is not a detached observer of the natural world, but rather an active participant who seeks to become part of nature by engaging

> and interacting with it. Hunting is a human activity that permits a high degree of engagement with nature and wildlife. The end of hunting might also mark the end of this type of fundamental connection with the wild (Respondent).

Hunting enables the hunter to experience him/herself and nature in a unique and different way (Peterson *et al.* 2010:127). It is the involvement and engagement with the environment that takes place interdependently (Reis 2009:585), that offers a more embodied and intimate relationship with the natural world (Franklin 2007:38 as cited by Cohen 2014:9). It is an important linking theme in the association between behaviour, landscape and aesthetics (Appleton 1975:68). It also has the potential to remind modern societies of their reliance on natural systems (Peterson *et al.* 2010:127).

Humans construct relationships between themselves and nature and in this process, the natural environment is interpreted and transformed through subjective symbols and concepts (Greider and Garkovich 1994). Consequently, what people hope to gain from a nature experience also varies. The focus group of this study all share an interest in the same activity (hunting) and they are all exposed to nature experiences when engaged in this activity. However, the nature-experience remains unique to each hunter.

In general, hunters communicated that contact with nature bears some level of significance for them. Clark (2008:4) explains it effectively when he states that respect

and admiration for wildlife, for the source of life and for the vast and incomprehensible cycles of the earth, 'all come from the intimacy with nature', which is 'found in the hunt'. Nature's importance is emphasised through responses like 'hunting is the closest you can get to nature'. One hunter confidently conveyed that for him, the hunt is 'secondary to the enjoyment and appreciation of being in nature', while another boldly expressed: 'I wouldn't be hunting if I didn't have a passion for nature'. Again, humanistic and naturalistic values are highlighted in such responses. Hunters' admiration for nature is apparent as well as an emotional attachment to nature.

4.3. Frequency of exposure to nature

Nature connectedness is positively associated with nature contact. This relates to the 'frequency of time spent outdoors and also interaction with other living things such as pets' (Capaldi *et al.* 2014:3). Hence, the amount and type of experiences that people have with the natural world will shape their level of connectedness to nature. Hunters were asked to indicate the amount of nature exposure they get on a daily basis. In order to define the role, the frequency and the importance of exposure to nature in the hunters' lives, emphasis was placed on 'daily exposure'. This assisted in determining if exposure to nature is solely dependent on hunting seasons, or if hunters are engaging in other nature related activities when they are not in the field.

The extent of exposure to nature is quite diverse. High exposure to nature is due to living environments (some hunters stated that they live either on a farm or small holding) and working conditions (some hunters stated working as a farmer, a hunting

operator, a field-guide and travelling for work). Partial exposure to nature is due to access to nature that is restricted to 'weekends only' or 'once a week'. Those hunters who experience the least amount of exposure to nature, responded with statements such as 'unfortunately limited', 'not as much as I want to' and 'never enough'. Some hunters did indicate that 'walking the dog' affords them time out in nature and others referred to working in their own gardens as a preferred pastime. According to Vining (2003) the affection for pets and gardening may also reflect a yearning for a closer relationship with nature and the natural environment.

4.4. Hunters and wildlife

> It is our duty as hunters to preserve and protect our emotional connection with the animals we pursue (Respondent).

Regardless of the diverse hunting motivations, hunting methods, and the symbolism it carries, 'there is a powerful link between the hunter and the prey' (Bauer and Giles, 2002:8). Marvin (2005) states that hunting integrates particular forms of engagements with animals that are singular to this activity. This is supported by Reis (2009:573) who explains that these engagements 'involve an embodied encounter that is rich in meanings and sensualities in ways that few other recreational activities are able to provide'.

A very strong feature that came through in the hunters' narratives, was their respect and appreciation for wildlife in general. It was not only expressed in answers relating to wildlife specifically, but also in their motivations for hunting and the ethical guidelines

they abide by while hunting. How hunters treat the game is an important indicator of their relationship with nature. Ethical behaviour from hunters show respect for the individual animal through seeking to minimise, or better yet to eliminate, the potential suffering the animal may endure. This reverence for nature and wildlife also reflects 'moralistic' values due to the feelings of kinship, affiliation and loyalty that are fostered by the hunters. In terms of the wildlife value orientations, hunters largely convey a positive focus on wildlife.

One hunter reported that 'the best part was, after spending much time pursuing him (kudu), I had developed an appreciation for an animal whose habits and abilities were unknown to me prior to the hunt'. Many hunters explicitly argued that hunting is not just about the kill. Experiences prior to the actual shot, have the most significance for these hunters. Hurn (2012:181) asserts that ethnographic studies concerned with hunting practices suggest that very few people 'enjoy the kill'. It is true that the death of an animal is the goal of the hunt, however, 'a greater goal is to be found in the overall experience, of which the actual kill is only the climatic moment' (Clark 2008:4). Refer to section 4.8 for further discussion in terms of the hunting experience as a whole.

4.5. Role of the media

> It [the media] creates awareness of important matters relating to nature and wildlife (Respondent).

According to Pozzoboni *et al.* (2014:6) there are critics who argue that electronic media negatively affects our relationship with nature through 'content that promotes materialism and positions nature as separate from humans'. In this sense, nature is depicted as far removed from society as well as something that is available for humans to use as they please. Despite these concerns, others argue that the media can also have positive influences in terms of environmental attitudes. Vandrick (2011:30) points out the positive influences of the internet, such as creating environmental awareness and encouraging the free discussion of opinions (for example blogs). This platform can promote participation and engage the public to find sustainable solutions for environmental matters.

