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"Blurred lines": how different views on baboon agency shape the conservation policy making dialogue in Cape Town, South Africa
Koutstaal, K.

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"BLURRED LINES"



By Kelly Koutstaal

How different views on baboon agency shape the conservation policy making dialogue in Cape Town, South Africa.

Research Master Thesis
Research Master in African Studies (RESMAAS)

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Leiden University

August 2013

“Blurred lines”

How different views on baboon agency shape the conservation policy making dialogue
in Cape Town, South Africa.

Kelly Koutstaal
s1136623
kellykoutstaal@gmail.com

Supervisor:
Dr. Harry Wels - VU University, Amsterdam

*To my family and biggest love of all,
for always being there to catch me when I fall.*

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Acknowledgements

‘Be prepared for the unprepared’ our lecturers said when we asked them their advice about fieldwork. The adventure on which we were about to embark was an unknown one... and the idea of being away from home for half a year, all by myself, was both an exciting and a frightening one. Advice like ‘your research topic will certainly change a bit once you’re in the field’ seemed silly at the time and in my young European naivety I was ready to conquer the world. Things would go my way for a change! Little did I know that after months of careful preparation and communication with my host-organisation, my bubble would burst after just five days. Confused, disappointed, frustrated and angry and I packed my bags and left, off to a place where I could lick my wounds and start from scratch. Luckily I ended up in a wonderful place where I could revitalise the love for animals that had brought me to South Africa to begin with. At the border of the famous Kruger Park, Sefapane Lodge’s owner Joris provided me with a safe haven amidst all the chaos.

I am especially grateful to my family and boyfriend, who were always ready to help me out both emotionally and practically (even with a nine hour time difference from their own holiday address). Next to this I would also like to thank my supervisor Harry, whom’s inspirational pep talks over the phone and quick networking resulted in a speedy fresh start of what has turned out to be a very fascinating new research project. And of course, his advice, guidance and typically Dutch humour during the actual writing of this thesis, which I would not have missed for the world.

Plan B luckily turned out to be a blessing in disguise. Surrounded by friendly and helpful people, I have managed to get back on track with a new and exciting topic. I am most grateful to Shirley and Jenny, who took me in without questioning and have always provided me with encouraging words, refreshing insights and an extraordinary amount of kindness and friendship. I have also had an extremely rewarding and challenging time at both the Old Land, New Practices Conference at Rhodes University in Grahamstown and the Animal Vulnerabilities Colloquium at the University of Western Cape in Cape Town. It was a privilege to learn from all of you. Lastly, a special thanks goes out to my classmate Roeland, who has been kind enough to take me into his home in Stellenbosch for the first weeks, and after becoming my neighbour was still willing to listen to all my research (and non-research) related reflections on a daily basis.

Unfortunately, in sections like these it is not always possible to thank every single person who contributed to the completion of my fieldwork. However, as with any social science research project, my project could not have taken place without first and foremost: my human

informants¹. Due to privacy reasons I will not name them², but thank you all for the important part you have played during this research process. Every insight you have shared with me has been of great value and I have come to love the Cape's baboons just as much as all of you do. Hopefully, my thesis can contribute in some way to the tough realities you all face on a daily basis.

My research trajectory has turned out to be one where everything that could go wrong, eventually did. It has been a rather steep learning curve, but thanks to the people surrounding me both in the field and at home I have found the strength to keep on going, sometimes even surprising myself in the process. The thesis, dear reader, that now lies before you is therefore not only an academic journey, but certainly also a personal one. I hope that you will enjoy learning (through a human eye) about baboons in the Cape Peninsula as much as I did.

Kelly Koutstaal, August 2013

¹ Obviously, as is the case with any study that touches upon the blurring lines between human and nonhuman, animal and non-animal, this research project has not merely been informed by human informants. Cape Town's baboons have inspired, intrigued, touched, entertained and puzzled me throughout my entire fieldwork period and beyond. It has however, proven to be difficult for me (as a research student) during this particular research project to grapple with the relatively 'new' notion of seeing animals as equal informants such as suggested by the founding fathers (such as Derrida 2002; Bekoff 2007; Haraway 2006 and 2008; De Waal 2009) of what I see as human-animal studies. A concept that transgresses the clear-cut boundaries that my previous academic training in cultural anthropology has taught me. I am not so familiar (yet) with methods used in ethology and interdisciplinary studies that I can make us understand the 'baboon point of view' within the debates surrounding them. This is an aspect in which I am still learning, hoping to gain a better understanding of how we can do justice to the lives of animals we are discussing. In writing this thesis I have tried to paint a picture of just how important that understanding is, an insight that I would have not been able to come to without the 'help' of my baboon informants.

² For privacy purposes alternative names have been used when citing and referring to information received from my informants. Additional information about the interviews held can be found in Appendix I.

Acronyms and abbreviations

BCA	Baboon Conservation Authorities
BLG	Baboon Liaison Group
BMT	Baboon Matters Team
BRU	Baboon Research Unit
BTT	Baboon Technical Team
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
CoCT	Conservation unit City of Cape Town
HWS	Human Wildlife Services
IFAW	International Fund for Animal Welfare
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
KEAG	Kommetjie Environmental Awareness Group
NCC	Nature Environmental Services
NSPCA	National Council of SPCA's
SANParks	South African National Parks
SPCA	Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
TMNP	Table Mountain National Park
UCT	University of Cape Town
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WAC	Wildlife Advisory Committee
WWF	World Wildlife Fund
ZAPO	Zwaanswyk Association of Property Owners

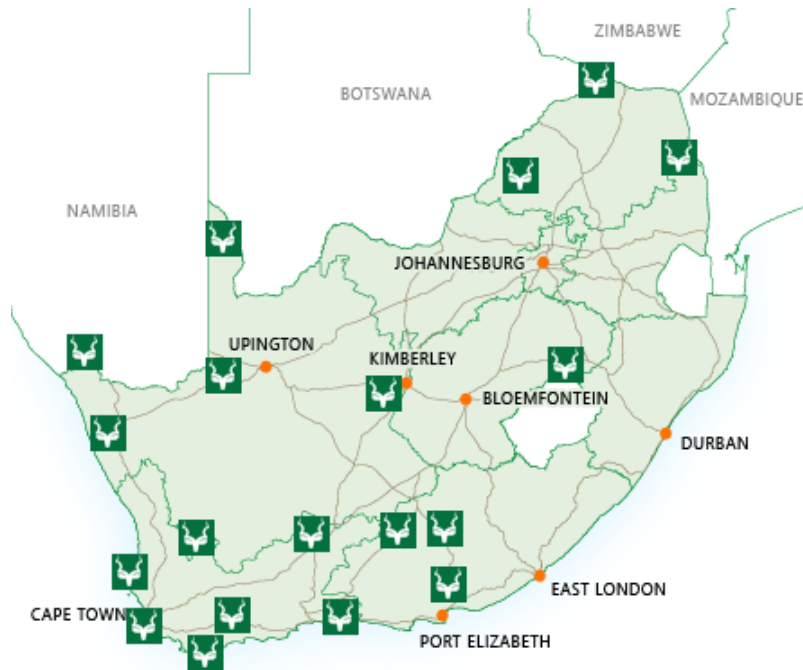


Figure 1. South Africa's National Parks

(Source: www.sanparks.org/images/maps/map_parks.png, Accessed 1 July 2013)



Figure 2. A map of the Cape Peninsula

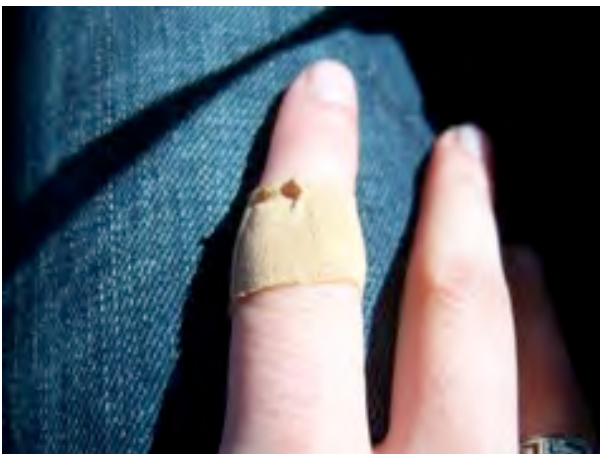
(Source: www.lets gocapetown.co.za/Media/Site/Pictures/cape-peninsula-map.gif, Accessed 1 July 2013)

Part I
Background to the study
Baboon bite marks

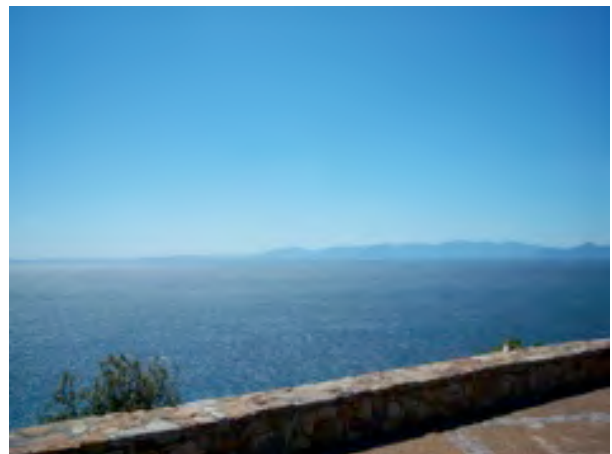
Chapter 1: An introduction

1.1 The baboon ghost of my past

On my first visit to South Africa in 2008, I went on a trip along the Cape Peninsula to enjoy the scenery and look at all the beauty the country I had been dreaming of (and reading about for many years) had to offer. Little did I know that while enjoying all this beauty at a 'rest stop' in Cape Point National Park, I was not supposed to consume food because it might trigger the nonhuman inhabitants of this famous tourist hotspot. A female baboon with her infant came storming up at me, screaming and with exposed teeth.... Apparently she was trying to get her hands on my cookies, which I had saved especially for this 'once in a life time' experience. In a split second I lost both my cookies and my dignity, hysterically running after a baboon much faster than myself trying to get my Tupperware box back. It must have looked like a hilarious contribution to a candid camera show. After my 'very own baboon encounter' I noticed a cut in one of my fingers, so off I went to the First Aid lady to see whether it was just a scratch on my finger or an actual baboon bite mark. With all the horror stories you hear about catching rabies, you can never be too sure. All in all my first meeting with Cape Town's baboons was a bit of a shocking event (especially being all alone in a strange country), but afterwards a nice anecdote to tell back home. I presume that I also may have provided the other tourists present with quite an entertaining home video about a silly foreign girl being attacked by a baboon. Who knows, Ms. Baboon and myself might even be a YouTube hit..



The result of my 'baboon encounter'³



The 2008 'crime scene'⁴

³ The list of illustrations at the end of this thesis will be dedicated to list the sources of the in-text pictures that will be used throughout the entire document. Only sources of maps, tables and figures will be directly referenced in the text when necessary.

⁴ I sometimes use this type of language on purpose. As described in Chapter 4, discourse and the words that are being used can imply a lot more than we think.

1.2 Problem statement

Exactly five years later I have returned to the Cape Town area and have confronted the baboon ghost of my past. It turns out that I am not at all the only one who has had such an experience. (Although at the time I of course thought I was a very ‘special case’). With Cape Town’s human population numbers expanding from 2.563.095 in 1996 (Small 2008, 3) up to 3.740.025 in 2011 the struggle for land in the 2.461km² wide area⁵ seems to have escalated and more and more ‘hot spots’ for human-baboon conflicts have emerged. Not only unknowing tourists such as myself have unpleasant experiences, but the baboons are also moving into residential areas more and more in their quests for (easily accessible) food. A heated debate between conservation agencies, practitioners, animal welfare groups, governmental organisations, local residents and other involved stakeholders has developed about the best way forward. Since the 1990s several attempts have been made to come to a consensus between all parties involved, trying to set up management structures such as the Baboon Management Team in 1998 in which all points of view could be represented (Interview Bart, 21 September 2012). Unfortunately, 15 years later, we can still see ‘screaming’ headlines in local media and it seems as if no real solution has been found. To illustrate this, here are a couple of examples of headlines featuring in local newspapers found during my fieldwork period:

- “Baboon killed by authorities” (People’s Post, 4 September 2012)
- “Stop baboon killings, urge conservationists” (Cape Argus, 5 September 2012)
- “Last alpha male (not) standing” (Cape Argus, 25 September 2012)
- “Two raiding baboons put down” (Cape Argus, 12 October 2012)
- “Protesters take aim over shooting baboons” (Cape Times, 12 November 2012)
- “Showdown over baboons” (Cape Argus, 12 November 2012)
- “Cape’s baboon plan gets the nod” (Cape Argus, 13 November 2012)
- “Cape Town baboons get paintballed” (Sapa-APF, 13 November 2012)
- “Bobbejaangroepe knor vir mekaar” (Die Burger, 13 November 2012)
- “Teeth bared in battle for baboon control” (Cape Argus, 19 November 2012)

Especially in the last two years (with changes in service provider as well as in management structures and management strategies), the ‘baboon debate’ has seemed to have reached new heights and ‘he said, she said’ games are being played out in the local newspapers and other platforms. Unfortunately, huge interpersonal issues between stakeholders (see for further details

⁵ Source: capetown.gov.za/en/stats/Pages/CityStatistic.aspx, Accessed 4 July 2013

Chapter 4), as well as different views on conservation and animal rights seem to function as a burden from the past and influence current policy decisions about baboon management. There are many different approaches and suggestions to the management of the Cape's baboon population and a consensual management plan seems to be an utopia⁶.

Next to local discussions about baboon management, Cape Town's 'baboon debate' has also drawn international attention. Several of the baboon troops feature in documentaries, such as ITV1's 'Baboons with Bill Bailey' (2009) and National Geographic's 'Baboon House' (2012). Especially the later documentary can be seen as a prime example of the controversy surrounding the blurring lines about what is seen as responsible baboon management and whether or not the baboons have rights themselves. In this specific case, cameras were located in one of Pringle Bay's residences, creating a sort of 'Big Brother Baboon House' atmosphere as can be seen in the picture on the right. Food was everywhere and doors were left unlocked, creating a fast-food paradise for the local baboon troop. Monitoring them 24/7, a sort of 'Big Brother Baboon' reality soap was created, showing the international public how baboons



plundered the non-baboon proof home. According to the Cape Times of July 3rd, 2012: "The documentary has angered residents in the area, who say it is unacceptable for National Geographic to have lured the animals to the house as it has undermined years of effort to keep the primates out of houses." Not only local Pringle Bay residents were mad, but a major public outcry was the result⁷: did this documentary only show how badly behaved the Cape's baboon were? Was it exploitation of the baboons by National Geographic? Was it 'ethical' to use baboons for mere entertainment, teaching them 'bad behaviour' and show them that they can easily raid houses? Were they asked for 'informed consent', agreeing to be featured on international television? Questions that are in fact part of a larger philosophical discussion: what do we as human consider to be 'ethical' when it comes to human-animal interactions?

The illustration on the front page of this thesis is actually the embodiment of this fundamental debate about the relation between man and animal. Does the baboon have the 'right' to sit on the rooftop of these people's house? Leaving its fingerprints all over their wall?

⁶ As we can see in Chapter 3 the management structures that have been in place since the 1990s (and even before that) were altered several times, with different stakeholders joining or leaving and protocols and policies being adjusted.

