

## Cross-cultural applications of the New Ecological Paradigm in protected area contexts

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1 **Title:**

2 Cross-cultural applications of the New Ecological Paradigm in protected area contexts

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24 **Abstract**

25 Working mostly in Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, and Democratic countries, environmental  
26 psychologists have developed scales assessing relationships between pro-environmental beliefs and  
27 behaviours. Working in Tanzanian and Indonesian protected area landscapes, containing important  
28 biodiversity and conflict over human-nature interactions, we investigate the utility of the New  
29 Ecological Paradigm for measuring pro-environmental beliefs and understanding support for  
30 protected area regulations. We found the New Ecological Paradigm ineffective at measuring pro-  
31 environmental beliefs in both countries; in Tanzania due to acquiescence bias, and in Indonesia  
32 exploratory factor analysis supported none of the original factors, with four of 15 statements loading  
33 onto a novel "eco-fragility" factor. Individual statements in both countries and the eco-fragility  
34 factor in Indonesia were weakly correlated with support for protected area regulations, highlighting  
35 while elements of the New Ecological Paradigm can improve understanding of support for protected  
36 area regulations, care must be taken when applying psychometric tools in novel cultural contexts.

37 **Keywords:** new ecological paradigm; psychometric scales; pro-environmental beliefs; protected  
38 areas; WEIRD contexts; conservation; Tanzania; Indonesia

39

## 40 **Introduction**

41 Psychological theory and methods are increasingly used to understand drivers of pro-environmental  
42 and pro-conservation behaviours (St. John et al., 2010; Steg & Vlek, 2009). Such research often  
43 employs behavioural models based on the cognitive hierarchy, where values and beliefs influence  
44 higher order constructs including attitudes and norms, and ultimately behaviour (Fulton et al., 1996).  
45 However, the relative roles and interactions of these different psychological constructs in influencing  
46 behaviour is complicated and poorly understood (Steg & Vlek, 2009). Many psychometric scales have  
47 been developed to measure the influence of these constructs on behaviours relating to  
48 environmental or conservation issues (Klöckner, 2013). For example, the Wildlife Value Orientations  
49 scale measures human values towards wildlife (Fulton et al., 1996) which have been found to  
50 influence support for wildlife management interventions including habitat restoration and large  
51 predator recovery in the USA (Dietsch et al., 2016), as well as management of problem wildlife in the  
52 Netherlands (Jacobs et al., 2014). Additionally, the Portrait Values Questionnaire measures  
53 fundamental human values (Schwartz et al., 2012), and has been shown to predict a suite of pro-  
54 environmental behaviours including water and power conservation and environmental volunteering  
55 in Sweden (Engqvist Jonsson & Nilsson, 2014), alongside support for energy saving policies and  
56 intention to save energy in the Netherlands (Sharpe et al., 2021).

57

58 Initial steps in psychometric scale development include articulating the psychological construct to be  
59 measured (e.g., environmental attitudes, wildlife value orientations), and identifying the context  
60 where the scale will be used (Clark & Watson, 2016; Furr, 2011). These decisions influence  
61 subsequent steps in scale development, including the writing of statements and psychometric  
62 analysis (Clark & Watson, 2016; Furr, 2011). Consequently, scales designed in one context may be  
63 inappropriate or invalid if applied elsewhere (Aoyagi-Usui et al., 2003; Furr, 2011; Henrich et al.,  
64 2010; Rosa et al., 2023; Whitehouse-Tedd et al., 2021). Many psychometric scales, such as the  
65 Wildlife Value Orientations (Fulton et al., 1996), Environmental Motives Scale (Schultz, 2001), and  
66 New Ecological Paradigm (Dunlap et al., 2000) were initially developed and validated in what Henrich

67 et al. (2010) describe as Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) societies.  
68 Whilst these scales have been applied in some other cultural settings (e.g., studying student's  
69 Wildlife Value Orientations in Malaysia (Zainal Abidin & Jacobs, 2016); investigating differences in  
70 the Environmental Motives Scale between European and Asian New Zealanders (Milfont et al.,  
71 2006); and investigating perceptions of climate change risk in China (Xue et al., 2018)), questions  
72 remain regarding both their applicability in non-WEIRD contexts where much conservation occurs.  
73 Given the global nature of the conservation sector, and the increasing reliance on psychological  
74 theory and methods for improving understanding of human behaviour (Bennett et al., 2017; Selinske  
75 et al., 2018; St. John et al., 2010), addressing concerns regarding the universality and validity of  
76 psychometric scales in cultural contexts beyond those in which they were developed is critical.

77

## 78 **The New Ecological Paradigm**

79 One of the most widely used scales for measuring pro-environmental orientations is the New  
80 Ecological Paradigm, which has been applied in disciplines including environmental psychology,  
81 sustainability studies, environmental education, and conservation science (Bernstein & Szuster,  
82 2019; Hawcroft & Milfont, 2010). The scale's first iteration, called the New *Environmental* Paradigm  
83 (NEP1), was developed in the 1970's by Dunlap and Van Liere (1978) to measure support for an  
84 emerging pro-environmental worldview. The authors saw this pro-environmental worldview  
85 developing in contrast to north America's dominant social paradigm; which was devoted to  
86 economic growth, prosperity, science and technology, and laissez-faire economic policy (Dunlap &  
87 Van Liere, 1978). The original scale contained 12 statements representing three facets of a pro-  
88 environmental worldview: the ability of humans to upset the balance of nature (balance of nature);  
89 the existence of limits to growth for human societies (limits to growth); and humanity's right to rule  
90 over nature (anti-anthropocentrism) (Dunlap & Van Liere, 1978). Testing the scale on a  
91 representative sample of Washington state households and a separate sample of members from a  
92 state-wide environmental organisation, Dunlap & Van Liere (1978) reported strong internal

93 consistency across the 12 statements in both samples, suggesting the scale measured one  
94 underlying construct. Further, higher NEP1 scores, indicative of a stronger pro-environmental  
95 worldview, were associated with membership of environmental organisations, support for pro-  
96 environmental policy, and engagement in pro-environmental behaviour.

97

98 Recognising flaws in the original scale's design, and a need to update and broaden its content,  
99 Dunlap et al., (2000) revised NEP1 and, observing the increasingly ecological nature of pro-  
100 environmental worldviews, rebranded it the New *Ecological* Paradigm (NEP2). The new 15-  
101 statement scale made technical improvements to scale structure, removed outdated and sexist  
102 language, and added two new facets: anti-exemptionalism and eco-crisis (Table 1). The anti-  
103 exemptionalism facet was designed to measure the degree to which individuals viewed humanity as  
104 exempt from the laws of nature, whilst the eco-crisis facet aimed to capture views on the potentially  
105 catastrophic environmental changes facing humanity (Dunlap et al., 2000). Testing the revised scale  
106 on a representative sample of Washington state residents, Dunlap et al., (2000) found strong  
107 internal consistency across the scale's 15 statements. Again, high NEP2 scores, representative of a  
108 pro-environmental worldview, correlated with support for pro-environmental policy and personal  
109 pro-environmental behaviours. These initial findings have been echoed by others, for example, NEP2  
110 has demonstrated robust internal consistency in samples of British students (Pahl et al., 2005) and  
111 the Norwegian public (Olli et al., 2001) (Cronbach's alpha = 0.86 and 0.71 respectively), higher NEP2  
112 scores were associated with membership of environmental organisations in both samples and with  
113 engaging in a suite of pro-environmental behaviours in the Norwegian sample. Whilst these initial  
114 studies testing and validating both NEP scales reported data were unidimensional (i.e., all  
115 statements combined to measure a single factor, [Figure 1a]), there is evidence that more complex  
116 multidimensional structures exist (Figure 1b) (Amburgey & Thoman, 2012), and that dimensionality  
117 can differ by study population (Dunlap et al., 2000; Ogunbode, 2013; Rosa et al., 2021; Xue et al.,  
118 2018). Further development of NEP2 has occurred, with a 10-item scale developed and validated for  
119 use with children (NEP-C) (Manoli et al., 2007) and many researchers forming their own scales based