Hunters indicated a positive response in terms of the utilisation of some form of media (be it electronic or print). A very prominent approach taken by hunters was that of 'educating oneself'. Through this desire to know more about wildlife, hunters reveal values related to attraction and interest. Many hunters make use of the media not only to supplement an interest, but also as a valuable source of knowledge. Knowledge gained by hunters, assists them in terms of improving their skills, obtaining new information about animal behaviour and to better understand the different elements of nature. One hunter shared that obtaining all this information 'ultimately makes me a better hunter'. The scope of media-use involves subscription to various hunting magazines and membership to hunting groups on Facebook.

4.6. Participation in other nature-related activities

There's nothing better than being in nature (Respondent).

Hunters were asked to indicate if they take part in nature-related activities in addition to hunting. Most hunters participate in more than one nature-related activity. Individuals who are higher in nature-connectedness, according to Capaldi *et al.* (2014:3), are more likely to pursue opportunities 'to reap the psychological benefits associated with nature exposure'. These benefits include biological, mental, social, environmental and economic outcomes (Maller *et al.* 2005:52). The top three activities are (in order of predominance) fishing, camping and hiking. Other activities mentioned, include farming, visits to parks and lodges, mountain biking, scuba diving, golf, game drives, bird viewing, photography, walking trails, gardening, wing shooting, cycling and training hunting dogs.

4.7. The hunting paradox

The hunters were asked to elaborate on the question of the hunting paradox (the idea of the hunt being about more than just the kill). When taking into account all the different aspects that can, and do, attribute to the hunting experience, it is possible that additional components of the hunt, that bares significance to the individual hunter, may carry more weight than the actual moment the trigger is pulled and the physical kill takes place.

Cohen (2014:4) describes this fundamental paradox as 'hunters' taking an animal's life for an intrinsic experience, while declaring an intimate relationship with, and love for the species'. Seemingly, this contradiction is just as hard for hunters to explain, as

it is for non-hunters to understand (Clark 2008). Kets De Vries (2014:48) attempts to describe this paradox: 'How can I explain the contradiction between truly appreciating the wild, living things, but being prepared to kill them at the same time? How to explain this great ambivalence that occupies the inner world of fair chase hunters?' He also states that experiential activities are especially difficult to understand for those who have never participated in them.

It was possible to group the approaches that the hunters used to explain this 'concept' according to the strongest reactions received:

i) *God put man in charge of His creation…* The first relates to a Biblical reference. In Genesis 1:28 God says the following: 'be fruitful and multiply, fill the earth and subdue it: have dominion over the fish of the sea, over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves on the earth'. In this respect, hunters perceive the game as food provided by God. One hunter responded: 'The Lord gave animals to us for food'. In support, another said: 'The Lord says we can rule over them. We are not trigger happy, we take what is needed only'. Hunters strongly assert that animals provide food for humans. However, they feel it is very important to take only what is needed and not to waste. Laitman (2013:233) explains that it is all about being in balance, 'to preserve and take only what is needed for existence, as do animals'. Such responses, linking to spiritual motivations for hunting, show that some hunters tend to view wildlife and the environment from a religious point of view.

ii) Hunters also responded by challenging the paradox. One hunter stated that if there are qualms about killing what is beautiful then no one would eat any kind of meat at all', a sentiment shared by many other respondents.. Hunters feel that the argument of loving/enjoying/appreciating something and then utilising it, can be applied to many other practices as well. Comparisons were extended to involve other consumable items for example: 'Fruits and their trees are beautiful, and we pick and eat those too. There's no paradox, it is just the natural order of things'. Another wrote: 'Flowers are beautiful but we pick them'. Most hunters feel that this paradox is misconstrued and interpreted within the wrong framework.

iii) The paradox triggered strong reactions in defence of hunting. 'Hunting is not the same as killing. Hunting has a purpose.' Hunters feel that the 'killing' reference underestimates what hunting is really about. One hunter explained it by saying that 'hunters kill to have hunted. They do not hunt to kill and anyone who does that could not be a hunter because hunting is everything that happens UP TO when the trigger is squeezed.' This links to a recurring theme throughout the study, namely that hunters emphasize the significance of hunting which manifests in the overall hunting experience.

iv) Other responses were aimed at the conservational benefits of hunting. 'It is all about sustainable utilisation of what nature provides.' Hunters realise the importance of 'balance' in nature. Managing animal numbers minimizes the risk of overpopulation and as a result the habitat is protected. Not only for

> the species concerned, but for all the other animals that share the same habitat. In this regard, hunters express 'biospheric' values as they weigh up the pros and cons of their actions and how it influences nature. One hunter stated that the real paradox lies with hunters being one of the strongest forces that drive nature and wildlife conservation. He explained: 'the action of hunting and killing brings about the getting in touch with nature and its beauty as well as spiritual awareness. I believe that this higher actualization of man also brings about the conservation of nature and wildlife. This is the paradox.'

However varied the answers, there is a common thread that binds these responses together, and it is the fact that hunting, in general, holds much more significance as an experience as a whole, than simply being judged for the killing aspect of the hunt.

4.8. Hunting as a holistic experience

> Hunting has always been a privilege, a tradition and a severance from society that allows me to enjoy the natural world in a different way than most. To describe the serenity I feel from hunting would be completely impossible, and I feel blessed, as most hunters do, that I can find such exhilaration in nature (Respondent).

