

**Good fences make good neighbours: A qualitative, interpretive study
of human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula**

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis for examination, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: December 2015

Abstract

Picturesque Cape Town is the epitome of an urban/nature interface but one within which chacma baboons (*Papio ursinus*) face slander for transgressing both the socially constructed human/animal and nature/culture divide, and/or the actual, physical borderlines associated with these divides. The difficulties associated with retaining baboons in nature, because of their ability to traverse physical boundaries, have led to human–baboon conflict. Even though research focusing on baboon biology on the Cape Peninsula is abundant, comparatively little attention has been paid to the human aspects of the conflict. By making use of a social constructionist theoretical framework, I wished to establish what attitudes and values play a defining role in different social constructions of chacma baboons, specifically those who often cross the urban/nature divide; what these different social constructions are; whether they differ among the various stakeholders that were included in this research; and whether there is a willingness amongst stakeholders to adjust to, accommodate, or at least understand “other” social constructions. The research is strongly motivated by a suggestion in the literature that human–human conflict underpins human–wildlife conflict.

The main data collection method used in this research project was personal, semi-structured interviews with members of various stakeholder groups that are involved in the Cape Peninsula’s “baboon debate”, i.e. governmental institutions, nongovernmental organisations, researchers, representatives of residential associations, local residents and journalists. In order to increase the trustworthiness of my data and to gain an enhanced understanding of the complex social interactions, practices and belief systems which are embedded within human–baboon conflicts, I also analysed the discourse embedded in numerous forms of documentation that refer to the Cape Peninsula’s baboons.

The findings from this research provide evidence that conflicts over beliefs and values, conflicts of interest, and conflicts over process are the prominent underlying causes of human–human conflict regarding baboons and baboon management on the Cape Peninsula. Conflicts over beliefs and values seem to underpin all types of human–human conflict regarding baboons on the Cape Peninsula, as human–baboon conflict is riddled with the Cartesian dualisms of urban (or culture) versus nature; human versus animal; biocentrism versus anthropocentrism; and rationalism versus affective social action. The opposition between the two ontologies of rationalism and affective social action, which reflect divergent ways of thinking about baboons and are central to individual’s support of certain baboon-management techniques, is especially pronounced. Moreover, the ability of the Cape Peninsula’s baboons to transgress the nature/culture, and even the human/animal, borderline not only leads to conflict between humans and baboons, but also among humans.

This thesis recommends that, in order to effectively address human–human conflict over beliefs and values, as well as human–baboon conflict, the numerous stakeholders on the Cape Peninsula should identify a common significance of baboons. While I would refrain from declaring that human–human conflict is the actual source of human–baboon conflict, addressing the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict remains an important though neglected issue.

Opsomming

Skilderagtige Kaapstad is die toonbeeld van 'n stedelike/natuur skeidingsvlak, maar een waarbinne die Kaapse bobbejane (*Papio ursinus*) beswadder word, omdat hulle die sosiaal-gekonstrueerde mens/dier en natuur/kultuur skeidslyn en/of die werklike, fisiese grens wat met hierdie skeidslyn geassosieer is, skend. As gevolg van hul vermoë om fisiese grense te oorkruis, het die probleme met die inperking van bobbejane in die natuur tot mens–bobbejaan konflik gelei. Ondanks die feit dat navorsing met die fokus op bobbejaan-biologie op die Kaapse Skiereiland volop is, is relatief min aandag geskenk aan die menslike aspekte van die konflik. Deur gebruik te maak van 'n sosiaal-konstruksionistiese teoretiese raamwerk, wou ek vasstel watter ingesteldhede en waardes 'n bepalende rol speel in verskillende sosiale konstruksies van Kaapse bobbejane, veral diegene wat dikwels die stedelike/natuur skeidingsvlak oorkruis; wat hierdie verskillende sosiale konstruksies is; of hulle verskil tussen die verskeie rolspelers wat ingesluit is in hierdie navorsingsprojek; en of daar 'n bereidwilligheid is onder belanghebbendes om aan te pas by “ander” sosiale konstruksies, dit tegemoet te kom, of ten minste te verstaan. Die navorsing is sterk gemotiveer deur 'n voorstel in die literatuur dat mens–mens konflik mens–wildlewe konflik onderskraag.

Die hoof data-insamelingsmetode wat in hierdie navorsingsprojek gebruik is, was persoonlike, semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude met lede van verskillende belanghebbende groepe wat betrokke is in die Kaapse Skiereiland se “bobbejaandebat”, d.w.s. regeringsinstellings, nie-regeringsorganisasies, navorsers, verteenwoordigers van residensiële verenigings, plaaslike inwoners en joernaliste. Ten einde die betroubaarheid van my data te versterk en om 'n beter begrip te ontwikkel van die ingewikkelde sosiale interaksies, praktyke en oortuigings wat ingebed is in mens–bobbejaan konflikte, het ek ook die diskoers ontleed wat ingebed is in talle vorme van dokumentasie wat verwys na die Kaapse Skiereiland se bobbejane.

Die bevindinge van hierdie navorsing verskaf bewyse dat konflikte oor oortuigings en waardes, konflikte van belang, en konflikte oor prosesse die prominente onderliggende oorsake van mens–mens konflik rakende bobbejane en bobbejaanbestuur op die Kaapse Skiereiland is. Konflikte oor oortuigings en waardes blyk onderliggend te wees aan alle vorme van mens–mens konflik ten opsigte van bobbejane in die Kaapse Skiereiland, aangesien mens–bobbejaan konflik deurtrek is met die Cartesiese dualismes van stedelike (of kultuur) teenoor die natuur; mens teenoor dier; biosentrisme teenoor antroposentrisme; en rasionalisme teenoor affektiewe sosiale aksie. Die teenoorgesteldheid tussen die twee ontologieë van rasionalisme en affektiewe sosiale aksie, wat uiteenlopende maniere van dink oor bobbejane weerspieël en sentraal is tot individue se ondersteuning van sekere bobbejaanbestuurtegnieke, is veral ooglopend. Verder lei die vermoë van die Kaapse Skiereiland se bobbejane om die natuur/kultuur en selfs die mens/dier grenslyn te oorkruis, nie slegs tot konflik tussen mense en bobbejane nie, maar ook tussen mense.

Hierdie tesis beveel aan dat, ten einde mens–mens konflik rakende oortuigings en waardes, asook mens–bobbejaan konflik, aan te spreek, moet die talle belanghebbendes in die Kaapse Skiereiland 'n gemeenskaplike betekenis van bobbejane identifiseer. Terwyl ek myself sou weerhou om te verklaar dat mens–mens konflik die wesenlike bron van mens–bobbejaan konflik is, bly die menslike dimensies van mens–wildlewe konflik 'n belangrike, dog verwaarloosde kwessie.

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I would also like to thank the staff and my fellow postgraduate students in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Stellenbosch University. What started out in 2012 as an erratic group of new postgraduate students, unsure of where life is taking them, quickly boomed into a closely-knit “family” whose support, friendship, laughter, fun-filled adventures, upliftment, and insightful and academic conversations encouraged me on the days when this project seemed to be going nowhere.

This thesis would not have been possible without the research participants. Thank you for sharing your baboon (and human) encounters with me. I value every insight they shared with me and hope that they enjoy and find meaning in this thesis.

Dedications

I dedicate this thesis, firstly, to my parents and foremost supporters, Ilda and Etienne Terblanche. Since my first holiday in the Kruger National Park at a young age, they have instilled a love and passion of South African wildlife in me. I want to thank *mamma* (my mother) for reminding me to relax once in a while, for the encouraging sticky notes next to my bed every weekday morning, and for being my ultimate role model. I want to thank *pappa* (my father) for instilling in me a sense of self-worth, discipline and respect.

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List of abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
BCA	Baboon Conservation Authorities
BLG	Baboon Liaison Group
BMT	Baboon Management Team
BRU	Baboon Research Unit
BTT	Baboon Technical Team
CCT	City of Cape Town
DESC	Departmental Ethics Screening Committee
GPS	Global positioning system
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
HWS	Human Wildlife Solutions
KEAG	Kommetjie Environmental Awareness Group
NCC	Nature Conservation Corporation
NGO(s)	Nongovernmental organisation(s)
SANParks	South African National Parks
SPCA	Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
SU REC	Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee for the Humanities
TMNP	Table Mountain National Park
UCT	University of Cape Town
WAAC	Wild Animal Advisory Committee
WAC	Wildlife Advisory Committee

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

Spanning 470km² at the south-westernmost tip of Africa, the picturesque Cape Peninsula is the epitome of an urban/nature, and even human/animal, interface. While it has been described as a “globally important hot-spot of biodiversity” for endemic and endangered fauna and flora, particularly *fynbos* (Cowling, Macdonald & Simmons, 1996:527), the Cape Peninsula is also girdled and juxtaposed by Cape Town, one of South Africa’s fastest growing metropolises. It draws not only residents and local visitors, but also tourists from abroad, while simultaneously creating a space for “complexity and conflict” (Cilliers & Siebert, 2012:38).

Along with Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens and numerous other smaller, urban protected areas, Table Mountain National Park (TMNP), the only South African national park within a city’s borders (Cilliers & Siebert, 2012), allow for the remarkable natural environment of Cape Town and its suburbs to be “interwoven in the everyday lives of the people” (Anderson & Elmqvist, 2012:24; see Figure 1.1). What renders TMNP even more appealing, is that it is “predominately an open-access park” (Ferreira, 2011:279). In other words, this national and international tourism icon and Natural World Heritage Site mostly lacks those fences that traditionally have come to separate nature from human settlements which border, but also transect, natural areas; and that formed the “basis for nature conservation and biodiversity protection” in apartheid South Africa (Katzschner 2013:213; see also Büscher & Dietz, 2005; Spierenburg & Wels, 2010; Lindsey, Masterson, Beck & Romañach, 2012:223–224).

One case that reflects the privileges of living in close proximity to nature, as well as its accompanying challenges and responsibilities, is peoples’ relationships with the Cape Peninsula’s iconic and infamous *Papio ursinus*. Better known as the chacma baboon, it “forms a part of the Peninsula’s rich biodiversity, is a considerable tourism asset and plays a potentially significant ecological role in the Cape Floristic Region” (City of Cape Town [CCT], CapeNature & SANParks, 2012; CCT, 2012a). On the other hand, however, baboons are also deemed notorious troublemakers and are even “considered [to be] the most troublesome nonhuman primate genus” across Africa (Hill, 2005, cited in Hoffman & O’Riain, 2012a:13). Human–baboon conflict is a subset of the broader term human–wildlife conflict which “describes a subset of human–wildlife interactions that

lead to negative outcomes for either wildlife or people” (Hudenko, 2012:16), and is the focus of this sociological research project.

Chacma baboons occur throughout South Africa in a wide range of habitats, such as forests, montane regions, grasslands, savannahs, deserts, succulent Karoo and Cape *fynbos* (Hoffman & Hilton-Taylor, 2008; Hoffman, 2011; Butchart, 2012; Seiphethlo, 2014). The large, strongly built primate’s agility, dexterity and behavioural flexibility is also reflected in its dietary flexibility (Moolman & Breytenbach, 1976:41; Hoffman & O’Riain, 2012b:854; Hoffman & O’Riain, 2012c:1). Baboons are opportunistic omnivores with a diet ranging from wild fruit, berries and plant matter (Cillié, 2003:28; CapeNature, 2015:4) to insects, scorpions, rabbits, small- to medium -sized birds, and, occasionally, small antelopes and/or antelope lambs (Fourie, 1987:81; Apps, 2000:41; Hoffman & Hilton-Taylor, 2008). Baboons that live along the coastline, such as some of the troops on the Cape Peninsula, have added marine organisms, such as molluscs, mussels, limpets and shark eggs (Trethowan, 2009:42; Hoffman, 2011:18; Hoffman & O’Riain, 2012b:855; Hoffman & O’Riain, 2012c:6; Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014a; Wildest Africa, 2014) to their diverse menu. In addition, the Cape Peninsula offers baboons a rich source of anthropogenic food. According to Hoffman (2011:18–19; see also Hoffman & O’Riain, 2012b:855-856; Hoffman & O’Riain, 2012c:6&8), these anthropogenic food sources can include any of the following:

invasive alien vegetation (e.g., seeds from *Pinus* and *Acacia*), agricultural habitat (e.g., grapes in vineyards, pine nuts in *Pinus* plantations, ostrich feed in livestock farms), urban habitat (e.g., fruit trees in gardens, garbage in refuse bins, food items in houses) and food sources associated with visitors to the TMNP (e.g., items in backpacks, picnics and motor vehicles).

As will be seen throughout this thesis, it is primarily the agility and dexterity of baboons to traverse “zoning ordinances and land use plans” (Wolch, 2002:731) that have earned them negative reputations, such as “marauding trespasser”, “criminal” and “problem animal”, amongst others. This is especially evident on the Cape Peninsula, where human–baboon conflict reached a crisis point in the 2000s, as baboons continuously and increasingly “cross[ed] the perceived nature-culture borderline and enter[ed] domesticated spaces” (Johansson, 2008:48). As a result of transgressing borderlines that have traditionally designated certain spaces for baboons, those on the Cape Peninsula “threatened to subvert the carefully crafted and commercially successful fabrication of an ordered and non-threatening Nature” (Peace, 2001:183).

I have observed first-hand the ability of baboons to transgress humans’ perceived borderline between nature and culture. My first personal encounter with baboons occurred in 2000 during a family vacation to South Africa’s Kruger National Park. At that stage, Lower Sabie, one of the main



Figure 1.1 Cartographic representation of TMNP’s spatial plan, i.e. Conservation Development Framework. The map also depicts the Cape Peninsula’s urban/nature interface (Source: Swanepoel, 2013:74).

rest camps in the Kruger National Park, was renowned for its “troublesome” and “cheeky” baboons. Because of a lack of electrified fencing around the camp, baboons could effortlessly enter what was deemed to be human territory, and the chalets’ fridges, which stood outside on open verandas, could be accessed easily by the baboons. After obstructing the fridge with chairs, in the hope that this will deter the baboons, we were hit. With a spring in their step, the baboons made way with a handful of margarine and cheese. Adding to their breakfast, they stole bread from one chalet and beer from another – much to the dissatisfaction of their tenants. While some tourists were visibly confused and annoyed about what had just transpired, we were left with baboon fur stuck in our margarine, a good laugh as a game ranger fulfilled his seemingly daily task of leaping over the fence to chase the baboons back into nature, and a valuable lesson to never underestimate the cunningness of a baboon.

In the Tsitsikamma National Park along South Africa’s Garden Route, I had my second personal encounter with baboons in 2013. In this instance, the baboons did not enter “our” territory. Instead, we entered “their” territory and encountered them on the Loerie hiking trail in Tsitsikamma’s forest. Quite aware of what baboons are capable of with “canines [that] are longer and sharper than those of a lion” (Apps, 2000:41), we proceeded with caution. The baboons were, however, peaceful and, in the absence of other tourists, my parents and I were offered a glimpse of them in their natural world. While we have always been in awe of baboons, this experience further increased our respect and admiration for them. Even though these encounters did not occur on the Cape Peninsula, it did stimulate a question that I wished to answer: would someone else have experienced, and reacted to, the situations sketched above differently? And if so, why?



Figure 1.2 The researcher with a baboon approaching in the background in the Tsitsikamma National Park.

2. A background to baboon management on the Cape Peninsula

Human–baboon interactions on the Cape Peninsula provides an excellent example of baboon coexistence with humans as well as human–wildlife conflict situations and the outcomes of such situations for both humans and animals (Alagia, 2011; Imfene, 2012; Hoffman & O’Riain,

2012c:2). As will become evident throughout this thesis, conflicts between humans over wildlife, i.e. human–human conflicts, can occur as a result of various reasons. Nonetheless, numerous authors will agree with Conover (2001) that human–human conflicts are primarily rooted in differences of opinion about the animals themselves, the social constructions attached to them, and/or how they are managed. Consequently, detailing the background to baboon management on the Cape Peninsula is highly relevant to my research.

According to Professor Justin O’Riain – zoologist at the University of Cape Town (UCT) as well as a well-known figure in baboon-management circles on the Cape Peninsula – the Cape Peninsula is currently home to approximately 515 chacma baboons (Die Burger, 2014; see also Ashton, 2013; Swingler, 2014). The troops are distributed from Constantia in the north, down to the southernmost tip of the Cape Peninsula in the TMNP’s Cape of Good Hope section (see Figure 1.3). Most of these troops’ ranges fall outside of TMNP’s boundaries, and are “concentrated on the urban edge of human habitation, in close proximity to human populations, where they frequently cause damage to property, raid human derived food resources and are exposed to injury and death” (Baboon Liaison Group [BLG], 2011a). Due to large-scale landscape transformation and fragmentation on the Cape

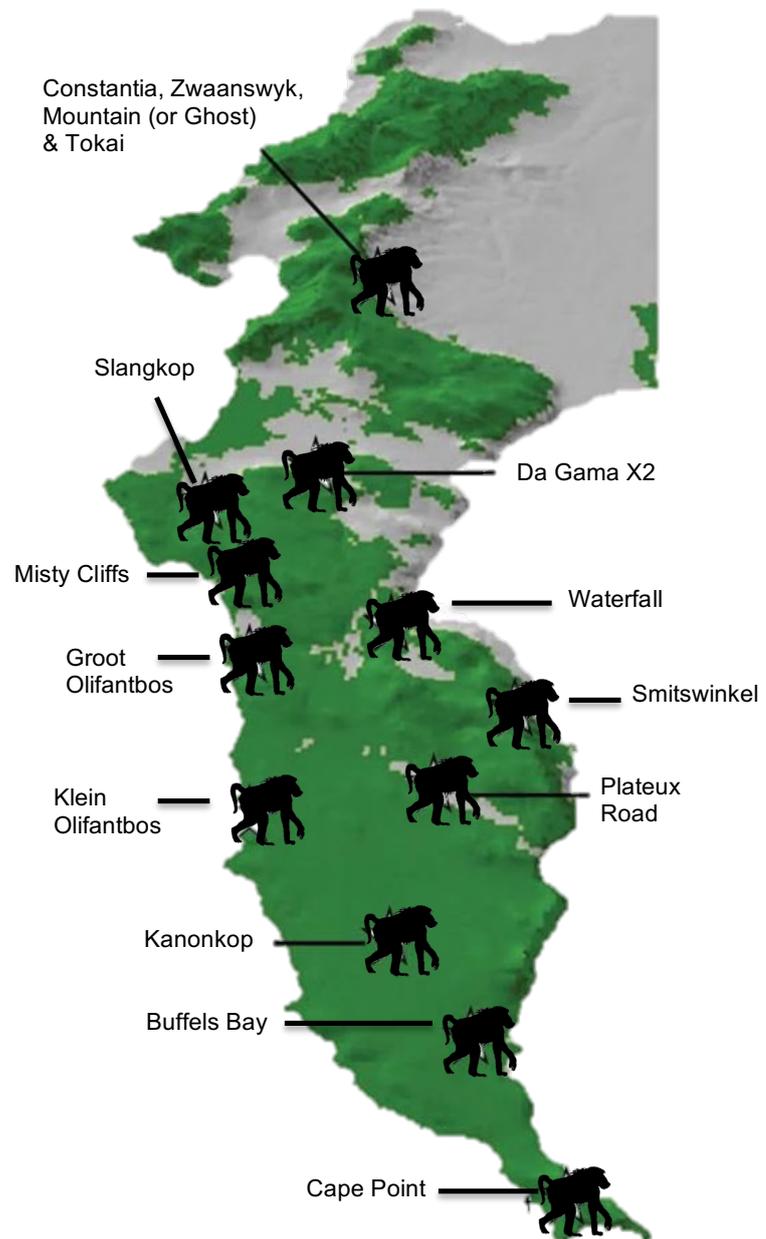


Figure 1.3 Map of the Cape Peninsula illustrating the general locations of the 16 chacma baboon troops at the time of the research. The map also indicates the Cape Peninsula’s natural (green) and human-modified (grey) habitats (Adapted from Drewe, O’Riain, Beamish, Currie & Parsons, 2012:298).

Peninsula, baboons and humans often come into conflict, and with the abovementioned upsurge in negative interactions between humans and baboons, the need to manage the Cape Peninsula's baboons became apparent in the 2000s. As will become evident below, advances have been made in terms of this management, which now not only curbs financial and emotional costs for humans, but also baboon mortalities and injuries (Alagia, 2011).

Early baboon-management techniques, such as culling, were “common practice on the Cape Peninsula at the end of the 20th century” (Koutstaal, 2013:39). This management technique reflected conservationists' position that, in order to regulate and control wildlife populations in an enclosed area such as the Cape Peninsula, culling was necessary. Secondly, the management technique of culling corresponded with the predominant definition of baboons as vermin. As local residents on the Cape Peninsula raised concerns about increasingly problematic encounters with baboons during the late 1980s and early 1990s (Koutstaal, 2013:39), conservation authorities were left with no choice other than to exterminate entire baboon troops from the Kommetjie, Kalk Bay, Muizenberg, Hout Bay and Chapman's Peak areas (CapeNature, 2011; Swingler, 2015). Even though chacma baboons were then, and still are, of least concern for extinction according to the International Union for Conservation of Nature's Red List of Threatened Species (Hoffman & Hilton-Taylor, 2008; Montgomery, 2014), a range of anthropogenic activities, including the aforementioned “widespread legal (and illegal) culling operations, and retributive attacks by individuals against transgressive animals” (Hurn, 2011:41), were cause for concern among some local residents. The culling of the entire Kommetjie troop in 1990 (Trethowan, 2009:5) probably caused the greatest public outcry and led to the establishment of the nongovernmental organisation (NGO), Kommetjie Environmental Awareness Group (KEAG).

The founding of KEAG was a crucial first step in establishing a “dialogue between the conservation authorities and the general public” (Koutstaal, 2013:40) regarding baboons, baboon management and human–baboon conflict. Special attention was paid to different stakeholders' “strongly held opinions [...] over conservation objectives”, which often conflicted (Young, Marzano, White, McCracken, Redpath, Carss, Quine & Watt, 2010, cited in Redpath, Young, Evely, Adams, Sutherland, Whitehouse, Amar, Lambert, Linnell, Watt & Gutiérrez, 2013:100), especially since KEAG questioned the appropriateness of culling as a management tool. In order to encourage more humane means to manage baboons, KEAG explored alternative management options, with a focus on “management rather than elimination” (Trethowan, 2009:6). KEAG's ideal of managing baboons rather than eliminating them was finally realised in 1998, when baboons on the Cape Peninsula were accorded protected status and, as a result, became the only protected, free-roaming baboon troops outside of national park boundaries in South Africa, under the CapeNature

Conservation Laws Amendment Act 2000, Ordinance 19 of 1974 (Understanding baboons, 2010; de Waal, 2012; South African baboon forum, 2015a).

The Baboon Management Team (BMT) was also established in 1998 and was comprised of various stakeholders, including South African National Parks (SANParks), CapeNature, CCT, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA), concerned local residents, and natural scientists from UCT's Baboon Research Unit (BRU) (CCT, 2009; Nieuwoudt, 2009; Alagia, 2011). The primary aim of the BMT was to “maintain a sustainable baboon population [on] the Cape Peninsula, whilst minimising conflict between people and baboons” (Nieuwoudt, 2009, cited in Hurn, 2011:41). Human–baboon–conflict–resolution strategies under the auspices of the BMT involved installing and marketing baboon-proof bins; waste management; distribution of educational and awareness-raising literature to residents and tourists; erecting of information boards; and, the installation of electrified fencing in strategic places (Alagia, 2011; Hoffman, 2011; Hurn, 2011; Hoffman & O’Riain, 2012a).

Since the early 2000s, NGO Baboon Matters (later renamed Baboon Matters Trust) employed baboon monitors, or “baboon bouncers”, as Bill Bailey jocularly refers to them in his documentary series *Baboons with Bill Bailey* (Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014a&b), to manage baboons on the Cape Peninsula. By means of “shouting, clapping, waving sticks and occasionally throwing stones” (Alagia, 2011; see also Kansky, 2002:18; Hoffman & O’Riain, 2012b:856; Thomas, 2012a), baboon monitors were tasked to follow the baboon troops around as they foraged, and to prevent them from entering, and/or to drive them away from, residential urban and recreational areas. According to Jenni Trethowan (2009:55) – the founding member of Baboon Matters as well as a well-known figure in baboon-management circles on the Cape Peninsula – in its first few years the baboon-monitor programme faced an uphill battle due to a “pitiful budget, minimal resources and inadequate manpower”. Along with managing the baboon-monitor programme, Baboon Matters also escorted paying tourists on “walking with baboons” tours (Hurn, 2011:44). While these tours, according to its supporters, were somehow successful in bridging a divide between baboons and humans, as well as between nature and culture (African classic encounters, s.a.; Andulela, s.a.), they were a cause for concern for some residents who argued that walking with baboons enhanced human–baboon conflicts and was motivated merely by commercial interests (Trethowan, 2009:136).

In order to formalise and coordinate the baboon-monitoring programme, CCT employed Nature Conservation Corporation (NCC) (later renamed NCC Environmental Services) after a tender process in July 2009 (Alagia, 2011; CCT, 2012b). While the “efficacy of baboon monitors as a management strategy has been a source of ongoing debate” (Hurn, 2011:43), the “NCC’s

operational and management experience” was considered “a significant contributor to the success” of the baboon-monitoring programme (NCC Environmental Services, s.a.). Hurn (2011:44) is of the opinion that the primary reason for NCC’s successful and efficient baboon-monitoring programme, other than their work experience in the field, is the close working relationship they had developed and established with the zoologists at the BRU. In addition to monitoring baboons, NCC utilised the “data obtained by the BRU on baboon behaviour and spatial ecology” (Hurn, 2011:44) to map and track the movements of baboon troops; tag problematic, lone males¹ for easier tracking; capture and relocate excess male baboons in troops as a management option; educate members of the public on baboons and baboon management; record and report incidences of human retaliation against baboons²; and assist the BRU by collecting data (NCC Environmental Services, s.a.). Even though the baboon-monitoring programme of NCC also faced numerous challenges, it was largely successful, with “mortality rates dropping to 5% on average for the last three years” that they were tasked with managing baboons, and the “number of baboons increasing from 419 in 2008 to 475 in 2012” (CCT, 2012b).

While the BMT provided a platform for conservation authorities and lay people to discuss baboon-related issues with one another, a number of individuals were concerned and complained about the “disfunctionality [*sic*] of the BMT as a management structure” (Koutstaal, 2013:42; see Chapter 4). Koutstaal (2013:42) identified numerous reasons for the imploding and reshuffling of the BMT, which include:

important decision makers not showing up at meetings, promises not being followed through, officials with no knowledge about baboons whatsoever deciding about best policies and a general lack of vision and determination to bring the suggestions just made by several scientists into practice.

¹ Subadult male baboons may leave their natal troop several times during their lifetime, and emigrate to other troops in order to reproduce (O’Riain & Hoffman, 2010:161; Swedell & Saunders, 2012a; Swedell, 2012a; Seiphethlo, 2014). As a result of the Cape Peninsula’s urban/nature interface, it is particularly difficult for dispersing males to locate a new troop (Kansky, 2002:12; A fed baboon is a dead baboon, s.a.; Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014). More often than not, they become trapped in the urban areas as they attempt to reach new troops, and in order to survive, start to raid (Fischer, 2012).

² Acts of humans retaliating against baboons include shooting, poisoning, stoning, beating and/or trapping baboons, as well as running them over with cars and/or setting dogs on them (e.g. Kansky, 2002:9; South Africa’s Cape baboons being maimed, 2005; Woodward, 2008:66; Beamish, 2009; Trethowan, 2009:89; Thomas, 2012a; Yeld, 2013a&b; Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014c&d; Barnard, 2014a:8; Die Burger, 2014; Wood & Jordan, 2014; 5050 Community, 2015a).

In 2010, the BMT finally disbanded, primarily as a result of “structural issues [...] relating to the distribution of power” amongst the various stakeholders (Jones, Young & Watt, 2005:7), and also due to a lack of coordination between the various stakeholders. Baboon management had seemingly fallen into a “grey area”, with authorities unable to decide who should be involved and/or responsible for decisions relating to baboon management. Furthermore, with both the authorities and the public holding deeply engrained and differing perceptions about baboons, it became increasingly clear that achieving consensus on baboons and baboon management between these two parties would be challenging. In order to address this problem, the current baboon-management structure in the form of the Baboon Technical Team (BTT) was devised, not only to address human–baboon conflict, but also the increase in human–human conflict.

The first segment of the BTT consists of the Baboon Conservation Authorities (BCA) (see Figure 1.4). The government bodies of the CCT, SANParks and CapeNature jointly undertake baboon management on the Cape Peninsula (CCT, CapeNature & SANParks, 2012; CCT, 2012a) and “hold monthly meetings to deliberate on management challenges” (City reports baboon management successes, 2013). Even though each alliance member

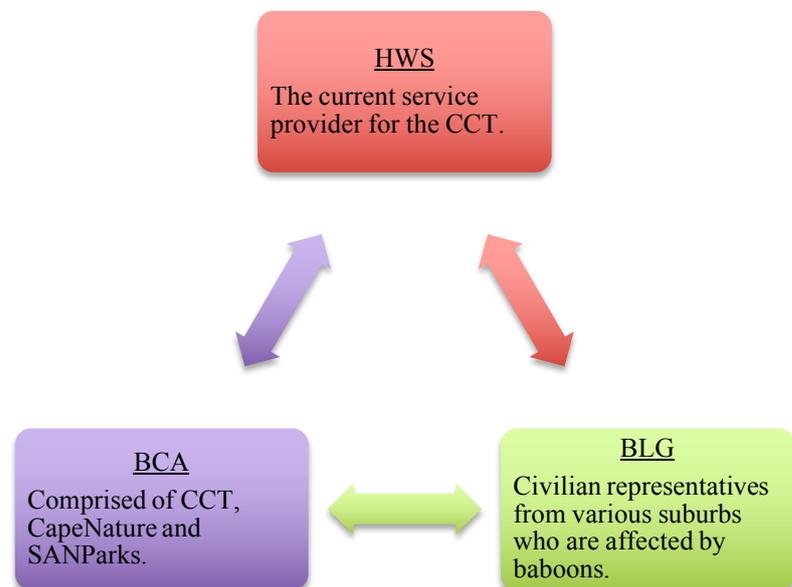


Figure 1.4 The current baboon-management structure in the form of the BTT.

has numerous and differing baboon-management responsibilities (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4), their overarching aim is to “reduce the frequency and severity of [baboon] raiding behaviour³” (CCT, CapeNature & SANParks, 2012). To assist in achieving this aim, the CCT is responsible for employing a service provider who is, in turn, responsible for implementing and executing baboon-management strategies in the field.

³ According to the BCA baboon protocol (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, Section 2), a raiding baboon is one which “forages on human-derived food by entering a property or car with people inside or breaking into a building with or without people or attacking people directly” (CapeNature, 2011). This particular definition excludes baboons that feed opportunistically on anthropogenic food sources.

The current service provider, Human Wildlife Solutions (HWS), was employed in August 2012 after NCC's contract expired (CCT, 2012b). Under the leadership of zoologist Dr Phil Richardson, HWS follows a “professional scientific approach to baboon conservation” (Koutstaal, 2013:46) to ensure that its staff are “effective, responsible and knowledgeable in the work [they] do and the decisions [they] make” (HWS, s.a.a.). HWS carries a permit, issued by CapeNature, that is “subject to a very specific protocol and standard operating procedure” which allows them to make use of paintball markers as an “aversive tool to keep baboons safe and out of urban areas” (CCT, 2014; see Figure 1.5). While this strategy has been received with disapproval, especially amongst baboon activists⁴ who are of the opinion that the use of paintball guns on baboons is a form of animal cruelty (eNCA, 2012), it has achieved an exceptionally high success rate of keeping baboons outside of urban areas for an average of 98,6% of the time (Richardson, 2014a). As a result, CCT has recently renewed HWS's baboon-management contract until the end of June 2017 (Richardson, 2014b; see also Saffer, 2014; Yeld, 2014:6).



Figure 1.5 HWS field manager aiming a paintball marker (Source: Koutstaal, 2013:57).

In its initial stages, the BTT was also assisted in its policy making by local researchers from UCT's BRU. The BRU provided the BTT with data on a wide range of aspects of baboon biology, e.g. baboons' behavioural ecology, spatial ecology, social behaviour, genetics and/or physiology (BRU, 2010). However, at the time of writing, the BRU was disbanding as a result of decreasing numbers of students conducting research on the Cape Peninsula's baboons. Consequently, the BRU no longer answers the BTT's baboon-management questions, although local and international research still inform the BTT's policies (Beamish, 2012:11; Cape Town Heritage, 2013).

In addition to being informed by scientific research, the BTT is also informed by its second segment, the BLG (see Figure 1.4), so as to incorporate voices from civil society and adapt management strategies to reflect the concerns of residents who are affected by baboons (Beamish 2012:11; Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012c:10; City reports baboon management successes, 2013). The

⁴ Throughout this thesis the term “baboon activists” will refer to people who are adamant that the lives of animals, in this instance baboons, are “no less valuable than that of a human and that animals [such as baboons] have inherent rights that humans have a responsibility to protect” (Jackson, 1989:37).

BLG is a “voluntary association of civic bodies representing suburbs, communities and areas on the Peninsula visited by baboons” (BLG, 2011a), which meets regularly with the BCA. Although the alliance of civic representatives is not mandated to manage baboons, the BCA does recognise the citizen representatives’ valuable role in educating and raising awareness about baboons amongst the public (BLG, 2011b). The BLG’s most important task, however, is to liaise between baboon-affected communities and the BCA. Other primary objectives of the BLG include, amongst others, providing support to the BCA and ensuring that the BCA fulfil its mandates; promoting working, functional partnerships amongst all the baboon-management stakeholders; ensuring adequate communication and education strategies so as to inform residents and visitors on baboon-related issues and concerns, as well as on how they can contribute to the success of baboon management; and to “ensure synergy between the different civics on the BLG so [that] the very best solutions can be found to meet the varying challenges within each area” (BLG, 2011a).

By incorporating the voices of lay people in baboon management, the BLG has played a definitive role in highlighting the diversity of stakeholder groups and the increasing individualisation⁵ of societies involved in human–wildlife conflict issues (Patterson, Montag & Williams, 2003:181). As a result of increasing individualisation and, consequently, a possible increasing diversity in the values, attitudes, and beliefs of stakeholders, human–human conflict on baboon issues can become more likely. In relation to individualisation, emphasis should also be placed on the social constructionist theoretical framework which argues that individuals attach labels to animals on the basis of subjective experiences, instead of on more broadly applicable, objective data (Harker & Bates, 2007:331). In other words, although the focus may be on a single animal species, people may have different acceptance and/or tolerance capacities of an animal “in the same place, [and] at the same time” (Carpenter, Decker & Lipscomb, 2000:11). This also applies to the management of baboons on the Cape Peninsula. Lee and Priston (2005:1) suggest that the “human perception of nonhuman primates is often one of contradiction, typified by extremes”. For example, while some people view baboons as a source of tourism and/or entertainment, those that live “in proximity to [baboons] consider [them] a nuisance, competition or threat” (Bagniewska & Macdonald, 2010:3). Some residents even go as far as labelling baboons as “criminals” and/or “intruders” (Primate Handshake, s.a.; see Chapter 2, Section 6) due to the property damage and economic losses these animals cause, and their harassment of humans for food. As the following section will show, such

⁵ In their book *Individualisation: Institutionalised individualism and its social and political consequences*, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002:xxi) demonstrate that individualisation is a “structural characteristic of highly differentiated societies”. Individuals are increasingly required to rely on themselves, to construct their own lives, and to become “more self-sufficient and self-reliant” (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008:647).

social constructions of baboons, as well as the associated human–human conflict, is the main focus of this research project.

3. Research problem and key objectives

This research project is motivated by my personal interest in wildlife conservation, combined with a need to address a lack of social science research on human–wildlife conflict in both rural and urban South African contexts (Hoffman, 2011; Cilliers & Siebert, 2012; Koutstaal, 2013), and to arouse more scholarly interest in the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict. Its underlying aim, however, is to determine the validity, in a South African context, of the intriguing suggestion in the literature that human–human conflict underpins human–wildlife conflict (e.g., Dickman, 2010; Clarke, 2012). To do so, the research explores the varying social constructions of chacma baboons and human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula. Furthermore, the following specific research questions guided the collection of empirical data on human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula:

- 1) What are the attitudes and values of stakeholders on the Cape Peninsula in relation to chacma baboons, and specifically in relation to those who often cross the urban/nature divide?
- 2) Do various stakeholders construct chacma baboons and human–baboon conflict differently?
If so,
 - a) what are these different social constructions; and
 - b) is there a willingness to adjust to, accommodate or at least understand “other” social constructions?
- 3) Are different social constructions the foundation for human–human conflict? If so, is human–human conflict then the actual source of human–baboon conflict?

A qualitative approach was taken and a basic interpretive research design (Merriam, 2002:6) implemented. Data were collected by means of personal, semi-structured interviews with members of various stakeholder groups that are involved in the Cape Peninsula’s “baboon debate”, i.e. governmental institutions, NGOs, researchers, representatives of residential associations, local residents and journalists. As is common practice in qualitative research, I made use of non-

probability (purposive and snowball) sampling to select potential research participants from these groups.

In order to increase the trustworthiness of my data and to gain a better understanding of the complex social interactions, practices and belief systems which are embedded within human–baboon conflicts, I also applied discourse analysis to numerous forms of documentation that refer to the Cape Peninsula’s baboons. Although these artefacts were originally included to provide examples of popular discourse on the Cape Peninsula’s baboons, I found, as Koutstaal (2013:111) did, that they also serve as “supporting documentation about the history of the ‘baboon debate’ and [baboon] management”. Together, these qualitative procedures allowed me to form a network of understanding that considers the practices and ideas, shaped by different stakeholders, regarding baboon management.