120 on NEP2, either by using a subset of NEP2 statements, or altering item wording to fit their own  
121 interests (Hawcroft & Milfont, 2010)

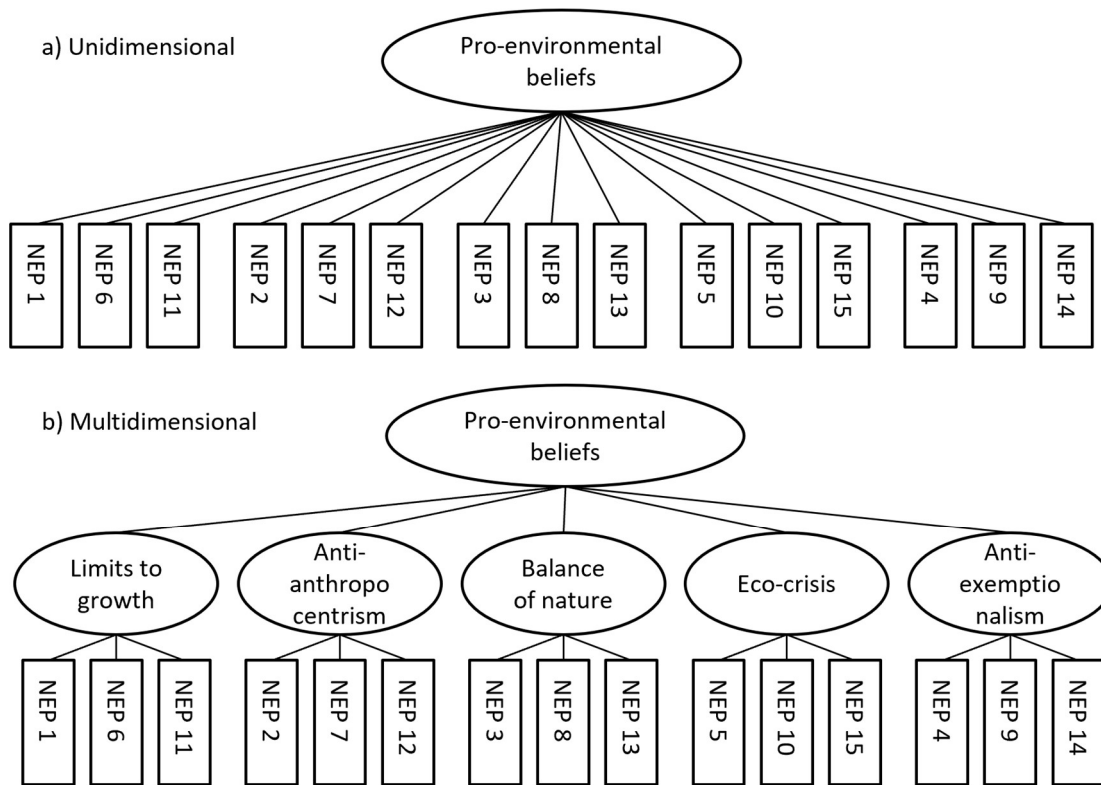
122 Table 1 New Ecological Paradigm statements. Agreement with odd numbered statements and  
 123 disagreement with even numbered statements denotes pro-environmental beliefs<sup>1</sup>, hence even  
 124 numbered statements are reverse coded prior to analysis such that a higher NEP2 score denotes  
 125 stronger pro-environmental beliefs.

NEP statement	Facet or dimension <sup>2</sup> of pro-environmental worldview measured by each statement
Pre-amble: I will now read out a series of statements about the relationship between humans and the environment. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement.	
1. We are approaching the limit of the number of people the earth can support.	Limits to growth
2. Humans have the right to modify the natural environment to suit their needs.	Anti-anthropocentrism
3. When humans interfere with the natural environment it often produces disastrous consequences.	Balance of nature
4. Human ingenuity will ensure that we do not make the earth unliveable.	Anti-exceptionalism
5. Humans are severely abusing the environment.	Eco-crisis
6. The earth has plenty of natural resources if we just learn how to develop them.	Limits to growth
7. Plants and animals have as much right as humans to exist.	Anti-anthropocentrism
8. The balance of nature is strong enough to cope with the impacts of modern industrial nations.	Balance of nature
9. Despite our special abilities' humans are still subject to the laws of nature.	Anti-exceptionalism
10. The so-called "ecological crisis" facing humankind has been greatly exaggerated.	Eco-crisis
11. The earth is like a spaceship with very limited room and resources	Limits to growth
12. Humans were meant to rule over the rest of nature.	Anti-anthropocentrism
13. The balance of nature is very delicate and easily upset.	Balance of nature
14. Humans will eventually learn enough about how nature works to be able to control it.	Anti-exceptionalism
15. If things continue on their present course, we will soon experience a major ecological catastrophe.	Eco-crisis

126 <sup>1</sup>Whilst widely used, on occasion, authors have incorrectly stated that NEP scales measure pro-  
 127 environmental 'attitudes' (Hawcroft & Milfont, 2010). However, both NEP scales measure primitive  
 128 or general beliefs towards the environment (Dunlap et al., 2000; Stern et al., 1995).

129 <sup>2</sup> we refer to a facet is an 'element' of a unidimensional construct whilst multidimensional constructs  
 130 contain 'dimensions' identified via factor analysis.





131

132 Figure 1 Graphical portrayal of two potential New Ecological Paradigm (NEP2) factor structures. a)

133 Displays the scale as unidimensional, meaning all statements contribute to measuring a single

134 underlying factor representing general pro-environmental beliefs. b) Displays the scale as

135 multidimensional, with five factors each measured by three statements, and all factors contributing

136 to measuring overall pro-environmental beliefs. Adapted from Amburgey & Thoman (2012).

137

138 While NEP2 is one the most widely used measures of pro-environmental orientations, most studies  
139 have been conducted in North America or Europe, and often among certain groups (e.g., students or  
140 environmentalists) (Hawcroft & Milfont, 2010). With environmental values and beliefs varying across  
141 societies and cultures, there are questions over the universality of scales developed by  
142 environmental psychologists in WEIRD contexts (Rosa et al., 2023), with studies questioning the  
143 universality of NEP2 in particular (e.g. Khan et al., 2012; Ogunbode, 2013; Rosa et al., 2021, 2022;  
144 Xue et al., 2018). For example, Ogunbode (2013) used NEP2 to measure environmental attitudes of  
145 355 Nigerian university students, and while they found evidence of acceptable internal reliability of a  
146 single unidimensional scale, principle component analysis revealed no evidence to support the  
147 original theory's theoretical structure of five separate facets with statements from multiple facets  
148 clustered on each revealed component. In a sample of 515 Mandarin-speaking residents of Beijing, a  
149 two-factor solution where two statements were allowed to cross load on both factors was found to  
150 fit the data better than both the original single factor structure (Dunlap et al., 2000) or the structures  
151 proposed by Amburgey & Thoman (2012) (Xue et al., 2018). Combining their own empirical data  
152 from 224 undergraduates with a systematic review of 13 previous studies that used either the NEP  
153 or NEP2 scales in Brazil, Rosa et al. (2021) found the scales generally presented low internal  
154 consistency and a different dimensional structure to the original theory. A subsequent systematic  
155 synthesis of studies using the NEP-C scale found weak evidence of a universal structure across 11  
156 studies conducted in seven languages (Rosa et al., 2022).