Hunting comprises of 'ideas, expectations and the anticipation of their fulfilment' (Van der Merwe and Saayman 2013:11). Although some individual aspects may stand out above the rest, the majority of hunters unreservedly reported that it is the experience

in its entirety that carries significance. The whole hunting experience carries more significance than particular aspects of the nature experience. Most hunters shared that being outdoors, testing your knowledge of nature, adhering to the principle of fair chase, the company of other hunters and acquiring meat forms a complete experience.

Responses reflect that for most of the participants, the significance of hunting does not solely lie with the harvest. Hunters recall many instances where they could have 'bagged' their quarry, but refrained from doing so for a range of reasons. To quote a few responses in support of this: 'I can leave the animal to survive another day and enjoy the gracious way they operate in their territory without shooting'. Another response: 'There have been times where I could have shot the animal, but didn't as I enjoyed the animal's presence and felt connected to nature in that moment'. Yet another hunter questioned and answered himself about this by saying: '…and then later asked myself why I didn't shoot…Maybe I wanted a bigger buck, or just more time to hunt…'

Throughout this study, hunters have referred to hunting as an 'escape', 'a form of art'' and 'a primal instinct'. Hunting exposes elements of human nature – 'a significant ingredient to what made and makes us human. It is also, in large part why hunting exposes all aspects of human nature - the good, the bad and the ugly'. Hunting is about honour: 'For most hunters, it is not just about the joy of the quarry, the kill or the trophies - it is about the honour of being hunters. It is an honour to belong to a group of people associated with nature and its resources'. Hunting is about respect: 'A genuine outdoor person that hunts will tell you that it [hunting] is about something

much bigger than the thrill of killing or the biggest trophy. It is about respect, connection and consequence'.

5. Conservation and ethical considerations

5.1. Background

The hunting industry plays an important economic, social and environmental role in society. However, due to its controversial nature, these roles are often disputed. The problem stems from the fact that both hunters and anti-hunting environmentalists believe the others 'do not utilise legitimate knowledge and rest their advocacy only on their own values' (Paulson 2012:58). Despite their involvement in conservation especially during the post-independence era, hunters' contributions generally go unnoticed or are deliberately overlooked and rejected by anti-hunting groups. It is therefore essential to represent the hunter's world view, position and role in matters relating to the conservation of nature and wildlife.

Bernard Lozé (President of the International Council for Game and Wildlife Conservation, CIC) recently stated that historically, hunters around the world have been the forerunners in wildlife protection and conservation. Hunters lead the creation of 'most wildlife protection areas and the developing of wildlife laws'. He further added that the basis of the hunter's passion is the 'connectivity with nature' (African Indaba 2016 Volume 14-2). Vining (2003:87) argues that the relationship between hunter and nature is fundamental as it could only encourage resource conservation and environmental protection.

The importance placed on nature and hunters' perceptions of nature shape their environmental concerns. Accordingly, the way in which hunters see their relationship to nature affects the way they act toward it. Kearney (1984:74) states that if people in general see themselves as personally interconnected with nature, they will also perceive their well-being as being dependent on its (nature) well-being. Hence, hunters actively promote and support nature and wildlife conservation and contribute through funds, volunteer work and educational undertakings. Hunters actively promote and support sustainable hunting, as a viable tool for conservation.

In this final section, hunters were questioned about the personal ethical standards they abide by and also on conservation matters in general. Hunters were also asked to indicate what they feel the hunter's role should be in respect of conservation and related practices. Additionally, they had to specify whether more should be done to promote and strengthen conservation enterprises and if they would get involved and offer assistance, should the opportunity present itself.

5.2. Personal ethical guidelines

Grandy, Stallman and Macdonald (2003:107) state that among others, the acceptability of hunting depends on ethical considerations and its perceived effects on conservation and animal welfare. Unfortunately not all hunters embrace the same values, and not all of them value ethical codes. Actions that are perceived as appropriate by some hunters, are not necessarily perceived likewise by other hunters. For this reason, hunters have to deal with negative associations as a result of the irresponsible and unethical behaviour of fellow hunters. Additionally, the misconduct

of other parties involved, such as outfitters and private landowners, also have an impact as it 'raises questions about the viability of hunting as an effective conservation tool' (Deere 2011:8). Trophy hunting in particular has received opposition due to the overshooting of quotas by hunt operators and unsustainable quotas set by regulatory authorities (Damm 2008:7).

Once more, the influence of hunters' values are highlighted. Miller, Minteer and Malan (2011:954) explain that when it comes to shaping conservation goals, the role of different ethical and value commitments cannot, and should not, be downplayed. Also, in order to illustrate the challenges of fully incorporating hunters into global conservation advocacy and governance today, an 'analysis of hunters' values, styles of reasoning, and social relationships with other conservation stakeholders is particularly important' (Paulson 2012:53). One hunter shared that 'there are deep value differences among us, making it impossible to think of myself as a part of a universal hunting community'. This response reflects the awareness and sensitivity experienced in terms of conflicting values held by hunters.