In conclusion, I share Hoffman’s (2011:160) opinion that, even though research focusing on baboon biology on the Cape Peninsula is abundant, “comparably little attention has been paid to the human aspects”. I therefore undertook the research also to highlight the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict, as well as the importance of collaborative working relationships between the various stakeholders involved in the management of baboons and wildlife in general. My research project therefore also has the potential to contribute more generally to the literature on human–wildlife conflict, by underscoring the importance of social science disciplines in addressing such conflict. Furthermore, by obtaining the views of a variety of stakeholders on human–baboon conflict and baboon management on the Cape Peninsula, this research project is well positioned to critically assess the theoretical validity of the claim that such conflict is grounded in human–human conflict.

4. Chapter outline

This thesis will be presented in five chapters. Following the introduction, the second chapter consists of a review of the empirical literature on human–wildlife conflict, as well as theoretical frameworks considered relevant to this thesis. Chapter 3 informs the reader of my choice of research methodology and the procedures I followed in order to answer the research questions outlined in Section 3 above.

Chapter 4 elucidates the results of the study, which are interpreted and discussed in relation to the empirical and theoretical literature. In order to structure the research study’s central theme on human–human conflict and to ensure that all the underlying reasons for human–human conflict are

considered, the presentation of the findings is structured according to Young *et al.*'s (2010:3979) six categories of the underlying causes of human–human conflict.

The final chapter, Chapter 5, revisits the overall aim and specific objectives of this study, summarises its findings, and offers conclusions on the basis of those findings. A section reflecting on the research project as a whole is included, along with its limitations and strengths, as well as recommendations for future research. By adopting this structure for the concluding chapter, I intend to reflect on whether or not the research objectives have been met, and the reasons for my assessment in this regard.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

1. Introduction

The purpose of the following chapter is to provide an overview of previous research on human–wildlife conflict, with a particular focus on the theoretical framework of human–human conflict. The themes in which the literature review is divided are aligned with the topics which previous studies have addressed. These topics include the blurring and crossing of boundaries between numerous dichotomies, but especially those of the urban/nature and human/animal divides; reasons for increasing conflict between humans and wildlife that are particularly applicable to the Cape Peninsula; underlying causes of human–human conflict; the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict; the ways in which social science can assist in addressing human–wildlife conflict; and the facet of social constructionism in wildlife management.

The scholarly work that drew my attention to human–human conflict is that of Clarke (2012), who examines the increasing conflict between humans and wildlife in Africa, including human–primate conflicts in rural areas. Human–primate conflicts have occurred since the dawn of humankind, and have traditionally been considered a problem which occurs in agricultural/rural areas (Messmer, 2000:98). However, increasing primate-habitat encroachment by urban development has led to a rise in conflictual interactions between humans and wildlife at the fringes of urban areas (see, for example, *World’s deadliest animals: Urban jungle*, 2014; *Urban jungle: Suburbia*, 2015). Conflictual interactions, in particular, challenge humans to negotiate their traditional, static borderlines between themselves and animals, as well as between urban and natural areas (Johansson, 2008:48).

In the urban areas of the Cape Peninsula, human–baboon conflict reached a critical point in the 2000s, as baboons increasingly crossed peoples’ “perceived nature–culture borderline and enter[ed] domesticated spaces” (Johansson, 2008:48). As a result of increasing interest in these conflicts, including ample media attention and the need for a workable solution, a substantial body of research was stimulated. The majority of the research conducted on the Cape Peninsula’s baboons is of a biological nature (see Table 2.1 below). In recent years, only two social-science studies have been conducted on human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula, namely those of Hurn (2011) and Koutstaal (2013), which will be discussed in greater detail below. Even though these researchers also refer to human–human conflict, which is the primary focus of my research, the contribution of

my research project lies in its focus on the novel argument that human–wildlife conflict is grounded in human–human conflict, and its use of a social constructionist theoretical framework to explore that argument.

Author(s)	Year	Title
Davidge	1978a	Ecology of baboons (<i>Papio ursinus</i>) at Cape Point
Davidge	1978b	Activity patterns of chacma baboons (<i>Papio ursinus</i>) at Cape Point
Hoffman	2006	The spatial ecology of a semi-urban chacma baboon (<i>Papio ursinus</i>) troop: A case study in the Cape Peninsula, South Africa
Beamish	2009	Causes and consequences of mortality and mutilation in baboons of the Cape Peninsula, South Africa
Ravasi	2009	Gastrointestinal parasite infections in chacma baboons (<i>Papio ursinus</i>) of the Cape Peninsula, South Africa: The influence of individual, group, and anthropogenic factors
van Doorn	2009	The interface between socioecology and management of chacma baboons (<i>Papio ursinus</i>) in the Cape Peninsula
O'Riain & Hoffman	2010	Baboons and fencing in the Western Cape
van Doorn, O'Riain & Swedell	2010	The effects of extreme seasonality of climate and day length on the activity budget and diet of semi-commensal chacma baboons (<i>Papio ursinus</i>) in the Cape Peninsula of South Africa
Hoffman	2011	The spatial ecology of chacma baboons (<i>Papio ursinus</i>) in the Cape Peninsula, South Africa: Towards improved management and conservation strategies
Hoffman & O'Riain	2011	The spatial ecology of chacma baboons (<i>Papio ursinus</i>) in a human-modified environment
Kaplan, O'Riain, van Eeden & King	2011	A low-cost manipulation of food resources reduces spatial overlap between baboons (<i>Papio ursinus</i>) and humans in conflict
Drewe, O'Riain, Beamish, Currie & Parsons	2012	Survey of infections transmissible between baboons and humans, Cape Town, South Africa
Hoffman & O'Riain	2012a	Monkey management: Using spatial ecology to understand the extent and severity of human–baboon conflict in the Cape Peninsula, South Africa
Hoffman & O'Riain	2012b	Troop size and human-modified habitat affect the ranging patterns of a chacma baboon population in the Cape Peninsula, South Africa
Hoffman & O'Riain	2012c	Landscape requirements of a primate population in a human-dominated environment
Ravasi, O'Riain, Adams & Appleton	2012	A coprological survey of protozoan and nematode parasites of free-ranging chacma baboons (<i>Papio ursinus</i>) in the southwestern Cape, South Africa
Kaplan & O'Riain	2015	Shedding light on reflective prisms as potential baboon (<i>Papio ursinus</i>) deterrents in the Cape Peninsula, South Africa

Even though this research project's focus is on the extent to which human–human conflict underpins human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula, it is also unavoidably situated within the broader discussion of urban/nature and human/animal dichotomies. By analysing the social

constructions people develop of baboons, I will also be able to “reflect [on the] broader facets of the relationship between humans and nature”, in agreement with Kellert (1983:243) that “animals often function as a symbolic barometer of people’s fundamental beliefs and valuations of nature”.

The points of convergence between humans and wildlife, and between urban and natural areas, have spawned a vast network of literature situated within a variety of disciplines, such as sociology, social anthropology, geography, environmental studies and ecology. Engaging with this wide range of disciplines allows me, firstly, to understand the human/wildlife, urban/nature relationship as a complex assembly connected to a diversity of perspectives. Secondly, it also allows me to engage critically with these terms and their often-contested social constructions. According to Patterson *et al.* (2003:181), in urban settings these social constructions become increasingly diverse – “as opposed to shared [...] meanings and values” – as societies become more individualised.

The aim of this chapter is not only to provide an in-depth understanding of key issues relevant to the research, but also to develop a clear rationale for conducting empirical sociological research in the field of human–wildlife conflict and, particularly, on the issue of related human–human conflict.

2. Blurring boundaries between dichotomies

While varying social constructions of wildlife in general and of specific species exist, encounters with wildlife on the Cape Peninsula is of particular interest in that it also challenges a society’s definition of natural and cultural spaces. Linked to the discussion on social constructionism, Cock (2007:47) argues that there are “different ideas of nature [which] co-exist and collide with each other”. As a result, “our attitudes to nature are complex, changing and contradictory” (Cock, 2007:47). Some of these understandings, combined with the fact that dualistic thinking has been ingrained in western culture, norms and behaviour (Tovey, 2003:209; Johansson, 2008:66–67), reinforce the notion that humans are separate from, and in fact superior to, nature (Spoehr, 1965:115; Bekoff, 2007:832; Cock, 2007; Peggs 2012:40).

The case of the Cape Peninsula baboons challenge this understanding of separateness and the assumption that there is a clear, static boundary between natural and



Figure 2.1 Baboons make good use of the Cape Peninsula’s permeable boundaries (Source: Thomas, 2012a).

cultural spaces, as these baboons find themselves in the urban setting of the Cape Peninsula, while they are “not normally thought of as city critters” (Cohn, 2005:201). Whether one loves or loathes baboons, one has to appreciate their ability to seize opportunities, and their adaptability, which allows them to survive and thrive in both urban and rural areas. Unfortunately for humans, this renders extremely difficult any control and management of baboons, especially those that seemed to have lost their fear of humans and the urban areas they inhabit.

By moving beyond what has traditionally been conceived as space designated for baboons, the baboons on the Cape Peninsula have “threatened to subvert the carefully crafted and commercially successful fabrication of an ordered and non-threatening Nature” (Peace, 2001:183). Johansson (2009:257) describes this crossing of boundaries as the core of human–wildlife conflict occurrences. Once a wild animal and/or human crosses a perceived borderline into the realm of the other, Johansson (2009:257) suggests that it

becomes a subject out of place, which means that the subject is then spatially located in a space where it should not be or where it does not belong according to tradition, custom, rules, law, public opinion, prevailing discourse or some other criteria set by human beings.

Establishing a non-conflictual relationship between people and wild animals, in this case baboons, is therefore both a cultural and ecological challenge (Sprague & Iwasaki, 2006). As baboons enter urban spaces and thereby become “out of place” (Jerolmack, 2008:72), they seem to challenge people’s control of natural elements and their “need to live in a bounded space” (Johansson, 2008:51). Fear is invoked in a variety of human stakeholders, especially residents, as their biosecurity⁶ is challenged. Considerable effort is required, especially from residents and tourists, to be conscious of the baboons and of the likelihood of encounters with these nonhuman primates. While some



Figure 2.2 Example of a baboon being too close for comfort (Source: Mouland, 2013).

⁶ In his research on the reintroduction of wolves to the southern French Alps, Buller (2008:1583) defines biosecurity in a “traditional, almost visceral” notion by stating that it refers to measures and policies that are in place to protect people from “being eaten by big and ferocious wild animals” (see also Johansson, 2008:10).

residents may initially be attracted to the idea of living in close proximity to “nature”, the “living arrangement with wild species may be[come] too close for comfort” (Gilleland, 2010:2).

There is no doubt that baboons’ adeptness at exploiting urbanisation (Blair, 1997, cited in Gilleland, 2010:23), and the benefits that are associated with urbanisation, contribute to their survival in various ecosystems. However, as baboons and other animals continue to “inappropriately transgress” into human territory, there can be an increase in negative symbolisms, or social constructions, associated with these animals, even if they are not dangerous or harmful. This shows that people’s differing orientations towards, and subsequent characterisation of, baboons are not about the animal itself. Rather, the characterisations are an indication of how the social constructions of baboons, and animals in general, are spatially dependent and have both physical and ethics-related consequences (Ilicheva, 2010:64; Peggs, 2012:81). Precisely because of baboons’ “impurity”, which is caused by their ability and tendency to stray across boundaries, Arluke and Sanders (1996:178) classify baboons on their sociozoologic scale as vermin. While vermin are not necessarily life-threatening to humans, “they are believed to pollute what is regarded as pure and create disorder out of order” (Arluke & Sanders, 1996:178).

The difficulties in keeping baboons in nature, because of their ability to traverse physical boundaries, are compounded by the fact that they also cross metaphorical boundaries. As will be discussed in the section below on the social constructions of baboons, these animals feature prominently in modes of expression, folklore, cartoon strips, television documentaries, etc. and are often anthropomorphised. I would argue that, as a result, baboons are even less likely to be “firmly and irrevocably situated in Nature” by becoming “liminal to it, intruding on and increasingly inhabiting an uncertain and hazardous space” (Peace, 2001:189).

2.1 Urban nature and juxtaposing urban/nature

Throughout history, “place construction has played practical, sociocultural and symbolic roles” (Manuel-Navarrete & Redclift, 2010:345). The discursive boundaries separating nature from culture have become deeply embedded within the mindsets of people and society (Suchet, 2002, cited in Hytten, 2009:18) and, according to Winston (1997:vii), this distance that people create between nature and culture “is at the core of the environmental crisis we find ourselves in today”. It seems as if most people remain unable to escape this constructed separation, as the division between urban and nature continues to organise our thoughts and actions (Castree, 2001:6).

Barry (2007:24) links this to urbanisation, which “over the past 200 years has profoundly affected how people [view] and [think] about the natural environment”. In discussing the nature/culture division which is exemplified in the divide between city and country, Barry (2007) identifies two outcomes of the continuation, increase and apparent attractiveness of urbanisation: viewing nature negatively as the “other” and attaching special, positive meanings to unspoilt natural settings. I would argue that these two contrasting outcomes are rooted in different values, attitudes, and beliefs that people attach to nature, which in turn provides fruitful soil for human–human conflict. Another point of interest for wildlife managers and sociologists alike, is that the wavering of borderlines can also result in human–human conflict.

Because of urbanisation, society became “increasingly removed from direct contact with nature” (Barry, 2007:24; see also Spoehr, 1965:117). Technological innovations allowed people to consider nature as something to be dominated, exploited, tamed and conquered (Spoehr, 1965:117; Wolch, 1998:119; Barry, 2007), as if it were a domain different and separate from society (Castree, 2001:5). This, I believe, contributed to the counter-positioning of nature and wilderness as “something raw, dangerous and unpredictable” vis-à-vis “progressive”, “civilised” and “cultured” urban space (Johansson, 2008:73; Peggs, 2012:66). Consequently, nature and wilderness became a “degraded and beastly place populated by other animals and degraded humans” (Peggs, 2012:66).

According to Philo and Wilbert (2000:11, cited in Jerolmack, 2008:74), all societies have an “imaginative geography of animals”. While humans do grant consent to certain animal species, such as companion animals, to enter “their” urban space (Peggs, 2012:72), wild animals in particular have been deemed unsuited for urban areas. In addition to the perception that wildlife entering a tame space represents an “unnatural” and/or “degraded” situation, “wild animals [also] present a threat/nuisance to people” and their ordered relations (Ilicheva, 2010:61). It is therefore no surprise that, as discussed in Section 2, humans exhibit a tendency to at least attempt at separating and setting themselves apart from nature (Gilleland, 2010:28). As mentioned above, baboons on the Cape Peninsula are not immune to these negative constructions, as they “are not staying in their designated space” (Hyttén & Burns, 2007:50) and are entering what is now constructed as human territory.

Contrary to the negative perception of nature as the “other”, humans have, since the late 19th century, also attached special, positive meanings to unspoilt natural settings (Hannigan, 2006). According to Hannigan (2006:41), they do so in an attempt to escape issues that have come to characterise urbanisation, such as a “surfeit of noise, pollution, overcrowding and social problems”. For Barry (2007:24–25), this is precisely the reason for a rise in environmental awareness or

consciousness, in particular of the need for preservation and conservation of nature. Those who have romanticised nature, animals and/or wilderness, who wish to escape what is perceived as an artificial urban environment, view nature as “something to be cherished and valued in the face of a world in which the natural environment is increasingly ‘developed’ or destroyed by humans” (Barry, 2007:22). In addition, geographer Neil Smith (1984:2, cited in Castree, 2001:6) romanticises this nonsocial and nonhuman realm even further, by describing it as “pristine, God-given [and] autonomous”. In turn, this romanticisation of nature has, unfortunately, “contributed to a symbolic separation of humans and animals” (Hobson-West, 2007:26). This perceived borderline between humans and animals will be discussed in the following section.

Whether one prefers the first characterisation of nature, and in particular wilderness, as “barren and unimproved, as immoral and savage”, or the second characterisation, whereby it is viewed as “a spiritual refuge from the city”, it has always been “fashioned as counterposed to civilisation” (Wolmer, 2007:14). By making use of social constructionism, sociologists can make a valuable contribution to the understanding of foundations of place constructions, by highlighting the fact that, even though places are collectively shared, “they do not necessarily mean the same thing to everybody” (Manuel-Navarrete & Redclift, 2010:346). This also leads one to acknowledge that nature can indeed not be separated from culture:

nature is defined, delimited, and even physically reconstituted by different societies, often in order to serve specific, and usually dominant, social interests. In other words, the social and the natural are seen to intertwine in ways that make their separation – in either thought or practice – impossible (Castree, 2001:3).

While both of the above impacts of urbanisation on people’s view of nature are still apparent in contemporary society, the second, more positive outlook on nature has led to an increase in attempts to establish and reinsert nature within urban areas to address the spatial, as well as social, consequences of separating nature from culture or the urban. There is no doubt that nature does exist within urban areas, but such urban nature is still viewed by “purists as profane, fallen, or contaminated” (Ilicheva, 2010:61). In South Africa in particular, the juxtaposition of urban/nature is relatively novel and has only come to the attention of researchers in the last few years (Cilliers, Müller & Drewes, 2004:51). Establishing within the boundaries of South Africa’s continuous expanding urban areas smaller nature conservation areas and even larger national parks, such as Cape Town’s open-access TMNP, allows those who have not had a “direct experience of nature” (Barry, 2007:24–25) the opportunity to do so. Even though Winston (1997:60) is of the opinion that such urban versions of nature are hybrids, “groomed and sanitised for consistency with the urban

setting”, practices such as these at least attempt to break down the traditional, symbolic borderlines between urban and nature, as well as other spatial dichotomies, such as between humans and animals, that individuals and society have socially constructed.

One project which aimed to transect and challenge the urban/nature divide in the Cape Town region, is the Cape Flats Nature project which ran from 2002 until 2010. While its primary aim was to “re-nature” the urban, Katzschner (2013:214) further states that Cape Flats Nature

challenged traditional nature conservators to expand their view of nature conservation areas to see these areas not only as something exclusively “protected” by experts and conservation managers within zoned nature reserves, but also as something that marginalised citizens of Cape Town could engage with and claim as belonging to their everyday occupations, practices, identities, and histories.

While new conservation strategies, such as open-access parks and community-based conservation, dovetail neatly with a dismantling of apartheid’s “fences and fines” approach (Büscher & Dietz, 2005; Spierenburg & Wels, 2010:27; Katzschner, 2013:220), it does nevertheless pose the question of “where nature ends and where the city begins” (Swanepoel, 2013:69). In order to solve the contestations over the blurred boundary between urban and nature and, stakeholders seem to favour the reestablishment and encoding of boundaries between urban and nature, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

2.2 The human/animal divide

Similar to western societies’ cultural and behavioural construction of deeply ingrained, discursive borderlines separating nature from culture or urban areas, is their adoption of a clear distinction between humans and nonhumans or animals. While humans are equipped with “highly valued qualities such as rationality, language, moral autonomy, creativity, [and] love of beauty [... ,] animals have been seen as not just lacking in these qualities, but as also embodying unwanted human traits such as ‘brutality’ and ‘bestiality’” (Benton, 2010:197). These qualities that humans are believed to possess, allow them to be elevated into culture: a position viewed as superior to animals and the rest of nature (Noske, 1989:40; Philo & Wilbert, 2000:3–4; Woodward, 2008:6; Benton, 2010:198; Peggs, 2012:40).

According to Yates (2004, cited in Hobson-West, 2007:25), “boundaries effectively produce ‘moral distance’ with regard to constructed ‘others’”, which emphasises differences between the parties involved and the consequent need to keep a safe distance. Primates in particular, challenge this

human/animal divide when they share common habitats with humans, as nonhuman primates that tend to do so are also more often than not included and intertwined with important aspects of culture, such as religious beliefs, myths, poems and folklore (Wolfe & Fuentes, 2006). This renders not only the human/animal borderline contested, but also the above dichotomy of nature/culture.



Figure 2.3 Popular cartoon depicting the often tense relationship between humans and baboons on the Cape Peninsula (Source: Koutstaal, 2013).

In addition to primates' inclusion in several elements of human culture, their similarities with human desires, actions and even appearance⁷ (Knight, 1999:633; Cartwright, 2002:205; Sowards, 2006:48) “places them in an anomalous/contentious position particularly within western dualist constructions of the human–animal boundary” (Hill & Webber, 2010:920). Building on these physical similarities with primates, those who advocate primate conservation often highlight further similarities. Rhetorical strategies to render primates even more human include, for example, “naming, story telling, and personifying” (Sowards, 2006:53). In her study on how humans can identify with orangutans to re-evaluate their relationship with nature, Sowards (2006:46) believes that such a challenge of dualisms by primates, in this instance orangutans, is exactly what is needed

⁷ One of the main characters in Michiel Heyns' (2003:91) novel *The reluctant passenger*, in its depiction of human–baboon relationships, emphasises the similarity between humans and baboons by stating that baboons look “*humiliatingly human*” and that they are “*humans without the trimmings*”.

to create “positive identification and effective environmental advocacy” for primate conservation, as well as destabilise the artificial boundaries between humans and animals, and nature and culture.

While some individuals are partial to and even “embrace the idea that primates ‘straddle’ the human–nonhuman divide”, Hill and Webber (2010:920) note that, for others, this “apparent closeness is a ‘violation’ of the human–animal boundary, precipitating a more negative outlook on their behaviour, particularly when primates transgress people’s social rules and traditions”. Precisely because of the uncertainty regarding primates’ place on the human/animal divide, they become “objects of curiosity” (Arluke & Sanders, 1996:176). Numerous examples exist where baboons have transgressed the human/animal divide as they perform what would traditionally be defined as “human” tasks, such as those of oxcart drivers, railway labourers, goatherds and watchdogs (Cheney & Seyfarth, 2007; Watkins, s.a.). Uitenhage’s infamous resident, Jack, epitomises without a doubt the transgression abilities of baboons, and while “his story is remarkable on several levels”, Palmer (1986:164) concurs that “its implications left many ill at ease”.

During the latter part of the 1800s, the small town of Uitenhage in South Africa’s Eastern Cape province became world-renowned when the local railway guard, James “Jumper” Wide, acquired the assistance of someone peculiar. After losing both his legs in an accident, Wide bought a baboon at the local market to conduct numerous chores which he himself could no longer do with ease, such as removing rubbish, sweeping the kitchen floor and gardening (An unnatural history, 2013). Jack, as the baboon became known, was, however, not content with these smaller tasks and with simply watching Wide at work, and soon began to work as a signaller himself. While Jack “performed infallibly” (du Toit, 2011), train passengers travelling between Cape Town and Port Elizabeth were not always content with the knowledge that “their safety lay in the hands of a baboon” (Palmer, 1986:166). On one occasion, a prominent passenger notified the railroad authorities – who at the time were unaware that Jack was a baboon – that the “signals in the train yard were being changed by a baboon” (Cheney & Seyfarth,

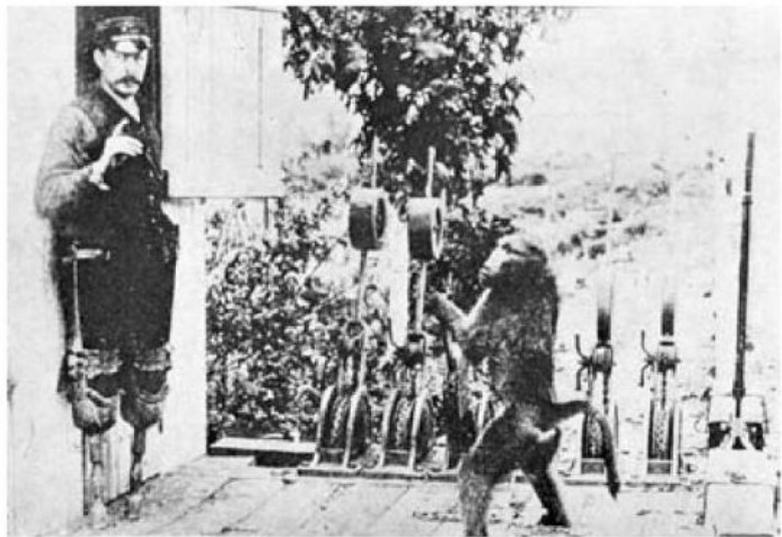


Figure 2.4 Infamous “Jack the Signaller” on the right, and his owner, James “Jumper” Wide (Source: Cheney & Seyfarth, 2007:30).

2007:31). Wide and Jack were immediately dismissed from their duties. However, after pleading with the authorities, Wide was able to organise a test of Jack's abilities. Jack "passed his test with flying colours, and was duly re-instated" alongside Wide (An unnatural history, 2013). Not only did his "unerringly correct" performance earn him the name "Jack the Signalmen", he also "received daily rations and was given an official employment number" (Cheney & Seyfarth, 2007:30&31).

Since primates are adept at crossing the urban/nature and human/animal divide, as illustrated with the above example, human-wildlife conflict is likely to occur. Related human-human conflict can, in fact, also occur, as "human-wildlife interactions are underpinned by human perceptions of wildlife, which in turn draw upon competing constructions of nature" (Hyttén, 2009:18). A recent example of the latter occurs in the South African photographer Pieter Hugo's work *The hyena & other men* (2007). Practicing the ancient art of "taming wild beasts of allsorts" (Carte Blanche, 2015) such as hyenas, snakes and baboons, Nigeria's nomadic hyena handlers travel across Nigeria to entertain crowds and sell traditional medicines in urban areas. Although the hyenas are the main attraction, the baboons are tasked to "approach onlookers and shake their hands, dance, and perform acrobatic tricks" (Porter, 2012). While the hyena handlers claim that they have a "spiritual connection with the animals they train", many people disagree with their practices as brutal techniques to overpower and break down the animals in order to ensure their obedience (Carte Blanche, 2015). According to Sohn (2012), the attractiveness in Hugo's work lies in the fact that he "invites you to try to imagine the reality of unimaginable lives" which reveals an "uncanny" world of complex, codependent relationships, where familiar distinctions between dominance and submission, wildness and domesticity, tradition and modernity are constantly subverted.



Figure 2.5 One of Nigeria's hyena handlers with a clothed and chained baboon (Source: Sohn, 2012).

As discussed in relation to the nature/culture divide in Section 2.1, sociologists can make a valuable contribution to zoology, by investigating the norms and practices that humans use to distinguish themselves from animals. The seemingly "real" divide between humans and animals, according to

Irvine (2004:34), can also be investigated by sociologists, by making use of a social constructionist theoretical framework, since this borderline “is neither natural nor inevitable [... but rather] the product of the power humans exerted over other creatures”.

3. Human–wildlife conflict

As stated in the introductory chapter of this thesis, human–wildlife conflict is a term that “describe[s] a subset of human–wildlife interactions that lead to negative outcomes for either wildlife or people” (Hudenko, 2012:16; see also Madden, 2004:248; Dickman, 2008:26; CapeNature, 2015:1; Kaplan & O’Riain, 2015:117). While it is possible for human behaviour to threaten the safety and well-being of wildlife, through, for example, “harassment, noise, direct mortality due to hunting, [and/or] destruction of habitat”, the scientific literature focuses more often than not on the reverse, i.e. “wildlife behaviour conflicting with human goals (e.g., safety, satisfaction, property)” (Cline, Sexton & Stewart 2007:2; see also Woodroffe, Hedges & Durant, 2014:46). Even though this section will focus on human–wildlife conflict, with a discussion of human–human conflict to follow in Section 4, it is important to bear in mind that human–wildlife conflict could refer to, *inter alia*, a negative interaction between humans and wildlife, or between humans because of a “values clash”, or both – in other words, a human–wildlife and human–human conflict (Decker & Chase, 1997:789; see also Madden, 2004). Both types of conflict have the potential to escalate “when local people feel that the needs or values of wildlife are given priority over their own needs, or when local institutions and people are inadequately empowered to deal with the conflict” (Madden, 2004:248).

Human–wildlife conflict occurs worldwide and involves an array of species from black bears (*Ursus americanus*) in North America (e.g. Gore, Knuth, Curtis & Shanahan, 2006; Lowery, Morse & Steury; 2012), to jaguars (*Panthera onca*) in South America (e.g. Zimmerman, Walpole & Leader-Williams, 2005; Marchini & Macdonald, 2012). In Europe, human–wildlife conflict involves animals such as wolves (*Canis lupus*) (Buller, 2008) and various other carnivores, as illustrated by Rigg, Findo, Wechselberger, Gorman, Sillero-Zubiri and Macdonald (2011). Asia is notorious for instances of human–wildlife conflict involving various species, such as tigers (*Panthera tigris*), leopards (*Panthera pardus*), snow leopards (*Uncia uncia*), Asian elephants (*Elephas maximus*) and numerous primate species (e.g. Biquand, Boug, Biquand-Guyot & Gautier, 1994; Madhusudan, 2003; Bagchi & Mishra, 2006; Marchal & Hill, 2009; Jhamvar-Shingote & Schuett, 2013). In Australia, human–dingo (*Canis lupus dingo*) conflict often garners media attention (e.g. Thompson, Shirreffs & McPhail, 2003; Hytten & Burns, 2007; Hytten, 2009). In

Africa, particularly, human–wildlife conflict “undoubtedly ranks among the main threats to conservation” (Lamarque, Anderson, Fergusson, Lagrange, Osei-Owusu & Bakker, 2009:35) and encompasses a startlingly broad range of situations, from less-severe crop raiding by primates and African elephants (*Loxodonta africana*) (Hill, 1998; Saj, Sicotte & Paterson, 2001; Dublin & Hoare, 2004; Hill & Wallace, 2012; McLennan & Hill, 2012) to livestock losses and the most severe: human injuries and deaths (Holmern, Nyahongo & Røskaft, 2007; Kissui, 2008; Selebatso, Moe & Swenson, 2008). As illustrated in Figure 2.6 below (produced by the researcher’s own, small-scale scientometric research), a proliferation of human–wildlife conflict literature over the last decade and a half demonstrates an increased interest in this topic (Hudenko, 2012:16).

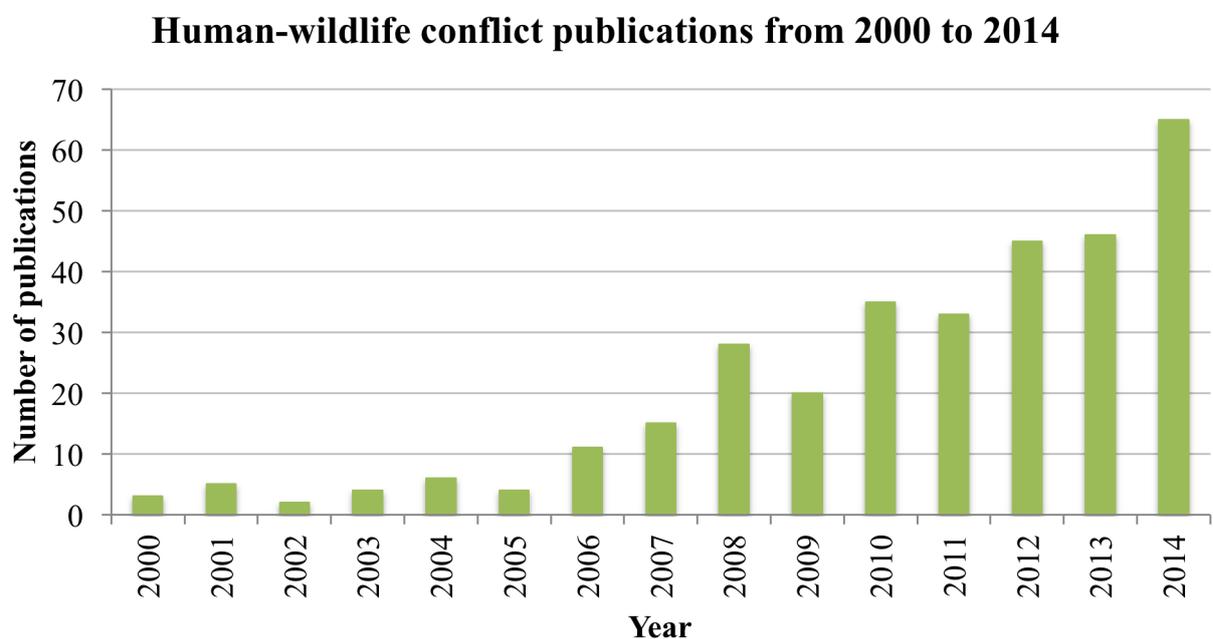


Figure 2.6 Number of Web of Science publications from 2000 to 2014, containing the keywords “human–wildlife conflict”.

Messmer (2000, cited in Messmer, 2009:12) indicates that, traditionally, “wildlife damage [...] has been thought of as just a rural or agriculture problem”. However, with the expansion of human settlements, “driven by population pressures, economic growth, and the expanding global demand for natural resources” (Manfredo, 2008:6), human–wildlife conflict is occurring increasingly in urban areas. In the United States of America alone, “60% of urban and suburban households [...] annually experience problems with wildlife” (Messmer, 2009:12). What renders urban human–wildlife conflict on the Cape Peninsula all the more interesting, is that the TMNP is the only South African national park situated within a city’s borders (Cilliers & Siebert, 2012) – one of only four national parks worldwide where this is the case (Urban Protected Areas Network, 2013). In addition, TMNP is an open-access park and consequently, the urban and nature areas flow freely

into one another. This increases the difficulties involved for both humans and baboons to establish clearly defined territories, and as identified in Section 2, Johansson (2008:65) describes this inability to definitely exclude or include wildlife in a particular space as the core of human–wildlife conflict occurrences. These occurrences can result in negative outcomes for humans, for the individual animals involved and for the species as a whole (Madden, 2008:190). While the main cause of human–wildlife conflict all around the world is recognised as the “competition between growing human populations and wildlife for the same declining living spaces and resources” (Lamarque *et al.*, 2009:14; see also Bekoff, 2007:289; Johansson, 2008:61), certain species, such as baboons which are better able than other species to adapt and co-exist with humans, take the absence of a static boundary between natural and cultural spaces into their stride.

3.1 Human–baboon conflict

The adeptness of baboons at crossing the urban/nature and human/animal divide, as well as at exploiting urbanisation (Blair, 1997, cited in Gilleland, 2010:23) and the benefits that are associated with urbanisation, can be attributed primarily to their “highly adaptable nature, along with their ability to learn very rapidly and change their behaviour accordingly” (Else, 1991, cited in Hill, 2000:300; see also O’Riain & Hoffman, 2010:158; Kaplan & O’Riain, 2015:117). However, their ability to succeed by seizing opportunities often places them in “mortal danger of retributive attacks” and as a result, “they have, quite literally, become victims of their own success” (Hurn, 2011:39). Biquand *et al.*’s (1994) study of *Papio hamadrays*, a local baboon species in southwestern Saudi Arabia, supports this statement. While baboons can gather anthropogenic food sources by raiding crops or garbage, a significant problem occurs when baboons become habituated to people provisioning them with food (Biquand *et al.*, 1994:214). The same situation has been unfolding itself on the Cape Peninsula, as baboons are “becoming less and less nervous of tourists – especially as some inadvisably and illegally feed them” (Clarke, 2012:150–151).

Long after conducting a study in Kenya’s Nairobi National Park in the 1950s and 1960s, Strum, Nightingale, de Jong and Sandoval (2008:27) are still adamant that people feed baboons in order to increase their proximity to the animals, partly because of baboons’ resemblance to humans, but also because of their “social complexity and intelligence”. Unfortunately for both baboons and the people that encounter them, baboons rapidly develop a taste for human food, which is “typically more digestible and nutrient-rich than the foods that baboons naturally eat” (Swedell & Saunders, 2012b; see also Kansky, 2002:15). This is no different on the Cape Peninsula where, according to Kaplan *et al.* (2011:1398), the nutritional contrast between the Cape’s nutrient poor *fynbos* and high-caloric anthropogenic food sources (see Chapter 1, Section 1; Hoffman & O’Riain, 2012b:855;

Hoffman & O’Riain, 2012c) “greatly increases [baboons’] raiding incentive” (see also Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014e; 5050 Community, 2015a). As baboons associate humans with food, they consequently lose their “natural fear of people” (Strum *et al.*, 2008:26; see also Swedell, 2012b; 5050 Community, 2015b). Although the initial intention of baboon-feeding humans is perhaps to have a positive encounter with baboons, the “contact poses risks from bites, theft of non-provisioned food, or more general health issues such as exposure to simian viruses” (Lee & Priston, 2005:11).

In addition to these human health and safety concerns, baboons can also have a negative impact on food security by raiding, for example, crops, fruit trees and/or vegetable gardens. Economic costs can be incurred when baboons damage houses, lodges, camping areas, etc. in search for human food and, in the case of thatch-roof buildings, pull out the thatch (Lamarque *et al.*, 2009:14). While negative impacts of baboons on tourists are likely to appear in newspaper headlines, such as *Cape motorists baboon-jacked* (2009); *Furry felons rob SA tourists* (Brooks, 2009) and *Famous baboon that terrorised tourists euthanised* (2011), locals can also experience negative interactions with baboons that may leave them terrified, traumatised and even physically injured (see, for example Fence and monitors keep baboons at bay, 2013; Hunter hunted, 2014; Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014b&f). For children, confronting a baboon troop inside their own house is especially traumatising, and in 2010 a toddler as young as 19 months old was “seeing a psychologist after an encounter” (Gerardy, 2010). Baboons can also inflict serious bodily harm and in 2006, it was reported that a four-year-old boy had to “undergo emergency surgery after a baboon savaged him” and “had his stomach ripped open” (Bamford, 2006). Other newspaper articles reporting on children feeling traumatised because of interactions with baboons include *Drunk baboons plague Cape Town’s exclusive suburbs* (Flanagan, 2010) and *South African suburbs and nature collide: Humans vs. baboons* (2010).