157

158 Understanding the universality of psychometric scales generally, and NEP2 in particular, is especially  
159 pertinent to conservation science given the global nature of the discipline, and the potential for  
160 these scales to help understand drivers of pro-environmental behaviour, including support for  
161 conservation interventions. Globally, protected areas - specific geographical areas where formal or  
162 informal regulations restrict human access to natural resources - are one of the most widely used  
163 conservation interventions (Dudley, 2008). However, limited support for protected areas among  
164 those whose access to natural resources is restricted, can lead to forced implementation of

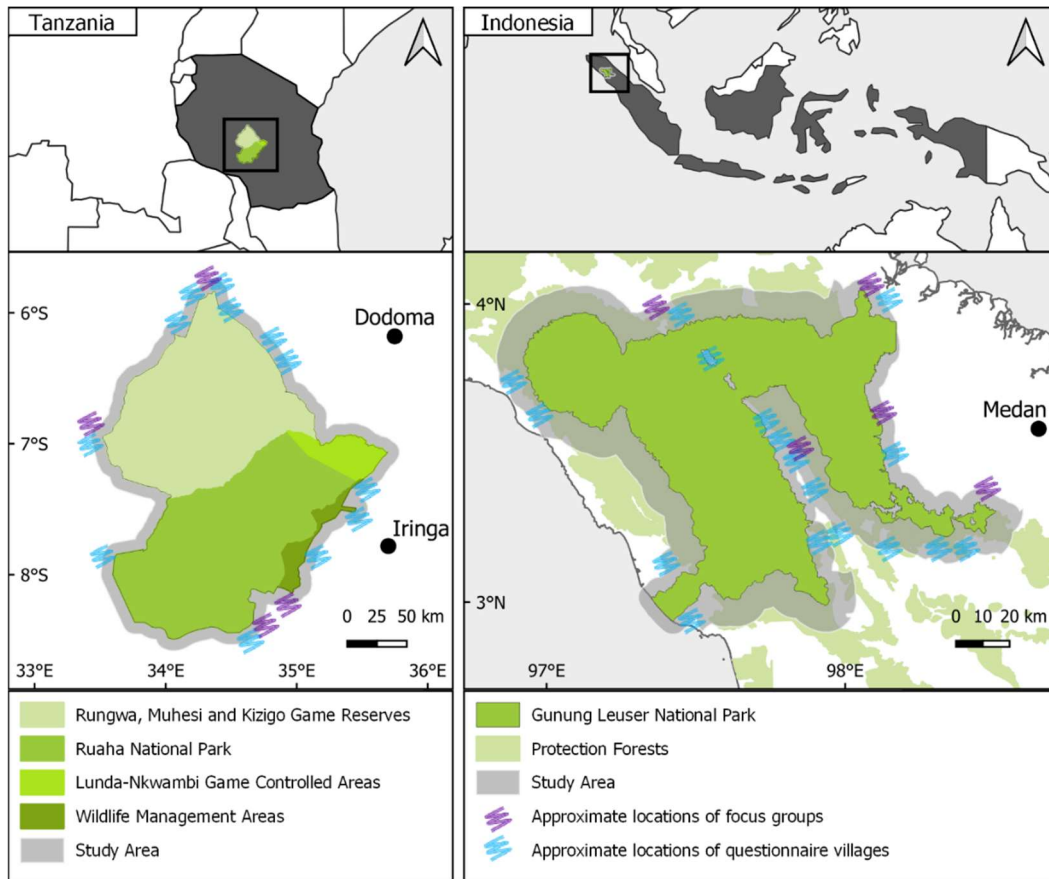
165 protected area regulations, conflict, negative impacts on people's well-being (Soliku & Schraml,  
166 2018), and poor conservation outcomes (Oldekop et al., 2016). Understanding human beliefs in  
167 relation to the environment, using tools such as NEP2, has the potential to improve our  
168 understanding of the drivers of support for protected area regulations and other conservation  
169 policies around the world. Here, we test the utility of NEP2 for measuring pro-environmental beliefs  
170 among people living near protected areas Tanzania and Indonesia. These landscapes are culturally  
171 and socio-economically different from each other, and from the WEIRD context NEP2 was developed  
172 in. Further, they both contain globally important biodiversity and are witness to conflict over the  
173 implementation of conservation rules. After examining the dimensional structure of the 15-  
174 statement NEP2 instrument, we explore relationships between elements of NEP2 and support for  
175 protected area regulations.

176 **Methods**

177 **Study Landscapes**

178 Data were collected from the Ruaha-Rungwa Ecosystem, Tanzania, and the Leuser Ecosystem in  
179 northern Sumatra, Indonesia (Figure 2). The two landscapes are centred around national parks  
180 (Ruaha and Gunung Leuser National Parks respectively) where extraction of natural resources is  
181 generally prohibited; and contain other protected area types which allow different levels of resource  
182 use. Whilst both ecosystems are of global conservation importance (Dickman et al., 2014; Myers et  
183 al., 2000), they differ culturally and socio-economically from the WEIRD context in which NEP2 was  
184 developed (Dunlap et al., 2000). Moreover, disagreements between local people and management  
185 authorities over land use, and the persistence of rule-breaking suggests limits to local support for  
186 protected area regulations in both landscapes (Knapp et al., 2017; Pusparini et al., 2018; Sloan et al.,  
187 2018; Walsh, 2012).

188



189

190 Figure 2 Maps of the study landscapes in Tanzania and Indonesia, indicating study area, and  
 191 locations of villages where focus group discussions and questionnaires were conducted. In  
 192 accordance with ethical approval, only approximate locations of study villages are indicated. Where  
 193 study villages are close together, multiple villages are represented by a single marker.

194

195 **Focus group discussions**

196 Our research was embedded within a wider study aiming to draw population-level conclusions about  
197 the prevalence and drivers of illegal behaviours in protected areas. To define our study areas,  
198 improve our understanding of people's relationships with protected areas, and understand how  
199 people interact with protected areas we conducted focus group discussions in each landscape; eight  
200 with a total of 65 participants in Tanzania, and 10 with a total of 61 participants in Indonesia (Figure  
201 2). Discussion topics included the types of illegal behaviours, and distances travelled to commit  
202 them, inside protected areas, and the likely demographics of rule breakers. Separate groups of 6-10  
203 people were convened for women and men, and in Tanzania, for pastoralists and agriculturalists.  
204 Sessions lasted between one and three hours depending on the level of engagement. All participants  
205 were reimbursed travel expenses, and provided refreshments.

206

207 **Questionnaire sampling strategy**

208 Due to the wider research project's aims of estimating the prevalence of rule-breaking behaviour,  
209 following the demarcation of our study areas, complex sampling strategies were used to ensure  
210 samples were representative of study populations. In Tanzania, focus group discussions reported  
211 rule breakers generally travelled between one and 120km to enter protected areas, with distances  
212 around 10km most common. Thus, our study area was defined as village land within 10km of the  
213 boundary of any protected area in the Ruaha-Rungwa ecosystem. In Indonesia, focus group  
214 discussions reported rule breakers travelled between one and 50km to enter protected areas with  
215 distances under 5km most common. Therefore, the study area was defined as village land that met  
216 the following conditions: within 5km of any protected forest contiguous with Gunung Leuser  
217 National Park; within 10km of the border of Gunung Leuser National Park and within 5km of the  
218 forest edge (calculated using data from Hansen et al. (2013) & Margono et al. (2014)). Villages were  
219 selected using a stratified, systematic, proportional to population size sampling strategy (PPS)  
220 (Cochran, 1977) with 12 villages selected in Tanzania and 18 in Indonesia.

221

222 Within selected villages, a random sample of 100 men were identified as primary study participants  
223 using village registers. A further random sample of 20 men was created as a reserve list to replace  
224 respondents who declined to participate or could not be contacted after three attempts. Guided by  
225 results from our focus group discussions, we only sampled men and targeted those aged 18-45 years  
226 in Tanzania and 18-50 years in Indonesia, as these were the demographic groups most likely to break  
227 protected area rules – the understanding of which, was the focus of the wider project. See  
228 supplementary materials for a full description of the sampling strategy.