Nevertheless, aside from adhering to recognized rules and regulations, most hunters also follow individual guidelines that stem from personal ethical considerations. The guidelines reported by hunters in this study, overlapped repeatedly and therefore made it possible to identify common rules and group them together. As a way of showing respect for the natural environment as well as the wildlife, hunters feel that the following principles demonstrate ethical and responsible conduct:

Ethical Guidelines	
General	Safety - weapon safety, own safety and safety of fellow hunters. Obey all applicable laws and regulations- respect the rules and property of the farm owners. Follow the fair chase ethical standard - always abide by ethical hunting. It is all about the correct shot placement. Do not litter while out in the field. No alcohol - weapons and alcohol do not mix, thus no alcohol consumption prior to/during the hunt.
Shooting don'ts	No shooting from vehicle. No shooting at water holes/ places where animals feed. No shooting after sundown/ at night with spotlight. No shooting at females with young. No shooting into a herd of animals. No shooting through a bush/ other obstruction.
One shot-one kill	Attain and maintain the skills necessary to make the kill as certain and quick as possible. Only shoot when you are confident about the shot and when it is safe to do so. Consider other animals around your target. Never take a risky shot that you are uncomfortable with.
Wounded animals	Wounded animals must be pursued and put it out of their misery as soon as possible. Never leave an injured animal to suffer.
Do not waste	Do not take more than what you are going to use/what is needed. Stick to quota and don't shoot for fun.
Respect	Behave in a way that will bring no dishonour to either the hunters, the hunted, or the environment. Respect nature - respect animals and their environments. Disturb the environment and animals as little as possible. Show respect for the animal, even when dead. Especially when taking photos.

5.3. General thoughts on conservation

> There is no reason why conservation and hunting need to be mutually exclusive, and why they cannot fulfil complementary functions in a sensible environmental management regime. The core difference between the two sides is that one wishes to limit the economic value of wildlife reserves to photographic tourism, while the other believes responsible hunting also has an important contribution to make (Respondent).

Participants, in this regard, presented a positive and proactive stance. Hunters strongly advocate using natural resources wisely and sparingly, while ensuring that the resource is not reduced or depleted. The majority of hunters who took part in this study actively support the conservation of nature and wildlife and are aware of the role of hunting and its importance in terms of maintaining healthy wildlife populations. They are especially conscious of the responsibilities that go with conservation. In terms of environmental concerns, hunters strongly demonstrate 'biospheric' values through their pro-environmental behaviour. With the expansion of the human population and the destruction of the natural habitat to accommodate this growth, it is essential to conserve and protect what is left of the natural environment. One hunter shared: 'We are the caretakers, and we have a responsibility to conserve nature'. As such, responsibilities include the prevention of species going extinct, conserving for future generations, and informing and educating the youth, who will become future leaders and advisors of this industry.

5.3.1. Sustainable utilization

> The only feasible form of wildlife conservation is through sustainable utilisation, not through emotionally-driven, ill decision making (Respondent).

Hunters firmly believe that sustainable utilisation of wildlife is the most effective long term solution. This is not uncommon, as Paulson (2012:55) affirms that the larger hunting advocacy community 'value sustainable hunting as a conservation strategy'. The contributions and effects of this form of conservation is progressively being considered and researched. One of the most important potential benefits, according to Loveridge *et al.* (2006:230) is habitat preservation, which acts to conserve both the target species and associated species. In addition, sustainable utilisation can provide important incentives to protect biodiversity (Selier and Di Minin 2015:1) and can have more of an eco-tourism character than many of the photographic ventures (Baldus 2008:15). Hunting is a great management tool for controlling animal populations if the practice itself is also properly managed. Overpopulation causes inconveniences such as overgrazing and eventually total habitat loss. Therefore, through controlled hunting, the natural environment can be managed by maintaining the balance of ecosystems.

5.3.2. Revenue derived from hunting

There is no denying that sport hunting can generate substantial revenue (Loveridge *et al.* 2006:227), so much so that it is argued that wildlife conservation in Africa cannot survive financially without sport hunting (Lapeyre 2016). In this sense, hunting is seen

as a commodity that pays for the conservation of animals and ecosystems by reinvesting income into protection and management (Baldus 2008:14).

Hunters are aware that through hunting, natural resources are granted a value. When a resource has value, it creates an incentive for its protection and as a result, long-term benefits can be realised (Baldus 2008). Benefits include the encouragement of local people to cooperate in conservation efforts for economic gain (Deere 2011) and contributions can be made for local infrastructural development 'which further enhances its value' (Loveridge *et al*. 2006:229). That said, the economic success of hunting tourism is dependent on the quality of game species harvested, 'which in turn relies on the quality of the habitat to provide their environmental needs' (Deere 2011:2). This only confirms the significance of implementing effective control and management strategies.

5.3.3. Community-based conservation

Bitanyi *et al.* (2012:210) state that community-based conservation efforts fail because the importance thereof is either underestimated or misunderstood. If correctly administered, hunting has the potential to act as a channel for socio-economic development for communities by providing opportunities for people to become involved in wildlife conservation. In this regard, hunters demonstrated strong altruistic values through their support and concern for other groups and communities relating to the environment and its resources. Hunting not only injects large amounts of revenue into the economy but provides increased job opportunities (Deere 2011:5)

especially for rural communities. Sport and trophy hunting has created employment for underprivileged communities, offering them jobs as trackers, skinners, cooks, cleaners, drivers and guides (Novelli *et al.* 2006:76). In addition to providing for communities through hunting, it is important to get these locals involved in conservation efforts. In order to achieve this, wildlife must have value to the local people. When local communities are supported with income generated through hunting, it reassures the people and solidifies the benefits of valuing wildlife. In turn, attitudes are positively affected in ways that may advance conservation (Loveridge *et al.* 2006).

5.4. Hunters' role in conservation

5.4.1. General

> It was through hunting that I learned about the importance of conservation (Respondent).