⁷ See for example these newspaper articles: 'Furore over 'Baboon House' (Cape Times, 3 July 2012); 'Researcher says TV show made a monkey of him' (Cape Times, 4 July 2012); 'Nat Geo show is voyeurism masquerading as science' (Cape Times, 6 July 2012); 'Just what was Nat Geo Wild thinking' (Cape Times, 6 July 2012)

Does it has just as much right to enjoy the view of Cape Town's famous Table Mountain as the little bird sitting next to it on the chimney? Should humans fear the baboon? Are they 'allowed' to shoot it when it is on their property, stealing their food and ransacking their house? Can they use guns to protect their families from these scary looking creatures and claim their territory? Or should they remain inside their home, with all doors and windows locked to keep the baboon away? Perhaps the comment 'Shoo, you don't belong here!' is even applicable on both baboon and human. After all.... as most of my animal-rights inspired informants have asked me over and over again: "weren't the baboons here first?" (Interview Charles 10 October 2012; Interview Dan 16 October 2012; Interview David 31 October 2012)

This research project aims to shed a light on these blurring lines between human and animal (and in this particular case, baboon) and shows the ways in which people give a voice to their ideas about baboon and human rights. By tracking back the way baboon management on the Cape Peninsula has developed, which discussions have emerged, which stakeholders are involved and which arguments are still being used today, I will analyse the underlying reasons that might prevent a sustainable solution to the region's human-baboon-conflict. It is my assumption that especially the concept of animal agency, informed by McFarland & Hediger (2009, 2) plays a large role in the constant struggle between the different stakeholders. An intriguing concept that has emerged from the data I have gathered during my fieldwork (see for more information about the way it has emerged Appendix II) and which will be central to the research questions answered in this thesis, and further elaborated on in the next paragraph as well as Chapter 5.

1.5 Animal agency

The title of this thesis was inspired by one of 2013's most popular songs, ranking 1st on the Billboard Hot 100 for more than 10 weeks in a row this summer⁸. Although it is not a song about animals, one particular part of the song's text stayed with me during the analysis of my data:

*"OK now he was close, tried to domesticate you,
But you're an animal, baby it's in your nature."*⁹

Blurred Lines - Robin Thicke feat. T.I. & Pharrell Williams

⁸ billboard.com, Accessed 23 August 2013

⁹ <http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/robinthicke/blurredlines.html>, Accessed 23 August 2013

Thicke and his fellow artists probably did not have any intention to make a connection between their lyrics and the debate surrounding the ‘blurred lines’ between human and nonhuman (which will be further discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis), but the text sparks some interesting questions: can we actually domesticate animals such as baboons, or can we just merely try to do so considering their ‘wild’ ‘nature’? Can we expect the Cape’s baboons to live according to our rules and boundaries, without respecting theirs? And if they do not behave the way we want them to, is it because they are part of a ‘wild’ and ‘unspoiled’ ‘nature’ and we as humans have evolved past that? Do baboons perhaps sometimes even knowingly stand up to us, showing humans that they can not be domesticated? And to what end do we ascribe them a certain level of agency¹⁰ within this matter?

The anthropocentric term ‘agency’ is generally used to describe humans and the ways in which they are in control of and give meaning to their own lives. But is this not also true for nonhuman animals? Do they not have control of and give meaning to their own lives? As Steward (2009, 217) observes:

“[Nonhuman] animals [also] do such things as build nests and burrows, seek food, attempt to elude predators. The more sophisticated among them appear to communicate with one another, even play. They fight. They groom. If the squirrels in my [her] garden are anything to go by, they have a range of sophisticated problem-solving strategies available for confounding the best attempts of human beings to outwit them. Surely, all these are actions, and so surely animals are agents?”

A fascinating question: can animals also be seen as agents? Do they ‘act’ for certain reasons and are they aware of what they are doing? Do the baboons in Cape Town for example knowingly cross fences and ‘go into’ (Draper & Maré 2003, 551) human territory? Are they aware of the risks they face when entering a human home and is the reward they get worth it for them? Are they forced to forage outside their enclosed reserves because there is not enough food for them inside? Is the ever growing human presence in their natural habitat becoming too much for the baboons? Are characteristics associated with human agency such as free will, ability,

¹⁰ As a theoretical concept, the anthropocentric notion of agency itself is part of and influenced by a much larger discussion within both the social sciences and philosophy, often referred to as the ‘structure-agency debate’. An abstract and theoretical discussion that falls out of the scope of this research project, but is nevertheless an interesting one to mention. A long tradition of fundamental discussion amongst scholars about whether human beings possess a certain degree of autonomy in the decisions they make and the behaviour they display (and therefore have ‘agency’), or if these actions are a result of larger ‘social forces’ (the social structure with which they interact) to which they are merely subjects. See for further information important scholars involved in this debate such as Durkheim, Evans-Pritchard, Weber, Giddens and Bourdieu (Tan n.d., 37).

morality, rationality, mind and subjectivity (McFarland & Hediger 2009, 3) not exclusive to humans but can they also be seen as something present in animals' social lives?

Questions like these about animal agency feature prominently in contemporary studies done in the field of human-animal science that will be further discussed in Chapter 5. For now, what is more important is not the question whether Cape Town's baboons actually have agency



or not, but about if people actually think they do. Because in my opinion the views about agency of nonhuman animals influence the way people treat these animals and their attitudes towards baboon management. Whether a baboon is seen as 'vermin' creating a mess in an otherwise clean and peaceful suburb along the Cape Peninsula's coastal route, or treated as a highly valued neighbour

which should be approached with as much respect as any human makes all the difference in the world for attitudes towards baboon conservation policy making. Especially if advocates from both angles (as well as all those in between) are as vocal as those in Cape Town's 'baboon debate'. All stakeholders involved passionately advocate solutions to the Peninsula's human-baboon-conflict, but some of them could not be further apart. "The way in which people consider or understand the concept of nature will largely determine the value they bestow upon it and ultimately their behaviour towards it" (Moeng n.d., 1). To get a better overview of what these views to Cape Town's baboon problem and the ideas that inform them are, the main research question central to this thesis will be:

*How do different views on baboon agency shape the
conservation policy making dialogue in Cape Town, South Africa?*

The sub- questions that will help answering this question will be:

- What is Cape Town's human-baboon-conflict about?
- Which stakeholders are involved in the management of baboons and human-baboon-conflicts in the Cape Peninsula?
- What are these stakeholders' views on baboon agency?

1.4 Relevance

Cape Town's 'baboon debate' has been an especially 'hot topic' in recent years and conflicts between different role players seem to intensify on a daily basis (Interview Bart 21 September 2012). Mutual misunderstandings are key and there are even rumours about lawsuits (Interview Dan, 16 October 2012; Interview Jane, 1 November 2012) and other ways to stop current management practices. This thesis therefore aims to provide different insights for both people on the in- and outside of the debate, hoping to bring parties together and create a more constructive atmosphere in which baboon management can take place.

From an academic perspective this research can be seen as a case study of a human-wildlife conflict, from a social science perspective. Trained as an anthropologist and africanist I will follow a different approach in describing human-wildlife-conflicts than most of my academic colleagues in the natural sciences. The focus will be on the human side of things and show how people's attitudes and belief systems influence their conservation efforts. However, as will become clear in the course of this thesis, my research is not just a social science account about the human side of the 'baboon debate', it is also a call to transcend the stereotypical Cartesian dualisms, such as nature vs. culture, that shape this particular debate. It is a call for transdisciplinary research done in such a way, that it does justice to all subjects, both human and nonhuman.

1.5 Fieldwork

This thesis is based on empirical material gathered through primary and secondary sources in my fieldwork period from September 1st until December 22nd, 2012. In these four months a detailed account has been kept, using methods such as semi-/unstructured interviewing and (participant) observation. In total 22 official interviews (with a duration varying from 1 hour up to 3 hours) have been undertaken with key role players within the 'baboon debate'. In Appendix I more detailed information about dates, times and locations can be found for every interview as well as some information about other methods that were used. Alternative names have been used in this thesis to respect my informants privacy. Appendix II is a more reflective addition to this thesis, discussing the methods that were used in greater length and explaining the motivations behind certain choices that had to be made in, for example, selecting informants and time management. Due to the fluid nature of the 'baboon debate' and its rapid developments, I have only been able to keep track of the 'highlights' described in local and international media after having left Cape Town. Changes within the 'debate' which influence my argument will be mentioned in footnotes throughout this thesis.

1.6 Thesis structure

This thesis has been divided in four parts, supported with additional information about methodology as well as visual material in the Appendices. The first two parts will show an introduction to the topic of this research project and theoretical contextualisation about conservation in South Africa. Next to explaining why Cape Town's human-baboon conflict has become the topic of this thesis, the concept of animal agency and the research questions that are central to it will be discussed. After this we will go through a history of conservation ideology and the ways this has reflected on human-baboon conflict.

The third and fourth part of this thesis are created to explain the empirical context and the things I encountered during my fieldwork period on the Cape Peninsula. A baboon management history has been carefully created with the help of my informants and protocols, policies and management techniques will be explained in great detail to get a good understanding of what exactly has been going on all these years when it comes to baboon management in Cape Town. Story lines that feature in public discourse are further explored and the Top 3 of biggest issues of concern that have surfaced during my interviews will be explained. After which, in the final and fifth closing chapter we will return to the concept central to the main research question: animal agency, or rather in this specific case: baboon agency. A concept that is part of a much broader and fairly 'new' field of science and which questions the fundamental principles of conservation, not only in Cape Town, but also in the rest of the world.



Part II

A historical outline

Changes in conservation thinking

**Baboons are dangerous
and attracted by food.**

Chapter 2: Dealing with South Africa's wildlife

2.1 Conservation in South Africa

Contact between man and animal in South Africa has been there centuries before colonisation, in both nomadic and pastoral communities (Carruthers 1995; Beinart 2003; Adams 2004). However, the relationship between humans and animals definitively changed its nature with the upcoming of white settlement. "The first Dutch settlers in 1652 found the Cape alive with grazing animals, but by the start of the 19th century the great migratory herds were gone" (Adams 2004, 20). Shooting was not regulated and Boer trekkers and farmers hunted for sports as well as for meat. As the settlers moved up further north, so did the Cape's wildlife (ibid). The strong market economy in the Cape region and the trade in fire arms paved the way for mass exploitation of wildlife, up to the point where administrators had to intervene with regulations to prevent for example, the Robben Island penguins to go extinct (Carruthers, 1995). With the early 19th century expansion into the interior of South Africa's northern landscapes, these regulations however lost their influence and major hunting of trophy species such as elephants commenced. In the beginning, this was merely for sports hunting purposes, but the Transvaaler Boers changed this mentality. They saw wildlife as an economic resource: money could be earned with trophy hunting, as well as by selling ivory, meat, skins, leather and ostrich plumes (Adams 2004, 21). But next to seeing wildlife as a source of income, the Boer settlers also saw wildlife as a threat to the country's thriving merino wool industry. By the 1930s both colonial Australia and South Africa had become the world's two biggest wool producers, supplying an increasing global market (Beinart 2003, 3). Their sheep needed to compete with herbivores grazing alongside their travelling routes, and could also end up as meals for the carnivores surrounding their camps at night, so wildlife posed a serious threat to their existence:

"In the Cape, the centrality of animals may have been particularly marked over a long period: it was the only one of the southern hemisphere colonies in which the indigenous population had depended upon domesticated livestock as a major resource; it had an unusually rich and varied wildlife; the indigenous wild animals included predators that plagued livestock owners; and the Cape probably had a higher proportion of its population in the rural areas engaging with livestock, up to the early twentieth century, than any other of the southern settler-dominated zones"

(Beinart 2003, 7).

Next to protecting livestock (which had proven to be an excellent excuse to kill most of the Cape's wildlife), hunting for sports and gathering trophies had also become a (new) way of life for many settlers. Guns and horses had been introduced in the colony and valuable indigenous knowledge from for example Khoisan trackers (ibid, 31) made hunting a rather easy hobby.

"Many wild animals succumbed during the colonization of southern Africa. (...) Wild animals could be eradicated not only for food, sport and items of trade but because they competed for grazing" (Beinart 2003, 196). In fact, wildlife numbers declined so rapidly that the Volksraad of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek decided in 1846 that legislation needed to be put in place summoning its citizens not to kill more animals than that could be used at one time (Carruthers 1995, 11). This rule was one of many, influenced by social changes within society and political power shifts. By the 1860s the government in place was starting to become aware of a shortage of game and a plan of action need to be made. The idea of protected areas emerged, inspired by the success of national parks such as Yosemite Valley and Yellowstone in the United States (Adams 2004, 77; Beinart, 2003). In 1894 Pongola Game Reserve was declared the first official state reserve in South Africa and conservation became a political interest. President Paul Kruger issued the establishment of a wildlife protection area in the South African Lowveld, called Sabie Wild Reserve. This later formed the foundation of what we now know as the Kruger National Park. Conservation initiatives were booming, until the Second Boer War broke out in 1899. After Transvaal became a British colony James Stevenson-Hamilton was appointed as the first Head Warden of the Sabie conservation area. Being a passionate conservationist, he helped the park flourish and when in 1916 the Sabie Wild Reserve could be reached by train, it became an important tourist destination. At last, the National Parks act of 1926 recognised that "the viewing and studying of wildlife constituted a legitimate, and economically viable, form of land use and that state land and finance should be allocated for this purpose" (Carruthers 1995, 47).

With the upcoming of National Parks the idea of preservation was key and the notion of restoring the 'pristine and untouched wilderness' that existed before colonial times emerged. Empty and desolate lands, with dry plains only incidentally used by indigenous herders and hunters (Brockington 2002, 24). The newly protected reserves would be a representation of these bygone eras and represented: "nature as a pristine, untouched biophysical landscape with little to no impact of human activity where one can escape" (Moeng n.d., 1). It was a privilege for humankind to be able to witness animals in their 'natural environments'. As the first warden of the Kruger Nation Park, James Stevenson Hamilton pictured its wilderness: "a display of 'unspoiled nature', [a chance] to give the public 'some notion of how the country appeared before the white man came to it'" (Adams 2004, 84). Unfortunately, this way of looking at the preservation of wildlife also meant that people were not wanted at all within the enclosed

reserves. Many local communities were relocated by the colonial government, often getting very little in return. A way of handling things that is often described as 'fortress conservation': putting up the fences and making sure that both wildlife and humans remained strictly separated (Brockington 2002, 3).

Wildlife conservation in Africa during the 20th century has mainly been dominated by whites, based on Western conservation ideologies. After the end of Apartheid in 1994, not only new political structures to govern conservation came into place, but the whole attitude about who should benefit from conservation changed. There has been a call within the international conservation arena and wildlife conservation literature for the 'decolonialisation' of wildlife management (McGregor 2005, 354), no longer ignoring the local people who's livelihoods are affected on a daily basis by the animals that were being protected. Community-based conservation initiatives (also known as Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) projects) were launched to include local communities in the decision making process of wildlife management:

"Understanding the attitudes and circumstances of the local communities who bear the physical and economic costs of living with dangerous animals is important- it threatens the future of conservation programmes and reveals the potential for significant abuses to accompany the conservation of wildlife in postcolonial contexts."

(McGregor 2005, 353)

In Kruger Park this also took place: not only National Park's staff was stimulated to become more involved in the decision making process, but local communities were included, taking notice of their needs and rights (Carruthers 1995, 121). Public participation in conservation was encouraged and people could even become official members of South African National Parks (SANParks), buying so called Wildcards (www.sanparks.org/wild, Accessed 16 August 2013). However:

"Many people, not least local groups themselves, are voicing increasing concern for the rights and needs of those who live near to, and bear the brunt of, protected areas. The benefits offered from protected areas rarely meet the losses experienced. The costs of eviction and exclusion are not always countered"

(Brockington 2002, 3).