229

### 230 **Questionnaire**

231 Due to the scale of the wider study our questionnaire was divided into eight question blocks (Supp  
232 Mats Table 1). Three blocks pertain to this study; the first, delivered to all respondents, gathered  
233 data on respondent and household demographics. The remaining two blocks were randomly  
234 allocated to respondents (See supplementary materials), with 30% of respondents answering the 15  
235 NEP2 statements (Table 1), and 40% of respondents answering the five statements measuring their  
236 support for protected area regulations (Table 2). Criminal justice scholars have demonstrated that  
237 compliance behaviour is influenced by people’s sense of what is morally right and wrong (Kohlberg,  
238 1969 in Tyler & Jackson, 2014), with individuals less likely to support or obey rules they consider  
239 immoral (Trinkner et al., 2018; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). Thus, drawing on Trinkner et al., (2018), we  
240 measured support by asking respondents how morally right or wrong they considered it to conduct  
241 five illegal behaviours (identified during focus group discussions) inside their neighbouring protected  
242 area using a five-point Likert scale (1=very right to 5=very wrong) (Table 2).

243

244 We selected these illegal behaviours based on the results of our focus group discussions. For  
245 example, in Tanzania, the illegal behaviours most reported as occurring inside protected areas were  
246 hunting wildlife, grazing livestock, fishing, and collecting construction materials. We included a fifth  
247 behaviour: “entering a protected area without a permit”, to capture behaviours (such as honey and  
248 firewood collecting) that were reported as occurring, albeit infrequently. In Indonesia, clearing land

249 for farming, collecting songbirds, collecting plants, and wildlife hunting were the illegal behaviours  
250 most frequently reported as occurring inside local protected areas. Collecting firewood was the fifth  
251 most mentioned behaviour and logging the sixth. However, we opted to include logging in our  
252 questionnaire, due to its relevance to national and international policy. In Indonesia, many focus  
253 group participants displayed poor knowledge of local protected areas with confusion over the names  
254 and rules of nearby sites, as well as the authorities responsible for their management.

255



256 Table 2 Statements measuring support for protected area regulations. In Tanzania [PA] was replaced  
257 with the name of the protected area closest to the respondent's village.

---

Tanzania
Pre-ambule: Please indicate how morally right or wrong you think the following behaviours are on a scale of very right to very wrong:
1. How morally right or wrong would you say it is to hunt wildlife inside [PA] for example birds francolin, guinea fowl, quail, small animals like dik dik or impala, or larger animals like buffalo, giraffe or others?
2. How morally right or wrong would you say it is to fish inside [PA]?
3. How morally right or wrong would you say it is to take livestock inside [PA] to graze or for water?
4. How morally right or wrong would you say it is collect timber or other construction materials inside [PA]?
5. How morally right or wrong would you say it is to enter [PA] without a permit?

---

Indonesia
Pre-ambule: I will now ask your opinions on behaviours people may conduct in protected forests. When we talk about protected forests, we mean forests like Gunung Leuser National Park, Protection Forests, and other conservation forests. Please indicate how morally right or wrong you think the following behaviours are on a scale of very right to very wrong:
1. How morally right or wrong would you say it is to collect plants or plant products inside protected forests?
2. How morally right or wrong would you say it is to clear land inside protected forests?
3. How morally right or wrong would you say it is to hunt or snare wildlife inside protected forests?
4. How morally right or wrong would you say it is to collect birds inside protected forests?
5. How morally right or wrong would you say it is cut trees for timber inside protected forests?

---

258

259

260 The questionnaire was developed in English, translated into Kiswahili and Indonesian, and then  
261 independently back-translated to ensure accuracy. Using authors' knowledge of local cultural  
262 contexts, care was taken to ensure NEP2 statements represented meaningful concepts in our study  
263 sites. Consequently, at both sites we changed statement 11 from "The earth is like a spaceship with  
264 very limited room and resources" to "The earth is like a small island with very limited room and  
265 resources". Further refinements to question wording and translation occurred during piloting which  
266 was conducted alongside interviewer training. Questionnaires were piloted and delivered face-to-  
267 face by S.S., J.M., J.F., and R.M. in Tanzania and K.P., A.W.S., H.S., T.T., and I.A. in Indonesia.  
268 Respondents were thanked for their time with small, culturally appropriate gifts (e.g., phone  
269 voucher, or reusable shopping bag). Data were collected using Open Data Kit (Hartung et al., 2010)  
270 on encrypted mobile phones.

271

## 272 **Ethics and Research Permits**

273 Our research was approved by the Bangor University College of Environmental Science and  
274 Engineering Ethics Committee (CoESE2019FSJ01 & CoESE2022FSJ01A). Free, prior, and informed  
275 consent was sought from all respondents. All data were confidential with respondents invited to  
276 provide their name and contact details to take part in future research. Data were encrypted at point  
277 of collection with de-encryption and pseudo-anonymisation conducted by authors outside of the  
278 country where the data originated. All personal information was stored separately from  
279 questionnaire responses. Most data collection occurred following the emergence of COVID-19, all  
280 field activities conformed to local and national government guidelines concerning COVID-19 with  
281 rigorous health and safety measures implemented to minimise risk of transmission. All research was  
282 conducted with the required research permits (see supplementary materials) and the approval of  
283 national and local authorities.

284

## 285 **Analysis**

286 All analyses were conducted in R 4.2.0 (R Core Team, 2022) with plotting and data preparation using  
287 tidyverse packages (Wickham et al., 2019). QGIS (QGIS Development Team, 2022) was used for  
288 mapping and spatial analysis.

289

## 290 **Factor analysis**

291 Data from each country were analysed separately. Prior to analysis, NEP2 statements were coded  
292 such that high scores were indicative of the strongest pro-environmental beliefs. Mean imputation  
293 replaced missing data where appropriate (Watkins, 2018). Given the uncertainty over the scale's  
294 dimensionality researchers are advised to conduct exploratory factor analysis to investigate the  
295 sample-specific dimensionality of NEP2 data (Amburgey & Thoman, 2012; Dunlap et al., 2000).  
296 Consequently, we conducted Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) following Watkins (2018) and using  
297 the 'psych' package in R (Revelle, 2023). Factorability was confirmed using Bartlett's test of  
298 sphericity (Bartlett, 1951) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test (Kaiser, 1974). The appropriate  
299 number of factors was determined with parallel analysis (Horn, 1965). Model fit was assessed using  
300 Root Mean Square Error of Approximation ( $RMSEA \leq 0.08$  indicating acceptable model fit) and  
301 Tucker Lewis Index ( $TLI \geq 0.95$  indicating acceptable model fit) (Hooper et al., 2008). Factor loadings  
302  $\geq 0.4$  were considered as acceptable, with loadings  $\geq 0.7$  considered very strong (Furr, 2011). We used  
303 an oblimin rotation as we assumed factors would be correlated (Furr, 2011) and used MINRES  
304 estimation where our data displayed non-normality (Watkins, 2018). Internal consistency of the  
305 entire scale, and of factors revealed by the EFA, were checked with Cronbach's Alpha and  
306 McDonald's Omega, accepting scores above 0.6 (Hayes & Coutts, 2020; Ursachi et al., 2015).  
307 Following EFA, respondent-level factor scores were calculated as the mean value of the statements  
308 in each factor. Internal consistency of statements measuring support for protected area regulations  
309 were examined using Cronbach's Alpha and McDonald's Omega. Where internal consistency was  
310 adequate ( $\geq 0.6$ ), data across the five statements were combined into a single score calculated as a  
311 respondent's mean response to the five statements, which represents their support for protected  
312 area regulations.

313

314 We used Spearman's rank correlations to investigate the strength of the relationship between pro-

315 environmental beliefs (measured through revealed factors and individual statements of NEP2) and

316 respondent's support for protected area regulations.