According to Naughton-Treves (2002:502), sharing space with baboons and/or other wildlife, especially in urban areas, requires “more than reconceptualising their wildness; it requires changing how we inhabit the land”. The notion of managing not only the wildlife, but also the other part of the human–wildlife conflict – the people – is by no means novel, with Aldo Leopold already making such suggestions as early as 1943 (Kellert, 1983:242), but it remains in the realm of ideas, neglected in terms of implementation. The management of human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula provides a clear example of wildlife managers going as far as turning a blind eye towards managing people, as it still focuses primarily on managing the animals, even though residents, and especially baboon activists, have been trying to bring to wildlife managers’ attention what they define as the actual problem, i.e. human error, such as poor waste management, feeding wildlife

deliberately, and the unchecked encroachment of human development into natural habitat. As will be illustrated further in Chapter 4, these actors who advocate human management disagree with what they consider to be the “outdated thinking” (Louise, s.a.) of the BTT, and more specifically the baboon protocol, which holds raiding baboons accountable for problems that are arguably the result of human mismanagement and/or error. According to Jackson (2005:26), “most of these factors are amenable to change, and changes may help decrease human–wildlife conflicts”. One needs to keep in mind, however, that it is not only the lack of human management by wildlife managers which is at fault. Rather, human–baboon conflict, and human–wildlife conflict in general, involves two active parties (Burns & Howard, 2003:711).

3.2 Previous research on human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, a rise in human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula in the 2000s resulted in an increase in interest and, consequently, an upsurge in research on the Cape Peninsula’s baboons. Most of the research on the Cape Peninsula’s baboons has been conducted under the auspices of UCT’s BRU and “encompasses various aspects of baboon biology” (BRU, 2010). While some of these studies touch on the interactions between humans and baboons (e.g. Hoffman, 2011), the BRU focuses rather on the baboons themselves, i.e. their behavioural ecology, spatial ecology, social behaviour, genetics and/or physiology (BRU, 2010).

In recent years, two studies that may be classified as social science were conducted on human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula (Hurn, 2011; Koutstaal, 2013). Some aspects of my study may overlap with some of Hurn’s (2011) and Koutstaal’s (2013), such as addressing the nature/culture divide, and they also refer to human–human conflict. What sets my sociology research project apart from these studies, however, is its focus on the relatively novel argument that human–wildlife conflict is grounded in human–human conflict, and its use of a social constructionist theoretical framework in that regard. Even though both the commensal and conflictual relationship between humans and baboons has been widely researched across Africa, such as in Kenya (Strum, 1994), Uganda (Hill, 2000), Ethiopia (Yihune, Bekele & Tefera, 2008), Tanzania (Johansson, 2008) and Benin (Sogbohossou, De Iongh, Sinsin, De Snoo & Funston, 2011), none of these studies made use of a social constructionist theoretical framework, which renders my research project unique within the field of human–baboon conflict.

One of the zoologists who completed her PhD under BRU, Hoffman (2011:76), highlights the “complexities of wildlife management and conservation at the interface of natural and human-modified habitats”. She reaches the conclusion that, while research on baboon biology on the Cape

Peninsula is abundant, “comparably little attention has been paid to the human aspects” (Hoffman, 2011:160). Accordingly, attention should be paid to researching the human aspects of human–baboon conflict, and in fact, human–wildlife conflict in general, as such research can shed light on people’s “willingness, or lack thereof, to participate in mitigation programs” (Hoffman, 2011:160). In responding to Hoffman’s (2011) call, my research aims to not only focus on the human aspects of human–baboon conflict, but also resulting human–human conflict.

Hurn’s (2011) anthropological, ethnographic research, *“Like herding cats!” Managing conflict over wildlife heritage on South Africa’s Cape Peninsula*, is related most closely to my own study. What interested Hurn (2011) in conducting this research was the fact that, in addition to the abovementioned problems that baboons pose for humans (see mainly Section 3.1), the “human–baboon conflict [on the Cape Peninsula] has an added dimension in terms of the management of these animals” (Hurn, 2011:39). This dimension, although not stated in so many words, is human–human conflict. It was somewhat discouraging to discover that what I until then had thought was an original idea had already been applied to human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula. However, it soon emerged that the human–baboon conflict situation in 2011 on the Cape Peninsula was quite different from the situation three years later, when I conducted my research, which prompted me to continue with my study as planned.

The most conspicuous difference since 2011 has been a change in baboon-management structure, as well as in terms of the stakeholder groups represented in this structure. While as before, the three main authorities – CCT, CapeNature and SANParks – are still represented, along with the BLG which is comprised of “representatives from civic organisations in baboon-affected areas” (Baboon protectors a new perspective for managing baboons, 2011), two important changes have taken place. Firstly, the CCT appointed HWS in August 2012, replacing the then NCC as the service provider responsible for managing baboons (see Chapter 1, Section 2). HWS’s exceptionally high success rate of keeping baboons outside of urban areas for an average of 98,6% of the time (Richardson, 2014a) may have contributed to my finding (to be reported in more detail in Chapter 4) that, although divergent social constructions of baboons still occur, this is not the main underlying reason for human–human conflict about baboons and baboon management, as human–baboon conflict in urban areas has dramatically reduced.

Secondly, the BRU no longer fulfils the role of answering, through research, baboon-management-related questions for the current baboon-management structure, the BTT. With an ever-decreasing number of students conducting research on the Cape Peninsula’s baboons, the unit was in the process of disbanding at the time of writing. Nevertheless, BTT policies are still informed by local

and international research (Beamish, 2012:11; Cape Town Heritage, 2013). For Hurn (2011:40), the BRU originally presented an ideal opportunity for investigating interdisciplinary cooperation. While the BRU might not be actively involved in baboon management on the Cape Peninsula anymore, interdisciplinary cooperation is still evident in the involvement of especially CapeNature, HWS and the BLG, who seem to strongly support the BTT's pure, scientific management approach.

In addition to these changes in baboon-management structure, there have also been interesting developments regarding education and awareness-raising strategies and campaigns aimed at the public. A previous focus on tourists as the main "culprits" generating human-baboon conflict has shifted to educating and raising awareness among local residents about baboons. This is mainly because of the increasing realisation that it is humans, both local residents and tourists, and not baboons, "who represent the biggest problem to managers" (Hurn, 2011:50).

Koutstaal (2013:60) builds upon Hurn's (2011) argument that the "most urgent theoretical concerns for scientists with regard to Cape Town's 'baboon debate' are conflicting perceptions of 'baboon personhood'". This "personhood", or "baboon agency", as termed by Koutstaal (2013:60), is central to her master's research project, which aims to understand whether people's different views people regarding baboon agency have an influence on conservation decision- and policymaking. Koutstaal (2013:16) is of the opinion that people's views on the agency of nonhuman animals, in this case baboons, influences the way they "treat these animals and their attitudes towards baboon management". While my research also involves an exploration of the varying social constructions of baboons and human-baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula, I did not focus specifically on baboon agency as Koutstaal (2013) did. Rather, by focusing on the social constructions of baboons, my underlying aim was to determine the validity, in a South African context, of the intriguing suggestion in the literature that human-human conflict underpins human-wildlife conflict.

I aim to follow Koutstaal's (2013:59) example by making use of discourse analysis, primarily because I agree with her that, even though "actions of certain people might [...] influence the way in which the human-baboon conflict is being handled, [...] words play an even bigger role". In the case of her study, discourse analysis adds significantly to her ethnographic research findings, which are divided into three main themes. First, she discusses research participants' personal attitudes towards other stakeholder groups and the views that these groups hold of one another. While interpersonal issues between different stakeholder groups do arise, the most significant ones were found between those who advocate "a more distant conservation approach based on research and facts, [while] the other advocates a more 'personal' approach" (Koutstaal, 2013:64). Her second focus is on the international attention drawn to baboons by documentaries such as *Baboons with Bill*

Bailey and *Big Baboon House*, which I also include in my research project (see Section 6.2). While Koutstaal (2013) uses these documentaries merely to highlight the international attention South Africa's human–baboon conflict has attracted, she does concede that *Baboons with Bill Bailey* anthropomorphises baboons. In Section 6.2, I argue that both documentaries anthropomorphise baboons by highlighting and discussing the anthropomorphic language and techniques used. Thirdly, Koutstaal (2013:68) turns her attention to what she calls “popular discourses”, highlighting three that are not only very apparent in the local media, but are also “hot topics” about which all her research participants “seemed to want to talk” (Koutstaal, 2013:69). These include how people construct and frame euthanasia; the perception of conservation as an elitist hobby; and the notion that baboon “activists” are responsible for Cape Town having “the worst behaving baboons in the world” (Koutstaal, 2013:80).

These topics also emerged from the thematic analysis of the data that I collected during my own fieldwork, and such a form of replication supports the external validity of my and Koutstaal's (2013) findings. These topics did, however, only feature as small themes constituting larger arguments in my research. This may be as a result of the different emphasis placed on the nature/culture boundaries in our research. While Koutstaal (2013:14) does shed some light on the “blurring lines between human and animal (and in this particular case, baboon[s]) and shows the ways in which people give a voice to their ideas about baboon and human rights”, this became a central theme in my research. In 2012, a physical boundary in the form of an electrified game fence was erected in the Cape Town suburb of Zwaanswyk (Swingler, 2014; van Zijl, 2014)⁸, which attempts to address the problem that the “territorial divide between baboons and humans has progressively broken down” (Green, cited in Cupido, 2013). With the success of this fence in re-establishing a physical boundary, it became renowned and as a result, a theme that arose from my fieldwork is whether physical boundaries, such as Zwaanswyk's fence, need to be established again in order to render the distinction between nature and culture clearer (see Ferguson, 2010:267).

4. Human–human conflict

Given the diversity of stakeholder groups and the increasing individualisation of societies involved in human–wildlife conflict issues (Patterson *et al.*, 2003), it is not surprising that conflict between people can also arise in relation to those issues. In addition to individualisation, various other reasons for these human–human conflicts can be identified that are primarily based on interpersonal disputes; and/or are about the animals themselves, the social constructions attached to them; and/or

⁸ For more information regarding Zwaanswyk and its electrified game fence, see Koutstaal (2013:58–59).

how they are managed (Conover, 2001). In order to ensure that all the underlying reasons for human–human conflict are considered in my research, this section is structured according to Young *et al.*'s (2010:3979) six exhaustive categories which identify the underlying causes of human–human conflict. This conceptual framework, which is based on Jones *et al.* (2005) as well as Sidaway's (2005) typologies of biodiversity conflict, will also be used to structure the presentation of my research results in Chapter 4.

Young *et al.*'s (2010:3979) first category, conflicts over beliefs and values, entails situations where “differences exist over normative perceptions”. As discussed in this chapter, and as will become evident in Chapter 4, human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula is riddled with the Cartesian dualisms of urban or culture versus nature, human versus animal (see Section 2), biocentrism versus anthropocentrism and rationalism versus affective social action. The two opposing ontologies mentioned last, “reflect divergent ways of thinking about baboons”, according to Hurn (2011:48). In other words, rationalism and affective social action, as well as biocentrism and anthropocentrism (to a certain extent), represent the different knowledge bases, understandings, preconceptions and priorities of wildlife-management stakeholders (Adams, Brockington, Dyson & Vira, 2003:1915).

Whereas an objective, rationalist approach to baboon management, and to wildlife management in general, refers to opinions and actions based on “reason and knowledge rather than on religious belief or emotional response” (Oxford South African concise dictionary, 2010, *s.v.* ‘rationalism’), those that follow what Weber termed an affective approach rely more on personal, subjective emotions and values (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008:875). Biocentrism, according to Taylor (1986, cited in Curry, 2006:75; see also Stewart & Zaaiman, 2014:554), is the view or belief that the rights and needs of humans are not more important than those of other living things. On the other hand, anthropocentrism means “human-centeredness” (Curry, 2006:54; see also Woodward, 2008:6; Nimmo, 2011:61) and as a result, regards humankind as the most important element of existence, with nature existing “primarily for human use” (Stewart & Zaaiman, 2014:553). The intractability between these opposing viewpoints has meant that each supports different management objectives. For Marshall, White and Fischer (2007:3129), this lies at the core of human–human conflict (for more detail see Chapter 4).

The overwhelming majority of researchers who address human–human conflict, however, attribute its occurrence to a diversity of values, attitudes, and beliefs among the stakeholders that are involved (Messmer, 2000:100). Young *et al.* (2010:3979) identifies this as conflicts of interest, “when two [or more] groups want different things from the same habitat or species” (see also Jones *et al.*, 2005:6). For Decker and Chase (1997:789), varying expectations of wildlife and wildlife

behaviour are the main reason for human–human conflict. As discussed in Section 6 below on social constructionism, individuals attach labels to animals based on subjective experiences, instead of broader, objective data (Harker & Bates, 2007:331). In other words, although the same animal species is the focus, people may have different acceptance and/or tolerance capacities “in the same place, at the same time” (Carpenter *et al.*, 2000:11). For example, while baboons may benefit Cape Town’s tourism industry and play an ecological role, some stakeholders do not value baboons and are primarily concerned about the negative consequences baboons can cause. The core challenge for wildlife managers is to reconcile these competing interests, and, ultimately, social constructions. As I came to realise in my fieldwork, these differences are not only evident between different stakeholder groups, but also within a single stakeholder group.

It is possible that, as a result of competing claims or social constructions of stakeholders, those who find themselves in powerful positions use their positions to “negate other constructions or delegitimize opposing stakeholders” (Harker & Bates, 2007:331). As Harker and Bates (2007:330) identified in their study on the differing social constructions of black bear hunts in the United States of America, I found that the need to manage baboons in an urban area “signals growing intractability between animal rights advocates and those who hold more anthropocentric values, such as the priority of human safety”. Such disparate perceptions of the importance of wildlife and wildlife conservation (particularly, I would argue, in relation to human rights) can lead to conflict between wildlife managers, other stakeholder groups and the community at large (Miller & McGee, 2001).

This comes as no surprise in a country such as South Africa, which continues to face numerous socio-political issues that are accorded more importance than human–wildlife – and more particularly, human–baboon – conflict on the agendas of both government and non-government organisations. I fully agree with Khan (2002:42) who states that in South Africa, development and conservation continue to be viewed by many who were historically disadvantaged as “two diametrically opposed options”. This is not only as a result of apartheid’s “fences and fines” conservation approach (Büscher & Dietz, 2005; Spierenburg & Wels, 2010; Katzschner, 2013:220) that alienated the majority of South Africans from environmental issues, but also due to underdevelopment (Khan, 2002:42). Consequently, pro-environmental or “green” discourses – in contrast to “brown” environmental issues which mainly address basic human needs (Khan, 2002:32; Cock, 2007:196) – continue to be “interpreted in racial terms” and are referred to as “white, racist [and/or] anti-development” (Scott, 2011:158; see also Khan, 2002). In their article *When agendas collide: Human welfare and biological conservation*, Chan, Pringle, Ranganathan, Boggs, Chan, Ehrlich, Haff, Heller, Al-Khafaji and Macmynowski (2007:60) echo this sentiment by admitting

that, although conservation should benefit humans along with nonhumans, conservationists are often deemed to be “unconcerned with people’s problems” and/or are merely “using people” to further conservation ends.

Young *et al.*’s (2010:3979) third category, conflicts over process, addresses “different approaches to decision-making and fairness taken by different people, groups, or agencies”. As all forms of wildlife, including baboons, are deemed to be *res nullius*⁹, they are regulated under a common-law principle. According to Blackmore (2014:34), such a public-trust doctrine has led to “both the government and the public [...] not [being] entitled with absolute rights to the use of wildlife”. Consequently, it is also possible for governmental stakeholders to avoid and/or dispute their liabilities relating to human–wildlife conflict. In order to counter the impacts of human–wildlife conflict, I agree with Cock (2006:293) who, in her case study on gaining access to clean and adequate water in South Africa, states that, due to governmental stakeholders avoiding their liabilities, individuals have been “forced to seek private remedies for socially produced problems” (Cock, 2006:293). In order to counteract this “privatisation of the public sphere”, as termed by Zygmunt Baumann (2004, cited in Cock, 2006:293), and to develop successful, multi-stakeholder wildlife management strategies, all stakeholders need to acknowledge what their liabilities are, and take responsibility in order for a sustainable solution to human–wildlife and human–human conflict to be found.

The above conflicts over processes can overlap with Young *et al.*’s (2010:3979) fourth category, conflicts over information. According to Madden (2004:253), instances of human–wildlife conflict are “typically characterised by inadequate or inappropriate information exchange and communication, often resulting locally in low levels of productivity or success and high levels of distrust between stakeholders”. In addition, issues relating to “power, interest and representation, which are crucially important in any situation in which dialogue ensues” (Richards, Sherlock & Carter, 2004, cited in Young *et al.*, 2010:3985), also need to be addressed. For this, careful consideration is needed of who the stakeholders of baboon management on the Cape Peninsula are, as well as of the management structure, so as to ensure that the dialogue between stakeholders is not dominated by certain interests and/or viewpoints, and that stakeholders do not become “suspicious of and isolated from each other” (Madden & McQuinn, 2014:103).

⁹ *Res nullius* is a Latin-based legal term that directly translates to “the property of no one” (Ballantine, 1916:441).

Numerous examples exist of objects that can be claimed as *res nullius*, of which wildlife and abandoned property are the most common.

In order to ensure that the relationships between stakeholders do not become too strained, an open communication channel needs to exist in order to tackle “misunderstandings, miscommunication, and misperceptions” (Maser & Pollio, 2012:33). Ultimately, addressing human–human conflicts over information can also have the result of minimising the abovementioned conflicts over interests and conflicts over beliefs and values, as well as the interpersonal conflicts referred to below.

The fifth category, structural conflicts, concerns society’s “social, legal, economic and cultural arrangements” (Young *et al.*, 2010:3979). While structural conflicts are often “latent”, they can raise questions regarding the roles, legitimacy and responsibility of stakeholders, which in turn can lead to conflicts of interest and conflicts over process (Jones *et al.*, 2005:7). Wildlife management is, more often than not, arranged according to a top-down structure. As a result, residents may feel that those who are part of the management structures can assert their interests at the expense of those who are not empowered to do so (Marshall *et al.*, 2007:3130). As highlighted earlier in this section, it is also possible that, as a result of competing claims or social constructions of stakeholders, those who find themselves in powerful positions may use their positions to “negate other constructions or deligitimate opposing stakeholders” (Harker & Bates, 2007:331). Even though this is possible in any management situation, the possibility is greater when there is “disagreement amongst parties over fundamental values, power imbalances, or a lack of clear institutional arrangements” (White, Fischer, Marshall, Travis, Webb, di Falco, Redpath & van der Wal, 2009:242).

Such a lack of consensus between stakeholders, including the local residents who are concerned about either the wildlife and/or the damage they cause, can result in the reduction of wildlife-management effectiveness and success (Messmer, 2009:13). Authorities can come under fire for being perceived as “sluggish” and/or “unsympathetic” (Clarke, 2012:20), which can further jeopardise the success of wildlife management as a team endeavour. In order to prevent the relationships between all the stakeholders from becoming too strained, an open communication channel needs to exist, as mentioned above. Miller and McGee (2001:217) echo this, as “conflicts between stakeholders are often caused by a lack of understanding or consideration among decision makers of the values held by different stakeholders and publics”.

The final category comprises what Young *et al.* (2010:3979) define as interpersonal conflicts. Such conflicts occur not only when there are personality differences between individuals or groups, as well as miscommunication and mistrust, but also when stakeholders simply do not understand the position of others (Jones *et al.*, 2005:14). As human–wildlife conflict is an emotive subject, with human–baboon conflict being no different, vehement emotions are likely to underpin responses to

wildlife management decisions, which can also influence interpersonal behaviour (Manfredo, 2008). In order to address stakeholders opposing the interests of other stakeholders and discrediting them (Sidaway, 2005:44), I agree with Manfredo (2008:69) that wildlife managers, as well as all the stakeholders involved, should focus on areas of agreement, so as to facilitate social engagement.

As the discussion in this section has shown, human–wildlife conflict operates beyond merely a biological sphere. According to White *et al.* (2009:243), the “definition of ‘conflict’ as confrontation between people calls for an approach that pays special attention to the genuinely ‘social’ aspects of conflicts, i.e., the relationships and interactions between actors”. As argued earlier in the literature review and as will be shown subsequently, the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict need to be integrated into what has traditionally been considered and dealt with as a natural science concern. By establishing cross-disciplinary linkages, as Redpath *et al.* (2013) suggest, wildlife managers will perhaps be able to gain a better understanding of why human–wildlife conflicts occur and of the magnitude of these conflicts, and to identify “strategies that can be used to increase stakeholder participation in the development and implementation of potential solutions” (Messmer, 2009:15). Furthermore, by applying a social constructionist theoretical framework, sociologists can shed light on how people perceive wildlife and “how these perceptions determine subsequent interactions” (Hurn, 2012:165).

In summary, human–human conflicts can arise in relation to human–wildlife conflicts because of various reasons. Those identified above include the following: diverging social constructions that stakeholder groups attach to the animal species involved in the conflict, as well as to human–animal relations in general, because of varying attitudes, values and beliefs; exclusion from wildlife management which, in turn, can lead to a relatively powerless position in negotiations on how wildlife should be managed; and miscommunication and mistrust over wildlife management strategies (Madden, 2004:250; see also Redpath *et al.*, 2013:101). Last mentioned is particularly important, as wildlife and wildlife conservation seem to take increasing precedence, particularly “when the animals in question are endangered and therefore protected by law” (Hurn, 2012:165).

5. The human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict

While human–wildlife and human–baboon conflicts no doubt have an impact on the animals concerned, as is evident from Section 3 above, they also have the potential to jeopardise human livelihoods and personal safety (Baruch-Mordo, Breck, Wilson & Broderick, 2009:219). As a result of these impacts, Jhamvar-Shingote and Schuett (2013:33–34) suggest the need for “wildlife managers, governments, researchers, and local communities to collaborate to develop strategies for

resolving the problem while safeguarding the well-being of both humans and the environment”. In order to effectively resolve human–wildlife conflicts, long-term solutions are needed, and I would argue that sociology, along with various other social sciences, has the ability to contribute to this endeavour which has traditionally been considered a natural-science area of concern.

Despite a plethora of evidence acknowledging the role that nonhuman animals play in human societies and the “associated importance of human–animal relations” (Bekoff, 2007:955), human–wildlife conflict has, until fairly recently, been overlooked by sociology (Bekoff, 2007; Joseph, 2010). According to Hobson-West (2007:24), this can be ascribed to three explanations. Firstly, “sociologists have traditionally focused their efforts on discussing relations between humans and the construction of social categories such as gender, ethnicity and class” (Hobson-West, 2007:24). As a result of this anthropocentric approach, human–animal relationships have been brushed aside. Secondly, sociologists and social scientists in general may be “wary of attracting charges of paternalism” if they are seen to be “speaking for’ animals” (Munro, 2005, cited in Hobson-West, 2007:24).

In research presentations, I experienced my own study being frowned upon by sociology staff and students, who seem to be confused by a student in a social science discipline researching human–animal, as opposed to human–human, relations. This also links to the last of Hobson-West’s (2007:24) three explanations for the absence of animals in sociology, i.e. a broader tendency within the discipline to “narrowly equate the social world with living humans”. As identified in Section 2, the human/animal Cartesian dualism is ingrained in western culture, norms and behaviour (Johansson, 2008:66–67) and as a result, according to Strang (2009), also structures the conceptual frameworks of both social and natural scientists. Furthermore, I agree with Strang (2009:5) that this reification of humans and animals as separate categories, “conceptually functions as a significant barrier to genuinely ‘integrated’ analyses of environmental issues”. Nevertheless, sociology does have the potential to “explore the unique and often paradoxical relationships that humans share with other animals in a holistic manner” (Joseph, 2010:299).

While wildlife managers are well trained in numerous natural science disciplines, they often lack social science training in disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, psychology, history, economics, and/or political science (Schmidt & Beach, 1999, cited in Knight, 2000:5), therefore also “insight into the human perspective” (Baruch-Mordo *et al.*, 2009:220) and, consequently, tend to be indifferent to local needs. To address these human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict, a working relationship between wildlife managers and social scientists needs to be established. Such an interdisciplinary approach involving collaboration between wildlife managers and social

scientists will increase the likelihood that local people's perspectives, needs, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour towards wildlife species are taken into account (Hill, 2000; Baruch-Mordo *et al.*, 2009). According to McLennan and Hill (2012:219), such an understanding of "local perspectives and concerns regarding wildlife is essential for informing appropriate [wildlife] management strategies that reduce conflicts and promote sustainable coexistence" between humans and animals.

As already mentioned in this chapter, there is an increasing realisation by academics that different social constructions held by different stakeholders need to be kept in mind when addressing human-wildlife conflict (e.g. Hill, 2000 & 2004; Lee & Priston, 2005; Clarke, 2012). While environmental risk factors¹⁰ and personal experiences of both a positive and negative nature can influence one's stance on wildlife in general and/or a particular species, various other sociological factors, such as "wider societal experiences, cultural norms, expectations and beliefs" (Dickman, 2010:462; see also Madden & McQuinn, 2014:98), can also play a role. According to Hytten and Burns (2007:55), it is in this regard that social constructionism is valuable in order to accord social perceptions a central status in wildlife management. Social constructionism allows, and reminds, sociologists to look beyond the most vocal and powerful stakeholder groups, so as to "document and highlight the existence of local or indigenous knowledge and practices in the area of wildlife management and control" (Knight, 2000:5; see also Teel & Manfredo, 2010:137).

The human dimensions of human-wildlife conflict – along with social constructionism, I would argue – have the potential to "facilitate decisions that maximise [the] desired consequences and societal benefits" (Manfredo, Decker & Duda, 1998:280). If varying social constructions are not taken into consideration, local residents may feel alienated from wildlife management- and decision-making processes, thus "reducing their support for and compliance with conservation policy and practice" (Conover & Decker, 1991, cited in Hill, 2000:311). Consequently, the focus needs to shift to the underlying manifestations of human-wildlife conflict, i.e. human-human conflicts. According to Dickman (2010:458), such conflicts often occur "between authorities, and local people, or between people of different cultural backgrounds" as a result of the variations and inconsistencies in how people "think about and interact with animals" (Hurn, 2012:6).

With the assistance of social scientists, and their comparative studies in particular, decision makers and managers will be able to "recognise, embrace, and incorporate differing stakeholder values, attitudes, and beliefs in the policy making process" (Messmer, 2000:100). In addition to recognising

¹⁰ Environmental risk factors, as defined by Dickman (2010:462), refer to any factors related to a "particular environment that are likely to affect the intensity of damage caused by wildlife".

and appreciating the viewpoints of others, social constructionism also encourages individuals to undertake some form of introspection to examine their own experiences and beliefs (Joseph, 2010:300; see also Hurn, 2012:10; Sandbrook, Adams, Büscher & Vira, 2013:1489). Sociologists can thus ensure wildlife managers that their “management strategies are culturally compatible with the local context in which they are applied” (Knight, 2000:5). Understanding these local dynamics can assist in determining whether the problem is human–wildlife conflict, or whether it is human–human conflict which may be driven by “deep-seated attitudes towards protected areas, the people associated with wildlife conservation, or other local conflicts” (Dickman, 2008:244).

One example of a field that aims to bridge the gap between social science and natural science disciplines is that of ethnoprimateology. Although based at the interface of primatology and social anthropology (Sponsel, 1997, cited in Sponsel, Ruttanadukul & Natadecha-Sponsel, 2002:288), rather than sociology, I still deem it important to highlight, since my research focuses on the multi-faceted interactions amongst humans concerning baboons on the Cape Peninsula. According to Hurn (2012:146), an “understanding of human interactions with primates in areas of sympatry¹¹ can be invaluable when it comes to helping ensure viable futures for all concerned”. As mentioned earlier, if the various understandings, beliefs and attitudes of those local residents who live alongside baboons – or any animal species, for that matter – are not taken into consideration, they may feel alienated from wildlife management- and decision-making processes. Consequently, it will be near impossible for humans and nonhuman primates to live in sympatry. Social science disciplines such as social anthropology and sociology render such sympatric relationships possible, as their disciplinary focus place them in a “unique position to offer practical advice as to how best to effect strategies of conservation that will allow both humans and non-human primates to share the same land” (Dolhinow, 2002:7).

As the literature reviewed in this section shows, conflicts between humans and wildlife “do not occur in a vacuum” (Young *et al.*, 2010:3982). Rather, addressing conflictual interactions between humans and wildlife requires an interdisciplinary approach to also touch upon the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict that include factors of a “physical, social, economic, political, moral, cultural, epistemological and philosophical” nature (Barry, 2007:11). While an interest in the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict has been intensifying since the late 1960s, effective integration between natural and social science disciplines is still non-existent (Miller & McGee, 2001:206). However, I do remain hopeful that continuous and increasing focus

¹¹ Sympatry refers to the geographical overlap of humans and animal and/or plant species (see Oxford South African concise dictionary, 2010, s.v. ‘sympatric’; Hoffman, 2011:3).

on the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict will raise not only wildlife managers' awareness, but also that of the general public, of the need for interdisciplinary collaborations to address interdisciplinary conflicts and dichotomies. Research such as mine also plays an important role in highlighting the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict and the importance of collaborative working relationships.

In summary, the “most obvious reason for including a human dimensions perspective is that it can improve wildlife [management] decisions” that are “more likely to reach their objectives, to endure over time, and to create the benefits [they] desire” (Manfredo, 2008:18). By incorporating sociologists into such an interdisciplinary approach, wildlife managers will be able to take local people's perspectives and needs into account, which may differ from those of wildlife managers and from one another. In addition, human-dimensions research can also provide valuable information regarding the factors influencing individuals' behaviour (Cline *et al.*, 2007:10). Such information can be helpful in wildlife-management planning, as wildlife managers would then have the ability to at least partially anticipate people's behaviour towards wildlife (Manfredo *et al.*, 1998:281). As mentioned above, a social science approach can also offer an introspective view of the wildlife-management profession, institutions, and professionals (Teel & Manfredo, 2010:137). Personally, I feel that the most important contribution that human-dimensions research can make is towards addressing, and perhaps even solving, human–human conflict which arises because of “multiple, and often-conflicting, public concerns over management and uses of wildlife” (Manfredo, 2008:10). By doing so, an opportunity exists to facilitate collaborative partnerships between the various stakeholders (Teel & Manfredo, 2010:137).

6. Social constructionism, wildlife management and baboons

Social constructionism is based on the premise that “versions of reality are constructed and perpetuated through discourses, and require that these discourses be examined to identify how they shape social responses to issues” (Burr, 1995, cited in Hytten & Burns, 2007:48). The aspect of social constructionism which is central to this research project, is the extent to which people's knowledge is sustained by social processes and more specifically, through discourse. Language allows us to give meaning to our experiences and, consequently, terms can have multiple meanings linked to different emotions that are connoted to a specific word. In the instance of animals, there is “a physical being, [but] once in contact with humans, they are given a cultural identity as people try to make sense of them, understand them, use them, or communicate with them” (Arluke & Sanders, 1996:9). In other words, animals can “take on different connotations” (Arluke & Sanders,

1996:175). This is particularly evident in the public discourse concerning baboons, and even more specifically the purported place of baboons in the nature/culture and human/animal dichotomies.

Social constructionism, according to Hannigan (1995, cited in Hytten & Burns, 2007:49), has “several advantages over other theoretical approaches” when addressing the management of environmental issues – in the case of this thesis, the management of wildlife and more specifically, baboons. The most important advantage concerns the valuable role social constructionism plays in according recognition to the variety of social perceptions, ideas, meanings and symbols that are attached to wildlife (Hytten & Burns, 2007:55). Stakeholders that are involved in a particular wildlife-management situation, such as baboon management on the Cape Peninsula, come from diverse backgrounds and therefore have diverse experiences with wildlife.

Nevertheless, most, if not all, people attach symbolic meanings to wildlife. As in the case of baboons, these symbolic meanings often do not “ascribe meanings and values to their existence and behaviours” (Bagemihl 1999:79, cited in Szarycz, 2011:149), but rather portray what we think these animals represent and, in fact, should represent. Another reason why social constructionism is a suitable approach to wildlife management is that it allows one to investigate the multiple subjective meanings people attach to wildlife. While wildlife is more than mere social constructions, the labels attached to species, as a function of social, cultural, political and economic factors as well as personal experiences (Gullo, Lassiter & Wolch, 1998), can alter social action towards them. Indeed, the social constructions of wildlife as well as “their implications for policy, [...lie] at the heart of contemporary debates over relations between people and animals” (Gullo *et al.*, 1998:140).

As with other primate species, baboons “elicit strong, contrary emotion in humans” (Woodward, 2008:65). Some people consider baboons as “incredible” creatures (Carreiro, 2013) and “have grown to admire the complex social groupings and intelligence of baboons” (Perrins, cited in Trethowan 2009:4; see also Primate Ecology and Genetics Group, s.a.). In addition, they are also “loved and enjoyed for the humorous spectacles they provide as humans manqués” (Woodward, 2008:65). On the Cape Peninsula in particular, they are recognised as a part of the area’s rich biodiversity, playing a significant ecological role in the Cape Floristic Region, while being a considerable tourism asset (CCT, CapeNature & SANParks, 2012; CCT, 2012a).

On the other hand, however, baboons are often unpopular because of their ability to cause damage whilst competing with humans for space and food; for being a potentially dangerous inconvenience; and on account of the seeming ease with which they cross what humans perceive to be the borderline between nature and culture. After conducting an extensive literature review and

fieldwork, I agree with Hytten (2009:18) that socially constructing an animal as pest or protected species is “underpinned by different versions of the nature–culture dichotomy”. Baboons, such as the dingoes in Australia, are able to cross what people perceive as borderlines between nature and culture which, more often than not, has significant implications for how these animals are treated (Hytten, 2009:21). As soon as baboons transgress human space-thresholds, they “are perceived as both symbolic and real threats to the social order” (Arluke & Sanders, 1996:169–170), and are socially constructed in primarily negative, vilifying terms. By contravening the norms and expectations that accompany the nature/culture dichotomy, as well as the behaviour that people deem appropriate for baboons, baboons deviate i.e. “stray from an accepted path” (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008:321).

Borrowing from Becker’s (1963:1) labelling theory, it can then be argued that baboons gain their “outsider” status due to the fact that they “cannot be trusted to live by the rules agreed on”. Inflammatory labels attached to baboons which highlight them as “outsiders” include, for example, “enemy” (Baboon burglars!, 2013), “thieving” (City’s brazen baboons hit British headlines, 2013; Radnedge, 2013), “scoundrels” (Marais & du Toit, 2008:88), “naughty” (Dangerous encounters: Backyard monsters, 2014), “nimble rascals”, “beast”, “vandals”, “hardened criminals”, “devious”, “gang”, “mob” (Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014a&c&e&g), “hooligans”, “rowdy” (5050 Community, 2015a), “dirty” (Heyns, 2003:76), “nuisance, competition or threat” (Bagniewska & Macdonald, 2010:3), “menace” (Marshall, 2010), “cheeky” (Most baboons kept out of Cape Town, 2013), “bold”, “destructive”, “troublesome”, “tormentors” (Flanagan, 2010), “terrorists” (Famous baboon that terrorised tourists euthanised, 2011), “vermin”, “rambunctious” (Cooper, 2003), “pest”, “renegade”, “tenacious” (Hunter hunted, 2014), “plundering primates” (Carreiro, 2013) and “urban bandits” (Baboon Ubuntu, s.a.).

According to Castree (2001:18), these are not merely labels – instead, they speak “volumes not only about who is doing the knowing and acting, but what kind of a world they are trying to forge”. For Dolhinow (2002:9) these are social constructions which “direct our perception, focus our attention, and can enlarge or restrict our understanding of anything we consider”. In other words, language allows people to structure their experiences (Burr, 1995:33, cited in Stibbe, 2001:145). However, there is not necessarily agreement about these constructions; rather, they are “a site of variability, disagreement and potential [human–human] conflict” (Burr, 1995:28). Consequently, and as mentioned above, baboons, dingoes and various other wildlife are constructed differently across different contexts, and as a result of contradicting views, human–human conflict may arise.

In the following section I aim to analyse people's enigmatic and contradictory relationships with baboons. I will focus specifically on the way in which baboons are portrayed in popular discourse. As the above examples illustrate, the social constructions of baboons are "intimately bound up with language and discourse" (Stibbe, 2001:147). The following section therefore considers the portrayal of baboons in the South African and, more specifically, Afrikaans culture; folk tales; scientific studies that were not conducted on the Cape Peninsula (for previous research on human-baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula, see Section 3.2); and the media.

6.1 The ever-present baboon in South African and Afrikaans culture

People's enigmatic and contradictory relationships with baboons are not only reflected in their physical encounters with these animals, but also in a long history of South African writing. According to Woodward (2008:65), "in the South African context, the connections between 'race' and nonhuman animals are nowhere more dramatic than in relation to baboons". For Pechey (2006:44), the baboon's ability to cross over borderlines between nature and culture earned it negative labels such as "marauding trespasser", "criminal" and "problem animal", amongst others. Under the South Africa apartheid regime, this ability to cross over boundaries was not appreciated. Baboons played a role in South Africa's apartheid and colonial ideological thinking and became a symbol for black men and women "as figures for otherness and threats to territorial integrity" (Pechey, 2006:44).

Two relatively recent incidences of employees being referred to as "baboons" by their white employers made newspaper headlines. In 2012, *The Sowetan*, a daily South African newspaper, reported that Nhlanhla "Chico" Rikhotso was "humiliated" and "deeply upset" by a remark from his manager. Rikhotso recalls that his manager asked him why he is "sitting there on a rock like a baboon?" and felt that this question disrespected him as a person (Man in tears after boss calls him "a baboon", 2012). In October 2013 another instance occurred, in the Eastern Cape, where workers witnessed a senior manager making a racist remark towards Nico Blou, by calling him a "baboon" (Congress of South African Trade Unions, 2014). In this instance, the Food and Allied Workers Union's spokesperson, Dominique Swartz, was quoted as saying that "calling a person a baboon is offensive" (Bill, 2014).