Adapting from Beinart (2003), Adams (2004), Carruthers (1995), Duffy (2000) and Brockington (2002) we can construct a certain structure in the way the ideology behind it all

developed. Many authors have already tried to do this before me, but the focus has mostly been on the transition from (and differences between) preservation to conservation such as in this table presented to us by Van der Ploeg *et al.* (2011):

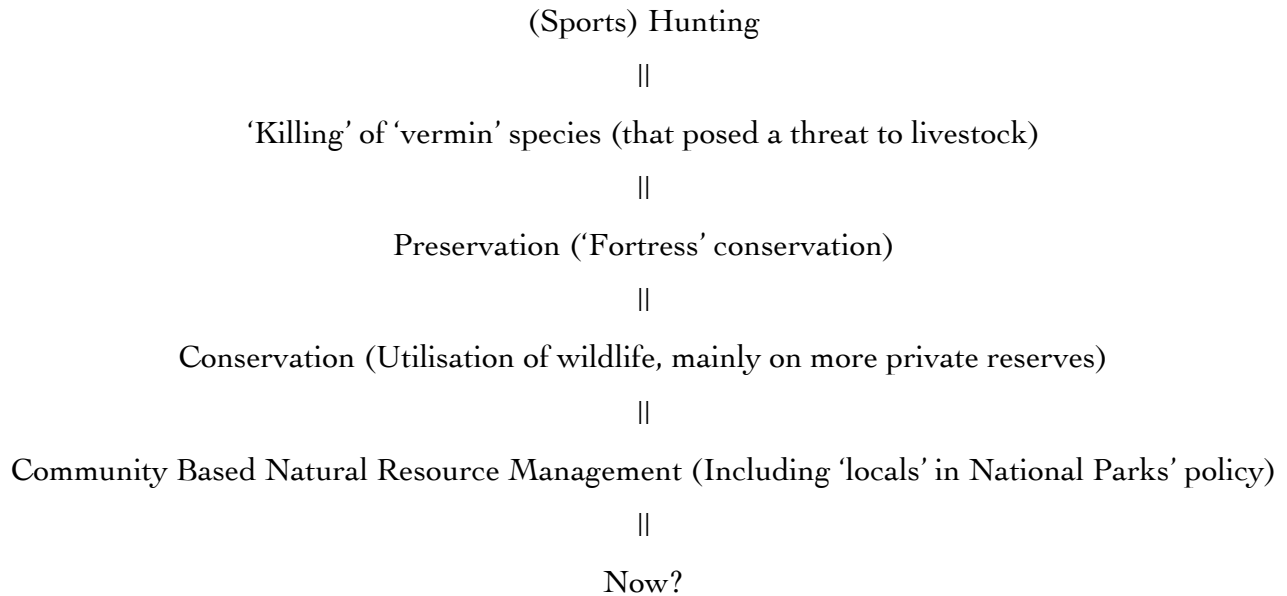
	Preservation	Conservation
Policy Tool	Protected areas “Fines and fences”	Sustainable use “Use it or lose it”
Philosophy	Intrinsic values	Utilitarian values
Rural communities	Destructive Ignorant Irrational	“Stewards of the Environment” Traditional ecological knowledge Marginalized, egalitarian
Nature	Pristine wilderness	Human-dominated landscapes
Wildlife and people	Conflict	Coexistence
Governance	Authoritarian Centralized (“top-down”) Technocratic Protectionist “Fortress conservation”	Participatory Devolved (“bottom-up”)

Table 1. Preservation vs. Conservation

(Source: Van der Ploeg *et al.* 2011, 306)

Broadly speaking, the main difference between both can be seen in the way in which they give a certain ‘value’ to wildlife. Here differences between state owned reserves and private nature reserves appear: the state owned reserves moved gradually from a strictly preservationist approach towards CBNRM, while private nature reserves were more inclined towards the utilisation of wildlife that is at the base of conservation. As Carruthers (1995, 5) explains: “conservation is the management and utilisation of any resource in such a way to ensure its perpetuation. Preservation is non-utilitarianism, the prevention of any active interference whatsoever.” Sustainable use seems to be the fashionable ‘buzz word’ when it comes to the main difference between the two (Duffy 2000, 1). But as we have seen in the text introducing this chapter, there have been many more phases within the development of conservation ideology in conservation. Phases that obviously did not appear ‘just at once’, but emerged from ideas that have been simmering under the surface for quite some time. It was not an ‘either or’ situation where people changed from preservation to either conservation or CBNRM, but there were

other phases leading up to this shift. A more schematic account of the phases distilled from the literature we have discussed above could be:



Summarising, we have seen an abundance of wildlife pre and during the early colonial days, which made hunting a beloved sport for many. With the rise of European settlement, the introduction of horses and guns to the colony and the declaration of certain species as a 'pest' or a 'threat' to livestock, the numbers of wildlife in South Africa dwindled. So rapidly, that calls for the protection of animals that would otherwise go extinct were made and regulation was put in place following examples of conservation that had been made in for example Great Britain and the United States (Beinart, 2003). The idea of preservation surfaced and nature reserves were established, to keep human and animal completely separated from another, hoping to turn the tide. Soon, creating a wildlife safe haven was not enough: money needed to be made in order for National Parks to survive. And what about those local people who were removed to make room for the reserves? And those living adjacent to them? Did they not have rights as well? Initiatives were taken to make wildlife profitable for both park management and local people experiencing the side-effects of the enclosed areas, resulting in two approaches: CBNRM becoming the norm in state owned reserves and conservation through the utilisation of wildlife in more privately owned reserves (by for example gaining more revenue from tourism). Nowadays, as we will see when exploring Cape Town's human-baboon conflict, it is almost as if local people have so much influence that conservation is no longer just a park management's concern: it has become central to many public debates, being criticised by both in- and outsiders. Some policymakers keep on

firmly believing in the CBNRM ideals, but others have started to lean back to ‘preservation times’ ideology (see paragraph 3.5). What will be next?

Now that we have a more clear idea of the different ways people have looked into wildlife conservation during the last centuries, the notion of contemporary conservation still remains a bit vague and abstract. Drawing from Leach and Mearns, Duffy (2000, 1) argues that:

“The lack of a precise definition or even a set of guiding principles for sustainable development also feeds into the depoliticising rhetoric of wildlife conservation as a global environmental ‘good.’ (..) Environmental narratives serve to standardise, package and label environmental problems to that they appear to be universally applicable and to justify equally standardised off-the-shelf solutions”.

An argument which directly ties in with our next paragraph: not only is it hard to define exactly which ‘phase’ of conservation ideology has been at play at a certain point in time, clear-cut easy to use solutions to ‘conservation problems’ seem merely an illusion. As we will come to, especially the ‘problem’ of human-wildlife conflicts is not one for which there are universal guiding principles. Every conflict has its own dynamics, and as is the case with the specific human-baboon conflict central to this thesis: what works in other places, might not necessarily work on the Cape Peninsula.

2.2 Human-Wildlife conflicts

Man and animal have been trying to live together since time immemorial, sometimes more successful than other. Whether it be foxes in Sweden (Ericsson, Sandström & Bostedt, 2006) and the United States of America (Agarwala *et al.*, 2010; Treves & Martin, 2011; Treves, Naughton-Treves & Shelley, 2013), jaguars in the Amazon (Marchini & Macdonald, 2012), lions in Benin (Sogbohossou *et al.*, 2011) and India (Banarjee *et al.*, 2013), or elephants in Kenya (Leakey & Morell, 2000), at some point in time struggles between them and their human neighbours have appeared. This thesis will focus on one of those tense situations where the lines between human and animal territory have been blurred and a so called human-wildlife conflict has emerged. But before we dive deeper into Cape Town's human-baboon conflict, we will first discuss some of the general human-baboon- and human-primate conflicts literature to get a better idea of what has been written about it in the scientific arena. Each case has its own dynamics and determining factors and it is therefore hard to compare different human-wildlife conflicts with one another, but they all show that there is a very thin line between coexistence and conflict.

"Despite the mantra of the importance of all biodiversity, people have remarkably specific likes and dislikes when it comes to species" (Adams 2004, 125). Certain species, such as the giant panda used in WWF's campaigns throughout the years, function as what Adams (*ibid*, 128) calls 'flagship species'. They appeal more to the general public and are better understood by people than for example more vague notions such as biodiversity and ecosystems. After all, we as humans are somehow inclined to care more about a cuddly little baby panda that is being threatened with extinction than about massive rain forests being burned down because farmers need land to cultivate. A way of thinking that is nothing new: "Animals were anthropomorphised by colonial observers in the 19th and 20th centuries, and hunters in particular almost universally accorded human traits both to their chosen prey (the noble antelope, the brave elephant) and to 'vermin'" (Adams 2004, 129). The idea of labelling certain animals as 'vermin' or a 'pest' is also an inheritance of past filled with hunters, settlers and colonial administrators. It provided a free pass for anyone willing to shoot them, whenever they felt like it. Again, certain species of animals just appealed more to people than others. Even contemporary flagship species such as lions and elephants were considered to be 'vermin' during the early colonial settlement periods on the Cape of Good Hope (Carruthers, 1995). And Cape Town's baboons? They seem to be one person's 'vermin' and another person's 'flagship'...

Human vs. Baboon

When reading about human-wildlife conflicts concerning primates most studies are about the great apes, such as chimpanzees, gorillas and orang-utans. These are highly endangered species, sometimes even on the verge of extinction (CITES, 2013)¹¹. The competition between them and humans for limited space and resources calls for appropriate solutions and mitigation strategies (Sodhi *et al.* 2009 in Campbell-Smith *et al.* 2012, 367).

“Resolving human-great ape conflict is a conservation imperative because these species are amongst the most threatened on earth; their large body size means that they can cause substantial economic loss to farmers through crop raiding; their high visibility in farms may distort the perceived damage caused; these attributes cause people to be fearful of them; they are killed by farmers in retribution of crop raiding; (...) their varied diet makes it difficult for farmers to protect crops with a single strategy and their advanced intelligence means that they can quickly learn how to circumvent mitigation strategies.”

(Campbell-Smith *et al.* 2012, 368)

Conservationists are caught in the middle: on the one hand they are obliged to protect biodiversity at all costs, but they can not ignore the calls from humans that are affected by the success of their conservation efforts. Local government bodies all over the world have desperately been calling for new conservation mitigation strategies through which both human and primate can remain living side by side.

Written accounts specifically concerning conflicts with the lesser threatened¹² species of baboons, are not so common. Perhaps this is because they are listed as a Appendix II priority by CITES, and are therefore internationally not recognised as an endangered species. But human-baboon conflicts are by no means less frequent or of lower impact than those with bigger species such as elephants and gorillas. The following account written by baboon expert Shirley Strum *et*

¹¹ Governments around the world have established an agreement in the 1960s called the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES). In the appendices to this agreement, a list of species has been drawn up to distinguish the different levels of protection needed to prevent over-exploitation and extinction (CITES, 2013). Appendices I, II and III have been defined, with the first listing the most endangered species, followed by categories that are less likely to go extinct. The great apes mentioned in the text above, namely chimpanzees, gorillas, bonobos and orang-utans have all been listed as an Appendix I priority species since the mid 1970s. They are threatened with extinction and CITES prohibits all international trade in them, only granting permits on special occasions for scientific research (CITES, 2013).

¹² All the subspecies of baboons (whether it be *Chacma* baboons in the Cape Town area or *Gelada* baboons in Ethiopia) are considered to be less endangered and are listed as a Appendix II priority in the international agreement of CITES. They are seen as not necessarily threatened with extinction at this point in time, but may become so unless trade is closely controlled. International trade in baboons is therefore allowed, although export permits are often needed. Baboons have been listed as a number II endangered species since the end of the 1970s and their status has never been changed.

al. (2008) illustrates an encounter in Nairobi National Park that seems rather harmless at first, but is also a well known problem in tourist hotspots like Cape Point:

“Sam was not the only one excited about the food laid out on the picnic table that sunny Sunday afternoon in Nairobi Park. We had spent two days waiting for some unsuspecting tourists to come and set up their picnic table; now our patience was being rewarded, as Sam prepared to work the picnic site... to get someone else’s lunch. Sam is a subadult male olive baboon (Papio anubis), and as primatologists we want to find out how Sam, Sunshine and the other members of the Mokoyeti Gorge troop could be so talented stealing picnics. For the first two days of observations, however, the only ‘victims’ had been us, and this challenged our abilities to take notes while dealing with the menace. At one point, we were kept out of our car and denied access to our camera and notebooks. Today we could perform the work we had set out to do, as we observed Sam’s tactics to get ‘his’ share of the food. Sam first scanned the surroundings from behind a bush roughly 50 metres away from the feast. Feeling confident at this distance, he took his time to plan the rest of his attack from that vantage point. Sam had to make it over open ground into a clump of green in the middle of the picnic site. This was tricky, but his presence went undetected. No harm so far. Sitting near our car -windows closed, food safely inside- we watched Sam scan the surroundings thoroughly from his ‘ambush’. He seemed a bit nervous but we had no doubt he knew what he was doing. Only one more open space to conquer before he would join the party as the greedy, uninvited guest. The coast was clear; we were the only humans nearby -two scientists with clipboards. He was used to us and knew by now that we would not interfere. It did not take long for Sam to decide it was time for his next move. He knew that once he covered the last 15 metres to reach his last bush, he would have no time to lose and should take immediate action. There he went! Holding our breath, we watched him speed towards the bush. He paused a second to look around, then climbed into the small tree next to the small tree right next to the picnic table. Silent and invisible, the picnickers had not noticed his presence! He was only a few feet away. Suddenly, he burst forth from his perch in the small tree, landed on the picnic table and, scattering plates, bottles and bags, took off with their bread. Woman and children screamed, men shouted and gave half-hearted chase, Sam ran off, and calmly ate ALL their bread, as they watched. For Sam, it had proved a successful foray, rewarded with a nutritious meal. For us, it was just the sort of data we had come to collect. For the visitors, it meant a ruined picnic, and probably a complaint to the Park headquarters. It was a familiar experience for many of us who have tried to have lunch at Nairobi National Park”

(Strum et al. 2008, 24)

A funny story on one hand: how clever of the baboon and how silly of the people to go and have their lunch in an area with wild animals. But on the other hand, also a worrying account: why was Sam not afraid of people? How had he learned what human food tasted like? Did his entire troop know how to raid picnics this way? Were they perhaps used to being fed by tourists? Studies that deal with these kind of human-baboon conflicts, can be found in zoology, biology and ethology related literature. For example, Yihune, Bekele and Tefera (2008) have also published about human-baboon conflict in the Simien Mountains National Park in Ethiopia. As is with most studies done from the natural science perspective, the focus of Yihune *et al.* (2008, 276) is on crop raiding and crop damage caused by baboons. Using descriptive statistics, correlations are detected and suggestions are being made about which deterrents the local farmers currently used and in what ways alternatives could improve the situation. In the study of Hill and Wallace (2012, 2569) the four villages adjacent to the Budongo Forest Reserve in Uganda were frequently visited by at least six different primate species, including baboons. Several deterrents were tested and evaluated with local farmers, to see which ones were most effective and could be of future use. Detererring techniques such as fences, hedges, nets, chilli repellents, systematic guarding, warning bells were tested.

When we look at human-baboon-conflict literature, we can see two major trends in writing about them within the natural sciences. The account written by Strum *et al.* (2008) fits in with other stories written by other ‘great primate ethologists’ such as Jane Gooddall (2009),



Diane Fossey (1983) and Barbara Smuts (2009).

Stories written by scientists who have spent years in the field, getting to know each and every individual and trying to explain their lives to a human audience. Some people would accuse such researcher of anthropomorphism¹³: humanising their primate suspects, by giving them names and explaining their behaviour in human terms. On the other end you have scientists such as Yihune *et al.* (2008) and Hill and Wallace (2012) who use a more distant way of describing the behaviour of baboons, by not so much explaining why the baboons behave in a certain way, but merely analyse what happens when certain factors such as deterrents are being used. Coming from a social science background, I myself have always been more interested (and experienced) in

¹³ The definition of anthropomorphism according to the Oxford dictionary is: “the attribution of human characteristics or behaviour to a god, animal, or object” (<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/anthropomorphism>, Accessed 23 August 2013)

explaining how humans experience their encounters with baboons. A trend which many more scientists have already picked up and at which Hill and Wallace (2012, 2583) also took a shot. They took it one step further than most human-wildlife conflict studies from the natural sciences and consulted the farmers about why they themselves thought the deterrents had proven to be effective. In their own words: “consultation with farmers and other key local people is imperative to agree plans and goals, and be informed about steps, limitations, local resources, or timeframes to take into account (Strum 1986; Webber *et al.* 2007)” (Hill & Wallace 2012, 2570).

So we have ethology studies explaining the behaviour of the baboons alone, social scientists only explaining the behaviour of humans and other natural scientists analysing what happens when both meet (or better: try not to meet). Unfortunately, we also immediately hit both disciplines’ blind spot. Although attempts are being made to explain the relations between humans and animals a “transdisciplinary research methodology that will bring ethologists and ethnographers together to further our understanding of social behaviour” (Wels 2014, 152) has not yet been developed. Notions of ‘empathy’ (Wels 2014, 158), ‘morality’ (Bekoff 2007, 13) and ‘becoming with’ (Haraway 2008, 4) are currently being explored as useful concepts that can contribute towards ‘merging’ the social and biological sciences into a kind of ‘etho-ethnology’ through which social behaviour amongst and between both humans and nonhumans can be researched. A real “operationalization of the methodology into concrete empirical methods that can be used in the field” has not yet been demonstrated (Wels 2014, 162), but the first careful steps have been taken.