Mayer and Frantz (2004:503) state that issues of environmental sustainability are in large part about human choices and actions. These choices and actions, whether positive or negative, have an impact on wildlife welfare as well as populations and habitats in general (Finch *et al.* 2014:77). For this reason, as stewards of the land, hunters are foremost involved in identifying problems and establishing possible solutions. One hunter specified that 'it is mostly hunters who call for the protection of endangered species and equally, it is they who deserve some of the credit for wildlife

conservation'. Another added that 'the hunter is Mother Nature's ally, not her adversary as so often portrayed'.

In this case, hunters revealed attitudes leaning more toward the positive side of conservation. Humanistic and moralistic values are highly represented in relation to ethical hunting and conservation. Hunters are mindful about the responsibility of engaging in, and promoting ethical conduct. Most hunters strive to set an example for others through their own behaviour and decision-making. Nuse (2014) remarks that if the majority of people would think about the consequences of their actions in the same way mindful hunters think about wildlife and their habitat, we could be living in a much more sustainable world. One hunter asserted that 'it is our duty as hunters to show people that we care about conservation'. Responses like these, confirm the words of Loveridge *et al.* (2006:236) who state that 'hunters collectively demonstrate responsibility and passionate concern to see their quarry species conserved'.

5.4.2. Hunters' involvement in conservation

Hunters (those who are not already involved) showed an eagerness to get involved in conservation within a variety of capacities. Most hunters said that they would like to get involved in any way possible. Others were more specific and showed interest in anti-poaching operations, volunteer work, raising awareness through related programs, presenting educational workshops and activities, getting involved with the youth and launching fundraising initiatives. Awareness is accomplished through the utilisation of social platforms to inform people on the importance of hunting and how it

creates incentives that support local communities. The latter is quite an important aspect in post-independence hunting. The inclusion of local communities may foster stronger affiliations with wildlife and conservation practices. Educational workshops, discussions and mentorship programmes assist with teaching the general public and local communities how conservation can be maintained through sustainable utilisation of natural resources.

5.4.3. Members of hunting associations

Hunters also afford their time to conservation through means such as membership of hunting organisations and involvement in hunting and conservation conferences and discussions. Notably, the majority of South African hunters who participated in this study are active members of hunting organisations. Through this membership, hunters vow to adhere to the specific codes of conduct and rules and regulations of the specific organisations. Conservation guidelines are also stipulated and members accordingly undertake to support specific conservation causes and/or affiliated conservation organisations and initiatives.

Leading hunting organisations in South Africa include SA Hunters and Game Conservation Association (SAHGCA), the Professional Hunters Association of South Africa (PHASA) and the National Confederation of Hunters Associations of South Africa (CHASA). Each organisation is based on fundamental principles that represent its particular vision and mission. To demonstrate hunters' support for conservation

initiatives and ethical hunting conduct, related extracts from the individual associations' official websites are presented:

PHASA

Mission Statement:

PHASA supports the conservation and ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources, for the benefit of current and future generations, through the promotion of ethical hunting (to ensure environmental protection for current and future generations in accordance with Section 24 of the Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution).

Aims & Objectives:

- to promote and participate in the conservation of Africa's natural resources;
- to promote and facilitate sustainable hunting as a conservation tool;
- to promote and facilitate the empowerment of all South Africans wishing to participate in the hunting profession, conservation and related activities;
- to engage with the national and provincial Governments of the Republic of South Africa and other countries, in all matters affecting professional hunting, conservation and related activities;
- to collaborate with and assist, wherever possible and to the extent reasonably feasible, all officers of organisations and authorities tasked with the conservation of natural resources (www.phasa.co.za).

CHASA

Policy on Wildlife Utilisation, Hunting and Conservation:

- CHASA supports the ideal that wild animals and other forms of biodiversity are conserved, and where necessary, managed in their natural environment in accordance with natural processes.
- CHASA acknowledges the reality that unspoilt natural areas are scarce because of the unchecked and pervasive development resulting in urbanisation and agricultural activities which are geared to satisfy the basic shelter and food requirements of the human species.
- CHASA endorses the sound conservation principle of Sustainable Resource Utilisation.

  CHASA underwrites the National Conservation Strategy of South Africa, the product of the government's signature of the IUCN's World Conservation Strategy (WCS), and believes that responsible and maintainable wildlife farming and utilization can contribute constructively to the conservation of biodiversity (www.chasa.co.za).

SAHGCA

As SAHGCA members we declare:

- That all animals are sentient creatures, and that in the highest form of the humane taking of life as well as in respect for the game we hunt, we at all times aim to achieve a one-shot-kill, while ensuring the responsible utilisation of all hunted game.

- we have respect for life;
- we hunt with self-restraint;
- we condemn killing for the sake of killing in the strongest possible terms;
- we condemn any non-use of hunted game in the strongest possible terms;
- we track wounded game and always endeavour to recover same;
- we avoid public displays of hunted game;
- we keep photos of our hunts for our private collections and only publish those which show clear respect for dignity of hunted game;
- we condemn pictures showing bloodied dead game or piles of dead game or of dead game birds.

Conservation ethic:

As hunting cannot be separated from the natural environment, all true hunters are also true conservationists. SAHGCA supports sustainable use as the cornerstone of effective and accountable conservation:

- SAHGCA underwrites the principles contained in the IUCN's World Conservation Strategy (1980) and all subsequent adaptations to that code;
- SAHGCA actively supports the development of rural communities, based on the sustainable use of renewable natural resources in general and of game species in particular;
- SAHGCA members always put something back into hunting and go out of their way to assist new hunters;
- We support the collective effort of the international hunting fraternity to promote the Hunt as driver for the conservation of all game species (www.sahunters.co.za).