In addition to these cases occurring in the workplace, a high school in Mpumalanga was placed under investigation as recently as February 2015 by the province's education department as charges were laid against teachers for regularly calling students a number of derogatory names, including "kaffir, bitch, slut, prostitute and baboon" (Louw, 2015). A month later, students and staff of

Stellenbosch University were invited to pen down anti-racism messages at the entrance of the Arts and Social Science building to show their “disdain for all forms of racism on and off campus” (Rippenaar-Moses, 2015). Accompanying the messages was wall art of two similar-looking baboons, created by artist Mook Lion. Explaining the reasoning behind choosing baboons, Lion states that he

chose baboons because they are common in the Western Cape and because of how they have been forced out of their natural spaces because of urban development. They are also often seen as a menace and you can easily compare how baboons have been forced out of their living spaces to such tragic forced removals which occurred in District Six and even here in this space where this university building now stands. People of colour used to live here. So while there is a history of using baboons to make racist comparisons to black persons, the identical baboons created in this artwork were used to show how we mirror and reflect each other and how alike we also are (Rippenaar-Moses, 2015).



Figure 2.7 Mook Lion's two similar-looking baboons in a relaxing position, accompanied by anti-racism messages at the entrance of Stellenbosch University's Arts and Social Science building.

As can be seen from these recent incidences, baboons remain a “highly charged symbol” (Thomas, 2015, cited in Rippenaar-Moses, 2015) while the racial stereotyping of black men and black women as “baboon-like” (Pechey, 2006:45) also still evokes deep-seated emotions associated with the previous apartheid regime.

In addition to racial stereotyping, in the Afrikaans language baboons are associated with unintelligent people (Verster & Coreejes-Brink, 2006:144). This is particularly evident in the expression, *soveel van iets weet as 'n bobbejaan van godsdien* (know as much of something as a baboon knows of religion), which means that one is completely ignorant of something (Uys, 2002:97). Other Afrikaans expressions that describe people in terms of baboon characteristics

include *bobbejaanstreke*, which refers to mischievousness, and *bobbejaanstuipe* which describes a fit being thrown (de Wet, 2010:53). Certain baboon expressions are still used in everyday language. Two of the most popular include ‘*n bobbejaan agter die bult gaan haal* (meeting trouble halfway) (Uys, 2002:97) and *elke bobbejaan het sy krans* (birds of a feather flock together, or a person “knows where he [or she] belongs” [de Villiers & Gouws, 1988:9]).

There is also no shortage of referrals to baboons in Afrikaans music. Without a doubt, the most popular song featuring baboons is the traditional *Bobbejaan klim die berg* (Baboon climbs the mountain), which makes a reference to human–baboon conflict:

Bobbejaan klim die berg, so haastig en so lastig; bobbejaan klim die berg, so haastig en so lastig; bobbejaan klim die berg om die boere te vererg. Hoera vir die jollie bobbejaan! Moenie huil nie, moenie treur nie, die Stellenbosse boys kom weer. Moenie huil nie, moenie treur nie, die Stellenbosse boys kom weer. [Baboon climbs the mountain, so swiftly and so nimbly; baboon climbs the mountain, so swiftly and so nimbly; baboon climbs the mountain to aggravate the farmers. Hooray for the jolly baboon! Do not cry, do not mourn, the Stellenbosch boys will come again. Do not cry, do not mourn, the Stellenbosch boys will come again] (Gerber, 2004:50).

Building on the association between racial stereotyping and baboons, Pechey (2006:55) links *Bobbejaan klim die berg* (Baboon climbs the mountain) with South Africa’s apartheid and colonialist ideology. If one applies the notion of mountains as a space to which everything that falls outside of culture and/or civilisation is shifted, the apparently innocent refrain, specifically the first part thereof, turns offensive. As a result of this notion, the mountains are rendered as, a “space of exile” (Pechey, 2006:55). This theme of “othering” is also found in most traditional African folktales featuring baboons, where they are portrayed as lazy and unintelligent (Gerber, 2004:57). Especially the boisterousness of baboons is portrayed in the folktales of *How the zebra got his stripes* (Miller, 1979) and *The day baboon outwitted leopard* (Faus & Faus, 2011). In addition to these negative attributes, baboons are described as being “mischievous and quarrelsome” (Miller, 1979:14) in *Cagn and the baboons*, *Hare with the calabash of water*, and *Baboon and the ouchey pears* (Grobelaar, 2003). Miller



Figure 2.8 T.O. Honiball’s caricature of pompous Kaas Windvogel who features in *Adoons-hulle* (Source: Verster & Coreejes-Brink, 2006:150).

(1979:259) furthermore states that those who are superstitious believe that baboons are “a witch’s familiar [... and] a messenger for those who cannot get payment of their debts”.

Most of the cultural artefacts discussed thus far portray a negative image of baboons. Although perhaps not intended to counteract these images, baboons in popular comic strips of the past and present seem to do exactly that, by attributing positive human characteristics and behaviours to baboons. These were especially evident in *Adoons-hulle* of T.O. Honiball, which was published between 1948 and 1971 (Gerber, 2004:54). The baboons in this satirical comic strip were portrayed as representative of a typical Afrikaner household, in the sense of being “honest, righteous, and diligent” (Gerber, 2004:55). According to Honiball, the popularity of *Adoons-hulle* could be ascribed to the fact that people could identify with the stories, as they recognised themselves and their friends in the characters (Verster & Coreejes-Brink, 2006:142).

Currently, baboons still feature in the comic strips of Wim Bosman’s *Werfbobbejaan* and *Louis die Laeveldleeu*. Bosman (2009) is able to combine both positive and negative characteristics in his most familiar baboon character, Koos. While Werfbobbejaan portrays rather negative traits, through “his role, purpose and duty to irritate the living hell out of everyone”, Koos “possesses a razor-sharp mind he shamefully abuses by impudently lying” (Bosman, 2009:4&5).



Figure 2.9 Bosman’s Werfbobbejaan character (Source: Verster & Coreejes-Brink, 2006:143).

Anthropomorphism is the act of attributing “human characteristics to non-human objects” (Taylor, 2011:266; see also Baker, 1993:121; Bekoff, 2007:60) such as animals. It not only occurs in popular discourses, such as those discussed above, but is an ongoing means for people to “anticipate and understand the behaviour of other animals” (Bekoff, 2007:63). Attributing human characteristics to baboons seems to be particularly easy and popular. As mentioned earlier in Section 2, this is firstly because of their ability to physically cross what humans perceive as the boundaries between nature and culture. Secondly, as the evidence provided in this section shows, baboons have crossed the nature/culture boundary by featuring in numerous literary forms.

6.2 Anthropomorphism

Imposing human characteristics on animals can have positive or negative outcomes. According to Abell (2013:160), anthropomorphism is important in people’s decision on whether or not the animal

species in question should be protected. On the contrary, scientists more often than not frown upon the act of anthropomorphising, as the extrapolations from ourselves to animals are not “grounded in any sort of reality or scientific fact” (Ilicheva, 2010:64) and therefore are “scientifically unproven” (Bekoff, 2007:65). According to Taylor (2011), one of the main critiques against anthropomorphism is that it casts doubt on the assumingly clear delineations between the Cartesian dualisms of urban or culture and nature, human and nonhuman or animal (see Section 2). By allowing all nonhuman objects, including animals, agency, “calls into question the superiority of humans” (Taylor, 2011:268).

Despite its unscientific grounding, Taylor (2011:266) is of the opinion that “anthropomorphism remains a consistent and persistent part of modern human cultures, and can be seen in folklore, cultural representations and the everyday practices of those who interact with animals”. As baboons are “uncritically viewed as microcosms of human society” (Bekoff, 2007:953), the level of anthropomorphism applied to baboons is quite high, because of their visible similarity to humans’ “appearance, actions and desires” (Knight, 1999:633). In 2012, the television channel National Geographic Wild sparked controversy with its anthropomorphic *Big Baboon House* documentary.

This five-part series raised eyebrows as it allowed free roaming, wild baboons to enter a food-filled, non-baboon-proof¹² house in Pringle Bay, South Africa, in order to film them. While the local Pringle Bay residents were especially outraged at what they deemed to be the unacceptable and unethical practices of National



Figure 2.10 Screenshot from National Geographic’s *Big Baboon House* where Harry interacts with Santa Clause (Source: National Geographic Wild, 2012).

¹² People living in close proximity to baboons are encouraged by authorities to baboon proof their house. According to Koutstaal (2013:50), the act of baboon proofing “encompasses measures taken by the local residents themselves to make sure coexistence with the baboons remains as friendly as possible”. This includes, for example, efficient waste management, locking windows and doors when baboons are in the vicinity, placing television antennas in the ceiling, and reducing and/or removing incentives (see, for example, CCT, 2011a; Ashton, 2013; Baboon Matters Trust, 2014; HWS, 2014; Appendix A).

Geographic’s “Big Brother”-style series, Meghan Gleason at National Geographic Channels deemed *Big Baboon House* “a simian social experiment of a lifetime” (Weaver, 2012) to understand not only the behaviour, interaction and cooperation of baboons, but also how humans and baboons can coexist peacefully. On the contrary, Weaver (2012) describes *Big Baboon House* as an “appalling anthropomorphism on display”, which involved ascribing names to the baboons while human voice-overs allow them to “speak”. According to National Geographic Channels (2012), “these dialogues take the human/baboon connection even further and help us [the audience] relate to them not just as animals but also as characters”. The likes of Rambo, Rocky, Lefty, Harry, Cheeky, Ziggy, Ray, Nookie and Scar, amongst others, are portrayed as “archetypal reality show characters” (Jassiem-Marcus & Gosling, 2012; Kroll, 2012), each with their own, unique personality.

Although British comedian and presenter Bill Bailey’s documentary series *Baboons with Bill Bailey* (originally broadcasted in 2011) was less controversial than *Big Baboon House*, he also made use of anthropomorphic features while following the lives of Merlin “the criminal mastermind”, his “partner in crime” Fred, Force, Danny who is “bit of a bruiser”, his “henchman”



Figure 2.11 Screenshot from *Baboons with Bill Bailey* (Source: Koutstaal, 2013:66).

Manni, James Dean, Clint, Gundy, Marbells, Bertha, and “streetfighter” Jimmy, amongst others (Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014a&b&c&d&e&f). By focusing specifically on the Smitswinkel, Tokai and Da Gama troops (see Figure 1.3), Bailey is able to describe in meticulous detail the “fortunes of each troop, the highs and lows of family life”, along with the “rivalry, politics and casual violence” of their daily routines, as he documents how the baboons are able to adjust in a continuously changing environment (Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014b&c&d&e). As a result, the baboons are “humanised in a sense¹³” (Koutstaal, 2013:67) and occur in what Bailey describes as their own “docu-soap” (Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014a&b&c&d&e). By following such an untraditional approach to

¹³ Robert Sapolsky (2002) follows a similar approach in his book *A primate’s memoir: Love, death and baboons in east Africa*. In writing about his experiences while studying a troop of baboons in Kenya, Sapolsky (2002) implements anthropomorphism to foreground the baboons’ similarities with humans “to get his readers interested in nonhuman animals” (Woodward, 2008:80). But, continues Woodward (2008:80), this also leads the baboons in the book to be “diminished as humans manqués”.

wildlife documentaries (see Molloy, 2011:81), I agree with Koutstaal (2013:67) that it seems as if Bailey attempts to “persuade the audience that living alongside humans is hard for the baboons, rather than the other way around”. This is done especially through the use of emotive words such as “intelligent”, “ingenious”, “adaptable”, “dexterous”, “resourceful”, “inquisitive”, “fascinating”, “deeply caring”, “tender”, “entertaining”, “endearing” and “expressive” (Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014a&b&c&f&g) which “evokes a certain sense of empathy and admiration from the audience” for the baboons (Koutstaal, 2013:67). Furthermore, Bailey makes a point of emphasising that humans are “partly responsible” for their conflicting interactions with baboons, and in order to change this, we need to “change our own behaviour” (Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014a).

In their research on the perceptions of baboons, monkeys and chimpanzees in human–wildlife conflict scenarios in Uganda, Hill and Webber (2010) identify positive human characteristics attributed to these nonhuman primates, although none related to baboons in particular. Monkeys were believed to demonstrate positive characteristics, such as being “clever”, of “good character”, “faithful”, “honest”, and “consistent” (Hill & Webber, 2010:921). Chimpanzees, on the other hand, were described as “human”, “friendly”, “humble”, and “respectful”, all character attributes that are “socially highly valued” (Hill & Webber, 2010:921).

Although the abovementioned nonhuman primates also come into conflict with humans, they mostly “behave in ways that meet people’s social rules and expectations” and as a result, “they are generally viewed positively” (Hill & Webber, 2010:921). Baboons, on the other hand, seem to be unable to escape the problematic human characteristics that are attached to them. Locals that live in the vicinity of the Budongo Forest Reserve in Uganda view the local baboon species (*Papio anubis*) as the “most destructive species of wildlife” (Hill & Webber, 2010:920). A number of locals also have “personal experience of rebel and military activity”, and as a result use “martial language and symbolism”, such as “the enemy”, “rebel” and “highly organised”, in reference to baboons. Such military-related social constructions underscore their “strong negative reaction” to the animals (Hill & Webber, 2010:920). Other social constructions also have an undertone of criminality, as illustrated in portrayals of baboons as “intelligent, persistent, calculating, malicious, and vindictive” (Hill & Webber, 2010:921). Again, the ability of baboons to easily cross the nature/culture, and even the human/animal, borderline seems to be the underlying source of this negative labelling. By transgressing the ostensible rules associated with the human/animal and nature/culture divide, and/or the actual, physical borderline, “their ‘apparent humanness’ is held against them” (Hill & Webber, 2010:922).

Barring a few exceptions, baboons are continually and relatively consistently portrayed in contemporary media as bandits (see Table 2.2). As evident from the large number of blog titles and newspaper headlines, the media plays an important role in the social construction of baboons (Molloy, 2011).

Author(s)	Year	Title
Evans	2008	Law catches up with John Wayne, Cape Town's celebrity baboon
s.n.	2009	Baboons join crime spree. Seriaas!
s.n.	2009	Cape motorists baboon-jacked
Brooks	2009	Furry felons rob SA tourists
Gerardy	2010	Cape Town on alert for baboon-jackers
Marshall	2010	Baboon "gangs" run wild in suburban South Africa
s.n.	2011	Famous baboon that terrorised tourists euthanised
Yeld	2012a	'Aggro' baboon is put down
s.n.	2013	Baboon ambushes woman carrying groceries in Cape Town, makes off with veggies
s.n.	2013	Baboon burglars!
Kruger	2013	<i>Groot skade ná kесе huis plunder</i> [Major damage after baboons loot home]
s.n.	2013	<i>"Spiderman"-bobbejaan ontglip nog die DBV</i> ["Spiderman"-baboon still eluding the SPCA]
Mulder's World	2013	Ninja baboon gangs organise raids and attacks on residents of Cape Town
Radnedge	2013	Thieving baboons caught in the act as they're pictured breaking into a block of flats
van Heerden	2013	<i>Bobbejane los in Bos</i> [Baboons loose in Stellenbosch]
van den Berg	2013	<i>Kese maak amok in Eikestad</i> [Baboons run amuck in Stellenbosch]

Consequently, I would argue that baboons will continue to struggle with their relatively poor public-relations image if they are not "disentangled from the baggage of these images and representations of them as imposed by humans" (Baker, 1993, cited in Peggs, 2012:126; see also Haralambos & Holborn, 2008:335). I therefore agree with Williams (2001:1), who believes that it is "necessary for [the] effective protection and management of wilderness" to contest negative associations and social constructions thereof. Doing so, and by discussing how and why others socially construct wildlife the way that they do, would also have the potential to decrease human-wildlife conflict.

7. Conclusion

This review of literature relevant to human-wildlife and related human-human conflict revealed that both types of conflicts are complex and evolving topics of study. There are multiple definitions of human-wildlife conflict, and this is no different for human-human conflict. One of this project's

research questions, i.e. whether human–human conflict is the true source of human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula, is echoed in Knight’s (2000:20) book, *Natural enemies: People–wildlife conflicts in anthropological perspective*, in which he distinguishes amongst three different relations between what he refers to as the “natural and social enmities” of wildlife conflicts.

First of all, and most importantly, Knight (2000:20) draws a very useful distinction, i.e. that “human social divisions are present in conflict *with* wildlife”, while they are also “evident in conflict *over* wildlife”, as “people with different relations to wildlife have different interests in it” (2000:21). The literature reviewed supports the notion of “conflict over wildlife”, in that it shows that images and symbols of animals, and even the “animals themselves can evoke a bewildering variety of responses: pride and respect; hatred, contempt and fear; pleasure and affection” (Baker, 1993:167). In order to investigate and understand how and why these various social constructions are “created, legitimated, and contested” (Harker & Bates, 2007:331), this research project draws on social constructionism as an analytical tool, so as to identify the meanings various stakeholders attribute to the Cape Peninsula’s baboons, within the broader context of human–baboon conflict.

Understanding and applying social constructionism in a wildlife-management context will “enable those engaged in the policy-making process to more meaningfully understand and, consequently, incorporate alternative views of wildlife and nature into management policy” (Goedeke, 2005:47). When these alternative views have been incorporated, or at least acknowledged, in wildlife management, efforts should also be made to elucidate the various constructions, in order to counteract lay people’s alienation from solution-negotiation processes. When people’s social actions are not those required by wildlife managers and other authorities, “it may be tempting for policy-makers and wildlife managers to dismiss the claims and constructions of other groups as self-interested, extreme, frivolous or wrong” (Goedeke, 2005:47). I do not claim that social constructionism offers a solution on its own, but I do agree with Goedeke (2005:47) that it provides “a more productive starting point for settling differences”.

The third of the relations Knight (2000:21) identifies, according to which “human conflicts are sometimes *projected on to* wildlife”, is a theme that emerged from my data (see Chapter 4). This type of conflict can either serve as an “expression of a social conflict between people”, or “the reality of the claimed animal damage or threat is questionable or at least exaggerated, and the salient conflict is actually a human one” (Knight, 2000:21; see also Madden & McQuinn, 2014:98). Pertaining to this relation, the review of the literature also stressed the need for an interdisciplinary research approach in order to support wildlife managers in dealing with the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict. The following chapter of this thesis will detail the general research

strategy that was adopted, the research methods and techniques that were used for sample selection and to collect, process and analyse the empirical data, as well as ethical considerations and the methodological challenges posed by this study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction

A review of the literature indicates that only a relatively small number of qualitative studies with a social constructionist approach to human–wildlife conflict have been conducted throughout the world (Harrison & Burgess, 1994; Nie, 2002; Goedeke, 2005; Herda-Rapp & Marotz, 2005; Harker & Bates, 2007; Hytten & Burns, 2007; Buller, 2008). Even fewer qualitative studies on human–wildlife conflict have been executed in the South African context (Legendijk & Gusset, 2008; Natrass & Conradie, 2013), let alone in an urban South African context (Hurn, 2011; Koutstaal, 2013). In order to increase understanding and awareness of the novel argument that human–wildlife conflict does not only occur “between humans and wild animals but [also] between humans and humans” (Clarke, 2012:20), especially in the South African context, I found it necessary to employ a qualitative research strategy.

Such a strategy allowed me not only to use a social constructionist theoretical framework, but to also develop an in-depth understanding of the issues contained in the subsequent research questions, and thereby to contribute meaningfully to the existing empirical knowledge on human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula. I wished to establish what attitudes and values play a defining role in different social constructions of baboons, specifically those who often cross the urban/nature divide; what these different social constructions are; whether they differ among the various stakeholders that were included in this research project; and, whether there is a willingness amongst stakeholders to adjust to, accommodate or at least understand “other” social constructions.

Initially, the primary objective of this research was to unravel whether different social constructions are the foundation for human–human conflict. However, after conducting an extensive literature review and fieldwork, I became aware that the causes of human–human conflict stretch well beyond differences of opinion about the animals themselves and the social constructions attached to them. While I still analysed varying social constructions of baboons, the primary research objective altered to focus particularly on human–human conflict regarding baboons on the Cape Peninsula, and the reasons underlying that conflict.

This chapter will inform the reader of my choice of research methodology and the procedures followed in order to answer the research questions outlined above. Firstly, the research strategy – a basic interpretive qualitative study – is described and justified. This is followed by a discussion of

the data collection techniques that were adopted, i.e. semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis. Details on sampling and preparation for data collection, as well as on the processes of data gathering and analysis are also provided. Lastly, ethical and other dilemmas that were posed by the research are reflected upon, with the aim to assist in the planning of future projects on a similar topic. These challenging issues, which will be discussed in greater detail below, can be divided into two broad concerns: methodological reflections, and the difficulties facing a social science researcher who is operating in a predominantly natural-science environment. While the transparency that is intended by a discussion of these issues is valuable and crucial in social science research in general, Browne-Nuñez and Jonker (2008:67) furthermore believe that, in order to specifically strengthen and build the inclusion of social scientists in the field of human–wildlife conflict, “human dimensions researchers need to demonstrate the rigor of their methodology and the validity of their data”, as I intend to do in this chapter.

2. Methodological approach

As a social constructionist theoretical framework is central to this research project, so as to interpret the multiple realities of those involved with managing baboons on the Cape Peninsula, I chose to implement the research design Merriam (2002:6) refers to as a “basic interpretive qualitative study”. Such a design builds on the foundation blocks of social constructionism (Merriam, 2009:22) and allowed my research to exemplify the characteristics that are typical of qualitative research. A basic interpretive qualitative design enabled me, firstly, to “uncover and interpret” (Merriam, 2009:24) the multiple social constructions and people’s experiences of baboons, of human–baboon conflict, and of human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula. Secondly, it provided me with the opportunity to explore in an in-depth manner whether these multiple social constructions – which, according to Dickman (2010:458), are “often ignored in conflict studies” – are the foundation of human–human conflict, and, whether human–human conflict is, consequently, the actual source of human–baboon conflict.

Although basic interpretive qualitative studies are popular in “applied fields of practice such as education, administration, health, social work, counselling, business” (Merriam, 2009:22) and should therefore also be suitable for the field of wildlife management, they are more often than not criticised for their limitations in terms of generalisability or external validity (Bryman, 2008:391). However, as I am conducting an exploratory study, it is not my intention to produce findings that are generalisable to a larger population and/or other human–wildlife conflict management situations. My focus is rather on the important aspects of context and detailed information to

“discover and understand a phenomenon, a process, the perspectives and worldviews of the people involved” (Merriam, 2002:6). This need for a contextual understanding of the research participants, their resulting behaviour and/or values, requires sacrificing scope for detail (Silverman, 2013:105). Nevertheless, by making use of Young *et al.*'s (2010:3979) categories of the underlying causes of human–human conflict as a “template with which to compare the empirical results” of my study (see Chapter 4), a strong case is made for analytical generalisation (Yin, 2009:38). According to Yin (2009:38–39), “if two or more cases are shown to support the same theory, replication may be claimed”.

I also found the flexibility associated with a qualitative research design particularly useful in this research project. As will be evident throughout this chapter, and to a certain degree in Chapter 4, it allowed me to identify and explore novel issues that were not foreseen at the outset of this research, as well as to take the social context of each research participant into consideration (Newing, 2011:52). Flexibility also allowed me to adapt the initial research design of this research project in response to some difficulties associated with qualitative research, which will be discussed in more detail in Section 7 below.

3. Sampling and preparation for data collection

In qualitative research, purposive sampling is often applied in order to sample potential research participants and/or cases that have a relevance to the research questions (Bradley, 1993; Bryman, 2008; Babbie, 2010), or, in the words of Devers and Frankel (2000:264), are “information rich”. In order to include as many perspectives as possible of baboons and human–baboon conflict in the most southwestern part of South Africa’s Western Cape, and thereby to broaden my “scope of understanding” (Bradley, 1993:438), the original aim was to select potential research participants from a range of pre-defined stakeholder groups that are involved in the Cape Peninsula’s “baboon debate” (Koutstaal, 2013), i.e. government institutions, NGOs, resident associations, local residents, and tourists.

As preliminary fieldwork familiarised me with the current human–baboon conflict situation on the Cape Peninsula, I decided to exclude tourists as a stakeholder group, since the frequency of interactions between baboons and people, including tourists, has greatly declined as a result of HWS’ success in keeping baboons outside of urban areas for an average of 98,6% of the time (Richardson, 2014a). Instead, I included journalists as a stakeholder group in order to sharpen my focus on the discourse that surrounds the Cape Peninsula’s baboons.

While I was conducting fieldwork, however, I found it near impossible to unambiguously assign potential research participants to the abovementioned, pre-defined groups, as many, if not all, of the eventual research participants could be classified within more than one of these categories. In order to classify them, I made use of what Weber defined as the “ideal type” to stress the “unique particularity” (Rogers, 1969:28; Burger, 1976:122) of each stakeholder group¹⁴. Contrary to these difficulties with categorisation, it was relatively easy to identify key individual role players, organisations, and appropriate representatives of these organisations, as the conflict between humans and baboons on the Cape Peninsula is longstanding, well known, and as Koutstaal (2013:107) denotes, “evolves around a very select group of people”. By collecting official documents and mass-media outputs I identified numerous stakeholders, in particular those that appeared repeatedly, together with their contact details, in various artefacts. Relying primarily on online sources to identify potential research participants did, however, have a drawback. Since human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula has been an ongoing point of discussion since the

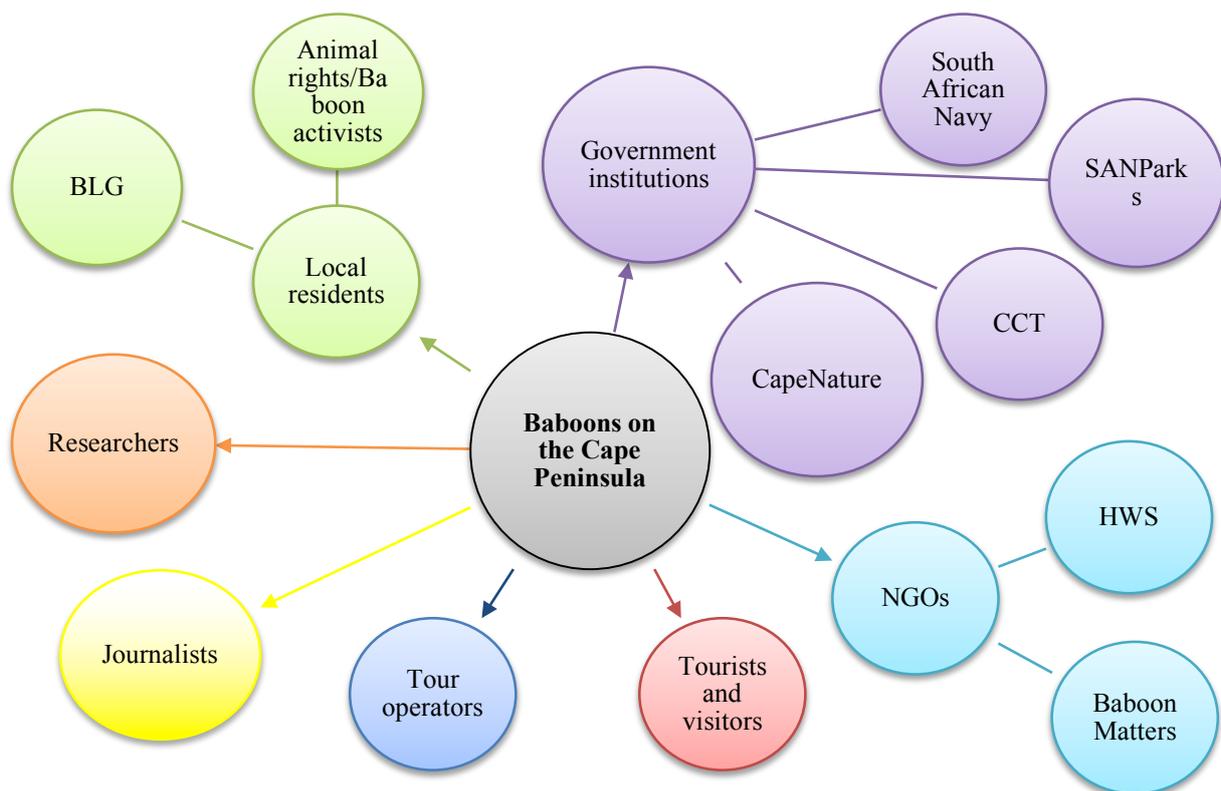


Figure 3.1 Schematic representation of the various stakeholder groups with express interest in the Cape Peninsula's baboons.

¹⁴ It is important to keep in mind that this cognitive and conceptual tool of Weber does not provide “accurate descriptive or explanatory accounts of empirical phenomena” (Burger, 1976:179). Rather, an “ideal type” is only a “mental construct” (Stewart, 2014:30), a “utopian construct” (Rogers, 1969:91) designed primarily for descriptive and evaluative purposes and “aims to give unambiguous means of expression to [...] a description” (Burger, 1976:121).

1990s, outdated internet sources may create the impression that individual and organisational stakeholders that are no longer involved in the issue, still are. Consequently, some time was wasted on requesting, via e-mail, the assistance of stakeholders who, it later transpired, were no longer information-rich cases, or not even involved in baboon management on the Cape Peninsula anymore. In some instances I was, however, guided to the correct contact person(s).

While individual respondents were generally willing to agree to be interviewed, gaining access to and institutional permission from relevant organisations, in particular CapeNature and SANParks, proved a challenge (see Section 7). Initially, I deemed it important to gain institutional permission from both institutions before continuing with fieldwork of any type, as the majority of the Cape Peninsula falls under the jurisdiction of CapeNature and SANParks. I was also required by the Departmental Ethics Screening Committee (DESC) of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Stellenbosch University to submit relevant letters of institutional permission in order for the committee to approve of my research and thus allowing me to conduct research (SU REC, 2011). However, six months after submitting requests to conduct research in June 2013 I had not yet received a relevant response¹⁵ from these organisations and, as budgetary and time considerations became increasingly pressing, I decided to proceed with arranging interviews with individual, non-institutional stakeholders.

Contacting potential research participants was an ongoing process from January 2014 to May 2014, and, as explained above, purposive sampling informed by reviewing various artefacts brought me in contact with a total of 13 research participants by May 2014. As soon as I entered the field, I made use of snowball sampling (see Figure 3.2 below). In other words, in order to broaden the range of potential research participants, I requested the 13 research participants, during my personal, semi-structured interviews with them, to provide the information needed to locate other stakeholders whom they happen to know (Babbie, 2010:193). The respondents were in general willing to assist in this regard, and another seven research participants were therefore easily identified. Most of the local residents were, however, approached via an alternative form of snowball sampling, which Newing (2011:74) refers to as “respondent-driven sampling”. As a member of the BLG whom I had interviewed felt uneasy about providing personal details of other BLG members without their consent, he instead took the task on himself to inform those members of my research interest and encouraged them to approach me (Newing, 2011:74). Respondent-driven sampling proved to be

¹⁵ Even though I did gain ethical clearance from CapeNature (Permit number AAA007-00088-0056), it was questionable whether the clearance held any relevance to my research aims, as I was provided with a permit to collect “specimens” and to hunt baboons for research purposes (see Section 7).

very useful, as another four BLG members contacted me.

While snowball and purposive samples are unlikely to be representative of a population (Bryman, 2008:185), in this study a probability sample was rendered unfeasible as there is no sampling frame, nor was I likely to draw up such a list (Babbie, 2010:192). It also did not suit my explorative and in-depth study. In order to simplify what could become a complex process of locating potential, relevant research participants, it makes more sense, according to Silverman (2013:215), to draw upon one's "existing circle of contacts", as I did. This can also counteract "time-consuming negotiations [... which] may end in failure, particularly if you want to research an ethically sensitive area" (Silverman, 2013:215). As one of my research objectives was to identify whether human–human conflict is the underlying source of human–baboon conflict, I was indeed researching an ethically sensitive area. However, the extent to which human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula is a sensitive topic only emerged after I had conducted a handful of interviews and attended two conferences, thereby observing human–human conflict and tension first hand.

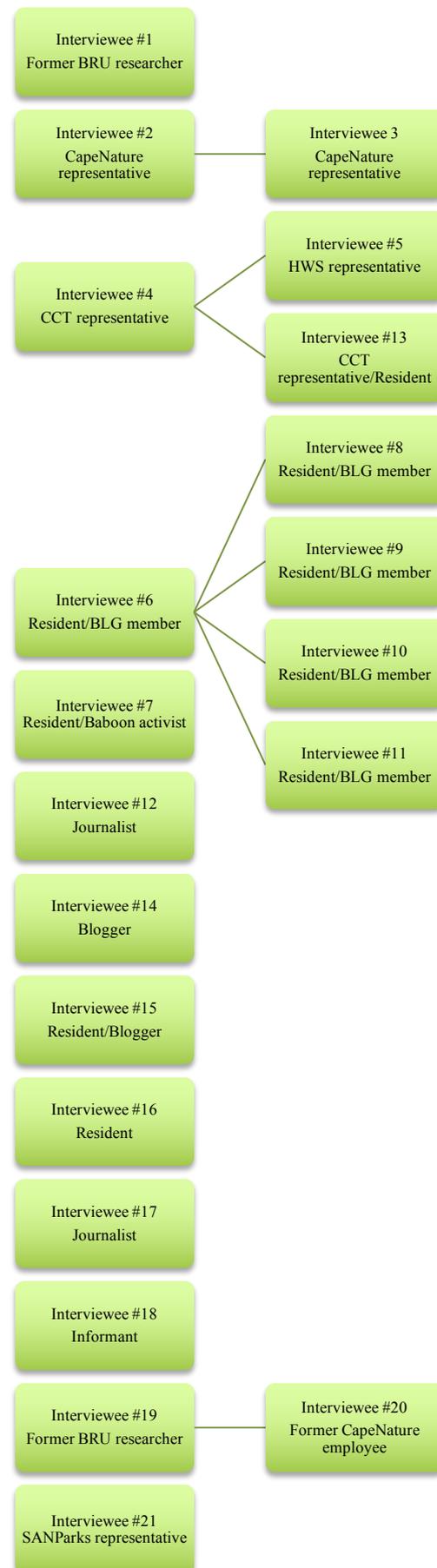


Figure 3.2 Research participants and their stakeholder categories.

In total, 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted, and I received one written response¹⁶ on my organisational-stakeholder interview schedule (see Appendix C) from a key SANParks employee who represents the organisation on the BTT (for more information, see Section 7). This was deemed sufficient for a small-scale, exploratory, qualitative research project at the master's level (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:287), but my decision to cease data collection was primarily informed by the fact that I had reached a degree of data saturation during the last few interviews. Although, as indicated earlier in this section, I found it near impossible to place research participants in a single, pre-defined category – many, if not all, can be included in more than one category – some categorisation is possible, albeit merely to indicate that multiple voices were included in this study. As indicated in Figure 3.2, of the 20 interviews, two were conducted with natural science researchers who were associated with the then BRU, and three with CapeNature representatives, although one of these interviewees is no longer a CapeNature employee. This interviewee did, however, provide valuable historical and contextual background. Another three interviewees represented the CCT, of whom one also represents HWS, which is the current baboon-management service provider for the CCT. A total of eight local residents were interviewed, of which five belong to the BLG and one is an NGO representative. In order to enhance the thick descriptions that were provided by these research participants, two journalists and two bloggers provided background information on the discourse surrounding baboons. A final interviewee falls outside of the above stakeholder categories and could be better described as an informant. After I came across a YouTube video in which baboons and the damage they cause are described in a positive manner, I decided to include the co-owner of the wine farm in my study to delve into how she makes use of baboons in a positive, commercial manner.

Reflecting upon the above categorisation of research participants, I am confident that sufficient data were gathered to “give an accurate understanding of the issues under investigation and the different perspectives that are present in the study population” (Newing, 2011:75). Although provision was made to conduct the interviews in either Afrikaans or English, most participants chose to be interviewed in English, and therefore only three of the 20 interviews were conducted in Afrikaans. To keep record of the stakeholders I had already identified, contacted and received a response from, I took notes in my research diary and drew up a workbook in Microsoft Excel 2011. Excel made it particularly easy to separate the different types of stakeholders into different sheets, so as to keep a more precise record of the number of stakeholders of each type that I had contacted and, in the end, included.

¹⁶ Throughout this thesis any information pertaining to this written response, will be referred to as “Interviewee #21”.

4. The collection of data

The main data collection method used in this research project was that of personal, semi-structured interviews with a variety of individual stakeholders who are involved in the management of baboons on the Cape Peninsula. Interviewing representatives from governmental institutions, NGOs and residential associations, as well as individual researchers, local residents (i.e. residents who live in baboon-affected areas on the Cape Peninsula) and journalists, allowed me to investigate the various

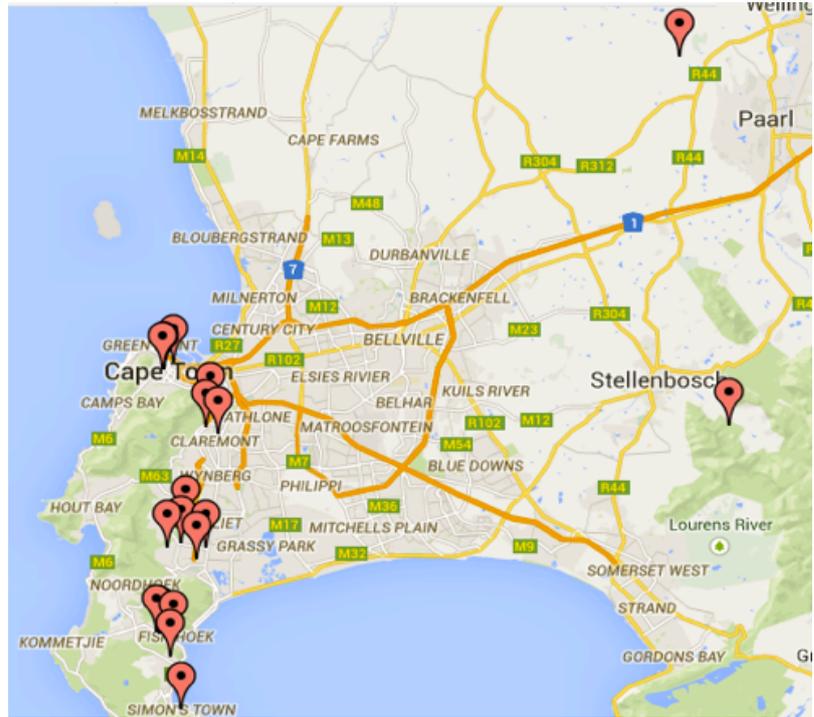


Figure 3.3 Locations where personal, semi-structured interviews were conducted with research participants (Source: Zeemaps, 2014).

perspectives and views that these stakeholders hold about baboons, but also about each other. The flexibility and adaptability associated with semi-structured interviews (Robson, 2011:280, cited in Harding, 2013:22) suited the exploratory nature of the study, and offered certain advantages for both the research participants and myself as interviewer.