Sadly enough, I can also not (yet) claim to have the answer to this challenging issue. But the attempt at a more transdisciplinary road taken by Hill and Wallace (2012), Wels (2014), Haraway (2008), Bekoff (2007) and De Waal (2009) functions as an inspiration to me, even if my focus will be more on human views, emotions and opinions. I may not be familiar with ways to analyse the Cape’s baboons’ behaviour myself, but research done by local zoologists and others involved will be a great source of information as empirical data in chapters 3 and 4 of this study. What makes Cape Town’s human-wildlife conflict very different from those of previous studies such as the Ethiopian and Ugandan cases is the fact that not only natural scientists are deeply involved in studying the baboon’s behaviour, but so are local residents, conservationists and activists. Not only picnics are being raided within the boundaries of an enclosed National Park, but Cape Town’s human-baboon conflict has developed into a full scale and very urgent urban conservation issue. In the next chapter this very specific context and the way baboon management in Cape Town has evolved over the years will be discussed in greater detail.

A photograph of a light blue two-story house with a corrugated metal roof. A dark chimney pipe runs vertically from the roof down the side of the house. A baboon is perched on the roof, sitting next to the chimney. The background shows a hazy, overcast sky and some greenery at the bottom.

Part III

Local Case Study

Cape Town's 'brazen baboons'
(and their human neighbours)

Chapter 3: Cape Town's baboons

In this chapter we will see how conservation policy making and management efforts around baboons have evolved in Cape Town since the 1990s. This reconstruction is mostly based on empirical data from multiple primary and secondary sources researched in the period of August - December 2012. Unfortunately I have not been able to find other documentation covering the history of baboon management throughout the years. Not only has this chronological account of baboon conservation on the Cape Peninsula been reconstructed through stories told to me by informants, but I have also used several other sources such as: policy making documents, press releases, articles written by academic researchers involved, newspaper articles, websites, as well as personal communication and observations during several visits to the field. (For a more detailed account about the methodology used during this research project, see Appendix I and II). As with any ongoing debate, especially one as public and intense as this one, my research findings can only be seen as a snapshot, bound by time and place. In the months when I have been writing this thesis, new developments have already taken place and both the debate and the Cape's baboons remain in motion¹⁴. This chapter and those that will follow will therefore provide you with a broader overview of who is involved in the debate about baboon management on the Cape Peninsula and the ways in which they try to bring that message across.



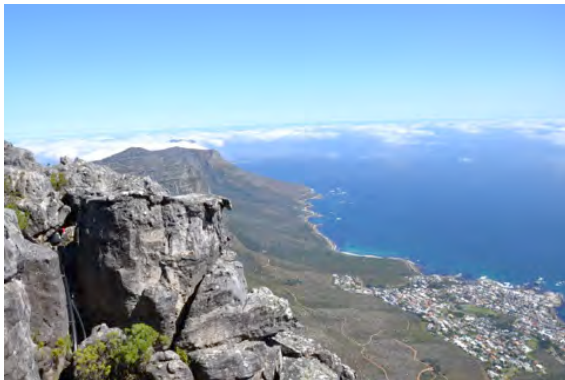
3.1 Getting to know our hairy cousins

The baboons that live in the South-Western part of South Africa are known as *Chacma Baboons* in English, *Papio Ursinus* in Latin or *Bobbejaane* in Afrikaans. “Males are large, up to 40 kilograms, with a long muzzle resulting in a dog-like face. They are dark-brown to greyish-olive in colour. (..) Females are smaller at about 20 kilograms” (Gutteridge 2008, 144). The females are well known for their “massive red swellings of



¹⁴ For example, I am very pleased to hear that public feedback on the actions of the new service provider HWS (which had just started to implement its strategies whilst I was conducting my interviews) has been very positive in recent months. (Mail&Guardian, 6 February 2013; Cape Town Green, Map 7 February 2013; Cape Town Heritage, 18 February 2013)

the (..) backside and genital area [which are] visual signs to males that they are coming into heat” (Carnaby 2006, 289). Not only is their size impressive (up to 115 cm), so are their large



canines which have said to be bigger than the size of a lion's. The *chacma* baboons feed mainly on *fynbos*, a combination of various smaller leafed shrubs and plants. This type of vegetation is known for its huge concentration of different plant species, in the Cape region alone up to 1300 per 10.000km²¹⁵. Table Mountain National Park, the area where

most of the Cape's baboons live, is very rich in its floral biodiversity and has therefore been declared a Cape Floral Kingdom World Heritage Site¹⁶. Another type of vegetation the Cape baboons seem to be very interested in are pine trees, such as planted in Tokai forest Arboretum¹⁷. This area is especially well known for its baboon inhabitants, since the largest troops within the Cape Peninsula's baboon population (with up to a 100 individuals) live there.

The natural habitat of the *Chacma* baboons has changed throughout the years. The city of Cape Town has been expanding tremendously in the last decennia as we have seen in paragraph 1.2, up to more than 3,7 million inhabitants. The baboon population is therefore “under increasing pressure from human habitation, which has decreased and fragmented the baboon habitat in the Peninsula”¹⁸. Next to a loss in habitat, the region in which the baboons can forage naturally for *fynbos* has also declined. In figure 4 we can see the different baboon troops in the area, as identified by the Baboon Research

Figure 3.
Baboon troops on the Cape Peninsula
(Source: Drewe *et al.* 2012, 298)



¹⁵ Source: <http://www.botany.uwc.ac.za/envfacts/fynbos/>, Accessed 3 May 2013

¹⁶ Source: http://www.sanparks.org/parks/table_mountain/conservation/flora.php, Accessed 3 May 2013

¹⁷ The Tokai Arboretum, also referred to as the Tokai Pine Plantation, was planted in 1885 by Joseph Lister, marking the beginning of the forest industry in South Africa.
(<http://www.sahistory.org.za/TokaiArboretum,TokaiForest>, Accessed 17 July 2013)

¹⁸ Source: <http://www.baboonsonline.org/bru/>, Accessed 17 July 2013

Unit (BRU) of the University of Cape Town, using GPS-tracking signals. The green area shows natural land (mainly parts of Table Mountain National Park), and grey shows urban and agricultural land (Drewe *et al.*, 2012). Next to the baboon troops living on the Cape Peninsula itself, there are also a few known ‘problem’ troops on the other side of the urban edge:

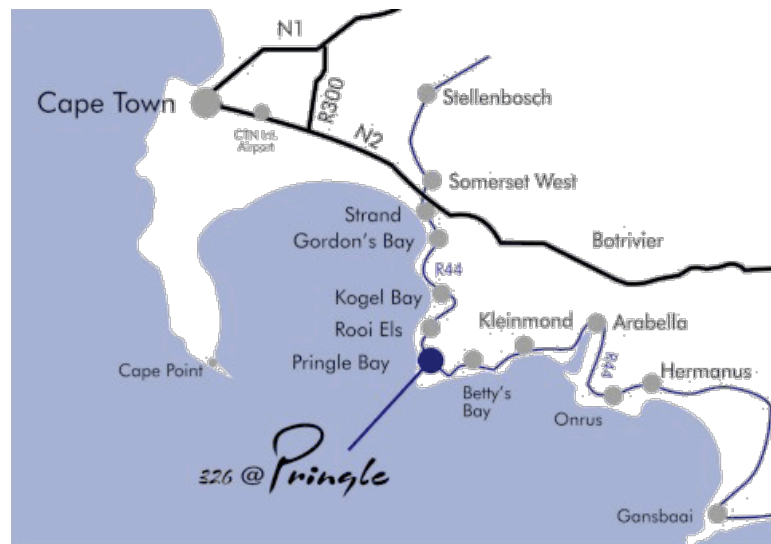


Figure 4. Cape Coastal Route to Pringle Bay and Betty's Bay

(Source: <http://www.sleeping-out.co.za/ftp/Maps/22932-M-229179.jpg>, Accessed 16 July 2013)

Especially the areas surrounding Pringle Bay, Gordon's Bay and Betty's Bay are currently ‘upcoming’ baboon hotspots (Interview Johan, 21 September 2012; Cape Times, 9 July 2012). However, most of the ongoing debate about baboon management currently focuses on those baboons on the Peninsula itself, because these conflicts can be traced back to the times of early colonial settlement (Beinart 2003; Adams 2004). In Appendix III pictures can be found which show several of the areas where baboons live on the Cape Peninsula. Pictures of actual baboon ‘hotspots’, where humans and baboons clearly live side by side can be found in Appendix IV.

“The Cape Peninsula baboon population consists of 11 troops, distributed from the Tokai Forest in the southern suburbs of Cape Town down to the Cape of Good Hope Section of the TMNP. These troops vary in size from about 7 individuals to over a 100” (Drewe *et al.* 2012). Within this troop all male baboons are usually higher ranked in the troop hierarchy than the females. Bonds between troop members are enforced on a daily basis, by grooming rituals. The competition between the male baboons is fierce, with the position of alpha-male being the ultimate goal. He is the leader of the troop and decides when and where the baboons go. He also has the mating rights and provides protection to ‘his’ females and their youngsters. A male baboon regularly starts competing for a more dominant position at the age of five. When these fights over dominant positions between male baboons end, it usually leaves the losing party with

limited options (Stuart 2000, 78). Either death from the sustained injuries, accepting a low-ranking status and keeping a low profile, or run off and join another troop. On very rare occasions, such as is the case on the Cape Peninsula, females join the run-away to form a so-called splinter troop (O’Riain, 2010). This benefits both the run-away male and females, being able to gain more status in their new troop. They often remain near the larger troops, but are also in closer proximity to residential areas. Research by Kaplan *et al.* (2011) has shown that these splinter groups are known to raid at a much higher frequency than their ‘parent’ troop. Interestingly enough, the Cape’s splinter troops have all seemed to become permanent (as is not normally the case in the wild) and are not keen on rejoining the ‘parent’ troop. Although efforts are currently being made by the local service provider (Interview Christine, 24 October 2012) to get the run-aways of the Da Gama troop to join the larger troop again.

When it comes to actual facts about baboon numbers, the first of many points of conflict between the different stakeholders immediately arises. There does not seem to be an actual consensus when it comes to numbers on which all parties can agree¹⁹. Historically, baboon number surveys have been conducted first by local research couple Kansky & Gaynel at the end of the 1990s (Interview Adrian, 14 November 2012) and afterwards by volunteers of one of the most prominent local NGOs called Baboon Matters²⁰. When the Baboon Research Unit of the University of Cape Town entered the stage, mostly (post) graduate students took over. More recently a former student of BRU called Esme Beamish has been responsible for baboon counts, first as a student and now as an independent researcher granted a research permit by SANParks. During a monthly management meeting of the BTT on November 12th, 2012 she has reported about the progress of her 2012 baboon number census. Beamish presented the following baboon numbers shown on the next page in Table 2 officially in January 2013. Although the public impression about baboon numbers is often either a rapid decline or a dramatic increase, Beamish (2008, 2) notes that her data has only revealed a slight increase of about 2 to 3 % since 2005. She also provided statistics showing the number of baboon deaths (both caused by conflict with humans and caused by following management guidelines), which can be seen in Table 3.

¹⁹ For example, the baboon statistics presented in Table 2 and 3 have been challenged by representatives of local NGO Baboon Matters. The claim was that a discrepancy existed between the baboon mortality numbers collected by Beamish and those that were gathered by representatives of Baboon Matters. An extra meeting was organised between both parties at 7 December 2012 to address these issues and to come to a consensus on which all parties could agree. (Meeting Minutes Dispute Resolution, City of Cape Town, 7 December 2012)

²⁰ For a more detailed explanation about prominent stakeholders in Cape Town see paragraphs 3.3 and 3.5.

Population Data for the Eleven Managed Troops on the Cape Peninsula				
DECEMBER 2012		JANUARY 2013		
TROOP	TOTAL	BIRTHS	DEATHS	TOTAL
Da Gama Main	42			42
Da Gama Small	12			12
Smitswinkel Bay	23			23
Waterfall	28			28
Groot Olifantsbos	19			19
Misty Cliffs Splinter	18			18
Slangkop	33	1		34
Zwaanswyk Splinter	25	3		28
Tokai	61	1		62
Ghost	33	2		35
Constantia	60	3	2	61
TOTAL	354	10	2	362

Table 2. Baboon population statistics of the 11 troops managed by service provider HWS
(Source: HWS Baboon Management Report January 2013)

Year	Number of baboon deaths
2006	24
2007	15
2008	36
2010	15
2011	14
2012	21

Table 3. Baboon death numbers²¹.

(Adapted from: Meeting Minutes Dispute Resolution, City of Cape Town 7 December 2012)

Solid conclusions about the reasons for this fluctuation in baboon deaths caused by humans are hard to draw, but some suggest that the many changes in service provider and baboon

²¹ The statistics about baboon deaths in 2009 are missing because there was a gap between service providers when the Baboon Management Team fell apart. It was not until December 2010 that the new service provider NCC started and new data could be gathered (NCC Press Release, 22 June 2012). Official numbers about the percentage of baboon deaths that have been induced by humans have not been publicly announced.

conservation policies might have something to do with it (Meeting Minutes Dispute Resolution, City of Cape Town, 7 December 2012). Before diving deeper into this history of baboon management, we will take a short detour to South Africa's tourism, to get a grip on just how many tourists are attracted by the country's wildlife. As we will see, tourism (and especially wildlife tourism) is one of the major sources of income of the South African economy. Of course it would be a great shame if the 'baboon debate' and the current state of baboon management would cause a decline in the number of tourists visiting the Cape Peninsula, either by baboons being harassed by tourists or the other way around.

3.2 Tourism in South Africa

The tourism industry in South Africa has been booming ever since the end of the apartheid era in 1994. And of course, South Africa's wildlife has proven to be a major attraction during the years. Between 2009 and 2010, the number of tourists that entered the country increased with 15,1 percent towards a 8.073.552 tourists (Statistics South Africa, 2010). This makes South Africa the second favourite tourist destination within Africa, after Morocco. Especially large national parks such as Kruger Park and Addo Elephant Park are South Africa's prime attractions for tourists. But also Table Mountain National Park (TMNP) and Cape Point National Park are on many of the tourist's 'to do lists' (Lonely Planet, 2006). In 2007 the Kruger Park alone attracted 1.313.185 tourists²². The spaces shared with the Cape Peninsula's baboons such as Table Mountain (with its own Cable Way) hosted 112.000 visitors in 2011 and Cape Point National Park's visitor number was up to 106.672 in the same year²³.



Cape Point Lighthouse, together with Cape of Good Hope is one of the main attractions at Cape Point NP
(Lonely Planet 2006, 73)

According to the UNWTO (2006), South Africa's tourism market earned around 5,89 billion Euro's in 2005. An extraordinary amount when you consider that it, as one country, makes up about 34 percent of the total tourism revenue in 2005 for the whole of Africa. Even more impressive is that the country takes up 86,9 percent of the tourism revenues from the entire Southern African region. We can therefore state that South Africa's tourism industry is a force to be reckoned with, economically speaking.

²² Source: www.krugerpark.co.za, Accessed 13 May 2013

²³ Source: <http://www.info.gov.za/speech/DynamicAction?pageid=461&sid=24402&tid=53576>, Accessed 21 July 2013

3.5 Baboon management history

Just like the crocodiles and elephants presented in paragraph 2.4 Cape Town's *chacma* baboons were also considered a 'vermin' species during early colonial times. In this case:

"Vermin were broadly defined to include all animals that preyed on [live]stock or were conceived as inimical to the agrarian economy. The term used in Afrikaans, ongedierte, expressed accurately the idea of a non-animal or de-animalized creature, which could be treated differently"

(Beinart 2003, 207).