317 **Results**

318 **Tanzania**

319 **Questionnaire Summary**

320 Between February 2020 and December 2021, 368 men answered demographic and NEP2 questions;  
321 of these 38% (n=142) also answered the support for protected area regulations questions. The  
322 median age of respondents was 32 (interquartile range (IQR)=26-40) and the median years of formal  
323 schooling completed was 7 (IQR=5-7); 84% of respondents had a primary education or less (7 or  
324 fewer years of school), and 2% had completed secondary education (13 years of school).

325

326 **NEP2**

327 Missing data (7.21%, 398 data points from 94 respondents) were replaced by mean imputation  
328 (Watkins, 2018). Internal consistency tests of the 15 NEP2 statements suggested the structure was  
329 not unidimensional (Cronbach's alpha = -0.31, McDonald's Omega = 0). Bartlett's test of sphericity  
330 ( $\chi^2=1344$ ,  $p<0.001$ ) and the KMO statistic (0.86) confirmed the factorability of the data. Parallel  
331 analysis suggested five factors should be retained. However, the five-factor solution was inadequate.  
332 While the RMSEA score was acceptable (0.048, 90% CI: 0.03 - 0.065), the TLI score was below the  
333 acceptable threshold (0.928) and Chi-square statistics indicated poor model fit ( $\chi^2=73.8$ ,  $df=40$ ,  
334  $p<0.001$ ) (Table 3). Cross-examination of the raw data prior to recoding (Figure 3) revealed strong  
335 agreement with most NEP2 statements, irrespective of the statement's directionality (hence the  
336 negative Cronbach's alpha indicative of peculiarity in the data), suggesting acquiescence bias  
337 amongst respondents.

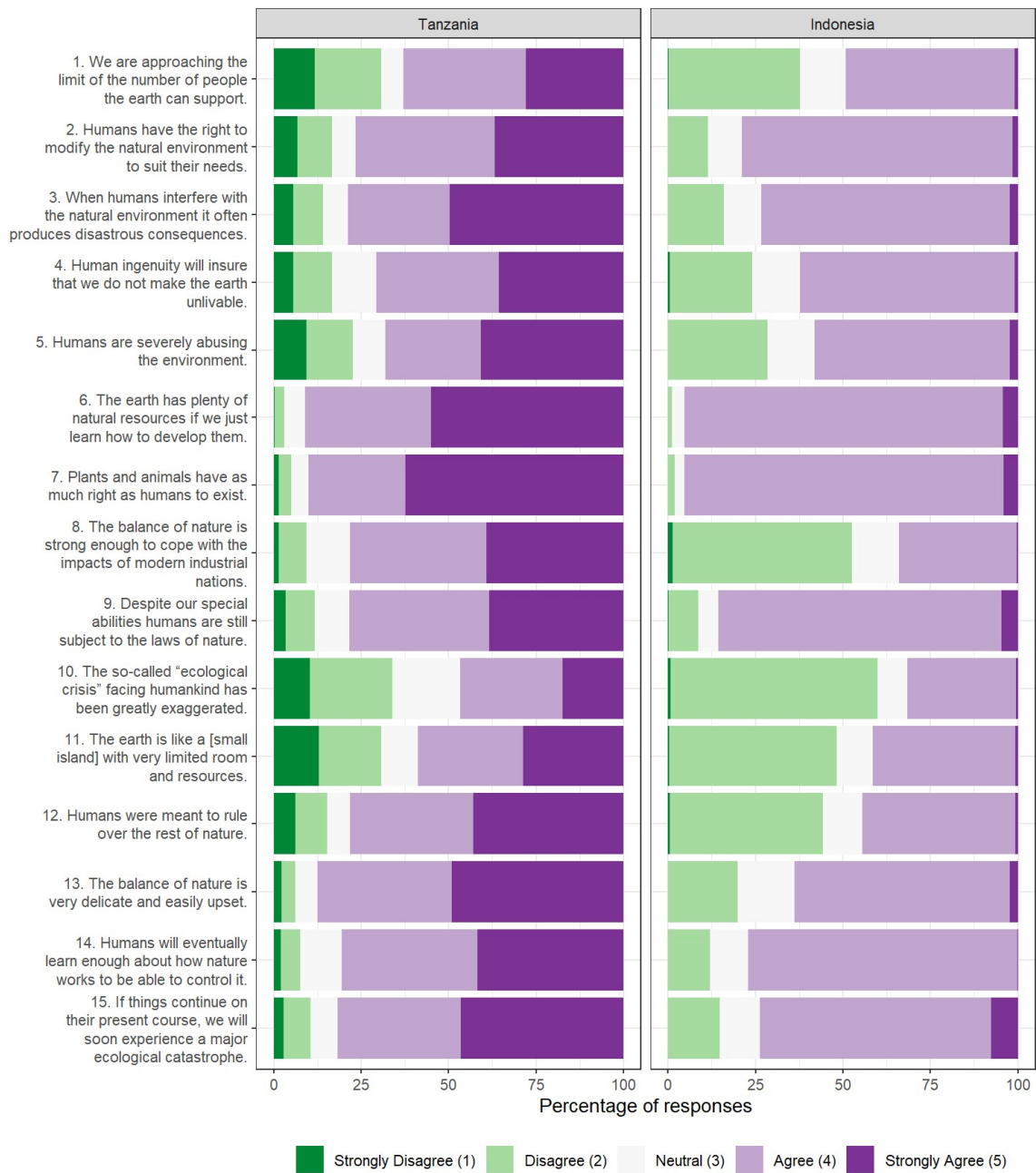
338

339 Table 3 Results and model fit from exploratory factor analysis with five factors. Only factor loadings  
 340 above the 0.4 threshold are displayed. Cronbach's alpha and Macdonald's omega scores were only  
 341 calculated for factors containing multiple statements with acceptable factor loadings. A negative  
 342 Cronbach's alpha value generally identifies there is something wrong with the data (e.g., neglecting  
 343 to reverse score statements as required, or that the statements do not form a single scale) (Ursachi  
 344 et al., 2015).

	Tanzania					Indonesia				
Confirmation of factorability										
Bartlett's test of sphericity	$\chi^2=1344, p<0.001$					$\chi^2=683, p<0.001$				
KMO	0.86					0.71				
Model statistics										
Sample size	368					510				
Missing data points	398 (7.2%)					99 (1.3%)				
Likelihood chi-square	73.8 (df=40, p<0.001)					49.1 (df=40, p<0.15)				
RMSR	0.03					0.02				
RMSEA	0.048 (90% CI:0.030-0.065)					0.021 (90% CI:0-0.039)				
TLI	0.93					0.96				
Factor loadings										
Statement	Factors					Factors				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
NEP 1										
NEP 2										0.47
NEP 3	0.84					0.70				
NEP 4	-0.43									
NEP 5	0.49					0.44				
NEP 6			-0.67							
NEP 7			0.74							
NEP 8						0.76				
NEP 9										
NEP 10		-0.56							0.49	
NEP 11		0.54								
NEP 12										
NEP 13						0.60				
NEP 14				0.80				0.48		
NEP 15	0.40					0.61				
Sum of squared loadings	1.38	0.97	1.41	1.05	0.42	1.60	0.72	0.58	0.45	0.52
Proportion variance	0.09	0.07	0.09	0.07	0.03	0.11	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.03
Cumulative variance	0.11	0.16	0.25	0.32	0.35	0.11	0.16	0.20	0.23	0.26
Internal consistency of factors										
Cronbach's alpha	0.067	-0.68	-2.2	-	-	0.70	-	-	-	-
Macdonald's omega	0.44	0.00	0.00	-	-	0.70	-	-	-	-