As human–human conflict was a central point of conversation in the interviews, I felt it important and necessary to create a safe space for research participants to express their views (see Section 6 below). Silverman (2006:112) describes the use of semi-structured interviews as a “collaborative” approach, as they provide research participants with the opportunity to develop their answers as well as the opportunity of being (at least to a certain extent) in control of the interview (Babbie, 2010). Based on my experience in the field, I would argue that this sense of control ensured that research participants experienced a level of comfort sufficient for them to personally reflect on their experiences of human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula.

From an interviewer’s perspective, the semi-structured interviews allowed me to receive the responses of the research participants with an open mind and, where relevant, follow up on interesting remarks they made. I found it particularly useful to allow research participants to

propose their “own insights into certain occurrences” (Yin, 2009:107), such as what they believe is the solution to human–baboon and/or human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula, and what they ascribe these conflicts to. Some research participants also took the liberty of “providing background information and context” (Newing, 2011:98), from their perspective, of baboon management on the Cape Peninsula since its inception in the 1990s until the present.

In order to increase the trustworthiness of my data and to gain an enhanced understanding of the complex social interactions, practices and belief systems which are embedded within human–baboon conflicts, I also analysed the discourse of numerous forms of documentation that refer to the Cape Peninsula’s baboons. Although these social artefacts as units of analysis (Babbie, 2010:103) were originally collected to provide examples of the popular discourse surrounding the Cape Peninsula’s baboons, they also serve, as in the case of Koutstaal’s (2013:111) research, as “supporting documentation about the history of the ‘baboon debate’ and [baboon] management”. Together, the collection and analysis of these sources of qualitative data allowed me to develop a network of understanding that considers the broader context of human–baboon conflict, as well as the practices and ideas shaped by different stakeholders. In addition, these sources of qualitative data allowed me to identify the strained relationships between different stakeholders.

4.1 The interview process

All interviews were digitally voice-recorded, with the permission of the research participants. The need for voice-recording was justified as follows to research participants: first, a voice-recording would ensure that I gather enriching, accurate, qualitative data; and secondly, it would provide me with the “freedom to concentrate on the interview process” (Biggam, 2011:290), which contributed to the collection of enriching, accurate, qualitative data. On the contrary, voice-recording an interview does have its drawbacks, as it can “make the interviewee much more guarded and self-conscious” (Newing, 2011:112).

Only one research participant raised concerns regarding being voice-recorded, and I experienced first-hand Bryman’s (2008:120) argument that an act of transgressing ethical principles can also “harm generations of future researchers”. This research participant’s uneasiness about being voice-recorded stemmed from a previous negative experience with a researcher, also conducting research on human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula, who asked to voice-record her. According to this research participant, the researcher in question “turned her words upside down” in the final research product. In order to allay the fears and earn the trust of this research participant, I reiterated the reasons for voice-recording. In addition, as with all the other research participants, I guaranteed

confidentiality of the data collected and anonymity in the reporting of results. Her apprehension further subsided when I offered to e-mail her a copy of the transcription of our interview.

None of the other research participants had any concerns about being voice-recorded, which I ascribe to two reasons: first, the majority of the research participants are familiar with speaking publicly about baboons and human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula and secondly, all the research participants, including the one who had doubts about being voice-recorded, were extremely passionate about issues concerning the Cape Peninsula’s baboons. Regardless of their position and/or stance on baboons and baboon-management techniques, they were more than willing to share their personal experiences and views of baboons, human–baboon conflict and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula. As the research topic is relevant to all of the research participants, I agree with Babbie (2010:259) that the research results are more likely to be useful and a researcher is less likely to “run the risk of being misled” by research participants who may “express attitudes even though they have never given any thought to the issue”. Although the interviews were initially scheduled to last half an hour, the research participants’ familiarity with, and passion for, the research topic led to an actual average duration of the interviews of between 45 minutes to an hour or even longer, with the longest interviews just shy of two hours.

Before commencing with the questions on my interview schedule, I aimed to establish some rapport with the research participants by again describing my affiliation with Stellenbosch University, and stating the aim of my research and of the interview. Silverman (2013:161) is of the opinion that, by assuring research participants of one’s affiliation with a university, one enhances their confidence in you as a trained researcher, and this could “address any reservations people might have about answering your questions or sharing their private lives with you”. Some time was also spent on casual conversation, in particular the exchange of personal anecdotes of baboon encounters, which the research participants seemed to enjoy. In the instances where organisational stakeholders were interviewed, it was important to clearly document the fact that the research participant represents the organisation where he/she works. While personal views were accommodated, the research participant was asked to clearly identify a personal view as such, and to distinguish it from the position of the organisation.

As already mentioned, the research participants’ passion for the topic under discussion led to a high level of willingness to share their experiences and views. In some instances it was therefore not even necessary to establish rapport, or even formally ask the first question, as the conversation flowed from the outset. In those few instances where an interview needed an initial stimulus, I commenced with a “broad and uncontroversial” (Newing, 2011:107) question, for example, whether

the research participant has had any personal experiences with the Cape Peninsula's baboons. Not immediately addressing more sensitive, controversial topics created a relaxed, safe environment in which research participants could express their views, which Newing (2011:107) argues increases the likelihood of the interviewer "to get a better response to more difficult, thought-provoking or sensitive issues".

Although I relied on the interview schedule in order to ask relevant questions, interviews were allowed to flow naturally, more akin to conversations, as I wished to follow an informal and non-threatening approach. Such an approach also allowed me to "demonstrate the meanings that [... the research participants] attribute to this world and their experiences of it" (Harding, 2013:22). As a result, questions were seldom asked in the way they were worded on the interview schedule. The importance of this, according to Birke and Mills (2011:75, cited in Koutstaal, 2013:108), was to "see what kind of 'hot issues' emerged" and indeed, many additional, relevant topics, which I did not anticipate, came to the fore during interviews. Examples of these topics include the distinction between rationalists (natural scientists) and affectionalists ("activists"); the opinion that baboons are a distracting issue from other, seemingly more important, concerns that face the government, organisations and/or individuals; notions concerning the neoliberalisation (i.e. commercialisation) of baboons; and the debate concerning the re-establishment of physical boundaries (see Chapter 4). As I deemed these emergent issues relevant to my research, I kept note thereof in my research diary and, consequently, pursued them in following interviews.

In addition to the requirement of being flexible in the above situations and "responding to the direction in which interviewees take the interview" (Bryman, 2008:437), I also had to recognise and adjust to the fact that the different interview schedules I had constructed for each stakeholder group were not mutually exclusive. Even though potential research participants could not be neatly categorised into only one of a number of pre-defined categories (see Section 3), it was still considered useful to draw up different interview schedules for each group (see Appendices C, D and E), in order to discuss certain issues with a particular group to which they had particular relevance. However, I had to combine questions from different interview schedules to adapt to each research participant's location among the stakeholder groups. Nonetheless, certain key questions were posed to all research participants, which included the following:

- 1) Have you had any personal experiences with the Cape Peninsula baboons?
- 2) Should baboons, humans, or both be managed?
- 3) Do you think the friction between humans and baboons has become worse over time?

- 4) Would you say that humans are encroaching on the baboons, or the other way around?
- 5) What type of language and/or imagery is used to describe baboons in the media?
- 6) Inclusive management strategies incorporate multiple stakeholders in decision-making and planning processes. What is your opinion about such strategies?

By presenting these as well as other questions in an open-ended format, I aimed to “minimise the influence of the questions on the response” (Wengraf, 2001; cited in Liu, McShea, Garshelis, Zhu, Wang & Shao, 2011:540). For the majority of the questions, topical probes were also formulated in advance (see Appendices C, D and E). However, as a result, my original interview schedules were eventually employed only as a “memory aid – a checklist you look at from time to time to see if there is anything that has not been covered yet” (Newing 2011:102), to ensure that the same general areas of information were collected from each research participant (McNamara, 2009, cited in Turner, 2010:755).

4.2 Analysing discourse

While thematic analysis was used to analyse the data I obtained through my semi-structured interviews of research participants’ experiences and views of baboons, as well as of human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula, I made use of discourse analysis to examine numerous forms of existing documentation which refer to the Cape Peninsula’s baboons. These documents can be categorised according to Bryman’s (2008:514) classification of documentary sources, i.e.: personal documents (e-mails and letters); visual objects (cartoons, comic strips and posters); official documents (protocols, legislations, constitutions, minutes of meetings and information sheets); mass-media outputs (television documentaries, newspaper articles and brochures); and virtual documents (websites, YouTube videos, blogs and postings to message boards and forums). Analysing all of these types of documents aided me, firstly, in unpacking the social constructions and discourses surrounding the Cape Peninsula’s baboons in mainstream media. Since these various documentary sources are publicly available, I agree with Stibbe (2001:148; see also Molloy, 2011) that they are very likely to play a potentially influential role in people’s own social constructions of baboons. Secondly, these documents allowed me to explore the history of human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula and, consequently, “establish the veracity of some of the data provided” (Svotwa, Ngwenya, Manyanhaire & Jiyane, 2007:181) by the research participants.

This introduces the concept of triangulation. By making use of two research methods – thematic analysis of data collected via semi-structured interviews, and discourse analysis of documentary sources of data – the aim was to increase the trustworthiness of the data by providing a “well-rounded collection of information for analyses” (Turner, 2010:754). In addition to this methodological triangulation, more than one research method was used to gain a “rich, three-dimensional picture” (Biggam, 2011:284) of the topics at hand, by conducting semi-structured interviews with a variety of stakeholders, and gaining background information on the current human–baboon conflict situation, as well as the discourses surrounding it.

5. Processing and analysis of data

As all interviews were voice-recorded, the first step before undertaking any analysis was to transcribe the voice-recordings. While I was fully aware that the act of transcribing would be a time-consuming and arduous process, it did allow me, firstly, to accurately gather qualitative data and, secondly, focus on the interview process, so as to respond accordingly to each interview as it presented itself (Biggam, 2011:163). Transcribing the interviews myself also enabled me, as the researcher, to be “closer to the data” and as a result, enabled me to “identify key themes, and to become aware of similarities and differences between different participants’ accounts” (Bryman, 2008:456).

Initially I transcribed interviews in their entirety. After having fully transcribed seven interviews, whilst conducting other interviews, I sensed that I had gained a sufficient understanding of which themes and topics were central to my exploratory study. Consequently, the remainder of the 20 interviews were not transcribed in their entirety. I decided, for example, to omit the introduction to an interview during which I was still establishing rapport with the research participant. Also, if research participants deviated from the themes and topics that the initial, full transcriptions highlighted as central to my research project, that part of the interview was not transcribed. With regard to language, the three interviews that were conducted in Afrikaans were transcribed in that language, and only translated into English when I commenced with data analysis, as suggested by Merriam (2009). Each interview’s transcription was saved as a separate Microsoft Word 2011 document.

5.1 Thematic analysis of empirical data

After transcribing all the interviews, the next step was to immerse myself in the data by reading and re-reading the transcripts, so as to familiarise myself with the content. Thereafter, the aim was to

investigate potential themes and categories. In order to code and classify possible patterns, themes, and concepts, I arranged the qualitative data into smaller units. An open-coding technique was used to first identify broad, common themes whilst reading through the interview transcripts, and to note these in the margins of the transcripts. I identified numerous themes to ensure that I describe all aspects of the content (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008:109). Initial themes included, amongst others, human–human conflict; human–baboon conflict; social constructions of baboons; shifting blame and responsibility; the need to manage people; anthropomorphism; affectionalism; financial issues; and the need to re-establish physical boundaries.

In order to collate the initially identified themes, I continued re-reading the interview transcripts until I was satisfied that this iterative process of coding and classifying led to the identification of clear codes which describe the participants' reality and perspectives (Hale & Astolfi, 2007:207). This culminated in five colour-coded, overarching themes, which include: *Res nullius* (not taking responsibility); human–human conflict; constructing baboons; invisible boundaries; and managing people. Most of these themes, as well as their subthemes, were named using “content-characteristic words” (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008:110), in order to specifically emphasise the fact that these themes are “recurring motifs in the text” (Bryman, 2008:554).

To assist in mapping out how these five main themes and their subthemes interlink, I made use of CMap Tools – a software programme that allows users to construct concept maps (Institute for Human and Machine Cognition, s.a.). CMap Tools assisted in graphically expressing the main themes and their multiple subthemes, as well as how they group together and consist of cause-effect relationships, in such a way that patterns in the data were made clear (Bradley, 1993:445). After drawing up a comprehensive CMap, a separate Microsoft Word 2011 document was created for each theme, which contained its relevant subthemes in a table, as well as the numbers of pages in each interview transcript where examples thereof could be found. As mentioned earlier, the data were colour-coded according to theme, which made it easier to locate the data relevant to a theme. To illustrate the themes that were identified, excerpts from the interview transcripts were selected and quoted verbatim in the presentation of the results (see Chapter 4).

5.2 Discourse analysis of existing documents

As mentioned above in Section 4.2, I made use of discourse analysis to examine numerous forms of existing documentation that reflect various social constructions of the Cape Peninsula's baboons. In total, approximately 264 documents were analysed (see Table 3.1 below). Particular emphasis was, however, placed on visual objects (cartoons); mass-media outputs (television documentaries and

newspaper articles); and virtual documents (websites, YouTube videos, blogs and postings to message boards and forums). As mentioned earlier, I agree with Wolch (1997, cited in Jerolmack, 2008:76) that the “media both represent and affect public opinion through their discourse”. As a result of the public availability of these documents and, consequently, their power of influence, I decided to place emphasis on these specific formats. Although I am aware that, in some instances, media artefacts may lack in authenticity and representativeness (Bryman, 2008:525; Montello & Sutton, 2013:96), I agree with Harker and Bates (2007:335; see also Molloy, 2011) that such “material continues to shape how controversial issues are defined, constructed, and framed in a public and social forum”. In order to counteract a possible lack in authenticity and representativeness of media artefacts, and thereby increase the trustworthiness of the data, I made use of methodological triangulation (see Section 4.2).

	Unknown	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Personal documents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	5	13	0	1	1	0	26
Visual objects	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	5
Official documents	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	14	9	0	31
Mass-media outputs	4	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	6	7	3	25	25	24	4	103
Virtual documents	15	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	7	9	8	22	17	10	7	99
																264

As with the thematic analysis of empirical data, I read and re-read numerous documents, so as to familiarise myself with each individual document’s content, but also with the general context in which the Cape Peninsula’s baboons are socially constructed. As I read through the documents continuously, an open-coding technique was used to broadly distinguish between negative and positive social constructions and/or discourses of the Cape Peninsula’s baboons. Particular note was made of the anthropomorphic use of language in describing baboons as, for example, “thieves” (Alagia, 2011), “beasts”, “tormentors” (Flanagan, 2010), “bandits” (Baboon ambushes woman carrying groceries in Cape Town, makes off with veggies, 2013), “burglars” (Thomas, 2012a), and “terrorist” (Famous baboon that terrorised tourists euthanised, 2011). A tendency to describe baboons in such a negative manner has, it seems, diminished, and so too, human–baboon conflict. However, this does not necessarily mean that there has been an increase in the positive discourse

surrounding baboons. Such discourse has appeared mainly in oppositional response to the negative discourse and social constructions surrounding baboons. Documenting media outputs from the early 2000s, when human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula was on the increase, up until today, did not as much allow me to “document the changes in representation” (Jerolmack, 2008:76) of the baboons, than to identify that there has been a shift in emphasis from human–baboon conflict to the mitigating human factors that form part of this conflict.

5.3 Keeping a research diary

As is generally the case in qualitative studies, data analysis was “not rigidly separated from data collection” (Bradley, 1993:444). In order to assist me in the intricacies of this explorative, qualitative study, I made extensive use of a research diary. First and foremost, this diary offered me a platform for practically organising my research. I used it to record basic information concerning the collection of data, which includes notes taken during meetings with my supervisor; registering new, additional sources that I needed to examine; calculating, for budgetary purposes, the travel distance between my place of residence and each interview location; and noting dates of conferences as well as chapter deadlines. I also used the diary to write down “ideas, examples, and plans for subsequent research steps” (Holly & Altrichter, 2011:44).

Secondly, the research diary aided my progressive understanding of the research topic (Bradley, 1993:444), as it allowed me to record my own thoughts and feelings after a day in the field and/or while I was transcribing interviews. I also felt it important to record this, in order for any potential bias – resulting especially from my own strong commitment towards wildlife conservation – to be identified, reflected upon and, as far as possible, to be addressed. A space where I could personally reflect on interviews after I had conducted them was also helpful, since the interviews unearthed data that acknowledge the often strained relationships between different stakeholders, which placed me in an uncomfortable position when interviewing the person(s) that was/were mentioned/discussed. In this instance I also followed Newing’s (2011:211) advice to occasionally leave the study site and spend a few days to catch up on my notes, think through what was unveiled until then, and delineate what I needed to do next.

In the third instance, my research diary allowed me to arrange interview appointments with research participants with ease, as it contained research participants’ contact details. After each interview, I dedicated some time to jotting down notes in order to reflect on the interview more easily. During later transcription of each interview, I would often recall additional aspects of an interview, which I would add to these initial notes. These notes played two major roles: first, they facilitated the

identification of emerging questions and domains of inquiry which were subsequently added to interview schedules (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012:31); and secondly, they facilitated quick identification of prominent themes after all the interviews had been transcribed. Such inclusion of data, interpretation, commentaries and reflection in my research diary allowed me to continuously analyse data throughout data collection procedures (Holly & Altrichter, 2011:44).

6. Ethical considerations

A request for ethical clearance was submitted to, and granted by, DESC of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Stellenbosch University (Proposal #DESC_Terblanche2013). Although this study was classified by DESC as “low risk” (SU REC, 2011), as interviews were not conducted with participants who may be considered in any way vulnerable, a number of ethical issues still needed to be considered. Before I could collect data by conducting semi-structured interviews, it was considered necessary by DESC for me to obtain institutional permission from two of the cornerstone organisational stakeholders involved in human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula, namely CapeNature and SANParks. This, however, proved to be problematic, as will be discussed in more detail in Section 7 below.

To ensure that ethical standards were upheld in the field and thereafter, a number of steps were taken. Firstly, participation remained voluntary throughout the data collection process. Secondly, potential research participants were briefed about the purpose and aims of the study as part of my requesting their participation via e-mail and, as mentioned previously (in Section 4.1), if a potential research participant agreed to be interviewed, he/she was again briefly informed on this. By means of an informed consent form, research participants were also informed about the research procedures; that all semi-structured interviews will be voice recorded; what their participation in the research entails; that the results will contribute towards my master’s research; and, that there is a small likelihood that discomfort may arise due to the potentially distressing nature of discussing human–baboon and/or human–human conflict. Other information communicated in the informed consent form included identification of myself as the main researcher, and identification of my supervisor, as well as our respective contact details; the research-participant selection process which was based on identifying a potential research participant as a member of one (or more) of the pre-defined stakeholder groups which I wished to include in my study (see Section 3); guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity; and, that they, the research participants, have the right to refuse to answer any questions and/or discontinue the interview at any time. Some of this information was also included in the request-for-participation e-mail sent to potential research participants (see

Appendix B). After participants were provided the opportunity to raise any questions and/or concerns, the informed consent form was signed by them, as well as by me¹⁷.

While harm to participants was avoided by ensuring confidentiality of the data collected and anonymity in the reporting of results, I was aware of a likelihood, although small, that discomfort may arise due to the potentially distressing nature of discussing human–baboon and/or human–human conflict. I made provision for a level of discomfort that I initially expected may arise among local residents when discussing their altercations with baboons, as some of these experiences may be traumatic to recall (see Chapter 2, Section 3.1). It was not, however, participants’ recounting of experience(s) of the human–baboon conflict, but rather of human–human conflict, that seemed to cause distress. This was particularly evident in the case of two research participants: although neither are any longer actively involved in baboon management on the Cape Peninsula, both became visibly upset when recalling past instances of human–human conflict with or via the media and/or other stakeholders involved in baboon management. As one of these participants reminisced about the senior position she occupied and its associated difficulties, she even apologised for her inability at that stage to devise a solution to what had become escalating human–baboon conflict. As I comforted these research participants, I realised the importance and appropriateness of face-to-face interviews in this research study. First, it allowed research participants to directly perceive how sympathetic towards, and understanding of, their situation I was. If I noticed that research participants felt uncomfortable expanding on their responses relating to human–human conflict, I would gently remind them that the information they provide would remain confidential. Secondly, these two research participants were instrumental in putting me, as the researcher, at ease, as they emphasised that the interview provided them with a safe space, and that it “did them good” to reflect on their involvement in the Cape Peninsula’s human–baboon conflict management.

While the inclusion of multiple perspectives on baboons, as well as on human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula, is central in the process of answering my research questions, I increasingly became aware, particularly as research participants referred to one another during interviews, that I was researching an extremely close-knit community. This increased the possibility of breaching confidentiality and anonymity standards that were promised and guaranteed to research participants. In response, and in addition to guarding the identities of research participants,

¹⁷ In one instance, I had to obtain verbal consent from a research participant, as I inadvertently left my folder containing all the relevant documentation at home. The research participant and I agreed that, as soon as I got home, I would e-mail him the informed consent form. In order to gain written consent, he was so kind as to print the form, sign it, and e-mail it back to me.

I had to caution against naming, in Chapter 4, those persons that research participants mentioned in interviews, so as to protect the identities of those persons. To further counteract possible identification of research participants in the reporting of the results, Guta, Flicker, Travers, Wilson, Strike, Gaudry, Binder, O'Campo and Kuzmanovic (2014:6) suggest ensuring that “quotes and details of unique stories are not recognisable”. Heightened care was therefore taken to keep all information acquired from research participants confidential, and the reporting thereof anonymous, by assigning numerical codes to research participants as they were interviewed, and reflecting the order in which they were interviewed. For tracking purposes, this numerical code was recorded on each interview transcript and corresponding informed consent form. All digital documents (on my laptop and e-mail, as well as back-up copies on file-hosting services Dropbox and iCloud, a memory stick and external hard drive) have been password-protected to ensure against improper access to data. Physical copies of transcripts and field notes, as well as my research diary, have been locked in a safe.

7. Methodological reflection

Considering the general lack of previous qualitative research aimed at understanding what I intended to research in a South African – and, more specifically, urban South African – context, I found it necessary to employ a qualitative research strategy in order to explore this unknown terrain in an in-depth manner. Initially I intended implementing an ethnographic research design. By combining an observer-as-participant role with semi-structured interviews to collect data, I would have been able to directly observe encounters between humans and baboons, participate in human–baboon-conflict call-outs, and contextually interpret the data emerging from the semi-structured interviews. In order to collect observational data, I formally requested CapeNature, SANParks, HWS and the SPCA, in a letter distributed during the second half of 2013 (see Appendix B), for an opportunity to accompany and, if possible, assist them on a few human–baboon conflict call-outs. Additionally, this would have also provided me with the opportunity to interact with local residents, and request their participation in my project.

However, numerous factors hindered me from conducting an ethnographic study. HWS's recent and continuing success in keeping baboons outside of urban areas for an average of 98,6% of the time (Richardson, 2014a) meant a drastic reduction in the number of human–baboon conflict encounters. As a result, I was not guaranteed of opportunities for observing encounters between humans and baboons. Spending more time in the field until such encounters eventually occurred, if at all, was also out of the question, due to time and budget constraints.

During my fieldwork I also learnt that television production crews, baboon walking tours (see Chapter 1, Section 2) and researchers (who work primarily in natural science fields) are prohibited by the BTT, particularly the CCT, from researching baboons from a close distance (Beamish, 2012:11; City reports baboon management successes, 2013; Fischer, 2013; South African baboon forum, 2015b). This regulation is intended to maintain the distance between people and baboons, as well as to re-establish baboons' fear of humans – both of which are generally considered necessary to resolve human–baboon conflict. Unfortunately, it seemed that some of the potential research participants I contacted did not fully understand the nature of my research and my request, and responded from the position that the topic of baboons and human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula is controversial and emotional. This lack of understanding also could have led research participants to believe, on the one hand, that I am “pro-baboon” and even an activist in this regard, or, on the other, to classify me as a natural scientist conducting pure research. One research participant openly admitted that he gave me “bit of a hard time” in organising an interview, because he assumed the latter which, in turn, led him to believe that I want to, literally, enter the field with baboons. As soon as I became aware that a research participant labelled me in such a manner, I made my independence and impartiality as a researcher clear before commencing with any further interviews.

I faced a similar predicament when I requested institutional permission from SANParks and CapeNature¹⁸, which ultimately constituted the main reason for not conducting an ethnographic research study. It was crucial to gain institutional permission from both institutions in order to (1) conduct fieldwork on their property; (2) conduct interviews with staff that represent these institutions in baboon-management structures on the Cape Peninsula and (3) meet the ethics requirements of the DESC of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Stellenbosch University, i.e. to submit relevant letters of institutional permission in order for the committee to approve my research and thus allowing me to collect data (SU REC, 2011).

Even though I did gain institutional permission from CapeNature (Permit number AAA007-00088-0056) three months after applying, it was questionable whether the clearance held any relevance to my research aims, as I was provided with a permit to collect “specimens” and to hunt baboons for research purposes. While both my supervisor and I followed up with CapeNature in order to resolve

¹⁸ In order to gain institutional permission, CapeNature required me to complete and submit a research application to their head office, whereas for SANParks, I had to submit a research proposal to their Cape Research Centre which is responsible for research conducted at TMNP.

what was clearly a misunderstanding, we received no response from the person who signed off on the permit. This incident with CapeNature highlights not only the novelty of social science researchers and their methods in a predominantly natural science field, but also supports my argument that little social science research has been conducted on human–wildlife, and more particularly, human–baboon conflict (see Section 1).

In the case of SANParks, eight months were spent waiting for feedback regarding my research application. After numerous follow-up e-mails to which I received no response, it was frustrating to be informed in February 2014, by a newly appointed science liaison officer, that in order to conduct research in TMNP, I needed to apply for a research permit – after already having done so in June 2013. Subsequently to being informed that my original research application could not be located, I had to submit an updated, revised research application in March 2014. Approximately a month later, I was informed that SANParks’s research committee did not approve of me interviewing tourists in TMNP. Neither was my request to join park employees on call-outs granted, on the basis that human–baboon conflict call-outs are often fraught with tension and give rise to challenging situations, which my presence could have further complicated. While I fully understand SANParks’s concerns and accepted their decision, I continued on my quest to include at least one representative of the organisation in my research, so as to reflect not only their perspective, but also produce more balanced and well-rounded results. Unfortunately, the key SANParks employee who represents the organisation on the BTT was only willing, due to time constraints, to provide a written response on my organisational-stakeholder interview schedule (see Appendix C). As I could not establish rapport and engage with this respondent, the quality of the data was weak. In addition, I also found “less spontaneity of response”, as the respondent had time to reflect on his “answers to a much greater extent than is possible in a face-to-face situation” (Bryman, 2008:641; see also Hall & Rist, 1999:268).

The challenges that are identified here also precluded the possibility of conducting pilot interviews. Considering all of the issues highlighted above, there seems to be a need for institutions such as CapeNature and SANParks, which function predominantly within a natural-science framework, to reflect on the requirements of those who wish to conduct social science research. These and other unexpected developments referred to in this chapter put me as a social researcher to the test, by compelling me to adjust the course of my study (Harding, 2013:28). This is not to imply, however, that the basic interpretive qualitative study that was eventually applied as a research design is without its own limitations. However, following Biggam’s (2011:291) advice, with this research project I am “appealing to the concept of relatability rather than generalisability”. By conducting a qualitative, explorative study, my focus is to provide an “in-depth understanding of different

perspectives” (Newing, 2011:9), while also aiming to disentangle the complexities that could be expected to arise as a result of differing views. Nevertheless, by making use of Young *et al.*’s (2010:3979) categories of the underlying causes of human–human conflict as a “template with which to compare the empirical results” of my study (see Chapter 4), a strong case is made for analytical generalisation (Yin, 2009:38).

Issues relating to reliability also arise in a project such as this one, which depends primarily on semi-structured interviews as a data collection tool. However, as it was my intention to collect data on people’s multiple social constructions and their experiences of baboons, of human–baboon conflict, and of human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula, “objective”, “factual” data, in the positivist sense, was of no concern. Measures were nevertheless taken in order to increase the reliability and, consequently, the validity of the results. The first measure taken to increase the trustworthiness of the data was to rely on a total of 20 research participants (and a written response) that represent different stakeholder groups involved in baboon management on the Cape Peninsula (see Section 3). In addition to interviewing a number of individuals that, at the time of data collection, were still actively involved in baboon management, those who had either been previously involved, or never been part of that management but were interested and kept up to date with the issues, were also selected as research participants. By conducting semi-structured interviews with a variety of stakeholders, and gaining background information on the current human–baboon conflict situation, as well as the discourse surrounding it, I was able to incorporate an even greater variety of perspectives of baboon-management stakeholders. Furthermore, by including research participants that are not actively involved in baboon management, the opportunity for bias or misinformation in the research results decreases (Biggam, 2011:292), while it also becomes possible to place the views of those who are involved in the management, in a wider context.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, various forms of social artefacts are also used as a means of understanding the human–baboon conflict situation on the Cape Peninsula. As human–baboon conflict in this location has been sufficiently documented (Koutstaal, 2013:111), these artefacts, and the discourse analysis thereof, are used to triangulate the interview data results. By analysing the discourse of documentary sources of data in addition to the thematic analysis of data collected via semi-structured interviews, I was able to increase the trustworthiness of the data by providing a “well-rounded collection of information for analyses” (Turner, 2010:754). However, it is important to keep in mind that documents are “subject to error”, as they rely “solely on the researcher’s interpretation of what is in the document being analysed” (Hall & Rist, 1999:298).

A researchers' objectivity is also subject to scrutiny, as there is a possibility of partiality during the transcription and interpretation of data (Hall & Rist, 1999:298). As mentioned in Section 5.3, I found my research diary particularly useful, as I could record my own thoughts and feelings, in order for any potential bias resulting especially from my own strong commitment towards wildlife conservation, to be identified, reflected upon and, as far as possible, addressed. The diary also constituted a useful platform from which to reflect on the data concerning human–human conflict. Instead of me challenging research participants on the attacks they made, and/or becoming involved in these instances of human–human conflict, I followed the advice of Legard, Keegan and Ward (2003:160, cited in Harding, 2013:35), in that I aimed to understand what underpins human–human conflict, and that understanding was assimilated into my research findings (see Chapter 4).

In addition to the abovementioned measures, I also sought reliability by following a “highly structured, transparent and detailed approach” (Biggam, 2011:292). This was done by providing extensive details on: the appropriateness of a basic interpretive, qualitative research strategy for this study; the way in which research participants were sampled; the stakeholder groups that research participants represent; and on data collection, processing and analysis techniques. In addition, due consideration was given to ethical issues, and were reflected upon. The following chapter presents the research results, in the form of overarching themes which I identified during data analysis.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

1. Introduction

The following chapter reports on the results of the analysis of the data that were collected by conducting personal, semi-structured interviews with 20 stakeholders who are either involved in, and/or are able to provide insight into, the management of baboons on the Cape Peninsula. Numerous forms of existing documentation that were examined provide additional information with regards to the social constructions of, and discourse surrounding, the baboons and the history of human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula. Along with making use of a social constructionist theoretical framework, these data sources and collection methods aided me in identifying those attitudes and values that play a defining role in different social constructions of chacma baboons; what these different social constructions are; and whether they differ among the different stakeholders that are represented in this research project. Ultimately, the primary objective of this research is to unravel whether different social constructions are the foundation for human–human conflict, and to establish to what extent human–human conflict can then be considered the actual source of human–baboon conflict.

As explained in Chapter 2 (see particularly Section 4), the majority of human–human conflicts involve interpersonal disputes among stakeholders; are about the animals themselves; the social constructions of the animals; and/or the way in which they are managed (Conover, 2001). However, human–human conflict regarding baboons on the Cape Peninsula proved to have many other underlying causes of which I only became aware of during my fieldwork. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Section 4, in order to structure this central theme of human–human conflict, and to ensure that all the underlying reasons for human–human conflict which I identified are reported, the presentation of these results is structured according to Young *et al.*'s (2010:3979) six broad categories which identify the underlying causes of human–human conflict:

Conflicts over beliefs and values, where differences exist over normative perceptions; conflicts of interest, when two groups want different things from the same habitat or species; conflicts over process, relating to the different approaches to decision-making and fairness taken by different people, groups, or agencies; conflicts over information, relating to situations where data are lacking, misunderstood, or perceived in different ways by different actors; structural conflicts referring to social, legal, economic and cultural arrangements; interpersonal conflicts relating to personality differences between individuals or groups, including issues of communication and mistrust.

It should be borne in mind, however, that these categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as some overlap can occur (Young *et al.*, 2010:3979). In addition to applying this conceptual framework – which is based on Jones *et al.* (2005) and Sidaway's (2005) typologies of biodiversity conflict – on my research results, the results are also interpreted and discussed with reference to the literature discussed in Chapter 2, where applicable.

2. Conflicts over beliefs and values

Even though a multitude of stakeholders are involved and/or have an interest in baboon management on the Cape Peninsula, two opposing ontologies which “reflect divergent ways of thinking about baboons” (Hurn, 2011:48) emerged as central to people's understanding and support of certain baboon-management techniques. This extreme contrast between two viewpoints led one of CapeNature's representatives to describe it as an “enormous chasm” [*geweldige kloof*], one that “can never be bridged” [*sal nooit oorbrug kan word nie*] (Interviewee #2). While literature on social constructionism (e.g. Burr, 1995; Williams, 2001; Patterson *et al.*, 2003; Herda-Rapp & Marotz, 2005; Navarrete & Redclift, 2010) does indicate that emotions may play a role in how people socially construct animals (in this instance baboons), it only became evident when I started conducting my fieldwork that human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula is primarily grounded in the divergent ontologies of rationalism versus affectual social action¹⁹. Addressing the origins of conservation philosophy, Glacken (1965:159) argues that “it is these two trends, one, aesthetic, philosophical, and religious [i.e. affective social action], the other, practical and technical [i.e. rationalism], that have characterised ideas of conservation throughout its history”.

Those who favour an objective, rationalist approach to baboon management, in which opinions and actions are based on “appropriate reasons” (Stewart & Zaaiman, 2014:569), hold a utilitarian perspective which, according to Hurn (2011:48), “represents the logic of population management that underpins much of conservation decision-making in the contemporary world”. Contrary to this fact-based approach are those that rely on a more personal, subjective approach, which includes the argument that nonhuman animals, such as baboons, have “as much right to life as any other individual (including humans)” (Hurn, 2011:48). People who take this affective stance are often variously labelled and stereotyped by rationalists as “animal rightists”, “activists”, “greenies”,

¹⁹ As identified in Chapter 2, Section 4, Weber's term affectual social action refers to “intentional or conscious human behaviours or doings arising out of emotional attachments, concerns or values” (Stewart & Zaaiman, 2014:553). This is in contrast to Weber's observation of “formal rationality [... being] institutionalised in the very structure of society” (Stewart, 2014:29; see also Haralambos & Holborn, 2008:875).

“baboon huggers”, “baboon lovers” and “baboon friendly”, and are criticised for having “stood in the way of logic far too long” (Shackleton, 2012). Surprisingly, being a baboon activist on the Cape Peninsula has overwhelmingly negative connotations, due to their “incongruous” position and “undesired differentness” (Goffman, 1963) to rationalists²⁰, as illustrated by the following excerpts from interview transcripts:

They’re very emotionally driven – it’s not a logical argument for them. So, you can’t actually, you can’t argue, not [with] all of them, but the ones that are right out on the [end ...], we refer to them [as] the lunatic fringe – Interviewee #3.

The moment [...] you get emotional then you lose a bit of your perspective [...] and sometimes also your credibility, because now you cannot [...] have a conversation with that person. It makes it really hard. [*Die oomblik as [...] jy emosioneel raak, dan verloor jy ‘n bietjie jou perspektief [...] en partykeer ook jou kredietwaardigheid, want nou kan jy nie [...] met daai persoon in gesprek tree nie. Dit maak dit regtig moeilik.*] – Interviewee #4

[She] made a huge, huge contribution, but she became too passionate. And too undone. – Interviewee #6

I think that, unfortunately, uhm, activists sometimes don’t keep their feet grounded. – Interviewee #8

In her anthropological, ethnographic research on human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula, Hurn (2011) also found evidence of rationalists opposing the views of, what I term, affectionalists. One of her interviewees, addressing the use of global positioning system (GPS) collars to gather spatial ecology data of baboons (see Section 8), is of the opinion that

[t]he real problem with some of the people who oppose us, and the last management, or at least some of them, is that they think baboons are human and they’re not. They are baboons. They are wild animals. These people give them names and want to get close, to touch them or feed them or treat them like pets, and they’re wild animals. They get too emotional about them and that’s not good for the baboons (Marcus, cited in Hurn, 2011:46).