As discussed in paragraph 2.1, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, South Africa's wool trade was at its peak and sheep and other livestock had a tremendous value for the white settlers of South Africa. Baboons, together with many other wild animals, such as the jackal (Beinart 2003) and the now extinct quagga (Adams 2004) were placed on a 'hit list', because they were officially seen as a threat to the agricultural economy by the Vermin Extermination Commission. Not only did the baboons kill sheep, but they also confiscated the farmers' crops. Rewards were granted to those who helped to exterminate the baboons. At first, rewards were regarded as low, paying only one shilling per killed baboon, with a total of £219 in rewards being paid out in the year 1914. But as more people became aware of this financial benefit (most of the rewards even exceeded the amount they could earn by selling the skin and other body parts of the animal) and the abundance of available baboons, this amount grew towards £17.931 in 1923 (Beinart 2003, 229). Just like other wildlife numbers, that of the baboons started to decline rapidly. So quickly even that the large groups of baboons started to disappear from the Cape. A ban on hunting baboons was ordered in 1974 (CapeNature, n.d.) to turn the tide. With most of the baboon's natural predators chased out of the Peninsula, the population thrived once again. So much even, that by the 1950s the first accounts of human-baboon conflicts started to appear in local newspapers (Trethowan 2009, 15).

To deal with this 'new' problem, culling (e.a. the removal of entire baboon troops) was a common practice on the Cape Peninsula at the end of the 20th century. A conservation measure that nowadays may seem odd, but which was entirely in line with the conservation ideology in Africa we have seen at that time: preserving wildlife in regulated and controlled enclosed nature reserves and making sure that animal populations and density in these small 'ecosystems' were balanced. The conservation authorities in the Cape removed whole troops of baboons from Kommetjie, Kalk Bay and Chapmans Peak to reduce human-baboon conflict in these areas after local residents had encountered problems with them (CapeNature 2011, 7). However, one of

these elimination sessions, the culling of 18 baboons in the Kommetjie area in 1990, raised a lot of discussion amongst local residents. So much even that a couple of them decided to team up and the first local NGO advocating responsible baboon management was raised. This group was one of the first to establish a dialogue between the conservation authorities and the general public. As one of the founders explains:

“I started working with baboons in 1990, when an entire troop of baboons was exterminated in my home village of Kommetjie. The reason for this elimination? A few residents had complained, and, at that time, this was the way the authorities dealt with problem animals. Sometimes you do need a catalyst for change. The elimination of the Kommetjie troop was that catalyst. Together with a group of committed and determined people, I started the Kommetjie Environmental Awareness Group (KEAG). Our goal was to encourage a different approach to dealing with baboons: management rather than elimination”

(Trethowan 2009, 5)

Encouraged by the members of KEAG research couple Ruth Kansky & Dave Gaynel got involved, financially supported by the city of Cape Town and the Table Mountain Fund. They published their findings in an advisory report in 1998²⁴. New recommendations for baboon management were made and in the proceedings of a document they handed over to the authorities large scale baboon troop culling practices were strongly discouraged. A new approach was suggested by the couple: TMNP would take over management of the land from the City of Cape Town (CoCT) and a special Baboon Management Team (BMT) was started. Local residents were also encouraged to help the couple gain more research data, and results showed that approximately one baboon a month was getting killed by humans, mostly through electrocution or by being hit by a car (Interview Adrian, 14 November 2012). More studies were done to gather statistics of all the troops on the Peninsula, including their population numbers and foraging areas. During this research project the idea of baboon monitors emerged:

“I noticed that the Scarborough troop would not go down the mountain when I was standing in between them and the village. So I started to locate their sleeping sites to stop them before they got into

²⁴ Unfortunately, this report has remained somewhat of a mystery report and has proven to be notoriously hard to get during my period of fieldwork. However, Adrian, one of my informants, explained to me that this report advised the authorities to stop culling entirely and initiated further research about alternative management strategies (Interview 14 November 2012).

the village. In the villages there is so much food and so many places to hide... for the baboons it is a simple cost-benefit analysis.”

(Interview Adrian, 14 November 2012)

When Kansky and Gaynel suggested the idea of using ‘baboon monitors’ the Parks Board provided them with extra funding to do some trial runs with monitors, and Kansky continued to manage them for a few months afterwards. Around the same time people’s attitudes towards the baboons in Cape Town started to change. As Susan explained:

“When we moved here in the 1970s there were no baboon issues. Only 25 years ago we had our first baboon in one of the avocado trees in our garden. We called the authorities who trapped and removed it. (...) The attitudes back then were totally different. The forestry department saw no harm in killing them. They would even feed the dead animals to their staff. Up to 14-15 years ago the baboons feared coming into our territory. But in 2000 there was a massive fire in Table Mountain National Park and the forester was prosecuted for killing the baboons. So he just stopped doing anything about them. After a municipal garbage strike of 6 weeks in the Tokai area the baboons moved into an empty plot in Zwaanswyk and this was where I had to get involved. I said: ‘we can’t live together, so we need to do something’. So we gathered a huge group and scared them away.”

(Interview Susan, 20 November 2012)

As was the case with many other individuals now involved in the upcoming human-baboon conflict on the Cape Peninsula, being busy with the baboons started to take up so much of Susan’s time that her partner even said to her: “You can either be married to me, or to the baboons.” Just like for the Kansky and Gaynel research couple, to the local residents involved in NGO initiatives and the people working at the authorities, the baboons had suddenly become a handful. Not really knowing how to handle the baboon issues (most other human-baboon conflicts at that time did not take place in an urban environment, but in a more rural area or in an enclosed reserve such as we have seen in paragraph 2.2) help from the ‘outside’ was called and Susie Brownlie of deVilliers Brownlie Associates together with WWF wrote a report²⁵, often referred to as the ‘Brownlie report’ (Brownlie, 2000). The Baboon Management Team (BMT)

²⁵ Sometimes it almost seems as if the ‘baboon debate’ is mostly a debate in words instead of action, with the discussion most prominently featuring in many reports, policy documents and newspaper articles. Although from time to time protests and demonstrations are organised (for example by Baboon Matters), this is by no means the primary way of debating baboon management on the Cape Peninsula. I am not sure why this is very different from other discussions surrounding conservation and animal rights, but it might be an interesting observation to investigate further.

that had been in place since 1998 now had a more structured approach and a management plan to abide by.

In 2002 Kansky published another report (a joint production between the BMT and the International Fund for Animal Welfare), which was more of a guiding booklet that could be handed out to local residents and visitors. Next to this she also filed a complaint about the 'disfunctionality' of the BMT as a management structure. A harsh statement that has also been voiced by many of my informants (BLG Chairperson's annual report, 2012; Interview Bart, 21 September 2012; Interview Daisy, 4 October 2012; Interview Dan, 16 October 2012; Interview David, 31 October 2012; Interview Adrian, 14 November 2012; Interview Susan, 22 November 2012). Examples are given about 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. The BMT imploded and representatives and responsibilities had to be reshuffled. CapeNature was appointed as the chair of the new BMT, Kansky pulled out all together and local NGO Baboon Matters would now be in charge of the baboon monitors programme.

Scientists at the university of Cape Town were attracted in 2006 to fill in the research void left after the departure of both Kansky and Gaynel (whose relationship had also ended at that time). The Baboon Research Unit was established, headed by zoologist prof. Justin O'Riain. PhD student Angela van Doorn ²⁶commenced her research about the way in which the service provider was managing and monitoring the baboons. More PhD candidates followed (see for example: Beamish (2008), Hoffman (2012) and Kaplan (2011)) and scientific facts were used to inform baboon policy making. Between 1998 and 2007, the major stakeholders involved in baboon policy making were: the authorities (SANParks, CapeNature and the City of Cape Town), researchers such as Kansky and Gaynel, local NGO Baboon Matters, the SPCA, and individually concerned residents who showed up during meetings (Interview Daisy, 4 October 2012). But after a Baboon Management Strategy meeting in 2007 and a Baboon Expert Workshop in 2009, disputes between the different stakeholders had become so bad that the BMT ended up falling apart in 2010. "The management of baboons had fallen into a grey space between the different authorities involved, none of the organisations really took

²⁶ In the end her thesis was never published because the things that were discovered caused yet another uproar within the Baboon Management Team, especially criticising the way in which Baboon Matters performed as a service provider. Their activities were publicly questioned, especially because most people did not understand how Baboon Matters could be both NGO (advocating a certain approach to management and organising walking tours to closely interact with the baboons) and a service provider (which main objective was to keep baboons and humans separated from one another). (Interview Daisy, 4 October 2012)

action” (Interview David, 31 October 2012). Once again, a new structure needed to be introduced (paragraph 3.5) and new policy was made (paragraph 3.6) to try and deal with what was by then known as Cape Town’s ‘baboon debate’ (personal communication, 29 August 2012).

3.4 Baboon Protocol

In 2010 the three authorities involved in baboon management (SANParks, CapeNature and the City of Cape Town) decided to revise their earlier strategies with regards to habitual raiding baboons. Together with the Baboon Research Unit (BRU) they came up with a protocol entitled: ‘PROTOCOL for reducing the frequency and severity of raiding behaviour by *chacma* baboons on the Cape Peninsula, South Africa’ (CapeNature, 2011). The reasoning behind this revision was that there was a lack of integrated decision making to ensure that both long- and short term management plans were implemented. Mitigating factors (fires, droughts etc.) were also considered, and enough solid data were gathered to support decisions for the removal of problem animals (CapeNature 2011, 1). Experienced wildlife managers were appointed in CapeNature’s Wildlife Advisory Committee (WAC) to follow the new protocol and to safeguard further actions. Interestingly enough in the policy document describing this new protocol, there is noted that it is of the utmost importance that those managers in the WAC are not directly affected themselves by raiding baboons as was previously the case. Apparently the authorities and those drawing up this new strategy have had bad experiences in the past with people that were too closely involved with the baboons and feared that baboon management decisions during the time of the Baboon Management Team were influenced by this. In figure 6 we can see a guiding step-by-step framework describing how the new raiding baboon protocol should be used. As we can see in this sequence, it is now of the utmost importance that a detailed case history is compiled for each individual raiding baboon (CapeNature 2011, 1). This file is made together with the service provider (at the time of the start of the protocol still called NCC, but now HWS), local residents, conservation authorities and both local and international researchers.

“The weight of evidence for and against euthanasia is assessed in its entirety, from the case history and behaviour of the baboon through the social and physical environment it lives in. The WAC have to draw upon their collective experience and expertise in wildlife management to weigh up the threat posed by the individual to public health and safety and the previous, current and proposed management plans to prevent this behaviour or its emergence in other baboons within that area.”

(CapeNature 2011, 1)

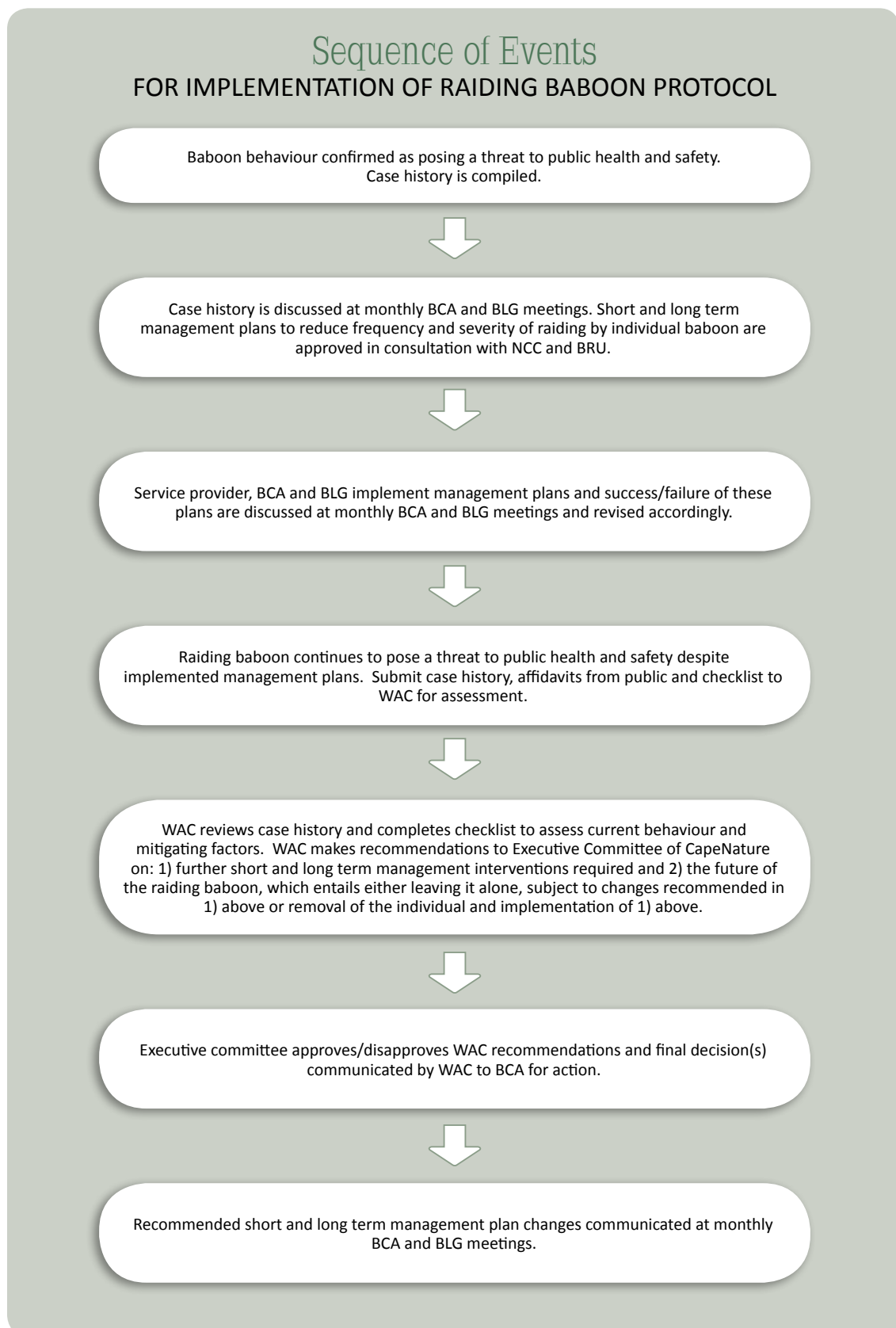


Figure 5. Raiding baboon protocol: sequence of events leading to the use of the protocol.

(Source: CapeNature 2011, 3).