The African Professional Hunters Association (APHA)

Code of ethics:

We, APHA members, agree to be bound by the association's code of ethics which require respect for the game we hunt and the habitat entrusted to us. We will obey all laws and will not engage in any unethical methods of hunting. We will make all of our clients aware of our ethical standards and ensure that they abide by those standards, including the use of proper weapons and adherence to our hunter safety rules.

Respect for game: All APHA members are pledged to show respect for the game they hunt. We will make every effort to track up, find and kill wounded animals irrespective of whether they are dangerous or not. We will not shoot from, or near, a vehicle or aircraft; or shoot animals within a restrictive fence that in any way prevents their escape. "Caged", artificially bred, pregnant females, immature, or previously drugged animals will not be shot. Baiting, where permitted, is acceptable, but meat will not be wasted.

Respect for the habitat: All APHA members are pledged to promote, observe and initiate long term respect for the environment, the wildlife and their habitat. We will promote community involvement in safari hunting by the encouragement of village anti-poaching activities and by direct monetary benefit earned from the proper legal use of wildlife; and we will assist the relevant Government Game Departments in any way possible.

Obeying the laws: All APHA members are pledged to obey all of the Game Laws and to respect the boundaries of individual hunting areas, private land, game reserves, and National Parks. We will not overshoot established quotas. We will count all wounded and lost animals on license. We will not hunt during the hours of darkness (www.africanpha.org).

These organisations and associations have a shared interest in promoting conservation and also individually support and create awareness for associated projects and causes. The rules and regulations as stipulated by each, reflect the ethical and moral considerations to which hunters are bound. By willingly adhering to these considerations, it is reasonable to infer that hunters believe in and will cooperate in matters relating to conservation. In terms of the hunters' relationship with nature, membership of these organisations and associations reflect support for the protection, sustainable use and future wellbeing of both the natural environment and animal species. According to Swami *et al* (2010), personal and social awareness of environmental concern predicts pro-environmental behaviour. In turn, this kind of behaviour represents a positive approach to the relationship that hunters have with nature.

5.5. How can conservation be improved?

> I would like to see that recognized hunting organisations have a bigger say in the protection of wildlife and the protection of their habitat. We as ethical hunters join these organisations because we

> care about our animals and nature and we all have a common goal (Respondent).

Overall dissatisfaction was voiced concerning government's role in conservation programmes. The lack of sufficient funding and the lack of manpower to implement and manage conservation ventures were specified. According to some hunters, nature and wildlife reserves that are administered by governments are not managed adequately. Hunters also feel that governments are not spending enough time or money to sufficiently make a difference.

Hunters value and encourage the involvement of local communities to assist with conservation. They propose that more opportunities be created for locals to participate in game breeding and management, for example. Bitanyi *et al.* (2012:219) advise that community knowledge and involvement in wildlife conservation can be achieved through continual education programmes and the establishment of wildlife information centres in villages. Dorrington (2005:12) proposes that the public should be educated more on the role of hunting in conservation. He goes on to say that it is also important to teach people the correct way to hunt as this will combat future problems with illegal and unethical hunting practices.

Poaching, in particular rhino poaching, is a 'serious contemporary global concern' (Tsas-Rolfes 2016) and hunters are passionate about contesting illegal activities. Hunters suggest that offenders be punished with harsher sentences and also that stricter anti-poaching laws be implemented. Other threats to conservation include

corruption, unsustainable quotas, misconduct and the unequal distribution of hunting revenues. Failure to address these and other issues 'can undermine the success of hunting operations' (Selier and Di Minin 2015:200).

As mentioned earlier, hunters advocate that focus must be shifted to the youth of the country. One hunter suggested: Stimulate and educate children in our schools about natural heritage, and stimulate the love we others have for nature. The children will, in turn, become conservators, hunters and naturalists in their own right. This is the most logical long term action one can take'. Education through awareness, increased opportunities to get involved and interactive programmes were also encouraged.

6. Conclusion

Although culture plays an important role in hunting, post-independence hunters revealed that culture is not the strongest motivation for hunting. Culture does have impact on the initial interest in and access to hunting, however as the individual gets comfortable in the practice of hunting, they develop their own 'hunting identity' which is shaped by more than simply just cultural influences.

Hunters' attitudes toward nature and wildlife differ from one another, just as their backgrounds, beliefs and worldviews do. Post-independence hunters are generally more aware of environmental problems and because they have a passion for what they do, their attitudes reflect this passion and reverence for nature.

Particularly noticeable was the manner in which the hunters mention nature within the majority of motivations listed. This means that whatever the main reason for hunting

may be, hunters at least acknowledge nature and its part in the overall hunting experience. When participants consider that a hunting trip may result in them not locating and killing their quarry, most of them still deem the experience worthwhile for what it offers them in other respects. Viewing it in this way, certain characteristics of nature as experienced by the hunter, still provide significance in terms of the hunting experience. If killing was the only significant part of hunting, the hunters would not have expressed such a wide range of supplementary motivations for hunting, most of which relate to nature in some respect.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

1. Introduction

This study set out to explore the white colonial and post-independence hunter's relation to nature. The general theoretical literature on this subject, and specifically in the context of hunters, lack coverage in terms of the relationship that hunters have with nature, apart from just stating their motivations for hunting. The study was approached with the hypothesis that human-nature relationships are in essence culturally determined and as such, an analysis of hunters' attitudes, values and worldviews would contribute to an understanding of this relationship. In order to determine different dimensions of hunters' connectedness to nature and how they have changed since colonial times, particular value indicators were applied to achieve this goal. In the analysis that follows these value indicators will be applied with particular reference to the colonial and post-independence eras. This analysis will be concluded by considering the influence of the hunters' relationship with nature in respect of nature and wildlife conservation.