Statements such as the above seem to resonate with the opinion of Shirley Strum – a well-known author and professor in primate studies – that the “future of the Cape baboons is being endangered

²⁰ I agree with Cox (1993:91) that more often than not, “stereotyping means not only acknowledging differences of other groups but also judging them as somehow inferior or undesirable” to the conventional. With regard to baboon management on the Cape Peninsula, it is clear that the rational approach to wildlife management is regarded as the conventional and superior approach to that of affectionalists.

by the people shouting the loudest against the only appropriate methods” (Nicholson, 2012a; see also Nicholson, 2012b; Strum, 2012). Consequently, as this section will show, activists and their “anti-science stance” (Strum, 2012) are deemed to have caused a “messy management space” (Interviewee #19) because of their active opposition against the BTTs aversion techniques, such as the use of paintball guns, which aims to re-establish a boundary between humans and baboons. According to an interviewee who completed her research in the BRU,

[i]n the absence of an absolute barrier that keeps the two [humans and baboons] separate, you have to use something else. But then you get into this other space of people not wanting any damage [...], any harm to come to baboons. They don't want a paintball gun: it might hurt them [the baboons]. And they [the activists] tend to shout very loudly about this perceived animal cruelty, but actually not using any of those things is arguably more cruel [...] on the ethical scale. – Interviewee #19

But it is the baboon protocol, implemented by the BCA with the aim to address the management of raiding baboons and to reduce the frequency and severity of baboons' raiding behaviour in municipal areas on the Cape Peninsula (CapeNature, 2011; Yeld, 2012b), that receives the most condemnation from activists. This baboon protocol, which was introduced in 2010, follows a strict objective, rationalist, bureaucratic, scientifically supported approach to managing baboons (see Appendix F). This is contrary to the preceding policy for managing raiding baboons, the Baboon Management Strategy (2007), which was devised by the authorities, in conjunction with civics, scientists and NGOs (CapeNature, 2011). Nevertheless, according to Dr Jordan from the CCT, an objective approach is instrumental in finding the “best possible solutions when it comes to managing human–baboon interaction[s]”, as it allows for actions which are not “based on emotion, untested assumptions or guesswork, but on the best research that is available from both local and international sources” (CCT, 2012a).

In order to remain as objective as possible, decisions concerning the baboon protocol and euthanising baboons are made exclusively by an external panel of wildlife-management experts, in the form of CapeNature's Wildlife Advisory Committee (WAC) (Beamish, 2012:11; City reports baboon management successes, 2013). Currently known as the Wild Animal Advisory Committee (WAAC), its members lack any personal experiences with raiding baboons on the Cape Peninsula. Interestingly, this was found to be crucial for making an objective decision (Koutstaal, 2013:43), as well as ensuring accountability and adherence (Beamish, 2012:11), as the BTT feared that individuals who have had negative experiences with baboons, and/or those “directly affected (both personally and professionally) by baboon management decisions” (CapeNature, 2011), would be

unable to make an “objective” decision. This reflects an understanding of science as “objective knowledge free from emotions, private interests, bias or prejudice” (Gieryn, 1983:785), which constitutes the foundation of western science. Scientific expertise is also seen as superior to the knowledge of lay citizens, since the former contributes towards knowledge, whereas the latter only contributes to emotions and values (Gustafsson, 2011:655). This is echoed by a WAAC member who stated that,

[t]he decision made to remove or not remove the animal has got to be based on all the relevant information, and it’s done completely, how shall I say, without emotion involved, which [...] becomes quite difficult when you’re dealing with the public, and that’s why [...] the whole sort of process was [...] very difficult to start with, because the sort-of baboon committee on that side [baboon activists] was made up of mostly the green, sympathetic baboon people and not looking at the bigger picture. What we’re trying to do is to make sure that baboons and humans live together on the Peninsula for a long time to come. – Interviewee #3

This is contrary to the preceding baboon-management approach of the BMT, which involved “a lot of people [who] had been working with baboons for many, many years, and so they were personally aggrieved if things were [...] said” (Interviewee #20). This emotion was also brought into baboon-management meetings (which involving both the relevant authorities and the public; see Section 6 below), as recalled by the previous chair of these meetings:

people got so angry, people got, uhm, so sad when they were talking about baboons that got knocked over [i.e. euthanised], and so because people were not really rational – people were more emotional – I think it just made everything just ten times worse. So you’re there trying to chair a meeting from a logical, rational perspective, and everybody else [that] sits around the table is emotional; it’s very, very difficult to [...] have a decent conversation [...] and then host a meeting with outcomes. – Interviewee #20

Opinions of lay people are, however, not entirely excluded from the current baboon protocol. While it is the exclusive task of the WAAC to build a “detailed case history for each raiding baboon that is considered to be potentially dangerous to public health and safety” (CapeNature, 2011) to decide whether it should be euthanised or not, local residents’ opinions are acknowledged alongside those of the current service provider (HWS), conservation authorities, as well as local and international researchers. By incorporating opinions from these various stakeholders, the WAAC is in a position to build a detailed case history of each individual raiding baboon, by ensuring that “factors which may have promoted the onset and persistence of the particular raiding behaviour are considered as potential mitigating factors” (CapeNature, 2011). Human-induced mitigating factors – such as a

lack of baboon-proofing houses, gardens, and/or municipal and commercial waste by making use of baboon-proof bins, as well as a lack of effective education strategies (CapeNature, 2011) – are also included in the baboon protocol. Nevertheless, the majority of the research participants were of the opinion that insufficient focus is placed on human negligence and/or irresponsible human behaviour – such as leaving pet food outside, feeding wild animals, leaving windows and/or doors open – that promote the onset and persistence of raiding behaviour (see Appendix A). Consequently, as will be shown throughout this thesis, baboons are held accountable and criminalised for taking advantage of human behaviour which is not sanctioned by means of e.g. fines or criminal charges (Shackleton, 2013).

In addition to activists particularly voicing their concern that the “protocol is [...] heavily biased against baboons” (Thomas, 2010; see also Shackleton, 2013), those who are viewed as “emotionally driven” (Interviewee #3), what I term affectionalists, seem to be opposed against a tendency to reduce the co-existence between humans and baboons on the Cape Peninsula to an “issue to be addressed by science and bureaucracy in their most negative forms: science as theory based on induction, and bureaucracy as a blind adherence to rules even if they inhibit actions designed to achieve the desired goals” (The baboons and the experts who are managing them to extinction, 2012). Affectionalists, in other words, are questioning what they perceive to be a rigid, scientific approach in the form of the baboon protocol, “whether killing is necessary to achieve the protocol’s intended goals” of reducing the frequency and severity of baboons’ raiding behaviour, and whether the “protocol is being applied as prescribed” (Yeld, 2012c). In the process of opposing the objective, demographically informed, and scientifically supported approach of the baboon protocol, activists have also attempted to vilify conservation authorities (O’Riain, cited in Knoetze, 2012). As Herda-Rapp and Marotz (2005:89) found in relation to the mourning dove (*Zenaida macroura*) in Wisconsin, in a charge of “emotionalism, bias and attachment to individual animals”, affectionalists have seemed to turn on rationalists. The latter counterattack by arguing against allowing any emotions in wildlife-management decisions, as these will “get in the way of solid conservation science” (Editorial: Primate numbers, 2012). As will subsequently be shown, this is particularly applicable to a debate on the use of the term “euthanasia” in the baboon protocol. According to a CCT representative who is involved in the act of “euthanising” baboons, the public views them as though

[w]e [the CCT and the BCA overall] are anti-baboons! But we are not anti. We are not [laughing]. But that’s what they think. [...] And that’s where the, the misunderstanding comes, or mistrust comes. So, if it comes from our mouth, then they already do not accept it. [*As of ons [Stad Kaapstad en die BCA in geheel] nou anti-bobbejane is! Maar ons is nie anti nie. Ons is*

nie [lag]. Maar dis wat hulle dink. [...] En dis waar die, die misverstand kom, of die wantroue kom. So as dit uit ons mond uitkom, dan aanvaar hulle dit alklaar nie.] – Interviewee #4

The same interviewee is of the opinion that as the public – especially those who are leaning towards an affective stance – has “this notion that in the end we [the BCA] actually want to eradicate all [the baboons]” [*hierdie idee dat ons [die BCA] eintlik op die oueinde almal [al die bobbejane] wil uitroei*] (Interviewee #4), the only possible way to regain the public’s trust is to rely on “someone completely different” [*iemand heeltemal anders*] to distribute information relating to baboons and baboon management, so that one can “reach people’s hearts” [*sodat ‘n mens by mense se harte kan uitkom*] (Interviewee #4). This echoes one of the solutions for an unwillingness to engage, suggested by Redpath *et al.* (2013), who address conservation conflicts, i.e. human–human conflicts, and conflict management. Redpath *et al.* (2013:102) argue that involving a third party seems more acceptable and will probably lead to less human–human conflict than the alternative solution suggested by the authors, namely to marginalise “extremists by building consensus with a critical mass of willing partners”. In a situation where scientists are not trusted by other stakeholders, the inclusion of a social science perspective can also be valuable to build or re-establish trust between all stakeholders involved (Young *et al.*, 2010:3983).

Even though the baboon protocol is an attempt at maximising objectivity, subtle elements of affectionalism can be detected in the baboon protocol itself, and during the implementation thereof. Anthropomorphism – generally frowned upon by rationalists because of the belief that extrapolations from ourselves as humans are “scientifically unproven” (Bekoff, 2007:65; see also Taylor, 2011:266; Chapter 2, Section 6.2) – is implicit in the act of presenting a detailed case study of a raiding baboon by the BCA to the WAAC. Such a detailed case history of a raiding baboon includes, amongst other, factual information on “raiding behaviour, mitigating factors, [and] current and proposed management interventions” (CapeNature, 2011). This information allows the WAAC to make recommendations, after approval by the Executive Committee of CapeNature, to the BCA on both short- and long-term management plans, as well as on whether the individual raiding baboon in question should be euthanised or not (CapeNature, 2011).

Koutstaal (2013:45) argues that the information gathered on an individual baboon is built up into a criminal case, “just like would be done with any human individual which does not obey the rules”. A CapeNature representative echoes this statement by admitting that,

[i]t's almost like a court case. [...] It's like a criminal [record ...] And they look at the record and they see and they say: in some cases they say no [...], there's not enough evidence against the baboon [or] whatever. [*Dis amper soos ‘n hofsak. [...] Dis soos ‘n kriminele [rekord ...] En*

hulle kyk na die rekord en hulle sien en hulle sê: in sekere gevalle sê hulle nee [...], hier's nie genoeg getuienis teen die bobbejaan [of] wat ook al nie.] – Interviewee #2

COLOUR CODING

- RED TEXT** immediate intervention required including short and long term management plans to reduce the frequency and severity of raiding. Commence compilation of case history and alert BLG members in affected area of the concern regarding particular individual.
- BLACK TEXT** short and long term management plans are required and need constant refining and improving going forward
- GREEN TEXT** immediate remedial action is required by designated authority

<p>Individual:</p> <p>Troop:</p>	<p>Date:</p>																								
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Figure 4.1 Colour-coded report form that forms part of the baboon protocol which enables the BCA to build a detailed case history of each raiding baboon (Source: CapeNature, 2011).

Also evident from this quotation highlighting the rhetoric of anthropomorphism, is a thorough consideration of evidence. The aim, according to one participant, is to construct a “timeline” [*tydlyn*], and record “all the evidence and the way in which the decision was made” [*al die “evidence” en die manier hoe ons die besluit geneem het*] to euthanise a baboon, in order to defend such a decision if and when necessary (Interviewee #2). In addition to differences in opinion on whether a baboon should be euthanised are to be expected, it is interesting to note that some

interviewees expressed a particular unease with the use of the term “euthanasia”²¹ in the baboon protocol (see also Koutstaal, 2013:45). According to a resident who also serves on the BLG,

[i]f you look in the dictionary, euthanasia is a release from pain or suffering, and these are healthy baboons. You know? They’re behaving aggressively or whatever [...], but to me it’s not euthanasia. And I refuse to use that word [laughing] [...] They get the baboons killed. It’s not culling. [...]. Now you get some of the activists who were really [...] writing to the papers, saying they’re culling baboons, they’re culling baboons. It’s not culling, because culling is – if you look at the definitions – it’s reducing numbers, you know? Like you’ve got a big herd of [...] buffalo or springbuck or whatever and, uhm, and they want to reduce its numbers uh, you know, then that is culling. But [...] so far, there hasn’t been culling. You know? It’s, it’s “taking out” – and I don’t like that expression, but “taking out” [...] – individuals. They haven’t destroyed a troop [...], or anything like that. It’s taking out individuals that, uhm, are a threat to people. – Interviewee #8

One may argue that, by using the term euthanasia in the baboon protocol, wildlife authorities aim to evince that it is “done with the utmost care and with the lowest possible level of stress” (Koutstaal, 2013:71) in order to lessen the outpour of emotions, and a possible reprisal from affectionalists, that may be produced by terms such as “kill” or “exterminate”. In addition, wildlife authorities are communicating their position to the public that “euthanasia is a more humane way of removing animals than retributive killings by angry members of the public” and that it “simulates natural predation” (Beamish s.a., cited in Thomas, 2012b; see also King, 2012:4). Unfortunately, despite the authorities’ best attempts to ensure the “general public that they do not kill the baboons because they enjoy to see them suffer” (Koutstaal, 2013:71), they continue to diminish under critique from extreme affectionalists whose main argument is that it is “inappropriate human behaviour”²² (Knoetze, 2012) that is the main culprit of human–baboon conflict and that needs to be managed.

As a result of the extreme nature of the opposition between the views where the “scientists blame the baboon activists [...] and the activists blame the scientists” (The baboons and the experts who are managing them to extinction, 2012), it seems reasonable to expect that human–human conflict

²¹ “Euthanasia” originates from the Greek *eu* (well) and *thanatos* (death) that means the “painless killing of a patient [more often than not an animal] suffering from an incurable disease or in an irreversible coma” (Oxford South African concise dictionary, 2010, s.v. ‘euthanasia’) or to “put (an animal) to death humanely” (Oxford South African concise dictionary, 2010, s.v. ‘euthanise’).

²² Examples of inappropriate human behaviour include a lack of baboon-proofing houses, gardens, and/or municipal and commercial waste by making use of baboon-proof bins; leaving pet food outside; feeding wild animals; and leaving windows and/or doors open.

over beliefs and values regarding baboons on the Cape Peninsula will continue. What renders a solution even less likely is that “people [seem] to be less rational because we [are] talking about baboons, and sometimes I wonder if it’s not because we’re so closely linked to them, that [...] it just made us go a bit [...] weird” (Interviewee #20).

Whether rationalists understand the views of affectionalists, or not, it remains important, as argued by Marshall *et al.* (2007, cited in Young *et al.*, 2010:3983) for scientists to at least acknowledge the “importance of perceptions held by stakeholders, either [because] of impacts or other stakeholders”. As a result of a multitude of perceptions, successful human–baboon and human–human conflict management will not be possible if based solely on natural science research. Consequently, an essential criterion for such conflict management will be to utilise an interdisciplinary approach.

3. Conflicts of interest

In addition to an interdisciplinary approach encompassing both the natural and social sciences, a social constructionist theoretical framework can further contribute to successful human–baboon and human–human conflict management by wildlife authorities. By making use of a moderate or contextual social constructionist theoretical framework which does not completely dismiss realism²³, wildlife authorities will be able to incorporate, and perhaps better understand, the subjective views and experiences of other stakeholders that have an interest in wildlife management. Whereas one of my research questions asks whether differing social constructions are the foundation for human–human conflict, I did not entirely find this to be the case. Even though a diversity of social constructions surrounding baboons are evident, I found that the ability of the Cape Peninsula’s baboons to transgress the nature/culture – and even the human/animal borderline – is what leads to conflict, not only between humans and baboons, but also between humans.

As previously stated, Young *et al.* (2010:3979) define conflicts of interest as two or more groups wanting “different things from the same habitat or species”. This applies to baboon management on the Cape Peninsula, where I found two sets of conflicts of interest emerge as I conducted fieldwork. These human–human conflicts relate to whether or not to commercialise baboons as a Cape Town attraction in order for baboon management to become financially self-supporting, as well as whether to establish a physical boundary so as to “enforce a territorial divide” (Interviewee #6) between humans and baboons. With regard to the establishment of a physical boundary, such as the

²³ For more detail on the versions of social constructionism and its relationship to realism, refer to Dickens (1996); Burningham and Cooper (1999); Gergen (2001); Hannigan (2006).

electrified game fence erected in the Cape Town suburb of Zwaanswyk in 2012 (Swingler, 2014; van Zijl, 2014:10), some interviewees seem to prefer the reinforcement of the western notion that humans are separate from nature (see below). Furthermore, those who support physical boundaries acknowledge that their re-establishment is necessary for managing the interface between humans and baboons, and to highlight the notion that, for both their sakes, “baboons and people should not share space” (O’Riain, cited in Andreassi, 2013). However, the two opposing camps identified above in Section 2 also seem to have differing opinions regarding the establishment of a physical boundary:

Rationally, I can see the value of that fence, hugely. Emotionally, I can understand why people see that as a, as a blight on the landscape and, and unless they understand the fence fully, they might not understand that other animals can get through it [...] or under it: [...] it’s not a complete block. [...] They [those who oppose electrified game fencing] won’t have necessarily weighed up the financial costs of fence versus other types of management [...] or the efficacy [thereof]. – Interviewee #19

The view of electrified game fences as a “big, ugly thing” in what had been a “beautiful, open [...] landscape” (Interviewee #19) illustrates a central problem faced by those who are attracted to the notion of living in close proximity to “pristine”, “unspoilt” and “pure” nature (Büscher, 2011; see also Section 2.1 of Chapter 2), or even being “one with nature” (Interviewee #19). As voiced by a few of my interviewees, the fact that in Cape Town pristine nature and urban nature are juxtaposed is exactly what attracts them to the city, as it allows them to be close to nature while still enjoying the luxuries and comfort of an urban area. The same sentiment was uttered by a resident who appeared in an insert on 50/50 (a South African environmental television programme) regarding human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula: “I bought here to live in a nature reserve. Nature is all around me, there are snakes, meerkats, baboons, porcupines and that’s why I bought here. That’s why I live here” (5050 Community, 2012). Of course, being within reach of “Mother Nature Herself” is not only an attraction for Capetonians, but, according to Galgut (2006:18), it is also a “tourist fantasy, part of the promise of transcendence”. This is echoed by an interviewee who stated that,

I would almost say that is the uniqueness [...] of the Peninsula for the overseas tourist [...]. To them, it is incredible [to be] next to the sea with whales and penguins here, right here a hand away [...] from them. And here are baboons! You know it’s a, it’s a wonderful experience! [...] That interaction of the baboons and tourist, and so on, is perhaps for the tourist a wonderful occasion, and he will never ever forget it, because he was in Africa and [...] he saw baboons.
[Ek wil amper sê dit is wat die uniekheid [...] van die Skiereiland vir die oorsese toeris is [...].

Dit is vir hulle ongelooflik om langs die see [te wees] met walvisse en pikkewyne hier, net hier hand afstand [...] van hulle. En hier is bobbejane! Jy weet dis 'n, dis 'n wonderlike ervaring! [...] Daai interaksie van die bobbejane en die toeris en so aan is miskien vir die toeris 'n wonderlike geleetheid, en hy sal dit nooit ooit vergeet nie, want hy was in Afrika en [...] hy't bobbejane gesien.] – Interviewee #2

The debate on whether nature should be “allowed” to enter cultural spaces seems to reinforce the argument of Ilicheva (2010:64) and Peggs (2012:81) (developed in Chapter 2) that people’s opposing views and subsequent characterisation of baboons are not so much about the animal itself as they are an indication of how the social construction of baboons, and animals in general, is spatially dependent. Therefore, with the TMNP situated amidst the urban areas of the Cape Peninsula, which increases the likelihood of urban and natural areas to flow freely into one another and overlap, territorial proximity and a lack of clearly defined territories seem to be the main causes of human–baboon conflict and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula.

4. Bringing back boundaries

For numerous reasons, as discussed in Chapter 2, the Cape Peninsula’s baboons challenge the historic, western understanding of separateness, and the notion that a clear, static boundary exists between natural and cultural spaces, as well as between humans and animals. As baboons enter urban spaces and become “out of place” (Jerolmack, 2008:72), they seem to challenge people’s perceived control of natural elements and their “need to live in a bounded space” (Johansson, 2008:51). While none of my interviewees expressed an absolute antipathy towards baboons, some did make it clear that nature, in the form of baboons, should rather be enjoyed from a distance. It is interesting to note that the subsequent comments were uttered by scientists who tend to be associated with a rationalist ontology:

*It’s nice when they’re there, you know. We know they are there and it’s great [...] and so on, but [...] they just should not be here, you know. [...] Nature at a distance, at an arm’s length. [*Dis lekker as hulle daar is, jy weet. Ons weet hulle is daar en dis “great” [...] en so aan, maar [...] hulle moet net nie hier wees nie, jy weet. [...] “Nature at a distance, at an arm’s length”.*] – Interviewee #2*

That’s a huge bonus [...] to be able to, to have them shouting in the cliffs at night. But as long as they’re shouting in the cliffs and not sleeping on my roof. – Interviewee #3

These sentiments were echoed by Dave Biggs (2013:23) in his column for the Cape Argus, *Wildlife is all good and well, but baboons are too much*. Even though Biggs (2013:23) expresses his amazement at the amount of wildlife that roams on the Cape Peninsula, such as penguins, porcupines, genets, Cape mongooses and small bucks, he nevertheless, as the title of his piece suggests, “draw[s] the line at sharing [his] space with baboons [... as] they’ve become just a little too familiar” with humans. Residents, however, found this need to “sanitise” (Interviewee #15) culture of nature confusing, as being “one with nature”, as mentioned above, is a drawcard of the Cape Peninsula.

In order to address human–baboon conflict, authorities are considering to replicate the previously mentioned Zwaanswyk electrified game fence “around discrete urban areas” (Swingler, 2014), such as Scarborough and Misty Cliffs, where baboons are known to cross into human territory. While the BTT has not yet voiced its final support for what is arguably a longer-term, more sustainable solution (van Zijl, 2014:10) compared to previous and other current baboon-management strategies (see Chapter 1, Section 2), human–human conflict has flared up between those who advocate and those who oppose the establishment of a physical, hard boundary between culture and nature, between humans and animals.



Figure 4.2 Professor Justin O’Riain – zoologist at UCT as well as a well-known figure in baboon-management circles on the Cape Peninsula – alongside Zwaanswyk’s electrified game fence (Source: Hammond, cited in Swingler, 2014 & 2015).

Those in support of an electrified game fence argue, primarily, that its attractiveness resides in its economic viability (Interviewee #19; Swingler, 2014). One interviewee strongly expressed the view that, while it is a “very good idea and it’s cost-effective [...], the consequences of an electric fence will be more than just keeping baboons out of people’s houses”, implying that such a fence can also reduce crime (Interviewee #13). Rendering baboon management more cost-effective might even arguably address some negative social constructions of baboons that arise from the perception that baboons are monopolising the CCT’s environmental budget. With R10 million a year budgeted for baboon management, it is the “single biggest project in [the city’s] environmental budget” (Wood & Jordan, 2014; see also Die Burger, 2014; van den Berg, 2014:1), and in the opinion of some, it is

not quite justified, considering other “little things [that] are so much more endangered and so much more interesting [...] than lots of baboons which are not endangered and you can see anywhere” (Interviewee #13), and taking into account human needs (see Section 5.3 below):

From a government point of view, the city has to look at its budget and say, we’re spending R10 million on baboons [...] every year. It’s not sustainable unless you can justify it economically or unless you can say it’s got priority over fixing roads [...] building houses. – Interviewee #13

If this is purely on conservation grounds, it is a complete waste of money spending money on [...] baboons on the Peninsula [...]. If you had R10 million that you could spend on conservation and you could only do [...] what was priorities, the baboons should actually all be culled. They’re of zero conservation value now, because of the, uhm, behaviour’s changed [i.e. actively transgressing the urban/nature divide] – Interviewee #14.

In addition to addressing these concerns by reducing the costs associated with baboon management, a physical boundary can also address the negative constructions of baboons that actively transgress the urban/nature divide and consequently, have become “unnatural” (see Chapter 2, Section 2.1). This possibility was emphasised by one of my interviewees who states that, by erecting an electrified game fence as a proactive baboon-management strategy, “people’s perceptions of baboons would change” and “you’ll land up making people neutral towards baboons” (Interviewee #19). Furthermore, this interviewee is of the opinion that

the fence could achieve so much. It would reduce the short-term, immediate conflict. It would reduce the probability of long-term conflict, certainly on the scale we’re experiencing it now. It would minimise it significantly. And also on the longer term, the baboons would become different animals. And the people would become different animals. [Laughing]. ‘Cause when they saw baboons, they wouldn’t see them in the same way. They would [...] become the neutral viewers of baboons [...] that people who haven’t had any experience with them are. – Interviewee #19

Linking to Peace’s (2001:183) study on the social constructions of nature and dingoes on Fraser Island, Australia – where he found that, as dingoes were trespassing into areas attributed to humans, an act of “progressive demonisation” occurred – the possibility exists, as this interviewee suggests, that an electrified game fence will assist in keeping baboons from trespassing into areas attributed to humans and, consequently, the act of “progressive demonisation” of baboons. Not unexpectedly, rationalists are also in favour of a static boundary, as it will “force baboons to be baboons again” (Wentzel, 2014). As mentioned above and in Chapter 2, the baboons seem to find themselves in the same unenviable position as Fraser Island’s dingoes. As these animals exit the nature where they are

deemed to belong, they become a “narrative of un-naturalness – a threat to, rather than an attraction for, the tourist trade” (Peace, 2001:183) and local residents. This is echoed by one of my interviewees who is of the opinion that, if baboons are kept out of human territories, i.e. cultural areas, it “actually increases their welfare status” as they will be “servicing the ecology which is their function” (Interviewee #8). Even though the Cape Peninsula is a mosaic of cultural and natural areas, statements such as these emphasise that certain areas continue to be “expropriated from nature for human occupation and use” (Hyttén & Burns, 2007:50). While people are ordinarily allowed to venture into and explore nature, it is deemed to be out of the ordinary for nature to enter into cultural spaces (Hyttén & Burns, 2007:50). Consequently, as is the case with the discourse on dingo-management, the discourse concerning baboon management has a “distinctive spatial dimension” (Hyttén & Burns, 2007:50).

While the management of people as the cornerstone of human–baboon conflict will be addressed subsequently in this chapter, it is important to note, in the meantime, that a fence also has the possibility to

[remove] the need to manage every single household in [a] suburb. So, if there was no fence, you’d have to go to each house and say, you have to have baboon-proof bins, you have to have burglar bars, you have to have this, you have to have that. – Interviewee #1

While recognising the effectiveness of an electrified game fence, those opposing do so by citing the “kind of atmosphere [...] of a fortified village” (Interviewee #17) that such a boundary will create. Thus, the fact that interaction between nature and culture is considered part of Cape Town’s appeal again comes to the fore, along with the need to manage people instead of, or at least alongside, baboons:

I would hate to have an electric fence cross the back of my property. Uhm, I’d much rather everybody manage their waste. – Interviewee #9

Yeah, I suppose it will be really sad if they’re reduced to being merely behind a fence in the park. – Interviewee #14

It’s gonna be a real shame that you can’t see them and interact with them. – Interviewee #15

While it is important to understand and take both the arguments for and against erecting electrified game fencing into consideration, the former, i.e. that “good fences make good neighbours” (Maser & Pollio, 2012:95) seems to hold more promise as a possible solution to human–baboon conflict. Not only can physical boundaries play an important role in addressing the negative social

constructions of baboons that “come from outside of culture and interfere with cultural activities” (Hyttén, 2009:25), they are also an important tool in managing people. To address the concerns of both rationalists and affectionalists, authorities need to clarify that such a boundary can offer protection to both baboons and humans. While baboons will, to a certain extent, be protected from human retaliation, humans – except for those entering nature at their own risk – will have an advanced tool protecting them from raiding baboons. Such a boundary will also demonstrate more clearly the baboon-management priority of reducing interactions between baboons and humans, in addition to facilitating the “fulfilment of social expectations” (Hyttén, 2009:23) that baboons and nature should not enter areas established for cultural usage.

The primary reason, however, why the introduction of this management tool warrants support is based upon the belief that static boundaries can ensure all stakeholders of their responsibilities regarding baboons and baboon management (see Section 5). As a result, fences can also hold stakeholders accountable. Ironically, as nature conservation on the Cape Peninsula is a collaborative effort, most interviewees also pointed out that stakeholders use boundaries to easily shift responsibilities from themselves to other stakeholders, which negatively impacts on management strategies and decisions.

They aren't talking to each other [... and] then you get bad things happening. Then you get, you know, [the view that] management will happen until the border and then it's your problem. Uh, and that's still happening a little bit. – Interviewee #1

You know, SANParks would often say, “The baboons [are] outside of our fence, we're not getting involved”, so I'd have to drive from Bellville [...] to Kommetjie! To deal with a baboon! Because it's outside of their boundary. It's just absurd, if you think about it. – Interviewee #20

5. Conflicts over process

Human–human conflict based on the “delegation of duties and responsibilities” (Rahim, 2011:20), i.e. process conflict, is an ongoing, seemingly unsolvable puzzle. Rheeder (2004) first documented in 2004 that concerned residents were planning to approach the then public protector to hold the local government accountable for failing to address the Cape Peninsula residents' grievances (see Figure 4.3). By 2009, this struggle achieved both local and international media coverage (Simon's Town Civic Association, 2010). The international media coverage resulted from a protest meeting held at TMNP's Westlake office to address, firstly, the “lack of authority responsibility in dealing with baboon management” (Simon's Town Civic Association, 2010); and secondly, to show the

“authorities in no uncertain terms that the residents of the south Peninsula are totally dissatisfied with their lack of management regarding baboon/human interaction” (Join the protest!, 2009; see also Cape baboon protest, 2009). In addition, the legal expertise of Professor Jaap de Visser of the University of the Western Cape was obtained in 2009, to delineate each authority’s responsibility (s.n., 2009). In an opinion piece prepared for the CCT, de Visser (s.a., cited in s.n., 2009) vilifies the “head-in-sand approach” followed by the authorities, as “they have a current legal and Constitutional obligation to act together to manage the baboon/human conflict situation”.

Even though the BTT “have agreed that baboon management is a joint responsibility” (CCT, 2009), acts of “othering” (Interviewee #14) – used here as a verb (see Mountz, 2009:328) in assigning various responsibilities to different stakeholders – still occur. As mentioned above in Section 4, I am of the opinion that a lack of static, physical boundaries allows authorities to easily shift baboon-management responsibilities from one stakeholder to another. It is quite interesting to note that, while such physical boundaries are only in place in a few locations on the Cape Peninsula, the mere imagery of such boundaries play an important role in shifting responsibilities, as the following reflections explain:

The parks have noted to that baboons are termed *res nullius*. So if they are on parks’ land, the park will manage them. If they leave park land and go onto city land, it’s the city’s problem. So, the [...] argument has been bouncing around all these years. – Interviewee #7

Nobody is taking responsibility... They’re yours. They’re not in the park. – Interviewee #9

JOIN THE PROTEST!!

MANAGED Baboons & Humans = PROTECTED Baboons & Humans



A protest is being held to show the authorities in no uncertain terms that the residents of the south peninsula are totally dissatisfied with their lack of management regarding baboon/human interaction and to demand immediate action to rectify the situation!

WHEN: Thursday 28 May 2009, 7am – 9am

WHERE: meet at the corner of Bell Crescent and Steenberg Road, outside Westlake Square (offices of Table Mountain National Parks). At the bottom of Ou Kaapse Weg (Pollsmoor side), turn right towards the blue route. At the next traffic lights on your left hand side is WESTLAKE SQUARE. There is plenty of public parking at Westlake Square and next door at Westlake Lifestyle Centre.

If you REALLY care, come and show your face, your poster and lend your voice to protest about what has become an intolerable situation for both man and beast!

Figure 4.3 Notice of the 2009 protest meeting whereby residents aimed to show their discontent with the BCA (Source: Join the protest!, 2009).

This act of “othering” also featured at the 2014 Fynbos Forum pre-convention workshop where baboon management in both Cape Town and Knysna were discussed. According to Len du Plessis (2014), manager for planning at the Garden Route National Park, SANParks staff often have to hear from private landowners: “come fetch your baboons from our property”.

Another reason which seems to contribute to the problem “that never one takes responsibility for the baboons” (Interviewee #7) was referred to by the interviewee above, i.e. that baboons (as is the case with the rest of South Africa’s wildlife) are regulated under a common-law principle: as they have not been acquired (On the Commons, 2007), they “have no owner” (Interviewee #10), and are consequently deemed to be *res nullius* (see Chapter 2, Section 4). According to Blackmore (2014:34), such a public-trust doctrine has led to “both the government and the public [...] not [being] entitled with absolute rights to the use of wildlife”. As a result of baboons being deemed ownerless and “no one person’s responsibility” (Montgomery, 2014), I would argue that they can, paradoxically, also be regarded as belonging to everyone, which allows stakeholders to “avoid the whole business of liabilities” (Interviewee #10). But in order for a multi-stakeholder baboon-management approach to succeed, all stakeholders – encompassing the authorities, scientists and the public – need to acknowledge what their responsibilities are, and take responsibility in order for a sustainable solution to human–baboon and human–human conflict to transpire.

5.1 Mandate of the authorities

As evinced in Chapter 2, baboons’ ability to cross physical and/or imagery boundaries is likely to lead to human–baboon conflict. On the Cape Peninsula, however, this ability of the baboons means that they visit areas belonging to different stakeholders, which also leads to human–human conflict. In a jocular tone, one interviewee stated that:

SANParks would simply say, “We will manage baboons on our land, you [CCT and CapeNature] manage baboons on your land”. The conflict happens on city land because that’s where people are. [Laughing]. So SANParks say, “Why must we pay for that?” – Interviewee #19

At first glance, this argument seemed quite contradictory, as tourists and local residents are allowed to enter the open-access TMNP, where interactions with baboons can occur (and have in the past). Confrontational human–baboon interactions on the southernmost tip of the Cape Peninsula in the TMNP’s Cape of Good Hope section (see Figure 1.1) in particular, have captured local and international attention, as reflected in newspaper and blog headlines (Cape motorists baboon-

jacked, 2009; Cape Town on alert for baboon-jackers [Gerardy, 2010]; Dude, where's my baboon? [Wightman, 2013]), YouTube videos (Theft by baboon [Truter, 2010]; Robber baboon, 2011; Cape Peninsula baboons at work [Tudor-Jones, 2013]) and National Geographic Wild documentaries (World's deadliest animals: Urban jungle, 2014; Hunter hunted, 2014). Again, we are reminded of Hytten and Burns's (2007:50) observation that it is seemingly acceptable for cultural aspects to enter nature; however, nature entering cultural spaces is deemed unacceptable (see Section 4 above).

The argument concerning SANParks's responsibilities towards baboons and baboon management revolves primarily around boundaries. All of my interviewees stressed what seems to be a long-standing position of SANParks, i.e. that the "competence and jurisdiction of a national body like SANParks is confined inside the defined borders of its management authority" (SANParks Corporate Communications, 2010; see also Louw, s.a.). In other words, SANParks is responsible to manage its national parks, and only address incidents that occur within their parks. On the Cape Peninsula, these areas include the Cape of Good Hope, Boulders Penguin Colony, Silvermine, Table Mountain, Signal Hill and Lions Head sections, which together, comprise the TMNP (see Figure 1.1). In an attempt by SANParks to displace their responsibilities related to baboons and baboon management, the argument is posed (by Gavin Bell, who represents SANParks on the BTT) that managing baboons "has always been a city-run initiative. The monitors don't operate on SANParks land: they were put in place by the city to protect residents" (Knoetze, 2012). While this seems to be a reasonable argument, a CCT councillor, Felicity Purchase (cited in Knoetze, 2012), rebutted this stance in the media, stating that "support needs to come from SANParks. Baboons migrate from the Table Mountain National Park to urban areas, so the management of the problem is theirs as well". This reminds one that there are two sides to a fence and both need to be managed by their respective owners. Furthermore, SANParks contains expertise and resources that are potentially valuable in the management of baboons. In a letter to a CCT councillor in 2009, Shackleton (2009) advanced this argument regarding SANParks's responsibilities, and stated that, since SANParks gains a considerable income from both the Boulders Penguin Colony and the Cape of Good Hope sections of the TMNP, they "have a responsibility to contribute financially" to baboon management. In addition, they have a responsibility to ensure the "safety and security of adjacent residents as well as to fulfil their statutory obligation to protect the indigenous fauna" (Shackleton, 2009) of the Cape Peninsula.

Another critique of SANParks expressed by a number of interviewees concerns their assertion that SANParks follows a different baboon-management protocol than the one that addresses the management of raiding baboons in municipal areas on the Cape Peninsula. In other words, whereas

the latter baboon protocol follows a bureaucratic process to establish whether or not a baboon should be euthanised (as discussed in Section 2), “SANParks does not require a permit from any permitting authority to destroy baboons in national parks” (Ngcaba, 2011). The sole data source in my study that could be said to represent SANParks²⁴ stated that baboons should be protected as they play an integral part in the “natural patterns and processes of the land and seascapes in [the] TMNP” (Interviewee #21). However, those interviewees (particularly residents) who raised their concerns about SANParks’s lack of communication (see Section 6) with other baboon-management stakeholders regarding baboon demographics, were outraged at the fact that, even though baboons are protected on the Cape Peninsula, SANParks permits them “one strike and [they are] gone” (Interviewee #11), while SANParks are “supposed to be the baboon’s safe space” (Interviewee #7). This permitted “one strike” is also in contrast to the baboon protocol discussed in Section 2, which bases the final decision of whether to euthanise a baboon on a detailed case history of each individual raiding baboon (CapeNature, 2011).