With this information a case is built, just like would be done with any human individual which does not obey the rules. To ensure that enough details are gathered about a specific raiding baboon BRU developed the checklist that can be seen in figure 6:

Individual:		Date:	
Troop:			
Management intervention is required if a baboon:			
has any/a	*Infectious disease *Serious injury *Very poor dental health	☐	
or engages in any of these behaviours to obtain human derived food	*Enters building with people *Enters car with people *Breaks to enter house *Attacks people	☐	
and/or raids	*Frequently (5x/week) *Nocturnally	☐	
or	*Forms a fission troop *Immigrates into a non-raiding troop and raids *Leaves troop to raid alone	☐	
*Immediate intervention required *Bring to attention of authorities for discussion and appropriate management action plan		☐	
Comments:			
Euthanise		☐	
Mitigating factors for intervention include if:			
it is the	*Alpha male	☐	
there is no baboon proofing of	*Municipal waste *Commercial waste *Houses, bins, gardens	☐	
there is no	*Monitor team *Education	☐	
there has recently been or there currently is	*Large scale habitat transformation *No access to natural land <130m *An extensive fire *A drought	☐	
*Immediate remedial action required *Bring to attention of authorities for discussion and appropriate management action plan		☐	
Address mitigating factors before intervention		☐	

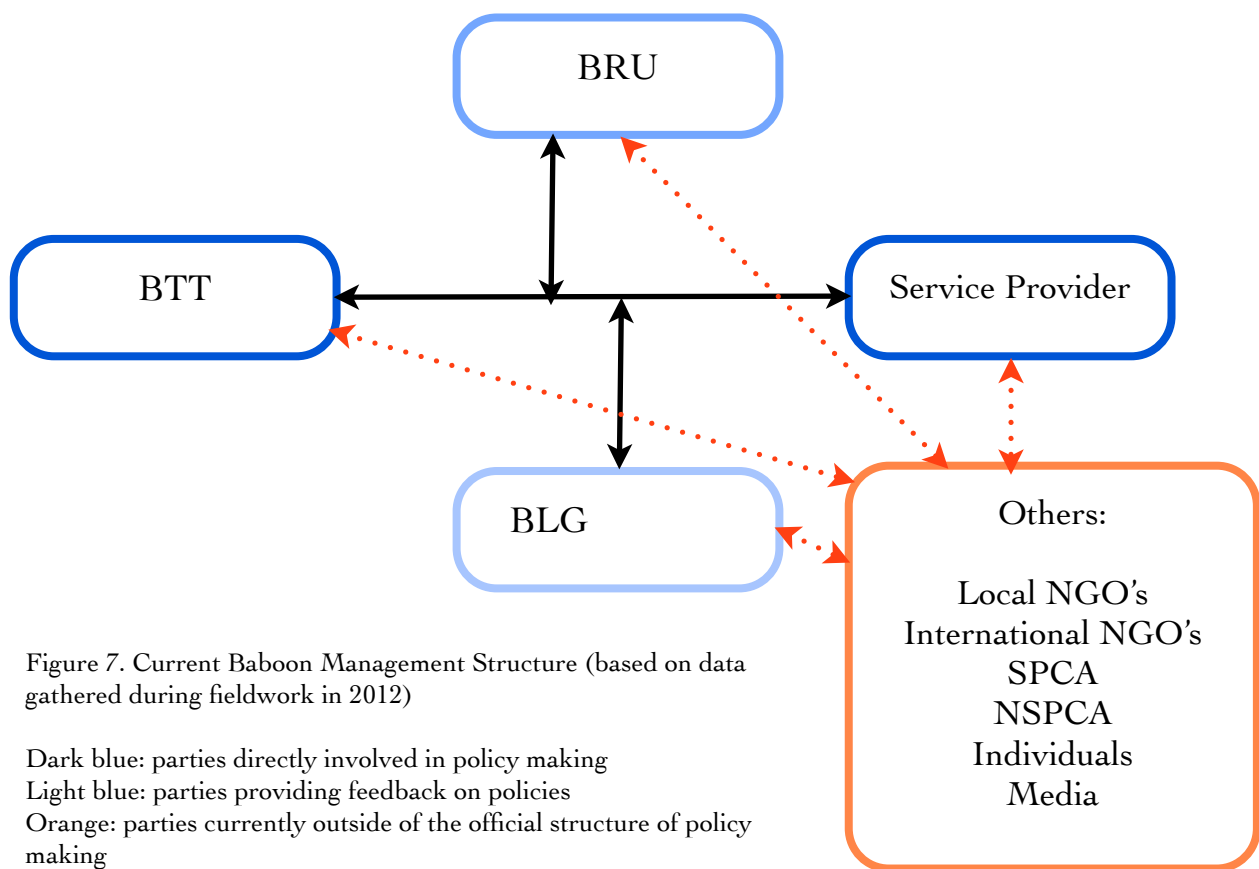
Figure 6. Raiding baboon protocol: checklist used for each individual baboon displaying raiding behaviour.

Source: CapeNature (2011, 6)

With these two schedules, BRU suggested a new and more structured approach to dealing with raiding baboons on the Cape Peninsula. According to Daisy (Interview 4 October 2012), the previous strategies of 2007 and 2009 (CapeNature 2009) left too much room for failure. Quoting from one of the policy documents she told me that “Any [baboon] male that enters the urban edge more than 3 times, could be culled/put down. There would not be a baboon left if they would have done that. They do that in a day!” (Daisy, Interview 4 October 2012). The new raiding baboon protocol would be a more flexible checklist, where mitigating factors such as whether or not a raiding baboon is the alpha male, would also be considered. Although the intention behind this new policy was clearly good: many of the other stakeholders exploded over one specific thing mentioned in Figure 7: the word euthanasia. An entire discourse alone emerged about this one specific term, as we will see in paragraph 4.4.

3.5 Parties currently involved in baboon management

Next to a new protocol to handle raiding individual baboons, a lot of changes were made in the management structures and strategies on the Cape Peninsula. At the time of my fieldwork, there was next to the earlier described protocol also a relatively new baboon management structure in place. This had already been implemented at a previous stage, but after a new tender process yet another new service provider, Human Wildlife Solutions (HWS)²⁷ had just begun in August 2012 (Cape Times, 31 July 2012; NCC Press Release, 22 June 2012) and several new techniques to manage the baboon were being implemented. These techniques will be explained further in paragraph 3.6.



The structure that was known as the Baboon Management Team (BMT) and had encompassed all possible stakeholders had been disbanded in 2010 and replaced with the structure I have illustrated as figure 7. Currently the three governmental bodies (SANParks, Cape Nature and the City of Cape Town) are now all united in the Baboon Technical Team (BTT). They are

²⁷ Human Wildlife Solutions is founded by Dr. Phil Richardson, a zoologist with 15 years of experience as a wildlife cameraman and producer of several wildlife documentaries. Having studied at Oxford and lectured at Pretoria University, Richardson believes in a professional scientific approach to baboon conservation: "Human Wildlife Solutions has employed a team of qualified and experienced individuals where the minimum entry requirement for our team leaders and managers is a National Diploma in Nature Conservation or equivalent. Having a team of professionals ensures that we are effective, responsible and knowledgeable in the work we do and the decisions we make" (<http://www.hwsolutions.org/our-team.php>, Accessed 22 August 2013).

responsible for the policy making process when it comes to the Cape's baboons. The current service provider HWS executes this policy and is in charge of the actual management in the field, such as supervising the baboon monitoring programme. Both the BTT and the service provider are therefore involved in the actual policy making and implementation. This however, is not done in complete isolation. The Baboon Research Unit of the University of Cape Town (BRU) provides the BTT with scientific information on which new strategies can be based, as well as evaluated. Especially data about spatial patterns, deaths and foraging behaviour recorded by the baboons' GPS collars are essential (see for example Hoffman & O'Riain (2012) and Beamish (2008)).

To also include voices from civil society, local representatives chosen by residents living in 'baboon hotspot' areas come together in the Baboon Liaison Group (BLG). The BLG has just like BRU an advisory role, to give feedback on the baboon management plans presented by the BTT and HWS. Although local NGO's, animal welfare organisations and many others are not officially included in this scheme anymore, they still play a significant role in the public discourse about Cape Town's baboons²⁸. They are regularly invited to attend meetings held by the BTT and also express their opinions through local and international media channels. Demonstrations are not an uncommon sight, especially in the Kommetjie and Scarborough area, such as for example a public gathering on November 11th, 2012 to demonstrate against the 'killing' of alpha male baboons (Cape Times, 12 November 2012).

As mentioned before, you can see the global and national trends in conservation ideology reflected within Cape Town's baboon management structures. Now it seems that authorities are moving away from a more holistic approach in which local community representatives were included (with the BMT and BLG structure) towards a more preservation like approach again. After having spent 15 years trying to include all stakeholders in the policy making process in which no real 'solutions' to the baboon 'problem' have been found, the authorities seem to be fed up with having to justify their every move and decisions to the voices from the general public. Baboon management might be back to where it was in the mid-90s: in the hands of the governmental bodies concerned with nature. Perhaps the 'fortress' of conservation (Brockington, 2002) has closed its doors once again, merely just being informed by the people outside the gates²⁹.

²⁸ Unfortunately it was out of the scope of this particular research project to further investigate the power (in)balances between the different stakeholders involved. Some are more active and vocal in advocating their cause, while others may be pulling the strings behind the scenes. This would be an interesting topic for further research.

²⁹ A development that might also have been enforced by rumours of a pending lawsuit initiated by the activists: "There is now a threat of legal action, so they [being the authorities] now need to be extra careful with what they say, because everything can be used against them" (Interview Jane 1 November 2012).

3.6 Deterrents

As mentioned before, with the introduction of HWS as a new service provider, new techniques were introduced in the field to resolve the human-baboon-conflict Cape Town has been facing all these years. The most controversial of these techniques is probably the official introduction of paint ball guns to scare the baboons away (AFP, 13 November 2012). So before we get into the actual discussions about ‘best management’ and the way in which different stakeholder accuse each other of all sorts of things central to the next chapter, we will end this one by explaining the different ‘deterrents’ that have been considered in the Cape Town case up to this point. Generally, the word deterrent refers to “any technique intended to protect crops from damage by animals” (Hill & Wallace 2012, 2570). But as we have seen, crops are not all that is at stake when it comes to the Cape’s baboons: residential areas almost function as a ‘fast-food paradise’ for them (Interview Mike, 10 October 2012). I will therefore look at deterrents in a more broader sense and discuss the most important techniques currently being used by stakeholders to reduce human-baboon conflict.

Baboon Monitors

As initiated by Kansky and Gaynel in 1998, the idea of ‘baboon monitors’ was one of the first deterrents to have emerged from the cooperation between scientists and the authorities. Having learnt that standing in between the baboons and residential areas would block the baboons from coming down the mountain to raid homes, a group of people who knew the area well was trained



to function as a ‘human barricade’. They would follow the baboons around all day, from the moment they woke up at their sleeping site, until the moment the monitors themselves needed to leave to go home. By using a principle called ‘holding the line’, where all the monitors walked on an imaginary line within sighting distance from one another, they would herd the baboon troops

to certain foraging sites, making sure that they stayed clear from residential areas. This way of chasing and herding the baboons was often enforced by the monitors through whistling, clapping, shouting and waving to impress the baboons (O’Riain, 2010). Of course, in due time a certain level of habituation emerged and the baboons were less impressed by the monitors, so other measures needed to be taken to reinforce the power of the monitors: such as whips, the throwing of objects and more recently: paint ball guns. Baboon monitors have been used as a baboon management technique for more than 15 years now, with varying levels of success:

“Human monitors, who herd baboons away from residential areas, are currently the preferred method of conflict mitigation. However, this method is costly and suffers from short-term interruptions, wherein the unexpected absence of monitors may lead to unprepared residents using lethal force to deter raiding baboons”

(Kaplan *et al.* 2011, 1397).

As mentioned in the quote above, the idea of baboon monitors is not infallible and certain happenings have disrupted the programme throughout the years. Especially when there was a gap of a month in between service providers NCC and HWS all the hard work that had been done for years seemed all for nothing: the baboons went back to their old ways in no time (Cape Times, 1 July 2012).

The amount of money that is now being invested by the City of Cape Town in the baboon monitoring programme alone has now gone up from one million Rand (100.000 Euro) up to ten million Rand (1.000.000 Euro) (Interview Bart, 21 September 2012; Interview Mike, 10 October 2012). Together with the Cape’s sharks, the baboons are currently almost claiming the entire budget of the City’s biodiversity unit (personal communication, 15 October 2012). And in the end, it remains hard to explain to the general public why so much money is being spend on a ‘bunch of men babysitting the baboons’ all day:

“The monitors work long hot hours in summer and spend cold wet hours on the mountains in winter. They have a very physical task as they can spend hours charging up and down steep cliffs after their recalcitrant charges. Yet on the odd occasion when residents see the men watching the baboons, allowing the baboons time to forage or groom, the perception is that the men are not working. This is when residents harass the men for being lazy. It is a trying job to say the least and compounded by a great deal of ignorance as to what the monitors are actually doing”

(Trethowan 2009, 55)

Baboon proofing

One of the other deterrents that have been used in the past decades is the idea of 'baboon proofing'. This encompasses measures taken by the local residents themselves to make sure coexistence with the baboons remains as friendly as possible. Not only is responsible waste management encouraged (CapeNature, 2009), but assistance in how to 'baboon proof' is also provided by the City of Cape Town who for example supply special pad locks to place on garbage bins such as shown in the picture below.



Next to ensuring that garbage bins remain closed, the following additional measures are for example highly recommended by local NGO Baboon Matters to those residents who live side by side with baboons³⁰:

- *Make sure that your waste management is extremely efficient.*
- *If possible keep your garbage bin out of sight, for example, inside a garage.*
- *It is essential to baboon-proof your dustbin, wherever it is situated.*
- *There are a variety of methods available to baboon proof your bin, depending on the type of bin you are using: If you are using the wheelie bin supplied by the municipalities – remember to attach locks to both sides of the bin – a single lock in the middle of the bin is insufficient..*
- *Secure your bin upright so that baboons cannot knock the bins over – this can be done by tying the bin to a pole or to a wall. Baboons will run past the bins and attempt to knock them over to gain easy access to the food contained within. As the baboons knock the bins down, the bin lid will pop open if not secured with padlocks (see above). If the bin remains upright it is more difficult for the baboons to access the food within.*

³⁰ Source: <http://www.baboonmatters.org.za/the-baboons/encountering-baboons/>, Accessed 24 July 2013

- *It has been suggested that the bins are most effective stored flat on the ground. This is illogical and untrue. It is not only difficult for residents to place their garbage in the bin when it is flat on the ground, but it is considerably easier for the baboons to sit next to the low bin and reach into the bin for food.*
- *Reduce your waste by planning carefully and recycling. If you throw a lot of food content into your waste the baboons will soon come to view your bin as a rich reward site. With the huge pressures of waste management both locally and globally it is good to reduce your waste in any event.*

But just responsible waste management is not enough for residents in 'baboon hotspots', additional measures are also recommended by the City of Cape Town:

Dealing with Baboons

Avoiding contact and conflict with baboons

Dear Resident,

As you live near the urban edge, please heed the following advice:

- Warn your neighbours when baboons are in the vicinity
- Keep doors locked and windows closed when baboons are in the vicinity
- Sliding doors must have night bolts installed to prevent baboons lifting them off their tracks
- Windows, particularly top-hung ones, must have a latch at each end of the opening edge so that a baboon cannot pull the frame and break the glass
- Install burglar bars (with gaps smaller than 8 cm, including sides/ tops of bars) on windows you usually keep open
- Do not have food on display where it can be seen
- Do not leave pet food outside or feed pets outside
- Do not put seed out for wild birds
- **NEVER** feed baboons. They will return to your property again and again
- Do not plant fruit trees, vegetable gardens or make compost heaps unless they are in a locked caged area or surrounded by electric fencing
- Plant indigenous, as baboons love exotic/alien plants
- **Dustbins:** Every resident should have the prescribed baboon-proof bins. Secure the bin either upright against a wall/pole or lie it down on its side, locked with a dog clip or padlock. "No easy pickings — no baboons"
- Place TV antennas in the ceiling

Always report the presence of baboons if there are no monitors in the vicinity.



BABOON REPORTING HOTLINE:

071 588 6540

(Cellphone rates apply)



More useful advice about minimising human – baboon interaction:

IF CONFRONTED BY A BABOON

- In your garden or house, stand still and remain calm. Sudden movements will make it act defensively
- Back away slowly and do not block its escape route
- Be determined, decisive and confident when driving a baboon off
- Spray the baboon with a strong stream of water as they hate water. Have a water pistol in the house and a hose pipe ready in the garden
- Keep pets out of the way

DO NOT

- Try to snatch back anything from a baboon – it will fight to hold on to food
- Threaten infants and juveniles, as adults, in particular the alpha male, will protect them with aggression if necessary

BINS AND BABOONS – YOUR OPTIONS

- Secure both latches with padlocks or clips at all times
- Secure your bin lid with strap, rope or chain
- Knock a pole in the ground and attach your bin to the pole. The bin must be raised off the ground
- Store your bin in the garage or in a caged area
- Lie the bin on its side – locked

BABOON REPORTING HOTLINE – 071 588 6540

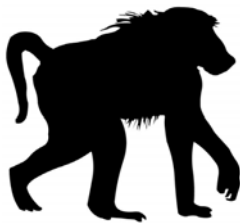


Figure 8. Baboon flyer ‘dealing with baboons’ aimed at local residents.

(Source: <http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/EnvironmentalResourceManagement/projects/BiodMagementConserv/Pages/BaboonManagement.aspx>, Accessed 24 July 2013)

When reading all the ‘baboon proofing’ measures above, it seems quite a lot of restrictions for people who live in areas where baboons also reside, not to mention the extra costs that come with it. And a lot of people just not seem determined enough to make the effort: in the Welcome Glen area for example, locks for garbage bins were donated to every household, but only 30 percent of the residents actually used them (Dan, 16 October 2012). It seems as if some people just can not be bothered to help as well, making the work of the authorities and the baboon monitors in the field just that much harder (Trethowan, 2009).