2. Colonial hunters' relationship with nature from a western worldview

Hunter-nature relationships should be analysed within the context of the particular time-period. The colonial era was characterised by control over people, land and animals. Initially, ethical considerations and environmental matters were not a priority and hence not enforced. As a result hunters behaved just as they pleased without the threat of being apprehended. It appears that the hunters who killed for sensation were

in the majority and that their uncontrolled reckless behaviour compelled colonial governments to promulgate legislation to protect and conserve wildlife and nature.

Literature on the hunting culture of this era, reflect a rather unfortunate reality. Colonial hunters' approach toward nature was generally characterised by wasteful consumption, lack of ethical qualities and seemingly no remorse for the ecological damage caused by irresponsible behaviour. Some hunters were ruthless and careless killers. Such accounts fail to convey any positive relationship that hunters may have had with nature. However, we know there were hunters who had a real relationship with nature - so much so that it caused them to open their journals, to take up their pens and express their admiration of nature in an almost poetic fashion. Some of these hunters pursued their naturalist and conservationist interests and expressed it in their writings. Although seemingly marginal, an appreciation for nature and an affiliation with nature did exist for some hunters. Some colonial hunters revealed, through the manner in which they described certain events, wildlife sightings and hunting methods, that they had reverence for nature and also showed a strong interest in different elements of nature. Most of these hunters were also naturalists and conservationists, who showed particular interest in the natural world and appreciated it to some extent.

There is also a considerable difference in the way in which wildlife was viewed. Contact with wildlife caused mostly fear and aversion in the colonial hunter, which would explain the negativistic values often displayed by colonial hunters. This could be interpreted as a general divide between people (culture) and wildlife (nature) (Buijs 2008:53)

In sharp contrast to colonial hunters, contemporary hunters tend to show values of care, appreciation and respect which relate 'to ethical-normative cognitions concerning the relationship between humans and nature' (Buijs 2008:53-54).

Through the application of the various value indicators, colonial hunters' relationships with nature, revealed strong 'dominionistic', 'egoistic', 'negativistic' and 'utilitarian' values toward nature. Hunters wanted to control and master nature and wildlife. Environmental concerns were egoistic in nature, as hunters mainly wanted to protect those elements that affected them personally, rather than conserving nature and wildlife for the greater good. 'Ecologistic-scientific' values were more prominent among colonial hunters although some contemporary hunters also seek to acquire more knowledge of nature. 'Negativistic' values were reflected in attitudes toward nature and specifically wildlife as hunters displayed aversion and tendencies to harm those elements that they regarded as threatening. Valuing nature for the functional value and physical benefits that could be derived, meant hunters strongly held 'utilitarian' values.

3. Post-independence hunters' relationship with nature from a modern worldview

Hunting in modern society has become a mix of traditional local patterns and hunting preferences, all subject to change according to social structures, political systems and the influence of western civilization (Bauer and Giles 2002:24). This study suggests that the way in which hunters react to and interpret the natural environment is multi-faceted or multi-dimensional and the way in which these individuals derive or attach

meaning from and to nature is equally complex. Through the application of the various value indicators, post-independence hunters' relationship with nature, revealed prominent 'naturalistic', 'humanistic' and 'moralistic' values. 'Naturalistic' values are reflected in the direct contact with nature that appears to inspire a sense of admiration and fascination for some hunters. In this regard, they also experience emotional attachment to and even love for nature. A thorough understanding of hunters' concept of their connectedness to nature is certainly not easy and for this reason the range of values involved when analysing attitudes and feelings toward nature, are quite diverse. However, characteristics of such a connection with nature, that bears evidence of strong 'naturalistic' and 'humanistic' values, are revealed in the way in which they articulate themselves about matters relating to nature. By pondering the question 'Why do you hunt?' post-independence hunters tend to reflect on a level of connectedness to nature which reveals the importance of nature to them.

Symbolic' values are represented through the instances where hunters spontaneously engage in some introspection, thinking about life, death and other aspects of life. Certain elements of nature have the power to suggest memories or inspire some other significant thought or action. Environmental concerns among post-independence hunters reveal 'altruistic' and 'biospheric' values. These values prove to be stronger among post-independence hunters, especially in terms of conservation. Schultz *et al.* (2004:36) determined that people with a greater inherent connection with nature, tend to have higher biospheric concerns and lower egoistic concerns. Most hunters express

honest concern for the welfare of nature and also for future generations so that they too can experience nature and what it has to offer humanity.

The majority of participants responded in a meaningful manner to hunting issues such as establishing ecological and ethical relationships with animals and wildlife (Buijs 2008:53-54); being fully engaged in the natural world and experiencing a connection with nature. Hunters weigh the pros and cons of their actions and attempt to determine the possible outcomes of various actions (i.e. the impact of hunting on wildlife species, the environment and habitats). It is therefore reasonable to conclude that in this regard, post-independence hunters exhibit a deeper connection with nature than their colonial counterparts.

Just as diverse as the post-independence hunters' motivations for hunting, are their relationships with nature. This study reveals that post-independence hunters have multiple types of relationships with nature and it is possible to gain a better understanding of these hunter-nature relationships by evaluating the influence and impact of hunters' cultures, attitudes, values, level of connectedness and actions toward nature. Although foreign hunters (according to the literature review) come to Africa mainly to hunt for trophies, the results of this study provide no indication that the foreign hunters have less of a relationship with nature than the local hunters. Both groups expressed a connectedness to nature.