345

346



347

348 Figure 3 Frequency distributions of raw responses to New Ecological Paradigm statements in

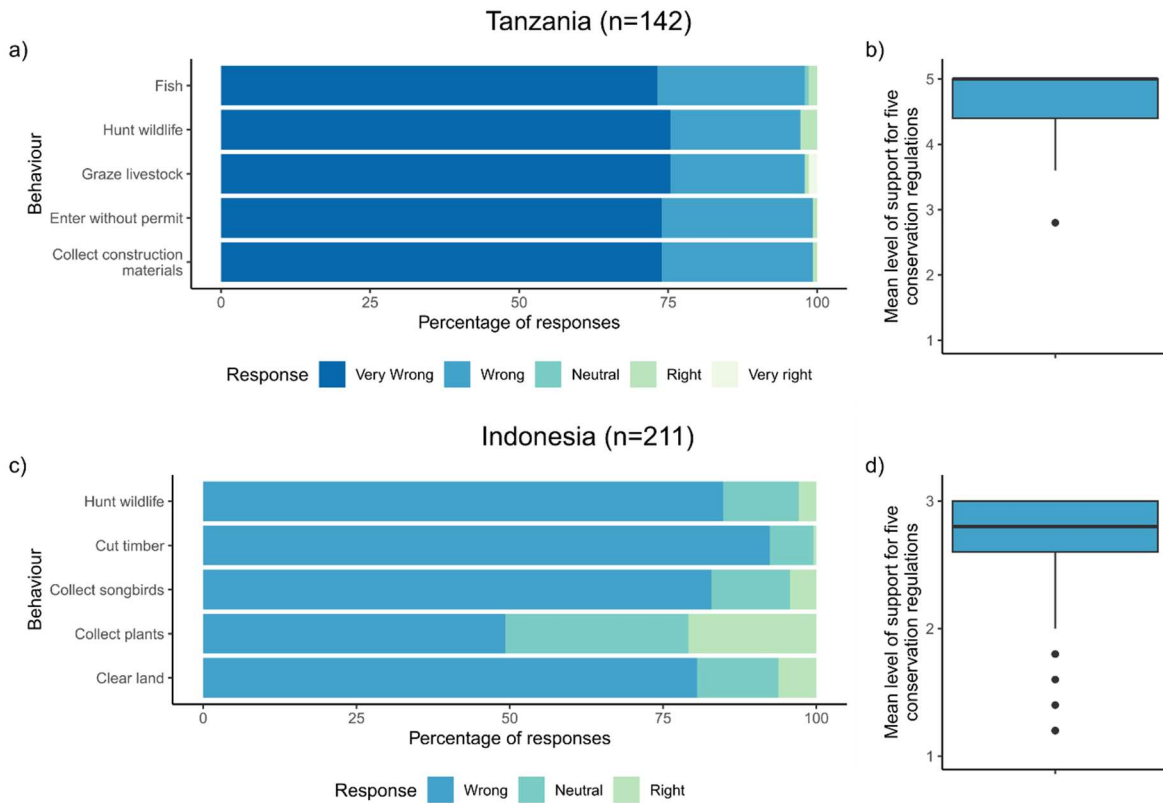
349 Tanzania (n=368) and Indonesia (n=510).

350

351 **Support for protected area regulations in Tanzania**

352 Engaging in any of the five illegal behaviours assessed was considered wrong or very wrong by at  
353 least 97% of respondents in Tanzania (Figure 4a). Internal consistency checks supported combining  
354 the five statements into a single score indicative of respondents' level of support for protected area  
355 regulations (Cronbach's Alpha=0.88, Omega Total=0.90). The median score (5.0, IQR=4.4-5.0)  
356 indicated that respondents generally perceived conducting any of the illegal behaviours inside their  
357 nearest protected area as morally very wrong (Figure 4b).





359

360 Figure 4. Frequency distribution of responses to individual statements measuring support for  
 361 protected area regulations in Tanzania (a) and Indonesia (c), statements read “How morally right or  
 362 wrong would you say it is to X inside Y”, with X replaced by the behaviour of interest and Y replaced  
 363 by the nearest protected area in Tanzania and “protected forests” in Indonesia. Plots b and d show  
 364 the distribution of mean level of support for five protected regulations in Tanzania and Indonesia  
 365 respectively; higher numbers denote higher support. The bold line represents the median, the lower  
 366 and upper edges of the box are the first and third quartiles and the whiskers the maximum and  
 367 minimum points, with outliers displayed as dots. In figures c and d the original five-point response  
 368 scale was condensed to a three-point scale.

369

370 **Relationship between NEP2 statements and support for protected area regulations in Tanzania**

371 Due to the low validity of the NEP2 scale as a whole and the lack of revealed factors from the EFA,  
372 we investigated correlations between individual NEP2 statements and respondent's support for  
373 protected area regulations. Responses to four individual NEP2 statements (6, 7, 12 and 13, Table 4)  
374 and respondent's support for protected area regulations were significantly correlated ( $p < 0.05$ ),  
375 however, all correlation coefficients were weak ( $\rho \leq 0.26$ ).

376 Table 4 Spearman's rank correlations between each NEP2 item and respondents' support for  
 377 protected area regulations in Tanzania and Indonesia, and between the eco-fragility factor and  
 378 support for protected area regulations in Indonesia. \*p<0.05, \*\*<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

	Tanzania (n=142)		Indonesia (n=211)	
	Spearman's $\rho$	p	Spearman's $\rho$	p
1. We are approaching the limit of the number of people the earth can support.	-0.04	0.62	-0.01	0.87
2. Humans have the right to modify the natural environment to suit their needs.	0.12	0.18	0.00	0.97
3. When humans interfere with the natural environment it often produces disastrous consequences.	0.13	0.13	0.17	0.01*
4. Human ingenuity will ensure that we do not make the earth unliveable.	0.13	0.16	0.14	0.05*
5. Humans are severely abusing the environment.	0.01	0.90	0.03	0.70
6. The earth has plenty of natural resources if we just learn how to develop them.	0.23	0.007**	0.21	0.002**
7. Plants and animals have as much right as humans to exist.	0.19	0.03*	0.22	0.002**
8. The balance of nature is strong enough to cope with the impacts of modern industrial nations.	0.11	0.21	0.08	0.27
9. Despite our special abilities' humans are still subject to the laws of nature.	0.05	0.54	0.14	0.04*
10. The so-called "ecological crisis" facing humankind has been greatly exaggerated.	-0.05	0.60	0.03	0.66
11. The earth is like a spaceship with very limited room and resources	0.10	0.29	0.11	0.11
12. Humans were meant to rule over the rest of nature.	0.20	0.02*	-0.05	0.44
13. The balance of nature is very delicate and easily upset.	0.26	0.003**	0.16	0.02*
14. Humans will eventually learn enough about how nature works to be able to control it.	0.11	0.24	0.04	0.53
15. If things continue on their present course, we will soon experience a major ecological catastrophe.	0.15	0.09	0.26	<0.001***
Eco-fragility factor	NA	NA	0.18	0.008**

379

380 **Indonesia**

381 **Questionnaire Summary**

382 Between January 2021 and February 2022, 510 men completed demographic and NEP2 questions, of  
383 which 41% (n=211) also answered support for protected area regulations statements. The median  
384 age of respondents was 38 (IQR=31-46) and the median years of formal schooling completed was 12  
385 (IQR=6-12); 25% of respondents had a primary education or less (6 or fewer years of school), 56%  
386 had completed secondary education (12 years of school).

387

388 **NEP2**

389 Due to low usage of extreme points on the Likert scale (Figure 3), responses to the NEP2 statements  
390 were condensed to a three-point scale (1=disagree, 2=neutral, 3=agree). Mean imputation replaced  
391 missing data (1.3%, 99 data points from 54 respondents). Tests for internal consistency of the 15  
392 NEP2 statements provided no evidence for a unidimensional structure (Cronbach's alpha = 0.38,  
393 McDonald's Omega = 0.4). Bartlett's test of sphericity ( $\chi^2=683$ ,  $p<0.001$ ) and the KMO statistic (0.71)  
394 confirmed the factorability of the data. Parallel analysis suggested data had a five-factor structure.  
395 While the five-factor solution had an adequate model fit (RMSEA index=0.021, 90% CI: 0 – 0.039;  
396 TLI=0.96) it showed no support for any of the NEP2 theorised structures in our sample, with only one  
397 factor containing multiple statements with loadings  $>0.4$  (Factor 1, Table 3). Containing statements  
398 from both the eco-crisis, and the fragility of the balance of nature facets, we named this the Eco-  
399 fragility factor. Measures of internal consistency for the Eco-fragility factor were adequate  
400 (Cronbach's Alpha=0.70, MacDonal'd's Omega=0.70), and the mean score calculated across the four  
401 statements was 2.47 (SE=0.025) indicating that on average, respondents are concerned about the  
402 negative impact humans have on a fragile environment.