Outside of demarcated SANParks territory, the legislated mandate of CapeNature, the provincial conservation body, to manage biodiversity and wildlife spans the entire Western Cape (Interviewee #2; see also SANParks Corporate Communications, 2010). According to Bredell (cited in Louw, s.a.), “CapeNature is responsible for dealing with any transgression of the law or provincial regulations regarding the hunting, captivity, sale, breeding, theft and transport of wild animals within a municipal area”, in addition to taking responsibility for inspections and administering permits. With specific reference to baboon management on the Cape Peninsula, the BLG’s strategy to reduce conflict between humans and baboons on the Cape Peninsula (BLG, 2011a) outlines that CapeNature is also expected to supply educational material about baboons and baboon management; advise the WAAC; assist provincial law enforcers in addressing human–baboon conflict cases; fund veterinary services for rescue, treatment and relocation of baboons; as well as provide access to scientific research. However, Bredell (cited in Louw, s.a.) is of the opinion that conflict between humans and any animal species (including conflict between humans and baboons) that occurs within “municipal areas and on private land falls outside the mandate” of CapeNature. Such conflict is considered to fall within the CCT’s “mandate to ensure the safety of its citizens” (Nieuwoudt, 2009; see also CCT, 2009). An interviewee, who is a resident and serves on the BLG, describes this shifting of responsibility as follows:

²⁴ As mentioned in Section 7 of Chapter 3, from this representative I could only attain a written response on my organisational stakeholder interview schedule (see Appendix C) at the time of data collection, due to time constraints on his part.

So it's coming back on the City and the City's saying, "Hey! It's actually really not my problem. Because, you know, the baboons are under the laws of CapeNature, under provincial laws. And they're living in national parks, so why the hell should I have to spend all my money?" So there's a helluva lot of conflict [...] going on between the authorities. So much so, that there's actually a pending court case which is not going to get anywhere, in my opinion. –

Interviewee #6

The abovementioned court case was initiated in 2010 by the CCT to seek a declaratory order to firstly "force nature conservation officials to help control baboons on the Peninsula" (Plato, cited in Row over baboons on loose, 2010), and secondly, "force SANParks and CapeNature to make a financial commitment" towards baboon management on the Cape Peninsula (Purchase, cited in Knoetze, 2012). According to then Cape Town mayor, Dan Plato (cited in Row over baboons on loose, 2010), "the city believed that the Western Cape provincial government and SANParks were jointly responsible for baboon-management on the Peninsula and the funding this required". While the city recognises "its responsibility as a land owner in the Peninsula" (Nieuwoudt, 2009; see also CCT, 2009; Wood & Jordan, 2014), it has stated on numerous instances that it is unable to fund the baboon-management programme of its own accord (Row over baboons on loose, 2010). These responsibilities, as identified by the BLG, include baboon-proof waste management; distributing information regarding baboons and baboon management to tourists and residents; erecting signage to inform people to refrain from feeding and coming into contact with baboons; and lastly, ensuring the health and safety of their citizens (BLG, 2011a).

In order to help ensure that all the authorities serving on the BTT recognise and fulfil their responsibilities, the BLG was established in 2010 (see Chapter 1, Section 2). On the role of the BLG, a current member states that

we as a community [said] the best we can do is be a liaison group which can sit there and be the watchdogs, liaise with you [the authorities] as to what sort of things you can do, advise you, monitor you, and so on. But we cannot manage the baboons; we have no authority to manage.

The management has to rely with the authorities. – Interviewee #6

The BLG has made major strides towards effective intergovernmental co-operation between SANParks, the CCT and CapeNature. Nevertheless, enforcement of each authority's statutory mandate, as discussed above, remains weak, alongside a continuous confusion over the delineation of tasks and responsibilities among the various baboon-management stakeholders. More recently, the BTT has increasingly directed its attention to the responsibility of citizens, rather than institutions, to contribute to baboon management. This recalls the notion of shifting responsibilities

from the state to the citizen, i.e. “responsibilisation”, although in the completely different context of South Africa’s human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) epidemic (Robins, 2006). While the authorities still need to be held accountable for their various responsibilities, individual residents, as well as tourists, need to realise that they are not only part of the solution, but also part of the problem (Interviewee #20). In other words, along with a functioning BTT, baboon management on the Cape Peninsula will only be likely to succeed when individuals are “responsibilised citizens and knowledgeable and empowered” (Robins, 2006:313) regarding baboons and baboon-management practices and processes. As with South African healthcare facilities and HIV/AIDS treatment and prevention programmes, instead of burdening the BTT, the citizens should be able to “govern themselves” (Robins, 2006:321) and take responsibility for baboon management.

5.2 Responsibility of individuals

In response to the question whether they believe humans, baboons, or both should be managed, nearly all of the interviewees agreed with the BCA that “an important part of the [human–baboon conflict] solution lies with residents, who have a responsibility to ensure that baboons are not encouraged onto their property” (City, SANParks and CapeNature join forces to tackle problem baboons, 2009; see also Cape Town city: Baboon-proof your home, 2013). However, it should be noted, that, at the time of data collection, the interviewees were either directly involved in baboon management, and/or care deeply about the state of affairs of baboons on the Cape Peninsula, and as a consequence, this finding might be biased.

Contrary to supporting the notion of “responsibilised citizens” (Robins, 2006:312), individuals may instead delegate responsibility to the authorities, and the possible reasons for this can be grouped into two categories. First, the human–human conflict between rationalists and affectionalists, referred to in Section 2 above, resurfaces to play a role in this regard. According to a previous CapeNature employee, the reason why human–human conflict arises between these two diverging stances is that, while individuals are in fact prepared to take action into their own hands (see Section 6 below), they are willing to do so from a “vigilante”, “activist” perspective, not from a “rational” one, with the latter described as: we “all get together, [...] rally around it and find a solution” (Interviewee #20). Secondly, some residents seem to be of the opinion that they already contribute indirectly to baboon management. This contribution is mainly financially, and is illustrated by the following interviewee who states that

we pay our taxes, we do this and we do that so why should we fork out any more money? Uhm, sometimes it's not about money, sometimes it's about a little bit of inconvenience, [...] you know, cut down that guava tree, 'cause they [the baboons] come all the time. – Interviewee #20

Almost all of my interviewees, as well as other people whose views are expressed in various media platforms, are of the opinion that people continuously “blame the baboons” (Interviewee #14) instead of considering themselves as the source of the problem. However, the latter approach, which implies the management of people rather than baboons, is still absent (Trethowan, 2014). According to one resident, this is because

very little is conveyed to the resident. So, yes they have public meetings; people don't go [because it is] too, uhm, controversial; it becomes mudslinging, it becomes aggressive, so people don't go to baboon meetings. – Interviewee #7

While education strategies are constantly being implemented on the Cape Peninsula in order to reduce negative interactions between humans and baboons, those charged with their implementation, such as the BLG, should perhaps focus on individuals' experiences when conveying their message. This does not imply using these experiences to construct baboons as “the naughty ones”, as is often done in the media, but rather to highlight the importance of individual responsibility during an interaction with a baboon(s). Four interviewees openly acknowledged that the negative experience they have had with baboons was as a result of their own or other people's inappropriate behaviour and/or lack of understanding of baboons:

I was charged once, my mistake. Uhm, totally my mistake and I was lucky. – Interviewee #11

The worst baboon, just as a disclaimer, the worst baboon experiences I had was when there were people around. So even [in the case of] the nicer troops, as soon as we moved into an area with people, things would become stressful and awful, because people would behave badly. [...] The baboons were used to people behaving badly [...] so they just treated people a certain way and people would get scared, and that was always, that was the shittest [...] part – seeing these interactions. – Interviewee #19

Furthermore, many other interviewees also admitted that people, not the baboons, are the ones “behaving badly” (Interviewee #3):

[I]n actual fact, we are making them – the problems – worse by our own choices. The things [...] that we are choosing to do. – Interviewee #7

I'm not asking anyone to live their lives around baboons, but because we are responsible for creating this problem in the first place, I do believe that we have [...] an ethical responsibility. – Interviewee #11

Actually the problem is us being irresponsible. – Interviewee #14

My sense is that it's [a] much better managed problem now [...], and I think [...], what a big thing is that people have realised – because of the publicity by both conservationists and BRU and people like that, [...] – is [...] a much better understanding of the fact that people are a problem and that people are seriously endangering the baboons. And that if we want baboons to remain on the Peninsula, uhm, for all sorts of reasons, including ecological reasons [...], they have to be protected from people [...] But not just protect people from baboons...it's very much the other way as well. – Interviewee #17

Taking the above two sections into consideration, I strongly agree with Hoffman and O'Riain (2012c:10) that in order for any type of conservation to succeed, be effective and sustainable, wildlife management needs to rely on a “combination of ‘top-down rigour’ and ‘bottom-up participation’”, i.e. authorities shouldering their responsibilities along with individuals acting as “responsibilised citizens” (Robins, 2006:312). With particular reference to baboon management on the Cape Peninsula, ongoing partnerships between the BCA, the BLG, NGOs, as well as various individuals, such as local residents, tourists and scientists, will ensure that “land development [and conservation] plans are not only ecologically sustainable, but [also] socially sustainable” (Hoffman & O'Riain, 2012c:10).

5.3 Constructing baboons as a distracting issue

While interviewees did not construct baboons in negative terms such as those identified in the literature (see particularly Chapter 2, Section 6), a new social construction did emerge, which involved labelling baboons as a distracting issue. As will be detailed in this section, the first four reasons for deeming baboons as distracting are related primarily to why authorities regard baboons as distracting from their other, seemingly more important, priorities, whereas the fifth reason concerns residents and/or individuals in general.

Limited resources, especially in the case of the CCT, is a reason provided by both the authorities and by residents who have empathy with an “under-budgeted, under-resourced” (Interviewee #7) government structure. Law enforcement, which would enable authorities to manage people instead

of, or at least along with, baboons, seems to pose a particular challenge. According to a CCT councillor,

[i]t's unreasonable to expect me, [...] to expect the city to put a law-enforcement officer down there [where the baboons are], or maybe it's not? [...] But if you [...] look at the city's law-enforcement budget, and where the people are going, they've got to put them in the areas where the crime is and where the [...] laws need to be enforced. – Interviewee #13

The way they manage humans is to have laws. But then you've got to enforce them. And the enforcement of those laws is where we fall down. We don't have the staff or the capacity or, or sometimes I think the will to actually implement the laws. – Interviewee #13

Linking to the issue of human rights versus animal rights, the CCT is under pressure to not only address conservation issues other than the management of baboons, but also issues related to human needs. As Harker and Bates (2007:330) identified in their study on the differing social constructions of black bear hunts in the United States of America, I found that the need to manage baboons in an urban area “signals growing intractability between animal rights advocates and those who hold more anthropocentric values, such as the priority of human safety”. This comes as no surprise in South Africa, which continues to face numerous socio-political issues that is much more dominant on the agendas of both government and NGOs than human-wildlife – and more particularly, human-baboon – conflict (see Chapter 2, Section 4; BBC World Service Trust, 2010:5; Scott, 2011:158). According to a resident, baboons are

not even really a problem. I mean, [...] you are looking 100%, square in the face, at a First World problem with these baboons. In a country where there's many issues as this has, it's such a non-issue. – Interviewee #15

As mentioned in Section 4 of Chapter 2, disparate perceptions of the importance of wildlife and its conservation – and, as Madden (2004:248) suggests, its frequent elevated importance over human rights – can lead to conflict between wildlife managers, other stakeholder groups and the residents of the specific area in question (Miller & McGee, 2001). The case of baboon management on the Cape Peninsula is no different, as some interviewees are of the belief that, when one identifies oneself as a conservationist who has a biocentric approach, others who hold a more anthropocentric view label one as “unconcerned with people's problems or are using people only to further other ends” (Chan *et al.*, 2007:60). While they do not abandon hope of finding a long-term solution for human-baboon conflict, the Peninsula's “misanthropes” (Chan *et al.*, 2007:60) realise that they are confronted with a government which needs to be discerned as “pro-poor” (Interviewee #9).

Well, I think it just comes down to: the human rights will always, up until now, the human rights have always [...] superseded animals' rights. – Interviewee #8

In a country like this, uhm, you know, money is not easily [...] appreciated going to animals, because people want houses and they want [...] toilets and things like that. – Interviewee #8

Contrary to this belief, the BLG member quoted below is of the opinion that the CCT needs to be held accountable for the safety and security of all its residents, even when baboons are the “cause of the problem”, or even if they may be viewed as a “pro-rich” problem, “because you [are ...] keeping them out of rich areas” (Interviewee #9):

R10 million is a helluva lot of money. Now you've got the guys with their poo buckets and all the rest of it out in the, in the townships saying “we want sanitation, we want water, we want housing, we want”. Now the city is sitting with the dilemma of how the hell can I justify R10 million a year [...] for baboons but it's actually for health and safety of [...] the, and property protection [...] of the ratepayers. – Interviewee #6

As this interviewee's opinion shows, another important reason why baboons are constructed as a distracting issue for authorities relates to the spending of public funds. To add tension to this situation, the already-limited baboon-management budget was allocated R2 million less in a draft financial plan presented for the 2015 fiscal year by the CCT's economic, environment and spatial planning portfolio committee (Barnard, 2014b:10). As the “three authorities couldn't agree and [...] still can't agree [. . . on] the financial aspect” (Interviewee #8) of baboon management, human–human conflict amongst the relevant authorities (CCT, CapeNature and SANParks) persists in a form that Rahim (2011:23) refers to as intergroup conflict (see Section 7 below). A CapeNature representative highlights this underlying financial dimension of the human–human conflict, as well as CapeNature's stance on its involvement in baboon management on the Cape Peninsula, by insisting that “their role in managing baboons does not necessarily include the provision of funding” (Louw, s.a.).

We say we are not willing to pay, because our position is – and that's a very important position; I think no one, not everyone, realises it as seriously – is that if we pay the City of Cape Town, for argument's sake, a million, a million Rand a year, for them to manage baboons [...] on the Peninsula, then we'll have the Overstrand municipality and the Knysna municipality, the Cederberg municipality, tomorrow saying we must pay, so that they can also do baboon-management. And it is our position: if the Western Cape government will pay for the control of animal problems, then it creates a precedent and we must, we cannot just [...] pay one person or institution – then we have to pay all of them. [*Ons sê ons is nie bereid om te betaal nie, want*

ons standpunt is – en dis ‘n baie belangrike standpunt; ek dink niemand, nie almal, besef dit so, soos, soos “seriously” – is dat as ons vir die Stad Kaapstad betaal, sê arguments onthulwe ‘n miljoen, ‘n miljoen Rand ‘n jaar, vir hulle om [...] bobbejane te [bestuur...] op die Skiereiland, dan moet ons môre, moet ons die Overstrand munisipaliteit en die Knysna munisipaliteit, die Sederberg munisipaliteit, moet ons betaal, sodat hulle ook bobbejaanbestuur kan doen. En dit is ons standpunt: [...] as die Wes-Kaap regering gaan betaal om probleemdiere te beheer, dan skep dit ‘n presedent, en dan moet ons, dan kan ons nie net [...] een persoon of een instansie betaal nie – dan moet ons almal betaal.] – Interviewee #2

Furthermore, this interviewee is also of the opinion that, once they contribute financially towards baboon management on the Cape Peninsula, “pay[ing] for the control of animal problems” will extend beyond baboon management, as landowners will most likely approach CapeNature to also address the problems caused by other animals:

Then we have to start paying the farmers in the Karoo to hunt jackals that eat their sheep, and cattle farmers in the Cederberg we have to pay because there’s leopards that eat their cattle. [Dan moet ons die boere in die Karoo begin betaal om jakkalse te jag wat hulle skape opvreet, en beesboere in die Sederberge moet ons betaal om nou daar’s luiperds wat hulle beeste opvreet.] – Interviewee #2

Again, as highlighted in Section 5, there is a need for a clear outline of not only the managerial, but also the financial, responsibilities of each stakeholder (Louw, s.a.). Along with the major issue of finances, most interviewees also believe that, “while baboons are widely regarded as part of South Africa’s wildlife heritage, the conservation of these non-human animals is controversial because they are not classified as an endangered species” (Hurn, 2011:39; see also de Waal, 2012; Fischer, 2013). While the primary reason for excluding baboons from conservation practices given by rationalists is that baboons occur throughout the Western Cape region and, indeed, most of South Africa (see Chapter 1, Section 1), one interviewee also accounted for the authorities’ lack of interest in the Cape Peninsula’s baboons by referring to the perception that “they’re not in nature” (Interviewee #9). This links with the argument in Section 4: since baboons have left nature, they have become un-natural (Peace, 2001:183) and consequently no longer fulfil the “traditional”, “natural” role ascribed to baboons in the wild. Furthermore, conservation authorities and some residents have raised concerns “for the other animals which are [...] far more under threat in the Peninsula” (Interviewee #13) such as the Western leopard toad (*Amietophrynus pantherinus*), the Table Mountain ghost frog (*Heleophryne rosei*) and the Geometric tortoise (*Psammobates geometricus*) (CCT, 2011b). Some interviewees, although very few, also raised concern over “the impact of baboons on [...] the] endangered fynbos” (Interviewee #11).

As mentioned at the outset of this section, the last reason baboons are deemed to be distracting concerns residents and/or individuals in general. While my interviewees were extremely passionate about the Cape Peninsula's baboons, they recognised that other residents, which may not share that passion, would rather devote their attention to other issues:

We lead really, really busy lives, you know? Most people: mom and dad are both working, you know, busy lives, busy life. You don't want to come home and worry about baboon issues. – Interviewee #7

I doubt if they sit and think “Oh hell, they've killed another baboon; I think it's really shocking and I must get my waste fixed”. I don't think that's in their life. People also have hectic lives. They have [...] many... They've got other [...] priorities. Oh, absolutely! They have kids who've got problems, they've got kids who're druggies, they don't have enough money, they are single parents. I acknowledge all of that. – Interviewee #11

This links with the concern, first raised in sections 1 and 4 of Chapter 2, about an increase in individualistic thinking which Scott (2011:154), although referring to environmental responsibility, describes as the “most recent trend in contemporary neoliberal society”. While I do not disregard people's responsibilities, I tend to agree with one of the interviewees, according to whom it “essentially [...] has] to do with people [...] being much more conservative [i.e. cautious] about their own activities and life choices” (Interviewee #16).

6. Conflicts over information

According to Madden (2004:253), instances of human–wildlife conflict are “typically characterised by inadequate or inappropriate information exchange and communication, often resulting locally in low levels of productivity or success and high levels of distrust between stakeholders”. A lack of transparency regarding baboon-management decisions on the Cape Peninsula has incited conflicts over information since 2009 (Thomas, 2012b), and even though communication between authorities and citizens has improved (Wood & Jordan, 2014), an atmosphere of distrust prevails. While the earlier instances of this type of human–human conflict, particularly around 2012, revolved around “controversial decisions and killings and management techniques using aggressive ‘tools’ like bearbangers and paintballs” (Thomas, 2012b), today's information-related human–human conflicts seem to occur by virtue of “bad experiences from the past [which] seem to overshadow present day encounters, creating a certain level of distrust between all parties” (Koutstaal, 2013:62). These past, adverse experiences, which involved a great deal of interpersonal conflicts, will be discussed in greater detail in Section 8.

With specific reference to a lack of information and a lack of transparency, a topic that raised heated emotions during most of my interviews is residents' discontent with SANParks. As mentioned in Section 5.1, SANParks follow a baboon-management protocol that differs from the one that addresses the management of raiding baboons in municipal areas on the Cape Peninsula. Since "SANParks does not require a permit from any permitting authority to destroy baboons in national parks" (Ngcaba, 2011), some residents are of the opinion that baboons simply "disappeared" in the past, without a valid explanation from the authorities as to why that was the case.

The main reason, however, why "transparency in wildlife management is [...] a hot potato" (Interviewee #1), can be traced (again) to affectionalists' attempts at undermining the position of rationalists, and vice versa (see Section 2). This sentiment was echoed by Professor Justin O'Riain from the BRU: in 2012, at a public meeting held by the SPCA "in an attempt to reduce tensions and find some common ground" between the various stakeholders, he stated that a main issue is the public not trusting scientists (Yeld, 2012c). One possible reason why this is the case, according to some of the interviewees, is the dissatisfaction of a few residents vis-à-vis being prevented from discussing policies with the authorities. Those who serve on the BTT, however, regarded it necessary to exclude emotion from policy discussion, in order to "actually execute management plans, because otherwise nothing will go anywhere" (Interviewee #1). Thus, it is believed that an impasse would be the result of lay people (who might not have scientific training and credentials and/or knowledge of wildlife management) reacting, and wanting to manage baboons, on the basis of emotions. According to the same interviewee, who also completed his research under the BRU,

it's such a, such a touchy subject [...] what you do with wildlife and how you manage wildlife, uhm; having complete transparency can be very problematic, because you have people's own personal views of wildlife and if they can comment on policy, which is good, I totally support that, but [...] those people aren't responsible, [for] the bad occurrences of management. – Interviewee #1

At the same public meeting held by the SPCA in 2012, affectionalists were of the opinion that conflicts over information occur because adequate data about baboons are not shared with lay people (Yeld, 2012c). In addition, another member of the public expressed the belief that mistrust between the public and the authorities was exacerbated by authorities intimidating "citizens who tried to get information" (Yeld, 2012c). While information concerning the baboons' whereabouts, demographics, raid-related activities and their management has since September 2012 been publicly available from HWS (the current baboon-management service provider for the CCT) in the form of

monthly reports²⁵, this failed to satisfy at least a few interviewees. The BTT was also criticised for assuming that their media releases would provide “adequate information” (Interviewee #7), which is echoed by another interviewee:

I don't think the managers necessarily communicate that well enough, or use the media to communicate that well enough. Saying, “Yes, we are using paintball guns [...] this is why, this is why we have to use them at all, this is how they are effective, this is how they don't damage or harm baboons”. – Interviewee #19

I certainly gained the impression from my interviews with residents – those serving on the BLG and those who are merely interested in the human–baboon conflict situation on the Cape Peninsula – that these stakeholders want to be involved and therefore want to be informed on any development regarding the baboons and baboon-management decisions. Despite the dysfunction of the previous, inclusive management structure of the BMT (according to numerous interviewees: see Section 7), I agree with Burns and Howard (2003:710) that the involvement of lay stakeholders is needed to “alleviate some of the tension caused by an approach that is viewed by some as exclusionary, and top down”. In order to ensure that the relationships between stakeholders do not become too strained, as identified in Section 4 of Chapter 2, an open communication channel needs to exist or to be established in order to tackle “misunderstandings, miscommunication, and misperceptions” from both sides (Maser & Pollio, 2012:33; see also Madden & McQuinn, 2014). Lay people in particular are seeking open dialogue with the authorities regarding the baboon protocol. According to Shackleton (2013),

[a]ny raiding history and WAC [currently known as the WAAC] decision-making documentation should be freely available to the public on request [...as] this will give credibility and respect to the process followed in the decision making leading to the euthanasia of a baboon, and reduce rumour mongering and misinterpretation.

Such increased dialogue between stakeholders, along with the conveyance of a certain amount of responsibility to lay people, can assist in improving not only the relationships between the

²⁵ All monthly reports are available on HWS' (s.a.b.) website (<http://www.humanwildlifesolutions.com/report-archive.php>), on CapeNature's (2013) wildlife-management webpage (<http://www.capenature.co.za/care-for-nature/conservation-in-action/biodiversity-compliance/wildlife-management/>), on the South African baboon forum's (2015c) website (<http://www.baboons.org.za/index.php/management/cape-peninsula/hws-reports>) and on the CCT's webpage pertaining to baboon management on the Cape Peninsula (<http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/EnvironmentalResourceManagement/projects/BiodMagementConserv/Pages/BaboonManagement.aspx>).

authorities and the public, but also between scientific experts (rationalists) and those who tend to base their reasoning on emotions (affectionalists) (McCool, Guthrie & Smith, 2000, cited in Young *et al.*, 2010:3984). In addition, issues relating to “power, interest and representation, which are crucially important in any situation in which dialogue ensues” (Richards, Sherlock & Carter, 2004, cited in Young *et al.*, 2010:3985) also need to be addressed. For this, careful consideration is needed of who the stakeholders of baboon management on the Cape Peninsula are, so as to incorporate their various perspectives, and to ensure that the dialogue between stakeholders is not dominated by certain interests and/or viewpoints.

While Young *et al.* (2010:3985) are of the opinion that “scientists have a role to play in improving dialogue in conflict management situations by gaining in-depth knowledge of who the stakeholders are, how best to involve them and what their role might be”, I believe that social scientists can assist in this task (see Section 5 of Chapter 2). Ultimately, addressing human–human conflicts over information can also have the result of minimising “interpersonal conflicts, conflicts over particular interests, and conflicts over more fundamental values” (Beierle & Konisky 2001; Griffin 1999; Tuler & Webler 1999, cited in Young *et al.*, 2010:3984).

7. Structural conflicts

In 2010, the previous, inclusive baboon-management approach in the form of the BMT, which included both the authorities and residents, disbanded primarily as a result of “structural issues [...] relating to the distribution of power among groups” (Jones *et al.*, 2005:7). Even though the current baboon-management structure in the form of the BTT is to a certain extent inclusive with the involvement of the BLG, structural issues – specifically relating to power distribution – are still evident in that it follows a more top-down management approach than the BMT. As indicated in Section 4 of Chapter 2, such an approach has led to a minority of residents fearing that those who are part of the BCA can impose their interests on those in the BLG who, in turn, can assert “their” interests at the expense of those who are not empowered to do so (Marshall *et al.*, 2007:3130; see below). In sociological terms, it is therefore possible that, as a result of competing claims or social constructions of stakeholders, those who find themselves in powerful positions may use their positions to “negate other constructions or deligitimate opposing stakeholders” (Harker & Bates, 2007:331). Even though this is possible in any management situation, it is more likely when there is “disagreement amongst parties over fundamental values, power imbalances, or a lack of clear institutional arrangements” (White *et al.*, 2009:242), as this chapter clearly shows is the case regarding baboon management on the Cape Peninsula.

Already in 2012, a baboon activist from Scarborough blatantly “accused the authorities of ‘insisting on imposing their viewpoints’, and of providing incorrect data” to residents (Yeld, 2012c). While, at the time of writing, concerns such as these seemed to have abated somewhat, one interviewee stated that he finds the current baboon-management structure problematic, as it is not “democratic at all” (Interviewee #16). Speaking of his experience serving on Kommetjie’s Residents Association, he recalls an instance where

we’ve had a person representing us being on the BLG. They get, they get wooded into, uhm, compliance with, with the BTT policy stuff, without necessarily being invited to make a sort of a strong civil-society contribution to the final sort of decision-making process. [...] They, they used to sort of communicate downwards, and [...] seldom is there a communication upwards. – Interviewee #16

While pluralist decision-making perspectives are preferred by academics in wildlife management processes, as this is “foundational to transactional management” and also “accounts for the multiple views of reality among stakeholders” (Zollinger & Daniels, 2005:255), it is evident from the above quote that elitism is still dominant in baboon management on the Cape Peninsula. Even though elites typically refer to the “ruling minority who exercise power through the state” (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008:530), contemporary writer Hywel Williams in his study on the rise of elite power in Britain in the early 1990s, identifies three elite types: political elites, financial and business elites, and professional elites (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008). It is the professional elites, who constitute the majority of the BTT on the Cape Peninsula, which continue to dictate not only baboon management, but also discussions related to baboons and baboon management, due to their scientific expertise and occupation of key positions in central stakeholder groups. If one continues the above discussion, it becomes evident that elitism can also lead to cultural assimilation, when i.e. a person comes to resemble the culture of another group by “conform[ing] to the mode of thinking of [the ...] majority group members” (Rahim, 2011:131):

what I’ve found [...] with all those individuals, you know, they’ve contributed time and everything to those meetings, and they either get sort of sucked into it, and become sort of almost like “ja boeties” for the scientists, or they get so alienated and pissed off that they, that they leave [...] in disillusionment. – Interviewee #16

Based on an analysis of interviewees’ opinions of inclusive management strategies, I found that mostly rationalists found the previous BMT structure problematic, primarily because of its ad hoc nature. Not only were the meetings “open access” and “not properly structured” (Interviewee #9), but those representing the authorities in the meetings “did not have a mandate to speak” [*het nie ‘n*

mandaat om te praat nie] (Interviewee #4). This effectively meant that no final decisions and therefore no progress could be made, which rendered both rationalists and affectionalists increasingly frustrated. Consequently, the BMT meetings resulted in “a hub to breed conflict” (Interviewee #20). According to the interviewee who was the BMT chair at the time, this was reflected in the personal and emotional nature of the issues that were raised, which often led to human–human conflict:

They [the public] wanted their voice to be heard, they wanted their frustration to be heard and, uhm, they actually weren't there to be part of the solution. They wanted to be there to disrupt the meeting; they wanted to be there just to get whatever they had on their chest, uhm, off their chest. – Interviewee #20

Towards the end it, it was clear that the BMT in its form wasn't actually serving the problem; it was adding to the problem. So and then other tensions I would say [surfaced]: there was the big issue between the for and against. People were for baboons or people were against baboons. Uhm, [...] and animal right activists and that kind of things that caused lot of tension that [...] obviously filtered through to, into the management. Uhm, I would say there was tension, I mean obviously between the humans and the baboons, and that was, this was also very interesting: [...] there was so much going on within the BMT that the actual baboons itself were kind of doing their own thing [...] out there. – Interviewee #20

In order to address these problems associated with the BMT structure, the formation of the BCA and the BLG allowed rationalists and affectionalists to be separated, with the BLG primarily serving as a liaison between these two “camps”. While the interviewee quoted below recognises that both stances form part of human–wildlife – including human–baboon – conflict, for human–human conflict to be reduced, it was necessary to separate differing mandates and belief systems, so that the task at hand, managing baboons, could be addressed.

[L]ike any human–wildlife conflict, there's the hugely emotional side of the conflict in either direction [...]: pro and against. And there's the practical side of the conflict. And those aren't necessarily dealt with in the same way. So the authorities are dealing with the practical and the logistical and the financial, and the residents are dealing with the emotional. So if you have that in the same meeting, you don't land up addressing either thing [...] well enough. It [the emotional side] always overpowers [...] and the kind of personalities that land up working in wildlife management are not necessarily the personalities that are good at dealing with human emotions. So [...] they, the authorities would just withdraw in these meetings [...] and not say anything. And that wasn't useful. – Interviewee #19

Even though the authorities prefer a public participation process which, in Interviewee #11's paraphrased words, allows lay people to have their say but not their way, engaging with local residents remains important in order for problems to be recognised as shared, and for analysing the "material impacts and [... evaluating] the efficacy of alternative conflict management approaches" (Redpath *et al.*, 2013:100). This is especially pertinent if one considers Jones *et al.*'s (2005:7) point that "structural conflicts are often 'latent'" and may instead "surface as conflicts of interest and conflicts over process", which is evident on the Cape Peninsula, where a lack of static, physical boundaries, have "raise[d] questions about different stakeholders' roles, legitimacy and responsibility". It remains an important inclusive-management strategy to ensure that "what the residents are going through is getting communicated to the authorities and what the authorities are trying to achieve is getting communicated to the residents" (Interviewee #19). For Strum (2010:151), this type of engagement with lay people will increase "their awareness, [improve ...] existing control strategies, and [provide] some benefits (in social services and by diversifying their livelihoods) to offset their costs".

8. Interpersonal conflicts

The categories of human-human conflict discussed up until this point are examples of what Rahim (2011:19) identifies as substantive conflicts, which are "caused by difference of opinion regarding task, policies, procedures, and other business-related or content issues". Interpersonal conflicts may also occur due to divergent perspectives present in baboon management on the Cape Peninsula, "personality" differences between individuals or groups, miscommunication and mistrust, and when stakeholders simply do not understand the position of others (Jones *et al.*, 2005:14; see Chapter 2, Section 4). Such conflicts, which transpire "between two or more organisational members of the same or different hierarchical levels or units" (Rahim, 2011:23), are likely to be more overt in nature. The examples of interpersonal conflicts that will be discussed below are, nevertheless, also linked to some of the previous human-human conflict categories, such as conflicts over process, conflicts over information and structural conflicts. Furthermore, it is important to note that interpersonal conflicts concerning baboon management on the Cape Peninsula seem to originate from intergroup conflict, which Rahim (2011:23) defines as "conflict between two or more units or groups within an organisation".

The most prominent intergroup conflict occurred between the BRU and Baboon Matters. Before the CCT established a tendering process for service providers, the latter took the initiative to manage baboons on the Cape Peninsula. The intergroup conflict between these parties, which each represent

opposite ends of the rationalist–affectualist spectrum, revolved primarily around the use of GPS collars to gather spatial-ecology data of baboons for a BRU student’s doctoral dissertation. At the time of that student’s research, the SPCA was known to lean “quite heavily towards the animal-rightists people” (Interviewee #6) who disapprove of the use of GPS collars on baboons, as they regard it as “inhumane” (Interviewee #1) and deem it to be “detrimental to the welfare of the collared individuals”, while they remain unconvinced “how the data acquired from the research would be of any use in terms of managing the troops on the ground” (Hurn, 2011:45). According to the then student, the activist who initially raised concerns about the research, was

back[ed] up in the media, slamming us with the use of these collars. So there was all this weird, underhanded [...] and very unpleasant stuff [...] So all of the attacks became personal attacks when they, they should never have [...] But once you start attacking someone personally, it becomes a personal thing. So, so that kind of thing would happen. The media should never have...I suppose the media feels their duty to [...] report this stuff. But the way that the media reports things obviously influence the way, the way things are thought about [...] and perceived by the public. So the media actually has a responsibility to behave better. Not to [...] use this [...] kind of emotive language and hyperbolic language I think that [...] helps to just exacerbate this [...]. Small tensions become this huge [...] thing. – Interviewee #19

As can be seen from this incident, due to human–baboon conflict being an emotive subject, a transformation of the nature of the conflict occurred, not only from intergroup to interpersonal conflict, but also from substantive to affective conflict. According to Amason and Schweiger (1997:106), affective conflict emerges when cognitive disagreements, such as whether to use GPS collars on baboons, is “misinterpreted as personal criticism” and consequently, gives rise to intense, emotional, interpersonal conflicts (see also Rahim, 2011:20). Vehement emotions associated with these personal attacks lead to a downward spiral of “hostility, distrust, and cynicism” (Rahim, 2011:19; see also Amason & Schweiger, 1997:106–107).

Seven years after the above incident, when I conducted an interview with the then student, she admitted that being labelled in the newspapers as “being cruel and compassionless” (Interviewee #19) still upsets her, as she, and the rest of the BRU, only wanted to contribute to knowledge of baboons on the Cape Peninsula, and deeply care and love baboons. In addition, this interviewee was also of the opinion that the time the BRU spent in “rebutting things that were said” about them “as researchers in the media” (Interviewee #19) diverted their attention and concentration from their work as researchers. This illustrates Edelmann’s (1993:3) argument that interpersonal conflicts not only affect the involved individuals at a personal and organisational level, but also the “performance of the organisation or unit as a whole”.

Affective conflicts between rationalists and affectionalists continued to occur in the meetings of the previous BMT structure. According to an interviewee who also completed his research in the BRU,

before they [the public] even try and understand what they want [...], it's a personal problem. So I have a personal problem with that person there, and it's not really discussing an issue. And it's been the most frustrating thing for me when I have data to present to them, to both sides, and say: listen, this is what I've found. And they're not even listening to the data, because [...] they got a, got a personal fight and it's not really about the baboons anymore. – Interviewee #1

Although at the time of writing interpersonal conflicts seem to have abated somewhat, it is evident from all the interviews that if the lack of managing people – perceived by the residents as the main cause of human–baboon conflict (see particularly the subsequent section) – is not addressed and continues to be treated as a marginal issue, overt, interpersonal human–human conflict might as well again arise, as it has in the past.

9. MANagement

The single issue stakeholders seem to agree on is that “human problems” (Interviewee #7) are the main reason for human–baboon conflict. But as the BTT continues to focus primarily on the management of baboons, most interviewees are concerned about what has been described as “the outdated thinking” (Louise, s.a.) of the authorities preventing them from paying sufficient attention to this backbone of human–baboon conflict. In Section 3.1 of Chapter 2 I mentioned that, according to Burns and Howard (2003:706), “the need to manage people is by no means a new idea, yet it remains a neglected one”. This also seems to be the case on the Cape Peninsula (see, for example, de Waal, 2012; Follow the Spoor, 2014), even though at least some modes of addressing individual behaviour, such as baboon-proof waste management, are in place. Of course, the notion of managing people does not necessarily exclude that of managing baboons, and most interviewees indeed preferred the option of managing both.

However, those who are responsible for managing baboons seem to continuously shy away from even the possibility of actively managing people. One reason for this might stem from the perceived practical difficulties involved, i.e. the viewpoint that “controlling people is even harder than controlling baboons” (Strum *et al.*, 2008:29; see also Knoetze, 2012; Barnard, 2014a:8; Shackleton, 2013). As a result, baboons become both the culprit of human–baboon conflict and the sole target of interventions to alleviate that conflict (see Section 2). In a certain sense I tend to deviate from Koutstaal's (2013) arguments in favour of bestowing agency on baboons, by agreeing with one

interviewee that “baboons in some sense aren’t accountable for their actions. [...] They [are] just doing what they evolved to do” (Interviewee #1). As a result, I argue that perhaps agency should increasingly be placed in the hands of individuals, with more emphasis on living “considerately and with compassion alongside these charismatic wild neighbours” as “they too are making the most of their lives” (Wild Neighbours Urban Wildlife Initiative, s.a.; see also Ashton, 2013:46).

In order to manage people, a resident (who occasionally blogs about the Cape Peninsula’s baboons) is of the opinion that, by using basic marketing tools, the BTT and service provider need

to work out what motivates these people; not what you want them to be motivated by, because at the moment [...] like I say, they don’t care. They don’t care if baboons are gone. Pfft! They want the baboons gone. And they’re not gonna change, so you’ve got to work out what, what is it that, how can we get these people to do what we want them to do. – Interviewee #15

Building on this as a possible strategy, residents are also requesting that the media needs to be more responsible in their reporting on human–baboon conflict, and in particular regarding their tendency to cast baboons, instead of people, in a bad light (Trethowan, 2009:42).