Public awareness

As we can see from the information pamphlets and brochures presented in appendix V, there are also more and more attempts to create a greater awareness about human-baboon conflicts amongst the general public. Some of them rather extreme with (sometimes exaggerated) slogans like 'a fed baboon is a dead baboon' and others are of a more educational nature with extra information about the lives of baboons, but they all do try to get the message across that man and baboon should attempt to live together in peace.

Launching these kind of campaigns is not a new trend, an early example of a public awareness campaign aimed at local residents was the document already made by Kansky in 2002. In understandable language for both children and adults, and colourful images the Cape's baboon problem is explained, by answering questions such as: "what do baboons eat from residential properties (Kansky 2002, 14)? Why do some households have lots of baboon problems while others don't have any (ibid, 15)? What are the best plants to have in a garden so they won't attract baboons (ibid, 30)? Why can't we just let the baboons come into residential areas? They don't bother me and I like to watch them (ibid, 34)?"

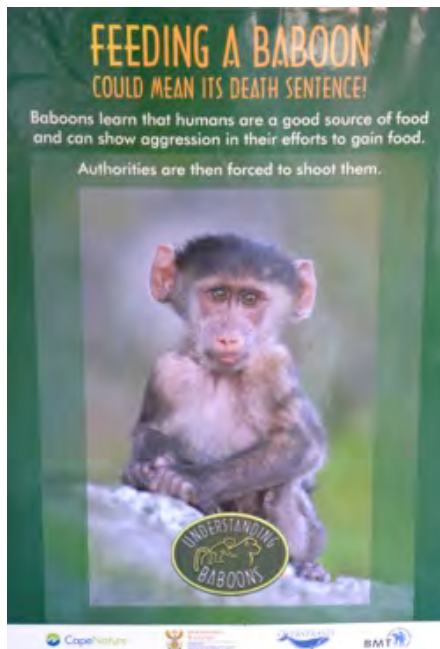
Next to explaining about the baboons in a way which also makes sense to non-academics and non-policy makers, the illustrations also try to 'lighten the mood' with a good dose of humour:



Figure 9. Cartoons informing residents about responsible waste management

(Source: Kansky 2002, 27)

If we compare Kansky's (2002) document with the brochures and pamphlets in Appendix V which I have received during fieldwork, we can see that the way in which residents are



approached has changed throughout the years. The aim is no longer on just explaining what is happening and why, but has a sense of urgency in its slogans and language use. The focus is also more on creating a certain level of distance between humans and baboons, emphasising that baboons are 'wild' and 'must be treated with respect', and our 'irresponsible human behaviour spells a DEATH SENTENCE for BABOONS'. But at the same time, this also shows that question whether or not the baboons should be there in the first place is no longer at the forefront of the debate. A level of equality seems to have been reached, where humans are addressed in such a way that a certain level of respect towards the baboons is demanded. Not only the baboons are

discussed as agents (learning that 'humans are a good source of food') but the local residents as well, emphasising that their actions could cause baboons to be put down.

Not only local residents are informed about living side by side with the Cape's baboons: tourists and those who work in tourism are also a major target group of awareness campaigns. All along the coastal route on the Peninsula and in the nature reserves signs and posters such as the one below have been placed to make tourists aware of measures that need to be taken when encountering a troop of baboons. When we as humans are on a holiday we tend to lose a bit of our common sense and are a very easy target for clever baboons trying to steal our picnic (just like in the example of Strum *et al.*, 2008), or leaving our car doors open when trying to take their picture. My own 'silly tourist' baboon encounter with which I started this thesis would perhaps not have even happened if at that time there would have been signs saying that I should have not brought food with me to the park.



Feeding stations

Another deterrent often mentioned by residents themselves are local feeding stations placed on top of the mountains in seasons when food is scarce for the baboons. An option that has also been researched by BRU, who investigated whether or not these 'artificial food patches' could be used to distract the baboons, away from residential areas, in the moments where no baboon monitors were present (Kaplan *et al.* 2011, 1397). Although many local residents living adjacent to areas where such a feeding station could be placed believe in its value (Interview Charles, 10 October 2012) other parties are not convinced. The research of Kaplan *et al.* (2011) has for example shown that although the troops with which the feeding stations were used did sometimes use them, it did not show a decline in the raiding behaviour of the baboons in urban areas. The baboons seemed to still favour food they could find in urban waste sites. After this research project no real attempts have been made to continue providing food for the baboons.

Feeding fines

After the introduction of the monitoring programme, CapeNature has become responsible for the law enforcement part of baboon management (Interview Bart, 21 September 2012), including fining people for feeding the baboons. Because governmental bodies are bound by legislation and their mandates, there is only so much they are legally allowed to do when it comes to confronting and accusing people. As my informant Bart (Interview 21 September 2012) stated: "They were very limited, because you need actual proof of somebody feeding the baboon such as photo's and even people willing to testify in court". And catching someone 'in the act' is not an easy task and only certain officials are allowed to hand out the actual fines. To make this process a little bit easier a recent initiative by representatives of the BLG and HWS monitors are now being trained as law enforcement officer. After they complete a course they officially become Honorary Nature Conservation Officers (HNCO) and are legally allowed to fine people for feeding the Cape's baboons (Interview Mike, 10 October 2012). In October 2012 the first group of 8 people graduated and plans were being made to gain funding to train the rest of the monitors as well.

Canadian 'bear bangers'

Of course, Cape Town is not at all the first and only site where a human-wildlife conflict takes place, and there are other people also looking into possible deterrents for other animals. One that

has proven to be successful in Canada and Northern parts of the United States to keep large wildlife away, is called a 'bear banger'.



“A bear banger consists of a pen-sized, spring-loaded launcher that deploys a 6cm plastic capsule approximately 30m into the air. Once deployed, a reaction in the capsule causes the air inside it to expand and within 2-3 seconds this air forces the capsule open, generating a loud bang (approximately 115 decibels; a vuvuzela [which has proven to be notoriously loud during the World Soccer Championship of 2010] is approx. 120 decibels)”

(O’Riain, 2010)

A bear banger can be seen as a sort of light gun many boats have on board in case of emergencies, but instead of light it produces a loud noise to scare the bears and baboons away. One of the local residents of Simon’s Town, a naval village on the Eastern side of the Peninsula bordering with Cape Point National Park, took matters into his own hands and started to experiment with bear bangers in 2009, feeling that this might be the deterrent that would keep the baboons at bay. At that time the data gathered by BRU with the GPS collars showed that the baboons were crossing the urban edge on an almost weekly basis (Interview Daisy, 28 September 2012) and could raid the village freely because there were no monitors available to herd the troop. Simon’s town had one major advantage, having the mountains and the sea as a natural barrier, blocking other possible entry routes to the town. So when the local residents themselves hired two people to start using the bear bangers, they could implement this technique along an imaginary border (ibid), with nowhere else to go for the baboons but back into the nature reserve of Cape Point.

Paint Ball guns

In 2012 paint ball guns were introduced as another technique to try and scare the baboons away (AFP, 13 November 2012). A deterrent already sporadically tested by the City of Cape Town during the pre-summer months (in between service providers), but officially a measure since



Human Wildlife Solutions became a service provider on August 1st, 2012. Paint ball guns were handed out to monitors in the field, to frighten the baboons when they came too close to residential areas or other dangerous places such as busy streets and highways. The main idea behind it being that the baboons start to associate the monitors with their paint ball guns as a possible source of pain, which they would rather avoid, choosing to go to another area where the monitors are not (e.a. away from the 'line' they defend on residential borders). According to one of the monitor supervisors the paint ball guns give them: "one major advantage. The baboons can outrun,

outclimb and outjump us monitors at any given moment. What takes us as humans half an hour, is a easy 3 minute sprint for the baboons" (Fieldnotes, 24 October 2012). Paint Ball Guns in this case compensate what the monitors lack in physical abilities. And to be honest, how many people can keep up with such quick animals all day long, hiking up and down mountains in the blistering heat?

Unfortunately the use of paint ball guns has also triggered some negative responses. Not only are the monitors walking around compared to an 'intimidating SWAT team' (Interview Dan, 16 October 2012; Interview Charles, 10 October 2012), but some of my informants are also concerned that it is setting a bad example for residents, who feel they are allowed to use these kind of techniques themselves:



"In the Tokai are, the baboons are a big problem in the [horse] stables because they try to grab the food of the horses. The owners of the stables have now taken matters into their own hands and are effectively using paint ball guns to scare them away, without any permits!"

(Interview David, 31 October 2012)

However, the verdict on the effectiveness of the use of paint ball guns is still out. It seems as if it makes a difference so far, but when the baboons become accustomed to them they might lose its deterring function³¹.

Electric Fences

One of the most recent ‘success stories’ when it comes to the deterrents being used on the Cape are electric fences. All of my informants (with no exemptions) mentioned that especially a test-run with fencing in the Zwaanswyk community near Tokai forest has proven recently to be an effective deterrent: “The special case of the Zwaanswyk SRA’s fence which was funded by the local ratepayers and is proving to be very successful” (BLG Chairperson’s Annual Report, 2012). The fence illustrated in figure 11 is powered by solar power and the 1.2 million Rand (120.000 Euros) it has costed has been funded by levies collected from property owners and loans raised by the Zwaanswyk Association of Property Owners (ZAPO) (People’s Post, 5 March 2013).

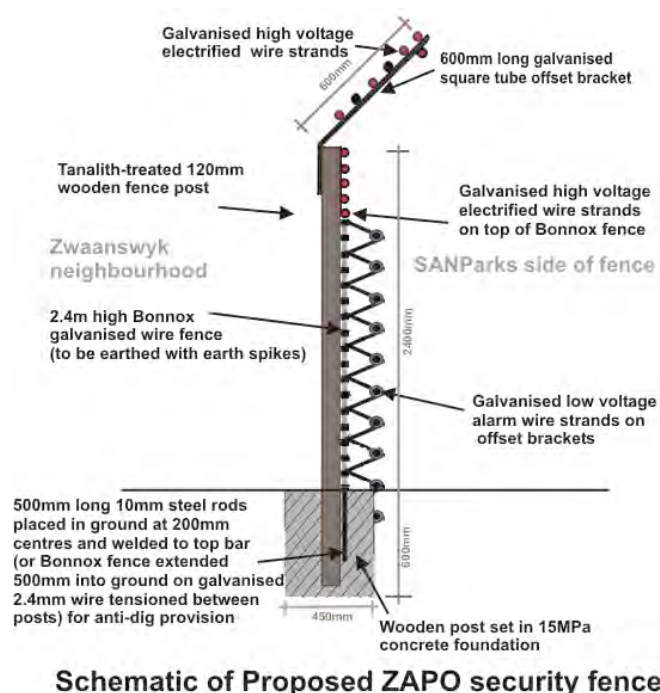


Figure 10. Illustration of the Zwaanswyk electric fence.

(Source: www.zapo.co.za, Accessed 25 July 2013)

³¹ For example, as one of the HWS employees told me when I visited them in the field (24 October 2012) some of the baboons had already learnt to dodge the bright coloured paint bullets, so they had to be replaced by black ones which were less visible. Other large male baboons were not even impressed by the pain they experienced when being hit by a paint ball: they would just keep on running, taking up to 30 hits, because they knew the reward would be worth it (Interview Susan, 22 November 2012).

The residents in Zwaanswyk were particularly determined to find a deterrent that would prove to be successful enough to keep the baboons away from their homes, especially since after the fire in Table Mountain National Park in 2000 the Tokai baboon troops had reached new heights. Currently population statistics show that the troops in Tokai forest are the largest on the entire Peninsula with around 14 baboons per square kilometre, a lot more than in for example Cape Point where the number is ‘just’ at 2,5 baboons per square kilometre (People’s Post, 5 March 2013). The fence was completed in June 2012 and took 1 year to build, but now also functions as additional security, not only keeping the residents safe from baboons but also any other kind of intruders (both human and nonhuman). Of course, as with any other deterrent, the fence had its start-up issues in the beginning. The raiding baboons of the splinter troop tried everything to get across the fence: they were climbing up telephone poles, jumped the tops of gum trees, crawled underneath the fence and ambush the monitors guarding the gates (Interview Susan, 22 November 2012). After observing the gate closely some of the baboons had also figured out that the special gates made for horseback riders did not close quick enough to keep them out, and by making a run for it they could still get inside (Interview David, 31 October 2012). Issues that currently have been resolved by adjusting gates, removing nearby trees and regular check-ups, but as we have seen baboons are very clever and might come up with a new way of breaking through the fence.



Electric fencing surrounding the Zwaanswyk residential area

Now I have reconstructed the baboon management’s history together with the help of my informants and explained which deterrents have been developed throughout the years, we will turn to another important aspect of Cape Town’s ‘baboon debate’: discourse. As we will see actions of certain people might have influence the way in which the human-baboon conflict is being handled, but words play an even bigger role. It might even be at the source of the human-human conflict surrounding discussions about human-baboon interaction.

Chapter 4: Talking about baboons

Hurn (2011, 40) suggest that the most urgent theoretical concerns for scientists with regard to Cape Town's 'baboon debate' are conflicting perceptions of 'baboon personhood' [although I feel the term 'baboon agency' is more fitting]. This informs peoples' ideas about how baboons should be managed, conflicting attitudes towards baboon welfare and inconsistent behaviour by people in relation to the actual management of baboons on the ground³². According to her, ambivalence in attitudes towards animals and baboons in particular is often informed by personal experience. In this chapter we will take a closer look at ways in which this range of opinions is being expressed on several platforms. After which, in chapter 5, we will look at the underlying assumptions about human-animal relations that surface in Cape Town's 'baboon debate'. But to get a glimpse at how different local resident's experiences with baboons can actually be, I will first discuss two opposing stories in which baboons feature in a very different manner. They both represent the outer ends of a continuum that exists surrounding the Cape's baboons.

Kate Davies and her husband Brian lived in Pringle Bay at the edge of town, right in between the sleeping site and the foraging area of a local troop of baboons (Interview David, 31 October 2012). Their primate neighbours needed to cross their porch every time they went out to gather food and/or came back from their daily adventures. Kate had been ill for a long time and because she was paralysed she had to be moved around in a wheelchair by her husband. One day he decided to place her on the porch to see how the baboons would react. Of course Kate could not go anywhere, but Brian was confident that she would be alright. Amazingly enough the baboons instantly accepted her and even started grooming her. Until her death a couple of years ago the lady in the wheelchair would sit outside on her porch frequently, surrounded by a troop of baboons, sometimes even painting their pictures. Many people believe that Kate somehow managed to connect with the baboons on a more spiritual level. Or perhaps the baboons somehow sensed that the handicapped lady could use their company³³.



³² Another point raised by Hurn (2011, 40) is the notion of baboon 'culture'. A concept that fits in with academic discussions about the blurred line between what is considered to be animal and what is seen as human. A topic that will be discussed in chapter 5. The notion of culture within animal societies does not entirely fits within the scope of this research project, but is definitely a fascinating one that features in present interdisciplinary discussions. See for example De Waal (2009) or Bourke (2011).

³³ South African channel SABC 3 broadcasted the story of Kate and her baboons in an episode called 'the healing power of nature: my friends the baboons', part of a larger series of documentaries about healing through nature aired in 2006 and 2008.

A much less positive picture was painted to me in an interview with Daisy (Interview 4 October 2012). In one of the residential areas next to Table Mountain National Park, a pregnant lady was frequently harassed by a big male baboon who raided the neighbourhood. One day (when her husband was out of the country for a business trip) she, her toddler and her pregnant belly came home from some grocery shopping. All of the sudden a big hairy thing jumped up on her back when she entered the kitchen, which looked like a 'war zone'. She managed to fight it off and escaped to the bedroom. Stressed out she yelled to her small child, which had gotten lost in the confusion. The idea of her little one being all alone with an enormous baboon freaked her out and she hysterically started screaming and shouting, banging at the bedroom door. Luckily after a few frightening moments her toddler crawled from under the bed where she had been hiding and mother and daughter were reunited. However, next to all the material damage done by the raiding baboon, the stress of the encounter probably caused the lady to miscarry. Through this incident the baboons in the neighbourhood made one more enemy and the lady is now frequently seen protesting against them and advocating the euthanasia of baboons in the area.