403

404 **Support for protected area regulations in Indonesia**

405 Data from the questions measuring support for protected area regulations were also condensed to a  
406 three-point scale. Mean imputation was used to replace missing data (0.57%, six data points from  
407 three respondents). All behaviours were perceived as wrong by at least 80% of respondents (Figure  
408 4c), except for collecting plants from protected forests, which was reported as wrong by far fewer  
409 respondents (49%). Internal consistency checks (Cronbach's alpha=0.62, MacDonald's Omega=0.69)  
410 supported combining the five statements into a single score indicative of respondents' support for  
411 protected area regulations. The median score (2.8, IQR=2.6-3.0) indicated people generally  
412 considered it wrong to conduct activities illegally inside protected areas (Figure 4d).

413

#### 414 **Relationship between NEP2 statements and support for protected area regulations in Indonesia**

415 Again, due to the low validity of the NEP2 scale, we investigated correlations between individual  
416 NEP2 statements and respondent's support for protected area regulations and correlations between  
417 the eco-fragility factor and respondents support for protected area regulations. We found responses  
418 to seven NEP2 statements (3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 13 and 15, Table 4) were significantly ( $p<0.05$ ) correlated to  
419 respondent's support for protected area regulations. However, all correlation coefficients were  
420 weak ( $\rho\leq 0.26$ ). Similarly, the eco-fragility factor was significantly ( $p<0.001$ ) but weakly correlated  
421 ( $\rho=0.18$ ) to support for protected regulations.

422

423

424 **Discussion**

425 Conservationists are increasingly using psychological scales to understand human behaviour and  
426 support for environmental conservation in general. However, it is vital to ensure such tools are valid  
427 in the contexts in which they are applied. In this study we assessed the effectiveness of one of the  
428 most widely used measures of pro-environmental orientations, NEP2, at measuring pro-  
429 environmental beliefs held by people living around protected areas in Tanzania and Indonesia.  
430 Moreover, we examine how elements of NEP2 related to individual's support for protected area  
431 regulations. In Tanzania and Indonesia, NEP2 did not work as hypothesised in the originally theory  
432 (Dunlap et al., 2000), supporting the findings of other authors who have found the NEP2 scale to  
433 have low validity, or differing dimensionality, when applied in non-WEIRD contexts (e.g. Khan et al.,  
434 2012; Ogunbode, 2013; Rosa et al., 2021; Xue et al., 2018). In Indonesia our exploratory factor  
435 analysis identified a single latent factor comprised of four out of 15 statements, two statements  
436 from the eco-crisis facet and two from the fragility of the balance of nature facet. Combined, this  
437 "eco-fragility" factor measures concern about the negative impact humans have on a fragile  
438 environment. The high mean score across these four statements indicates our respondents are  
439 concerned about humanities' impact on a fragile environment. However, our data provided no  
440 evidence of latent factors related to the anti-anthropocentrism, anti-exemptionalism, or limits to  
441 growth facets of the NEP2, suggesting that these facets or dimensions, as measured by NEP2, did not  
442 play an important role in constructing pro-environmental beliefs among our sample.

443

444 We found no evidence of a unifying theme underpinning our data from Tanzania. Respondents here  
445 agreed with most statements, even where there were contradictions (e.g., statement 8 "The balance  
446 of nature is strong enough to cope with the impacts of modern industrial nations" and statement 13  
447 "The balance of nature is very delicate and easily upset"), indicating acquiescence bias. To a lesser  
448 extent, similar patterns were detected in Indonesia. Both countries represent relatively collectivist  
449 cultures (Hofstede et al., 2010) and this cultural characteristic can lead to acquiescence bias, where

450 respondents provide affirmative responses rather than negative or neutral ones to maintain in-  
451 group harmony (Smith, 2004; van Herk et al., 2004). Additionally, the WEIRD origins of NEP2, and the  
452 comparatively low levels of formal education among our samples, particularly in Tanzania, may have  
453 impacted respondents' ability to engage with and interpret NEP2 statements appropriately. Despite  
454 our iterative piloting and editing of NEP2 statements, some concepts may have been outside  
455 respondents' experience or knowledge, making answering statements cognitively difficult, and  
456 leading to inaccurate or biased responses (MacKenzie & Podsakoff, 2012; Rammstedt & Farmer,  
457 2013; Rosa et al., 2023).

458

459 Although there have been prior applications of NEP2 in Indonesia, rarely have they explored the  
460 scale's structure or employed tests such as Cronbach alpha to assess internal consistency (e.g.  
461 (Hidayati et al., 2020; Meilinda et al., 2017)). Studies which have conducted factor analysis, reported  
462 structures of pro-environmental beliefs that differ compared to the original theory (Dunlap et al.,  
463 2000) or structures found in WEIRD contexts (Amburgey & Thoman, 2012; Dunlap et al., 2000),  
464 where it is expected that all revealed factors should positively correlate with each other, or load  
465 positively onto a pro-environment latent factor. For example, a study of visitors to urban forests in  
466 Jakarta found NEP2 had acceptable internal consistency as a unidimensional scale, while  
467 confirmatory factor analysis of a five-factor solution also showed acceptable model fit (15 NEP2  
468 statements loading onto five factors) (Doyeon Kim et al., 2021). However, the analysis did not test if  
469 the five factors subsequently loaded positively onto a single pro-environment latent variable (Figure  
470 1b). Respondents, on average, showed agreement with the balance of nature, limits to growth, and  
471 eco-crisis factors, but disagreement and neutrality with the anti-anthropocentrism and anti-  
472 exemptionalism factors respectively (Doyeon Kim et al., 2021), suggesting that while respondents  
473 were concerned with the state of the environment and human impacts on it, they simultaneously  
474 viewed the environment as existing for human benefit. Moreover, when applying NEP2 in a sample  
475 of 273 trainee teachers from Java, in Indonesia, and Korea, Rachmatullah et al., (2020) identified just

476 three prominent factors; egoistic, altruistic and biospheric. Among the Indonesian sample they  
477 found their egoistic factor (humans should not dominate over nature) to be negatively correlated  
478 with the altruistic (balancing human and environmental needs) and biospheric factors (concern for  
479 ecological systems).

480

481 The theory underpinning NEP2, posits that holding pro-environmental beliefs means rejecting  
482 human-exemptionalism (humans are exempt from the laws of nature) and environmental  
483 exploitation for the benefit of humanity (Dunlap et al., 2000). However, our data and previous  
484 studies suggest that this is not the case in Indonesia where these latent factors either do not exist, or  
485 are not rejected by those who hold pro-environmental beliefs as measured by other NEP2 factors  
486 (Doyeon Kim et al., 2021; Rachmatullah et al., 2020). Similar dynamics have been found where NEP2  
487 has been applied in other non-WEIRD contexts. For example, in Brazil, Mexico, China and Nigeria  
488 respondents were found to hold utilitarian views towards the environment while also being  
489 concerned about environmental damage caused by humanity (Bechtel et al., 1999; Corral-Verdugo &  
490 Armendáriz, 2000; Ogunbode, 2013; Vikan et al., 2007; Xue et al., 2018). These differences in  
491 environmental beliefs may result from fundamental differences in culture (Bechtel et al., 2006; Vikan  
492 et al., 2007), as well as countries' differing stages of economic development (Doo-Sik Kim, 1999).  
493 Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries contribute 13% of Indonesia's GDP and employ over 29% of the  
494 workforce, compared to 1.1% and 1.4% respectively for the USA (where NEP2 originated) (World  
495 Bank, 2022a, 2022b). The economic importance of the natural environment in many developing  
496 economies could explain the existence of utilitarian environmental views existing alongside concern  
497 for environmental health. Although rising awareness of environmental issues, particularly topics  
498 such as climate change and biodiversity loss, may also be a contributing factor (USAID, 2018).