The humans have not been managed properly, and we’ve been pushing: every time the city puts out a press release about a baboon being killed, we’re saying, “[...] Your [the journalist’s] article must be, ‘people have killed a baboon’ and it’s the people who feed them. Not the people, not the agencies who are managing: it’s those who’re feeding them and not caring for their rubbish who have killed the baboon”. – Interviewee #9

[T]he baboons don’t have good public relations. So [...] all that seems to enter the media about the baboons around here [on the Cape Peninsula], any documentary you’ll ever see, is about them going into houses. Like that’s the only thing that they do. You don’t know anything else about them (laughing). That’s all you know, is that they break into houses [...] And mess up these people’s houses [...] And they [the people] get upset. – Interviewee #15

While reports on human–baboon conflict in the past were “sensational and usually limited to stories about when things go wrong”, along with incorporating “savage slurs” (Saunders, 2012), the impression I obtained from my review of media coverage of the Cape Peninsula’s baboons seems to indicate that it has become more balanced in recent years. As with human–dingo conflict on Fraser Island, Australia (Hyttén & Burns, 2007:54), there has been an increasing effort by the media to place human–baboon conflicts into perspective and use impartial terms to describe people’s relationships with baboons. An interviewee who worked as an environmental and science journalist at a local, Capetonian newspaper at the time of conducting research, echoed this:

people are getting a much better understanding through the media of what baboons actually are and what their role is – the ecological role and so on. And I think on the strength of that: the portrayal of baboons has changed so [...] there's a much more balanced view of them [...] in the media. – Interviewee #17

In conclusion, the issue of the management of people again highlights the need for an interdisciplinary approach between natural and social scientists. As already stated in Chapter 2, “the most obvious reason for including a human dimensions perspective is that it can improve wildlife [management] decisions” (Manfredo, 2008:18). By incorporating sociologists into this interdisciplinary approach, wildlife managers will be able to take local residents’ perspectives and needs, such as the suggestion of managing people alongside baboons, into account. By forging the compatibility of wildlife-management strategies with the suggestions and context of local residents, I agree with Manfredo (2008:18) that wildlife managers will be able to make better management decisions which are “more likely to reach their objectives, to endure over time, and to create the benefits we desire”.

10. Conclusion

Even though all of Young *et al.*'s (2010) underlying causes of human–human conflict are evident in my research setting, i.e. the Cape Peninsula, conflicts over beliefs and values, conflicts of interest, as well as conflicts over process, remain prominent. My data further show that conflicts over beliefs and values seem to underpin all types of human–human conflict regarding baboons on the Cape Peninsula, as human–baboon conflict is riddled with the Cartesian dualisms of urban or culture versus nature, human versus animal, biocentrism versus anthropocentrism and rationalism versus affective social action (see Chapter 2, Section 4).

As highlighted in Chapter 2, a growing diversity of stakeholder groups, along with an increasing individualisation of societies involved in human–wildlife conflict issues, can lead to human–human conflict. The Cape Peninsula’s baboon-management structure (see Figure 1.4 and Figure 3.1) is impacted by such an increase in diversity, as various stakeholder groups – which include SANParks, the CCT, CapeNature, representatives of local residents in the form of the BLG, as well as individual local residents – have varying opinions on baboons and baboon-management structures. After analysing my data, I agree with Hurn (2011:40) that “these divergent views are exacerbated by media portrayals, public sentiment and the hugely disparate personal experiences of individuals”. In addition, John Green, chairperson of the BLG, identified the “baboon/human

interface [... as] a very complex and emotive subject” (Baboon deaths continue, 2012), which further exacerbates conflict among people on issues regarding baboons and their conservation.

Based on my results I would argue that the inability of those responsible for baboon management on the Cape Peninsula to address heterogeneity has resulted in “continued public frustration” and, as Messmer (2009:14) argues in *Human–wildlife conflicts: Emerging challenges and opportunities*, will more than likely “reduce the credibility of the agency administering the programme and detract from long-term objectives”. As a result of miscommunication and lack of transparency between rationalists and affectionalists, misperceptions can also arise, as stakeholders may fail to “understand ‘the constraints and pressures on the other’” (Reynolds & Braithwaite, 2001:40, cited in Burns & Howard, 2003:708). According to one participant in my research, such a lack of mutual empathy is the core of human–human conflict, as “there are a lot of people who are anti... who are against what the authorities are doing” (Interviewee #9).

In an attempt to consider possible solutions for human–human conflict, I requested my last interviewee to perform an extreme thought experiment, i.e. whether eliminating all the baboons would decrease or increase human–human conflict. Her response indicates that such an extreme measure will fail, as human–human conflict will prevail:

[i]t would probably be just so bad, because that’s [...] currently what the issue is: the conflict between the people. [...] And I would say that the conflict [...] in my experience was, you know, maybe 20%, 25% between humans and animals, and the 75% was between the people. So, there’s no telling that, uhm, take away the baboons and the people are going to be all happy. They are going to find something to fight about – Interviewee #20.

Evidently, the data presented and analysed in this chapter has highlighted and confirmed the argument that human–wildlife conflict does not only occur between humans and wildlife but also between humans concerning wildlife (e.g. Decker & Chase, 1997:789; Knight, 2000; Madden, 2004; Clarke, 2012:20; Human–wildlife conflict collaboration, s.a.).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Introduction

This research project was motivated by the researcher's academic and personal interest in wildlife conservation; by a lack of social science research on human–wildlife conflict in both rural and urban South African contexts (Hoffman, 2011; Koutstaal, 2013); and by a need to contribute to a nascent but growing field concerned with the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict, in particular by determining the validity of the intriguing suggestion that human–human conflict underpins human–wildlife conflict (e.g., Dickman, 2010; Clarke, 2012). Originally, the primary objective of this research project was to explore the varying social constructions of chacma baboons and of human–baboon conflict. However, after conducting an extensive literature review and fieldwork, I became aware that the cause of human–human conflict stretches well beyond differences of opinion about the animals and the social constructions attached to them. While varying social constructions of baboons were still analysed, the primary research objective shifted to understanding human–human conflict regarding baboons on the Cape Peninsula, as well as the reasons underlying that conflict. In addition, this research is also relevant to the broader discussion of urban/nature and human/animal dichotomies. Furthermore, even though research focusing on baboon biology on the Cape Peninsula is abundant (see Table 2.1), comparably little attention has been paid to the human aspects. In recent years, only two studies of a social science nature have been conducted on human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula: Hurn (2011) and Koutstaal (2013). Consequently, this research project contributes to the relatively small base of existing empirical knowledge on human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula, while also shedding light on the benefits of including a social science perspective in what is traditionally perceived to be natural science domain.

This last chapter of the thesis summarises the key findings of this research project and presents conclusions that can be drawn on the basis of the findings. In addition, a section reflecting on the research project as a whole is included, along with the limitations and strengths of the research design, as well as recommendations for future research. By adopting this structure for the concluding chapter, I intend to reflect on whether or not the research objectives have been met, and the reasons for my assessment in this regard.

2. Reflections on key findings

2.1 The foundation of human–human conflict

The overwhelming majority of researchers who have investigated human–human conflict attribute it to the various social perceptions, ideas, meanings and symbols associated with wildlife (Hytten & Burns, 2007:55). By making use of social constructionism as a theoretical framework for this research project, my initial understanding of human–human conflict regarding the management of environmental issues supported this argument. Nevertheless, an in-depth review of the literature on human–wildlife and human–human conflict, as well as time spent in the field, led me to the realisation that human–human conflict has various other origins. This is especially the case on the Cape Peninsula, where the mere fact that baboons are socially constructed in various ways was not sufficiently significant, in itself, to lead to human–human conflict.

In order to ensure that I consider all the underlying reasons for human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula, my data analysis was guided by Young *et al.*'s (2010:3979) categories of underlying causes of human–human conflict. Even though all of the causes of human–human conflict identified by Young *et al.* (2010:3979) are evident on the Cape Peninsula, conflicts over beliefs and values, conflicts of interest, as well as conflicts over process, emerged as most prominent. Conflicts over beliefs and values seem to underpin all types of human–human conflict regarding baboons on the Cape Peninsula, as human–baboon conflict is riddled with questions surrounding Cartesian dualisms of urban or culture versus nature, human versus animal, biocentrism versus anthropocentrism and rationalism versus affective social action. The two opposing ontologies of rationalism and affectionalism, which “reflect divergent ways of thinking about baboons” (Hurn, 2011:48) and are, furthermore, central to people’s support of certain baboon-management techniques, is especially pronounced. Moreover, the ability of the Cape Peninsula’s baboons to transgress the nature/culture, and even the human/animal, borderline is what leads to conflict – not only between humans and baboons, but also among humans.

Lastly, the results demonstrate that the inability of the authorities responsible for baboon management on the Cape Peninsula to formulate and shoulder their responsibilities (particularly according to residents) has resulted in “continued public frustration and will [more likely] reduce the credibility of the agency administering the program and detract [focus] from long-term objectives” (Messmer, 2009:14). In order to counteract conflicts over process, transparency is required amongst all stakeholders to tackle “misunderstandings, miscommunication, and misperceptions” (Maser & Pollio, 2012:33). Increased dialogue between stakeholders, along with

assigning a certain amount of responsibility to citizens, can assist in improving not only understanding and relationships between the authorities and the public, but also between scientific experts (rationalists) and those who base their reasoning on emotions (affectualists) (McCool, Guthrie & Smith, 2000, cited in Young *et al.*, 2010:3984). In addition, issues relating to “power, interest and representation” – which, according to Richards, Sherlock and Carter (2004, cited in Young *et al.*, 2010:3985) are crucially important in any situation in which dialogue ensues – also need to be addressed. For this, careful consideration is needed in establishing who the stakeholders of baboon management on the Cape Peninsula are, so as to ensure that the dialogue between stakeholders is not dominated by certain interests and/or viewpoints.

While I would refrain from declaring that human–human conflict is the source of human–baboon conflict, addressing the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict remains an important but neglected issue. An interdisciplinary approach involving collaboration between wildlife managers and social scientists can provide the tools that would increase wildlife managers’ ability to account for local people’s perspectives, needs, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours in relation to wildlife species (Hill, 2000; Baruch-Mordo *et al.*, 2009; see Chapter 2, Section 5). Not only will a social science perspective allow wildlife managers to “see the social world from other viewpoints”, it also has the ability to provide wildlife managers with self-enlightenment and an increased self-understanding (Giddens, 2001:6; see also Phillipson, Lowe & Bullock, 2009).

2.2 Significance of the urban/nature and human/animal divides on the Cape Peninsula

While varying social constructions are associated with wildlife in general, and with a specific species, the Cape Peninsula presents a particularly interesting context in that it also challenges conventional definitions of natural and cultural spaces, as well as the notion that there is a clear, static boundary between such spaces. As a result, the Cape Peninsula calls, and allows, for a sociological analysis, as sociology is often defined as a discipline which “looks beyond normal, taken-for-granted views of reality, to provide deeper, more illuminating and challenging understandings of social life” (University of North Carolina, 2015; see also Giddens, 2001:2; Sishutu, 2014:511). Territorial proximity and a lack of clearly defined territories between urban and nature areas seem to be the main cause of human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula. Consequently (and as will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.3), I agree with Jerolmack (2008:72) that negative social constructions of baboons rely “upon cultural understandings of nature/culture relationships, which in turn entail ‘imaginative geographies’”.

Although humans do consent to certain animal species entering “their” urban space (Peggs, 2012:72), generally those animals defined as “wild”, such as baboons, are deemed unsuited for urban areas and considered “‘out of place’ – and often problematic – when they are perceived to transgress spaces designated for human habitation” (Jerolmack, 2008:72). Even though none of my interviewees expressed an unreserved antipathy to baboons, some (especially scientists who associated themselves with a rationalist position) clearly articulated the view that a certain measure of distance needs to be maintained between humans and the “nature” that is the wild baboon.

In order to address the separation between humans and baboons, which is central to the Cape Peninsula’s baboon-management structure, authorities are considering establishing physical boundaries, such as the one erected in the Cape Town suburb of Zwaanswyk in 2012 (van Zijl, 2014:10), in strategic areas where baboons are known to cross into human territory. This will enforce the notion that, for both their sakes, “baboons and people should not share space” (O’Riain, cited in Andreassi, 2013). Rationalists are also in favour of such a static boundary, as it will force baboons to be baboons again and, as a result, increase their welfare status by fulfilling their function as “wild” baboons servicing the Cape Floristic Region’s ecology (Wentzel, 2014; see also CCT, CapeNature & SANParks, 2012; CCT, 2012a). However, this long-term plan has received opposition from those who are attracted to the notion of living in close proximity to nature. As voiced by a few of the interviewees, this juxtaposition of urban/nature is exactly what appeals to them of Cape Town, as it allows them to be close to nature while still enjoying the luxuries and comfort of an urban area. On the other hand, a recurring theme that emerged from this research is that, as baboons and other animals continue to “inappropriately transgress” into human territory, negative symbolisms or social constructions become increasingly likely, even if the animal in question is not dangerous or harmful. In this regard, the Cape Peninsula’s baboons seem to find themselves in the same unenviable position as Australia’s dingoes on Fraser Island: as they trespass into areas allocated to humans, an act of “progressive demonisation” occurs (Peace, 2001:183). As these animals, including baboons, exit nature, where they are deemed to belong, they become a “narrative of un-naturalness” (Peace, 2001:183).

The urban/nature dichotomy supports the assertion that people’s attitudes towards, and subsequent characterisation of, baboons bear very little relation to the animal itself. Rather, they indicate how the social construction of baboons – and animals in general – is spatially dependent and has both physical and ethically related consequences (Ilicheva, 2010:64; Peggs, 2012:81).

2.3 “Criminals”, “Cape Peninsula icons” and “distractions”

As evident from the extensive literature concerning baboon biology and the social constructions of baboons, baboons are frequently despised because of their ability to cause damage whilst competing with humans for space and food; their being perceived as a potentially dangerous inconvenience; and the ease they show in crossing a perceived borderline between nature and culture. As a result, numerous negative labels have been attached to baboons. As with Fraser Island’s dingoes, the baboons seemed to have turned their backs on nature to avail themselves of the luxuries offered by the Cape Peninsula’s ever-expanding urban areas and, as Peace (2001:189) rightfully explains, have become “symbolically redundant” as they no longer fulfill their function as “wild” baboons servicing the Cape Floristic Region’s ecology.

Contrary to the negative social constructions – with their undertone of criminality which also serves as a mechanism distancing nature and culture – there are those who have “grown to admire the complex social groupings and intelligence of baboons” (Perrins, cited in Trethowan 2009:4), recognise the important role they play in ecosystems, and find their resemblance to humans fascinating (Strum *et al.*, 2008:27). Furthermore, the Cape Peninsula’s baboons in particular have also been described in more positive terms, by being recognised as a tourist attraction; an “integral part of the history and heritage of the Cape” (Trethowan, cited in Hurn, 2011:42); “intelligent, engaging and entertaining” (The baboons and the experts who are managing them to extinction, 2012); “friendly, docile creatures” (Hepworth, 2010); and, “comical” (Baboon humour, 2014). These positive terms, along with other emotive ones, were also highlighted in British comedian and presenter Bill Bailey’s documentary series *Baboons with Bill Bailey* (Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2014b&c&g).

As the brief examples above illustrate, different people have varying social constructions of baboons which, in turn, can lead to human–human conflict. However, as mentioned in Section 2.1, the mere fact that baboons are socially constructed in various ways was not sufficiently significant, in itself, to lead to human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula. While I did deliberate with interviewees about the various representations of baboons, more often than not a general discussion ensued on how the Cape Peninsula’s baboons are portrayed and interpreted, instead of a discussion on how specifically the interviewees personally perceive baboons. In addition to a reiteration by the interviewees of some of the abovementioned social constructions, an alternative social construction, which condemns the Cape Peninsula’s baboons as a distracting issue, emerged. Five issues were identified that clarify why baboons were believed to be distracting. Firstly, interviewees identified and expressed their empathy for an under-resourced CCT, in particular in relation to the challenge

of law enforcement the CCT faces. Secondly, human rights, wants and needs seemingly supersede those of animals. This links with the third reason, namely that funding for environmental issues seems to be insufficient, as the Cape Peninsula's biocentrics' interests tend to be inconsistent with those of the government, which strives to maintain an image of being pro-poor. The second and third issues are particular evident in a developing country such as South Africa, which continues to face numerous socio-political issues that loom larger than human-wildlife, and human-baboon, conflict in the minds of its citizens. Fourth, legally protecting the Cape Peninsula's baboons under the CapeNature Conservation Laws Amendment Act 2000, Ordinance 19 of 1974 is a controversial issue, since baboons are not classified as an endangered species (Hurn, 2011:39; see also de Waal, 2012; Fischer, 2013; South African baboon forum, 2015a). Rather, conservation authorities and a minority of residents have raised their concerns for other animals and the endangered *fynbos* on the Cape Peninsula that they consider to be in greater need of protection – and deserving of more attention – than the baboons are receiving. Lastly, while my interviewees are extremely passionate about the Cape Peninsula's baboons, they recognise that other residents may not share their sentiments about baboons, and therefore choose to attend to personal issues, rather than devote their attention to addressing the baboons' plight.

Considering the lack of data on interviewees' personal social constructions of baboons, it is difficult to state whether they exhibit a willingness to adjust to, accommodate or at least understand social constructions of baboons that differ from their own. In discussions of the general social constructions of baboons, lay people – but also scientists, to a certain extent – acknowledged that the subjective views, attitudes and experiences of individuals can influence those individuals' social construction(s) of baboons. However, even though rationalists claimed that they indeed understand the views of other individuals, in particular the views of affectionalists, this is contradicted by their actual work practices, which involve imposing their scientifically based understanding as the norm. Consequently, human-human conflict over beliefs and values occur, as Harker and Bates (2007:349) explain: “for one claim to be true or valid, the other must be untrue or invalid, thus eliminating even the possibility of a common ground on which to build consensus”.

In order to effectively address human-human conflict over beliefs and values – and, by extension, human-baboon conflict – the numerous stakeholders on the Cape Peninsula should identify a common significance of baboons. I agree with Harker and Bates (2007:350) that instead of “determining which side is morally or ethically superior”, as evident on the Cape Peninsula and particularly relating to the two opposing ontologies of rationalism and affectionalism, “residents and wildlife managers should focus on new values and solutions that emerge from this controversy”. With regards to human-baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula, these common

significances include, firstly, the new social construction which emerged during this study that portrays baboons as a distracting issue. Secondly, the various baboon-management stakeholders have also come to the shared realisation that more emphasis should be placed on the responsibility of human individuals. Nevertheless, I agree with the majority of my interviewees that the BTT seems to continuously balk at even considering the possibility of actively managing people. Ironically, it is primarily residents who dismiss the notion that baboons are the sole source of human–baboon conflict and its solution, and therefore they are of the belief that the BTT needs to adhere to their suggestions that more emphasis is required on the “human” aspect of human–baboon conflict.

3. Personal reflections

This research project turned out to be more than merely a vehicle for attaining my master’s degree. Being faced by various challenges throughout the research process, such as those discussed in Chapter 3, aided me in developing and honing my research skills.

Progress in the initial stages of the research project was slow due to the challenge of adequately communicating to non-sociologists my research interest in the social constructions of baboons, and the relatively new and unexplored nature of the domain of human–human conflict. The novelty of the field, in addition to other reasons identified in Section 7 of Chapter 3, may have contributed to the lack of interest showed by potential research participants whom I contacted in mid-2013. The resulting dearth of participants as sources of primary data forced me to spend a considerable portion of my time reviewing a vast range of literature, but which turned out to be a blessing in disguise. As soon as I was able to express my research interest with more clarity, the same potential research participants were contacted at the beginning of 2014, with a much higher success rate in securing meetings with them.

While I experienced my honours research project as a more or less seamless activity, it was certainly not the case with this research project. Even though I was informed that the master’s research process and the writing up of the thesis do not follow an uninterrupted, linear path, it was only through practice that I came to fully understand the iterative nature of these processes. The nature/culture divide, for example, became of greater importance than initially thought. While it was my intention from the outset to refer to this dichotomy – as well as the one between humans and animals – in my literature review, I came to realise during my fieldwork that the nature/culture divide is in fact a central theme running through both human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula. In order to gain a better understanding, and provide a more comprehensive

review, of these dichotomies, I felt compelled to return to the literature. The same iterative process applies to the social constructions of baboons: examples of these feature primarily in various media platforms, which required me to continually engage with these platforms in order to stay informed on the latest social constructions and general developments concerning baboon management on the Cape Peninsula. I found the continuous engagement with both the scholarly and popular literature particularly challenging, as I could not seem to persuade myself to cease reading and searching, for the fear of neglecting new and/or important literature. As Biggam (2011:205) rightly describes, this was a “time-consuming process, and in some cases led to much re-thinking”, but I agree with him that it was, nevertheless, “beneficial to my research as a whole as it gave a freshness to the work by ensuring that it is as up-to-date as possible”.

Although I had to face these and other challenges mentioned throughout this thesis, the process of completing this research project was, nevertheless, an enlightening experience, as it satisfied the original impetus for this study: my own curiosity about the human dimensions of human–wildlife, and more particular, human–human conflict surrounding human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula. In addition, this research project has also awakened in me an even deeper curiosity about the importance of, and need for, incorporating social science disciplines, such as sociology, in what are traditionally perceived as primarily natural science areas of inquiry.

4. Limitations of this study

Although this research achieved its overall aim of acquiring a deeper understanding of the social constructions of baboons, human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula, some limitations need to be acknowledged. A severely limiting factor in this study was the restrictions on access to potential research participants representing SANParks, as well as to residents who have had severe negative and/or traumatic experiences with baboons on the Cape Peninsula. Empirical data from both of these sets of participants would likely have added another dimension to the project, by presenting a broader variety of social constructions of baboons, and of human–human conflict examples. In addition, including such stakeholders would also probably have provided richer detail on whether there is willingness amongst baboon-management stakeholders, as well as among those merely interested in baboon-management issues, to accommodate or at least understand social constructions of baboons that diverge from their own.

5. Strengths of this study

In addition to employing a qualitative research strategy (of which the associated benefits are discussed throughout Chapter 3) my research project was also informed by a social constructionist theoretical framework which, according to Hannigan (1995, cited in Hytten & Burns, 2007:49), “has several advantages over other theoretical approaches” when one is addressing the management of environmental issues – in this instance, the management of wildlife. By making use of moderate or contextual social constructionism as an analytical tool (Hannigan, 2006), this research project draws attention to the multiple subjective meanings individuals attach to baboons, human–baboon and human–human conflict on the Cape Peninsula (see especially Chapter 2 and 4). Social constructionism is particularly suited to understand human–human conflict, as it “opens a window to understanding how and why intractable conflicts emerge and persist” (Harker & Bates, 2007:331). A social constructionist approach is not, however, only valuable for investigating such meanings. According to Goedeke (2005:47), it is also valuable for wildlife managers and decision makers to “more meaningfully understand and, consequently, incorporate alternative views of wildlife and nature into management policy”.

On a related but more pragmatic note, this research project highlighted the need to establish a working, interdisciplinary relationship between wildlife managers and social scientists. As I argue on the basis of a review of the literature in Chapter 2, it is with the assistance of social scientists and their training in humanitarian values which gives them an ability to recognise diversity and complexity (Berger, 1963), that wildlife managers will be able to “recognise, embrace, and incorporate differing stakeholder values, attitudes, and beliefs in the policy making process” (Messmer, 2000:100). Social scientists, such as sociologists, can thus scrutinise whether wildlife managers’ management strategies are culturally, politically and socio-economically “compatible with the local context in which they are applied” (Knight, 2000:5; see also Chan *et al.*, 2007:65; Redpath *et al.*, 2013:107). In addition, research focusing on the human dimensions of human–wildlife conflict can provide valuable information on what influences individual’s behaviour (Cline *et al.*, 2007:10). Such information can be helpful in wildlife-management planning, as it would enable wildlife managers to anticipate to a certain extent people’s behaviour towards wildlife (Manfredo *et al.*, 1998:281). Also, as suggested by Dickman (2010, cited in McLennan & Hill, 2012:226), understanding how and why people socially construct wildlife and their interactions with wildlife as they do, along with the “factors that promote or reduce their willingness to tolerate the presence and behaviour of wild animals, should be an integral component of conflict-mitigation initiatives”.

Lastly, I am of the opinion that research such as what has been presented in this thesis plays an important role in highlighting the social processes operating within and around conservation issues, as well as the need for the “participation and mutual learning of stakeholders” in order to resolve wildlife management problems (Reyers, Roux, Cowling, Ginsburg, Nel & O’Farrell, 2010:957). By making use of, or at least incorporating an aspect of, a qualitative and social constructionist approach, social scientists will be able to provide wildlife managers with an “analysis of differences and commonalities” between stakeholders that provides “a more productive starting point” (Patterson *et al.*, 2003:174) to successful wildlife management. This is required especially on the Cape Peninsula, where a strong divide between affectionalist and rationalist stakeholders continues to exist, with the latter’s opinions on an appropriate solution to human–baboon conflict, as well as on who and/or what should be managed so as to reduce human–baboon conflict, dominating. Without an understanding of stakeholders and their diverse viewpoints, effective wildlife management, and in this instance baboon management, will “continue to be challenging” (Redpath *et al.*, 2013:107).

6. Recommendations for future research

Several areas for future research projects were identified during this study. The recommendations that are mentioned here are primarily based on the limitations discussed in Section 4 above, as well as topics that were discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2). Other potential areas for future research were also suggested by some of the research participants.

As identified in Section 2.1 of Chapter 2, the discursive boundaries separating nature from culture, as well as humans from animals, have become deeply embedded within the mindsets of people and society (Suchet, 2002, cited in Hytten, 2009:18). Boundaries such as these emphasise differences between the parties involved, while also effectively producing “moral distance” from those constructed as “others” (Yates, 2004, cited in Hobson-West, 2007:25; see also Mountz, 2009:328). However, with a continuously growing human population and expanding urbanisation, such distancing is becoming increasingly difficult to practice. Furthermore, there has also been an increase in attempts to establish, and therefore in a sense “reinsert”, nature within urban areas to address the spatial as well as the social dynamics of separating nature from culture or the urban. In South Africa in particular, the juxtaposition of such urban nature is relatively new and has only come to the attention of researchers in the last few years (Cilliers *et al.*, 2004:51). In order to address the resulting backlog in terms of empirical knowledge of South African urban natures, I believe that future research on the dynamics operating between the dichotomies of nature and

culture, as well as between humans and animals, are of paramount importance. Investigating these dichotomies in South Africa can shed light on South Africans' perception of what nature is; what they deem to be part of nature; and when something or someone is believed to have "crossed over" from nature to culture, or vice versa.

Future research could also engage with certain research topics that I encountered during my research project but unfortunately, for reasons identified in Chapter 3 and in Section 4 above, could not address. First, I was unable to extensively investigate the media's possible influence on individual's social constructions of baboons, and secondly, to investigate in more depth the belief, found among a majority of the interviewees, that commercialising baboons is the solution to human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula, as it can positively influence people's attitudes towards, and social constructions of baboons (see Lee & Priston, 2005:17). Another area worth investigating, which was mentioned by an interviewee, is the notion of involving a third party in baboon management on the Cape Peninsula. Involving an independent facilitator can assist in compiling an objective, impartial assessment of various stakeholders' social constructions of baboons (Goedeke, 2005:47), regain the public's trust in the BTT, as well as possibly reduce human–human conflict (see Chapter 4, Section 2).

In conclusion, I am of the opinion that future social research can make a valuable contribution by addressing the general lack of integration between social and natural science disciplines to address problems that require interdisciplinary research and career training in South Africa. Although my research focused primarily on the human aspects of human–baboon conflict, I also brought to light the benefits of including a social science perspective in what is traditionally perceived to be natural science domain – a topic which I would like to pursue in future studies. I truly hope that this research project will not only encourage wildlife managers to incorporate human dimensions into wildlife management decisions, but also increase the interest among social scientists to pursue such an objective, and thereby highlight the value a sociological input can bring to attempts at securing positive human–baboon, human–wildlife and, ultimately, human–human interactions.

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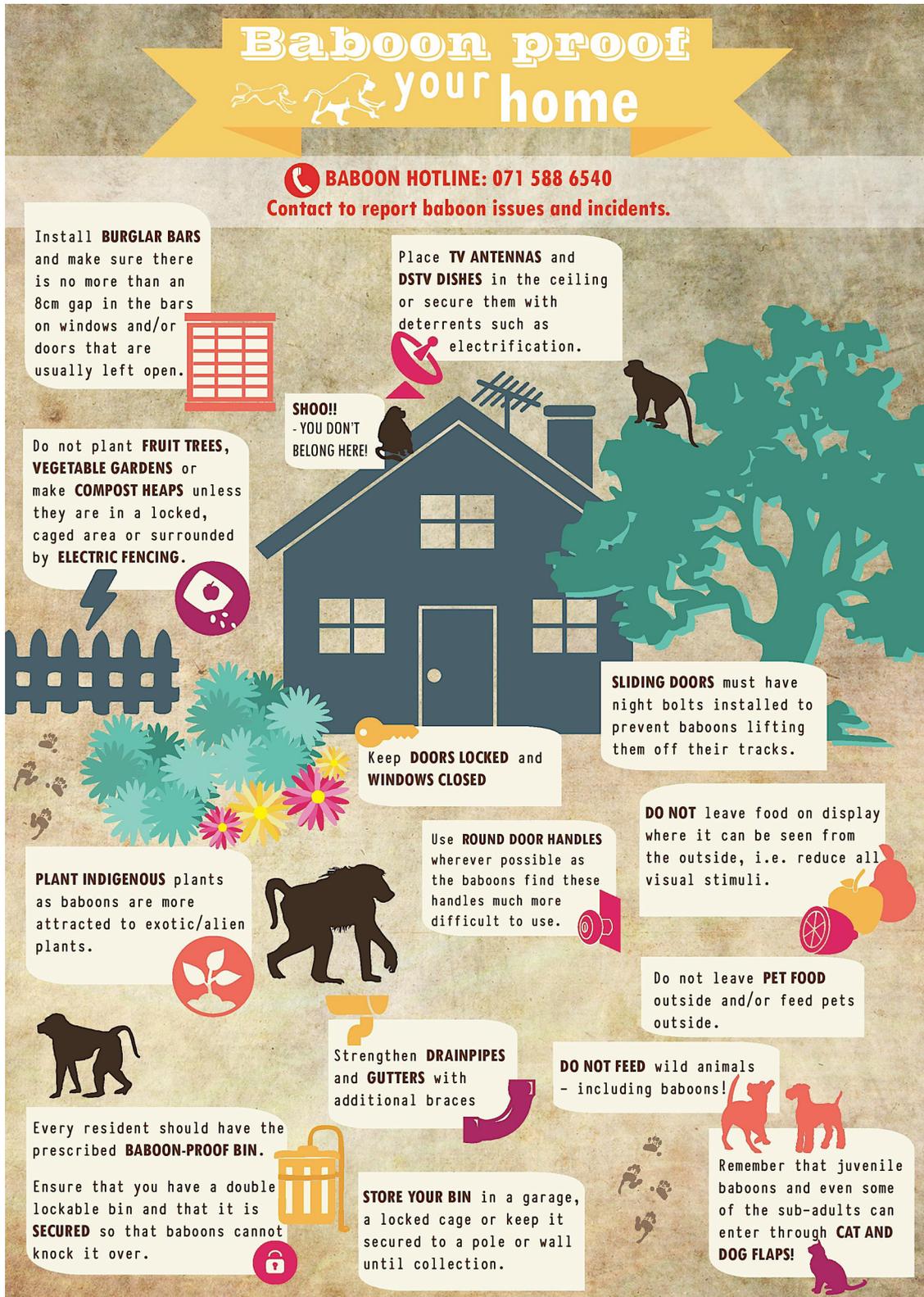
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: “Baboon-proof-your-home” infographic

This infographic was designed by the author and Irené van der Westhuizen.



Appendix B: Request-for-participation e-mail

To whom it may concern

I am a student at Stellenbosch University currently planning my research for a master's degree in Sociology. I am interested in studying human–baboon conflict in the Cape Peninsula, and particularly the extent to which human–human conflict underlies human–wildlife conflict, because of often-conflicting views (or “social constructions”) that different stakeholders have about wildlife. I therefore wish to establish what the different social constructions of chacma baboons are, and how they differ among a variety of stakeholders which I would like to include in this research project, namely government institutions, NGOs, residential associations, tourists and local residents.

In order to collect data for this project, I wish to conduct an interview – that should not last more than 30 minutes – with a representative of your institution/organisation. Because of the qualitative nature of the study, mostly open-ended questions will be posed. The data collected during the interviews will only be used for the purposes of my master's research, and will be treated with complete confidentiality.

Thank you for considering my request.

Kind regards,

Renelle Terblanche

E-mail: 15596567@sun.ac.za

Mobile: 083 569 9854

Appendix C: Interview schedule for organisational stakeholders

1) Have you had any personal experiences with the Cape Peninsula baboons?

[Probe: Have you ever incurred, for example, personal injury, damage to property as a result of baboons?]

2) What is your general attitude towards baboons?

[Probe: Do you see them as dangerous animals?]

[Probe: Do you fear them?]

[Probe: Are you in favour of baboons on the Cape Peninsula?]

[Probe: Do you think baboons should be protected on the Cape Peninsula? Why?]

3) What is the stance of the organisation that you are representing and/or are a member of?

[Probe: Would you say that humans are encroaching on the baboons, or the other way around?]

[Probe: Is the baboon population becoming more visible in the urban areas?]

[Probe: Do you agree with some people's argument that baboons were here before humans and therefore have the right to live nearby/alongside humans?]

4) Should baboons, humans, or both be managed?

[Probe: Which management strategy (baboons, humans, or both) does your organisation apply? What types of management strategies are employed?]

[Probe: Who do you (and your organisation) think are most to blame? Or do both humans and baboons play a role in human–baboon conflict?]

5) Sympatric baboons are baboons that occur within the same geographical area or overlap with an area that seems to be allocated for humans. How do people in this area in general behave towards or feel about sympatric baboons?

[Probe: Do you think this has changed over time? If so, why?]

6) Do you think the friction between humans and baboons has become worse over time?

[Probe: If so, why?]

[Probe: Or is there just increasing attention on human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula?]

7) Travelling and/or staying in an area wherein baboons are present, would you say the benefits outweigh the risks or the other way around?

[Probe: Are there any benefits living close by and/or alongside baboons on the Cape Peninsula?]

[Probe: What do you believe are the most dangerous risks living close by and/or alongside baboons?]

8) Does your organisation educate people (residents and/or tourists) on how to avoid damage by baboons?

[Probe: What tools are used to educate people? Do you believe people abide by these guidelines/rules? If not, why do you think this is so?]

9) Inclusive management strategies incorporate multiple stakeholders in decision making and planning processes. What is your opinion about inclusive management strategies?

[Probe: Are you aware of any tensions between stakeholders? If so, do you think that inclusive management strategies are likely to alleviate tension caused by an exclusionary and top down approach?]

10) Do you think the risks that baboons pose to people in your area are understood/acknowledged by your organisation and others alike?

Appendix D: Interview schedule for residents

1) Have you had any personal experiences with the Cape Peninsula baboons?

[Probe: Have you ever incurred, for example, personal injury, damage to property as a result of baboons?]

2) What is your general attitude towards baboons?

[Probe: Do you see them as dangerous animals?]

[Probe: Do you fear them?]

[Probe: Are you in favour of baboons on the Cape Peninsula?]

[Probe: Do you think baboons should be protected on the Cape Peninsula? Why?]

3) Would you say that humans are encroaching on the baboons, or the other way around?

[Probe: Is the baboon population becoming more visible in the urban areas?]

[Probe: Do you agree with some people's argument that baboons were here before humans and therefore have the right to live nearby/alongside humans?]

4) Should baboons, humans, or both be managed?

5) Sympatric baboons are baboons that occur within the same geographical area or overlap with an area that seems to be allocated for humans. How do people in this area in general behave towards or feel about sympatric baboons?

[Probe: Do you think this has changed over time? If so, why?]

[Probe: In your view, what, if anything, should be done about the (problem) baboons?]

6) Living in the proximity of baboons, would you say the benefits outweigh the risks or the other way around?

[Probe: Are there any benefits living close by and/or alongside baboons on the Cape Peninsula?]

[Probe: What do you believe are the most dangerous risks living close by and/or alongside baboons?]

[Probe: How worried are you that baboons will attack your pets, someone in your family and/or someone in your area? In your mind, or based on your experience, how likely do you think are these things in your area?]

[Probe: Have you been educated on how to avoid damage by baboons? If yes, by which stakeholder?]

7) Inclusive management strategies incorporate multiple stakeholders in decision making and planning processes. What is your opinion about inclusive management strategies?

[Probe: Are there any tensions between stakeholders? If so, do you think that inclusive management strategies are likely to alleviate tension caused by an exclusionary and top down approach?]

8) Do you think the risks that baboons pose to people in your area are understood/acknowledged by government and/or government officials?

9) Are these risks addressed to your satisfaction by government and/or government officials?

Appendix E: Interview schedule for journalists

1) How did you become involved in producing media about baboons?

[Probe: Was it by choice? If so, do you have a personal interest in baboons/human–wildlife conflict?]

[Probe: Have you had any personal experiences with the Cape Peninsula baboons?]

2) Would you say that the media coverage about baboons encompass more positive or more negative stories?

[Probe: How are baboons, primarily, described in the media? What type of discourse/language is used?]

3) What is your general attitude towards baboons?

[Probe: Do you see them as dangerous animals?]

[Probe: Are you in favour of baboons on the Cape Peninsula?]

[Probe: Do you think baboons should be protected on the Cape Peninsula? Why?]

4) Do you think that the media plays an influencing role in how people perceive baboons?

[Probe: If so, why?]

[Probe: Would you say media influences the public to have more positive or negative views on baboons?]

5) With which stakeholder and or stakeholder group do you collaborate when reporting on human–baboon conflict?

[Probe: Do you try to incorporate multiple stakeholders?]

[Probe: Which stakeholder view would you say is most represented in the media? In other words, from which angle is the story told?]

6) Do you think the situation between humans and baboons has become worse over time?

[Probe: If so, why?]

[Probe: Or is there just increasing media attention on human–baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula?]

Appendix F: Implementing the BCA's baboon protocol

The below diagram illustrates the sequence of events that play a role in the implementation of the BCA's meticulous baboon protocol (Source: CapeNature, 2011).