4. Changes that have occurred between the colonial and the post-independence period

4.1. Hunter-Nature relationship

In comparison, noticeable changes have occurred within hunters' nature-relationships from the colonial period until the current era. The scope of hunting motivations has expanded considerably. During the colonial period, the motivations for hunting appear to have been fewer than they are today. Hunting produced trophies, served trading purposes and produced specimens for natural history museums in Europe and North America. It also promoted hunters' prestige and status among fellow hunters and society (who were reading about these hunting adventures in published written accounts). Post-independence hunting has evolved into a practice that bares much more significance than merely providing for one's family or exploiting nature's resources for personal gain. Hunting also 'helps manage wildlife populations, provides healthful recreation (physically and socially), provides meat and it generates wealth especially in rural economies' (Mahoney 2008:20). It affords the hunter satisfaction on emotional, psychological and even spiritual levels.

Colonial hunters experienced (through the projection of 'utilitarian', 'dominionistic' and 'egoistic' values on nature), a relationship with nature that is largely contradictory to post-independence hunters' relation with nature. These values, along with 'negativistic' and 'materialistic' values, represent a relationship with nature built on control. Colonial hunters attempted to establish power and unfortunately the methods

used to accomplish these objectives had detrimental consequences, in particular for wildlife species.

Post-independence hunters tend to possess mostly affirmative values toward nature. These hunters, in general, represent a positive approach toward nature which is reflected in their worldviews, ideas and actions in relation to nature. Their approach to nature and wildlife is expressed in an engaging and encouraging manner. Post-independence hunters are in general aware of and concerned about the consequences of unethical hunting practices and hence, they are often involved in implementing and driving conservation initiatives. This links to the 'moralistic' values that are strongly represented through the ethical responsibilities and reverence that these hunters hold toward nature.

There are some areas where the different value dimensions and orientations overlap. For instance, shared values include appreciating nature for its aesthetic beauty, respect for nature to some extent and 'spiritual/symbolic' values. Hunters from both eras (although more prominent in the post-independence era) revealed, that when they experience the wonders of nature, they cannot help but feel that there is a higher power, a Maker, who created the beauty that is nature.

4.2. Hunters' role in nature and wildlife conservation

Conservation initiatives and legislation had its origin in the colonial era, and even though hunters were the drivers behind it, it was not always for the right reasons. Colonial hunters (who were at the same time colonial administrators) endorsed certain

hunting rules and regulations 'to serve their own selfish hunting interests' (Baldus 2001:2). This involved conserving certain wildlife species and tracts of land exclusively for the hunting activities of the 'elite', prohibiting indigenous people from hunting. The exclusion of these communities is a very prominent feature of colonial conservation. It is also one of the major differences in terms of conservation between the two eras. Post-independence conservation efforts are more orientated toward involving local people in the sustainable utilisation and conservation of wildlife in comparison to the colonial era where these communities were totally excluded. These communities that have been marginalised historically, benefit from commercial wildlife use as it contributes to their income (Novelli *et al.* 2006:66).

Many post-independence hunters are actively supporting, promoting and managing conservation efforts. The study shows that they abide by, not only the official laws and regulations, but also personal hunting guidelines to ensure ethical hunting practices, which speaks volumes of these hunters' relationship with nature. It reflects the respect that these hunters have for nature and for the wildlife. Vining *et al.* (2008:10) explain that having a better understanding of the human-nature relationship is essential 'in order to form appropriate environmental management and policy'.

Furthermore, since hunters hold membership of hunting organisations, vow to uphold particular principles and advocate conservation regulations, an overall positive approach to nature and wildlife can be concluded. Hunters undertake the responsibility of ensuring the survival of wildlife species and the prevention of overpopulation and habitat loss. They also strive to become more involved in conservation initiatives and

to project a positive image of the hunter and the hunting industry to the larger public. In terms of conservation on a global scale, as stated by Paulson (2012:53), 'hunters promote a model of governance that could improve our collective abilities to meet many social and ecological goals'.

5. Conclusion

It is apparent that hunters are rarely driven by a single motive. The study confirmed that the hunting experience is driven by 'a multidimensional set of interrelated, interdependent and overlapping motives' (Radder 2005:1143). Woods and Kerr (2010) refer to it as the multiple-satisfaction approach. This approach recognises that people gain more than one benefit and/or satisfaction through participating in recreational hunting. Hunters have no difficulty in citing more than one motive for hunting. Apart from the obvious goal of taking down the quarry, hunters express additional motives that satisfy them on a psychological, spiritual and emotional level.

In essence, the outcome of this study reveals that hunting has had many faces, an act of survival, to supplement trade markets, to promote class and esteem, for conservation purposes and many more. However, since colonial times, hunting afforded hunters the opportunity to experience nature in a way that is unique and meaningful and one that emphasizes the value of hunting as a human experience and need, specifically in terms of the hunter-nature relationship. It showcases the importance and worth of the hunting experience as a vehicle to communicate and interact with nature and receive the professed benefits and qualities individually associated with it.

The place of natives Africans in hunting and other ‘natural’ landscapes has not been discussed in this study since it falls outside the strict focus on human-nature relatedness. Therefore it is indicated as an important topic for future research.

In the last instance, apart from the contribution that this study has made towards an understanding of humans’, more specifically hunters’ relation to nature, this study is expected to create circumspection in the formulation and adoption of legislation in respect of hunting and hunting practices.

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