499



500 Theoretical assumptions over which concurrently held views contribute to a pro-environmental  
501 worldview are another factor likely impeding NEP2 performance in non-WEIRD contexts. For  
502 example, western respondents are more likely to interpret statements about humanity and the laws  
503 of nature in the context of nature as a bio-physical system that humans are either subject to or  
504 exempt from (Ogunbode, 2013). Thus, theory underpinning NEP2 suggests agreement with the  
505 statement “9. Despite our special abilities, humans are still subject to the laws of nature” will  
506 correspond with disagreement to “14. humans will eventually learn enough about how nature works  
507 to be able to control it” and vice versa (Ogunbode, 2013). However, non-WEIRD cultures may view  
508 human-nature relations as part of a wider spiritual system, with humanities place in the “laws of  
509 nature” defined by mystical and religious ideology (Ogunbode, 2013). For example, some Christian  
510 beliefs systems posit humanity as being granted stewardship or dominion of earth by god (Harrison,  
511 1999), in this belief system, while humanity is still subject to the (spiritual) laws of nature, as laid  
512 down by a higher power, it has also been granted control over the rest of earth, nature and the  
513 environment. Here, agreement with both statements is consistent with a view where humanity is  
514 subject to spiritual laws, but these laws also allow humanity to control other elements of nature  
515 through spiritual or religious means. Consequently, when applying psychometric scales in novel  
516 contexts, it is vital to consider the context in which tools are being used, including the theories  
517 behind their development, and how this relates to local experiences, beliefs, and cultures (Beaton et  
518 al., 2000; Furr, 2011; MacKenzie & Podsakoff, 2012).

519

520 Importantly, reported support for protected area rules was high across both study landscapes,  
521 suggesting protected area regulations aligned with people’s sense of what is morally right (Trinkner  
522 et al., 2018). Most respondents in Tanzania reported that it was morally wrong to enter a protected  
523 area to hunt wildlife, fish, graze livestock, or collect construction materials. Results from Indonesia  
524 were similarly indicative of support for protected area regulations, although a greater proportion of  
525 respondents perceived illegal behaviours neutrally, compared to Tanzania. Variation in the levels of

526 reported support for protected area regulations across the two study landscapes may be driven by  
527 several factors. Firstly, people's willingness to talk about conservation rule-breaking has been found  
528 to be lower in Tanzania than Indonesia (Ibbett, Jones, et al., 2023), potentially resulting in social  
529 desirability biases making those in Tanzania reluctant to express disagreement with protected area  
530 regulations. Where research topics are sensitive, specialised questioning techniques, such as the  
531 randomised response technique or unmatched count technique, may reduce sensitivity biases by  
532 offering respondents a level of protection when discussing sensitive topics (Nuno & St. John, 2015).  
533 However, where topic sensitivity is very high, these methods still have limitations (Ibbett, Dorward,  
534 et al., 2023). Secondly, poor knowledge of protected area types, authorities, and rules in Indonesia  
535 may cause respondents to be unaware that certain behaviours are illegal and therefore less likely to  
536 view them as morally wrong.

537

538 Importantly, a considerable minority in Indonesia (21%) deemed it acceptable to collect plants from  
539 protected areas. Low levels of support for rules restricting plant collection inside Indonesian  
540 protected areas may be due to several factors. Firstly, anecdotal data from respondents and village  
541 officials suggested that the COVID-19 pandemic and associated lockdowns led to increased demand  
542 for houseplants across Indonesia. This resulted in the collection and sale of decorative forest plants  
543 providing vital short-term income for those, for example, in the eco-tourism industry, which was  
544 heavily impacted by pandemic-related travel restrictions. Forest plants were also associated with  
545 health needs, with the gathering of medicinal plants the most common reason given in focus groups  
546 for plant collecting. Lastly, plant awareness disparity is a widely reported phenomenon where the  
547 importance and conservation of plant species are often overlooked in favour of animals (Parsley,  
548 2020). This can result in plants being overlooked in the design, dissemination, and enforcement of  
549 regulations (Margulies et al., 2019), potentially impacting local support for regulations that restrict  
550 collection of plants among our Indonesian sample.

551

552 In both countries we found responses to several individual NEP2 statements (and one combination  
553 of four items in Indonesia) were weakly and significantly correlated with participants support for  
554 protected area rules. These results provide limited evidence that that NEP2 can help us understand  
555 support for environmental policies and behaviours in non-WEIRD contexts. However, it is important  
556 to note that the role of general beliefs in influencing behaviour is mediated by other behavioural and  
557 context-specific higher order psychological constructs (e.g., emotions, norms, specific beliefs and  
558 attitudes) (Ajzen, 1991; Fulton et al., 1996; Steg & Vlek, 2009; Stern et al., 1995), which could explain  
559 the weakness of correlations between elements of NEP2 and support for protected area regulations  
560 in our samples.

561

## 562 **Conclusion**

563 Psychological research tools and methods offer great potential to conservation scientists who  
564 increasingly seek to understand drivers of conservation-relevant behaviours, including support for  
565 protected area regulations (St. John et al., 2010; Whitehouse-Tedd et al., 2021). We found the  
566 overall validity of NEP2 was low across our two study landscapes, despite iterative rounds of piloting  
567 and adjustments to account for local contexts. Whilst piloting can address issues of respondent  
568 comprehension and questionnaire structure, properties of psychological constructs can differ  
569 between contexts and culture's (Aoyagi-Usui et al., 2003; Henrich et al., 2010), meaning scales  
570 designed in one context, may lack utility elsewhere (Furr, 2011; Whitehouse-Tedd et al., 2021). This  
571 is of particular relevance to conservation given the diverse conceptualisations of the environment  
572 and human-environment relationships across cultures and societies (Rosa et al., 2023). Importantly,  
573 we highlight the challenges associated with the cross-cultural application of psychometric scales  
574 where researchers must balance maintaining construct consistency and comparability across  
575 samples (Beaton et al., 2000) whilst ensuring that concepts, framings, and phrasings within scales  
576 are easily understood and within the cognitive, lived, and cultural experiences of respondents.

577 **Author Contributions**

578 Research was conceived by Leejiah Dorward, Freya A. V. St John, and Harriet Ibbett. Data were  
579 collected by Stephen Sankeni, Joseph Kaduma, Jesca Mchomvu, Rose Mawenya, Karlina Prayitno,  
580 Humairah Sabiladiyni, Andie Wijaya Saputra, Ika Agustin and Tyassanti Trywidiarini; with support  
581 from Edward Kohi and Asri A. Dwiyahreni. Analyses and writing were conducted by Leejiah Dorward,  
582 with editing by Freya A. V. St John and Harriet Ibbett. All authors reviewed and commented on the  
583 manuscript.

584

585 **Statement on Inclusion**

586 Our study brings together authors from the UK, Indonesia, and Tanzania, and thus includes scientists  
587 from countries where primary data collection was carried out. While original study conceptualisation  
588 was conducted by UK based academics, authors from Tanzania and Indonesia were involved in the  
589 design and implementation of the survey tool and in interpretation of results.

590

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597

598 **Conflict of Interests**

599 In line with research permit conditions, prior to submission this manuscript was reviewed and  
600 approved (without changes) by Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute (TAWIRI). Authors declare no  
601 conflicts of interest.

602

603 **Data availability**

604 Data, code and survey instrument available at: [10.6084/m9.figshare.25304338](https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.25304338)

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