Both of these stories feature an entirely different experience where humans and baboons meet. And of course, therefore both also have a very different outcome when it comes to the attitudes that local residents display towards baboons and baboon management. As informant Mike (Interview 10 October 2012) will show us in paragraph 4.1 there is a whole range of nuances, a continuum you might say, and it is not as black and white as these examples can make it seem. However, within the public discourse surrounding baboon management itself it often seems as if people are either against or in favour of current measurements. You either love the baboons, or you hate them.

In this chapter we will take a closer look at these pro- and anti- baboon story lines and try to find out which assumptions underly them. We will first look at the dynamics of the 'baboon debate' itself, and explain just how deeply some of the key figures have been involved throughout the years. After this I will go into more detail, using the method of discourse analysis to show that there is more to the discussion than meets the eye. Durham and Merskin (2009) have proven that this method can be used to analyse attitudes towards animal agency, which is also the central theme in this thesis. To show that the public discourse about the Cape's baboons is not limited to just the direct vicinity of the Table Mountain National Park, we will shortly look at the attention which the baboons have generated amongst an international audience. After this we will analyse three of the most prominent discourses I have distinguished about baboon conservation in Cape Town.

4.1 Getting personal

During a visit to a residents of Welcome Glen accompanying one of HWS' field managers, I was struck to see the amount of hostility between both. Of course at the time, in the middle of my fieldwork period, I was very much aware of the tensions there were between the different stakeholders and had heard several examples of how this played out in practice (Interview Christine, 16 October 2012; Interview Dan, 16 October 2012). But what I was not aware of at that time, was the personal level at which the differences of opinion took place. After being introduced by my companion I explained to my host what exactly I had been researching in the past months and why I was joining HWS for a day in the field. The instant reply I got before even finishing my story was a cynical: "welcome to hell" and a "you foreigners all love them" (Fieldnotes, 24 October 2012).

In advance I had heard from others that this particular person was a prime example of just how emotionally involved some local residents had become after having dealt with baboon issues for the majority of their life (Interview Dan, 16 October 2012). This particular individual was notorious for 'going after the baboon monitors with his big black dog', a stick and many ugly words (Interview Christine, 16 October 2012), trying to keep them for doing their job and threatening the monitors who used the paint ball guns in his neighbourhood. 'A bit of a cowboy' as described by my HWS companion. Of course, this kind of information influences your perspective during a first encounter, but also illustrates just how bad some of the tensions between different stakeholders can get. Bad experiences from the past seem to overshadow present day encounters, creating a certain level of distrust between all parties. When I met this so-called 'extreme pro-baboon activist' he seemed like a nice guy, really concerned for the wellbeing of the baboons he had chosen to live with. Perhaps this was my own naivety, being new in the field of baboon management politics and not having had previous negative experiences with him. His big black dog who attacked monitors was actually a 'happy-go-lucky' labrador (not amongst the most dangerous dog sorts in my opinion) and my host seemed very well prepared for his meeting with the HWS representative, holding on to an entire file of newspaper clippings and an actual list of points of concern he wanted to discuss with her. However, he did acknowledge that when it came to baboons he had some serious temper issues and was getting excited about things in a bad way, causing tensions between both parties (Fieldnotes, 24 October 2012).

The encounter with a local activist in Welcome Glen is a helpful illustration to show just how sensitive the relations between different role players in baboon management have become over the years:

“What is particularly instructive about the state of affairs on the Cape, however, is that the human-baboon conflict has an added dimension in terms of the management of these animals. Indeed, significant differences of opinion exist between the various stakeholder groups (...). These divergent views are exacerbated by media portrayals, public sentiment and the hugely disparate personal experiences of individuals.”

(Hurn 2011, 39)

Especially the last point made by Hurn (2011) in the quote above seems to be the case here: many of the local residents have been living with Cape Town’s baboons for years and have grown very fond of them. Whether they have just watch them from a distance or have experienced more personal contact during life changing ‘baboon walks’ (Interview David, 31 October 2012; Interview Charles, 10 October 2012; Interview Dan, 16 October 2012) with local NGO Baboon Matters, many people care deeply about their baboon neighbours. And the residents are not alone in this: policy makers, conservationists, researchers, vets, baboon monitors, journalists and many more have become highly involved in the discussion surrounding baboon management throughout the years. Some of them have been at the centre of the debate for a long time, dedicating their entire careers to this human-wildlife conflict. Even up to the point where their personal lives have come into jeopardy and spouses were forced to set ultimatums, like Susan’s (22 November, 2012) partner did, telling her that: “you can either be married to me or to the baboons”. In other instances, such as in those of Bart (21 September 2012) and Richard (23 November 2012) tensions with other stakeholders have come to such great (and ‘unhealthy’) heights, being personally attacked by others, that they only saw one option: leaving the scene of baboon management ³⁴.

The two prime representatives of dedication to the ‘baboon cause’ are probably Jenni Trethowan, head of local NGO Baboon Matters and prof. Justin O’Riain, head of the Baboon

³⁴ To respect my informants I have chosen not to go into detail in this matter, and I have only selected quotes of interviews where opinions that are being voiced about other stakeholders that contribute to the bigger picture that is being drawn about attitudes towards baboon agency. Although struggles between key role players are a great influence on the debate’s dynamics, I feel it is not my place to ‘take sides’ and give a platform to accusations directed at individuals. However, this did present me with a dilemma: it now seems as if the ‘baboon debate’ seems like a nice, clean, well-structured and organised discussion where everybody can equally participate and emotions do not go out of control. Obviously, as with many discussions surrounding animal rights and animal welfare, this not the case. And when it comes to the Cape’s baboons: not the case by far. Fingers are pointed, people are personally attacked and their capabilities and motives questioned, terrible nicknames are used and some of the people who want to protect the baboons from being euthanised even threaten others with physical violence. Sometimes money is raised under false pretences (and even rumoured to be used for personal gain rather than for baboon conservation), or people are being spied on just to prove that they themselves do not follow the guidelines for responsible waste management they so strongly advocate. Never mind the ways in which some people have tried to influence myself as a researcher to ‘join their side’. But, for the sake of my argument, I have decided it would be best to focus on the broader picture, not so much judging one side or the other, but rather trying to find out why there were different sides in the first place.

Research Unit at the University of Cape Town. Both are admired as well as despised by many (Interview Bart, 21 September 2012; Interview Daisy, 4 October 2012; Interview Mike, 10 October 2012; Interview Charles, 10 October 2012; Interview James, 12 October 2012; Interview Christine, 16 October 2012; Interview Dan, 16 October 2012; Interview David, 31 October 2012; Interview Ruth, 14 November 2012; Interview Susan 22 November 2012; Interview Richard, 23 November 2012) . Having suffered public attacks in the media and on a more personal level (Trethowan for example suffered from being poisoned while trying to rescue baboons (Interview David, 31 October 2012), both have had their fare share of drama being key figures in Cape Town's 'baboon debate'. Partly because they are seen as the two key representatives of both outer ends of a more fluid spectrum: the one advocates a more distant conservation approach based on research and facts, the other advocates a more 'personal' approach, where own experiences with the baboons are seen as a basis for policy development.

One of my informants, Mike (Interview 10 October 2013), a local businessman living in one of the baboon hotspots, has his own ideas about a way in which to categorise the kind of people that are involved in the 'baboon debate'. Trethowan and O'Riain are of course not the only ones involved in the debate, and there are other viewpoints represented. After years of involvement in the select group of people deciding about baboon management policy Mike presented me during the interview with the following list. In his opinion we can classify people mainly according to how they feel the Cape's human-baboon conflict should be resolved. In his opinion these 'solutions' range from a very 'anti-baboon' approach to very 'pro-baboon':

- “1. *Kill all baboons*
2. *Confine baboons to fenced areas*
3. *Keep baboons out of residential areas with rangers and make residential areas unattractive to baboons*
4. *Residents must accept position of baboons, they have free range. The residents who do not want to live in these areas must leave*
5. *Do not do anything that interferes with the baboons”*

(Notes made during interview by Mike, 10 October 2012)

When looking back to chapter 2, the different phases South Africa has experienced over the last two centuries can also be seen in this range of solutions to Cape Town's baboon problem. Some people still agree with the practice of killing baboons when they cause problems for humans (although, this is a minority). Others look at it from a preservation angle: all baboons should be kept within the reserve, especially since they are able to teach their raiding behaviour to others

(Interview Mike, 10 October 2012). But as we can see, the other three viewpoints all expect a certain level of (conservation) cooperation from humans: either by baboon proofing their house or moving elsewhere, or just simply accepting that the baboons are there to stay and they have just as much right to be there as the humans. But, no matter what exact divide we create to distinguish the different viewpoint within Cape Town's 'baboon debate', fact remains that there is a whole range of opinions when it comes to baboon management, and people are not afraid to show which one they favour.

4.2 International attention

Popular platforms have been used intensely to communicate the human-baboon conflict the city of Cape Town is facing to the world. This has not only been limited to local media. BBC's well respected comedian and show host Bill Bailey for example even created an eight-episode documentary in 2011, explaining the ins and outs of the conflict to the international public (ITV1, 2011). The show has been aired all over the world by ITV1 and Discovery Channel. In the following quote we can see how he introduced the Cape's baboons to people all over the world:



*"I'm Bill Bailey and I'm south of Cape Town to introduce you to three **unique families** of baboons. The **highway robbers** of the Smits' troop, the **rustic rascals** of the Tokai troop and finally the **urbanites** of Da Gama. We are going to follow the **fortunes** of each family and some of the problems that occur **when men and beast live cheek by jaw**. (..) **There is more rivalry, politics and casual violence than a British provincial town.. live is not easy, being a baboon.** The Cape Peninsula is at the Southern most tip of South Africa and is a narrow sliver of land that juts out 47 miles into the Atlantic ocean. Cape Chacma baboons **have lived here for over a million years**, but now **their claim** on the land is **under threat**. The vast urban sprawl of Cape Town **blocks their path** north into mainland Africa. So they are effectively **cut off, cornered**, their **habitat ever shrinking** with **nowhere left to go**. And since the football World Cup of 2010 many more people have flocked to the Cape. So every new housing development, every new hotel, **eats into the baboon's habitat**, making conflict with their human neighbours **inevitable**. And **we make it far too easy** for them. They're **intelligent, adaptable** animals.. **why would they spend hours foraging in the bush when the humans deliver meals on wheels?** Living alongside us is **tough**. But as we will see, our urban warriors are pretty good at getting by."*

(Baboons with Bill Bailey, 2011, Season One, Episode 1:

Whale of a Time 0.00-2.15 min)

As can be seen in the introduction text of the first episode of Bill Bailey's television show, the kind of language that one uses can influence the way in which the audience judges a certain topic. The emotive words and sentences **made bold** in the text are examples of this. Of course the text is loaded with British humour, but it is also instantly obvious on which end of the continuum in the debate this documentary can be placed. Words like 'intelligent', 'adaptable', 'their claim' and 'under threat' all show that in this specific introduction tries to evoke a certain sense of empathy and admiration from its audience. After watching a couple of episodes you feel connected to the baboons in a certain way, wondering what Tokai's 'rustic rascals' will do next. Bill Bailey and his team seem to be trying to persuade the audience that living alongside humans is hard for the baboons, rather than the other way around. A different approach to looking at animals than most of the more traditional documentaries. But, as argued by others, Bill Bailey's documentary is also an example of anthropomorphism. By using the names given to the baboons by local residents, describing their likes, dislikes, daily routines, and portraying certain baboons as 'lead characters' in an interesting story the baboons are being humanised in a sense. Even though baboons are those who feature in the daily drama that is being broadcasted, it could have very well been a soap opera played by humans. But as Duffy (2000, 1) argues, the day to day realities policy makers face in Cape Town's 'baboon debate' are not a romantic story:

"Wildlife conservation in Africa is widely discussed in newspapers, magazines and television programmes in the industrialised world. However, little attention is paid to what conservation actually means and, in the end, a greatly simplified view of a very complex issue is communicated to readers and viewers."

(Duffy 2000, 1)

'Baboons with Bill Bailey' is of course not the only example of international attention generated by the Cape's baboons (as explained in the introduction, for example National Geographic's Baboon House has also generated a lot of talk about responsible baboon management), but it illustrates how the use of certain words can have a great influence on the public discourse surrounding it. By portraying the baboons as self acting agents an entirely different way of looking at the debate is introduced, a very different one than newspaper headlines such as 'Cape Town baboons get paintballed' (AFP, 2012) and 'ZAPO zapping out baboons' (People's Post, 2013) generate. As I will analyse in the next paragraph, there are many more ways in which such differences come to the fore.

4.5 Popular discourses

According to Durham and Merskin (2009, 229) language and specifically the use of words can help us construct our own realities, as well as those of nonhuman animals. Often this results in a certain unbalance in power, especially when “animals are reduced to numbers, not names, and to protocols rather than personalities” (ibid). We as humans can (sometimes even unknowingly) diminish the individual agency of a nonhuman animal to ourselves with just a couple of simple words in a text. Especially scientists and policymakers are well known for formulating in such a way that a certain level of distance is created and it seems as if the animal itself has been a mere subject (and not at all an agent) in the decision making process.

“Listening requires not only sensitivity to what we empathically envision (..) animals are saying and feeling, but also awareness of, in this case, the discourse used to describe the conditions in which they live and die.”

(Durham and Merskin 2009, 246).

Paraphrasing Michel Foucault’s ideas from the 1960s, De Wit (2011, 12) defines the word discourse as a social construction, shaped by the way we understand and speak about the world. Up to this point we have learned about the way in which conservation in South Africa has developed, how this has affected baboons over time and the ways in which management efforts have varied. We now know who has been involved in the baboon policy making dialogue and which viewpoints about management practices have surfaced. But as with any public debate, there is more than meets the eye. Cape Town’s ‘baboon debate’ is not just about whether the baboons are being managed in the right way. Assumptions about what baboon management (or conservation) is supposed to be like, and the responsibilities people have towards these animals underly stakeholder’s opinions. So, next to what what Scott (1992, 2) calls the ‘public transcript’ about baboon management, there is also a ‘hidden transcript’ (ibid, 4). There is an underlying reasoning beneath the surface which (perhaps unconsciously) influences people’s arguments. And it will be exactly those arguments with which we will conclude this chapter about baboon story lines, followed by a final chapter about the ‘hidden’ reasoning behind them. As we have seen earlier, the choice of words when telling a certain story or trying to bring across a certain message are of the utmost importance:

“Language is an influential tool that can be used to manipulate even the most stubborn or sceptical minds. This can be done by the deliberate choice of specific words, or intentional sentence

construction to convey a particular message.”

(Moeng n.d., 52)

While analysing the data I have gathered during fieldwork, it appeared to me that certain topics always seemed to emerge during interviews. And the people that I have talked to had a very wide range of opinions about these topics. Next to explaining me what baboon management has been about during the past decades, they really wanted me to know how they felt about certain things, trying to ‘convince’ me that their ‘side’ in the debate was actually the one I should ‘go for’. So I decided to use a simple listing principle, marking those (sometimes highly sensitive topics) in my field notes about which everyone seemed to want to talk to me. In the following pages I will present to you my ‘Top 3 of these ‘hot’ issues’ in the public discourses featuring Cape Town’s baboons and the way my informants have spoken about them. These three topics have been selected as the result of my analysis, on which I have elaborated further in the Appendix section of this thesis. Once again I will **highlight** some of the words and ways of phrasing to draw possible ‘hidden’ discourses to the fore.

Discourse 1: “Euthanasia”

As I have explained thoroughly in paragraph 3.4 a ‘new’ baboon protocol was introduced in 2010 by the baboon conservation authorities. In this protocol, illustrated on page 48, one specific word has caused what perhaps is known as the biggest controversy within the public discourse about baboon management: the concept of **euthanasia**. A term that was introduced to underline the ‘humane ideas behind individual culling’ (Interview Daisy, 4 October 2012). As stated in the official protocol document:

*“Culling [i.e. euthanasia] is always **the last and least preferred management option** for wildlife managers but it remains **a necessary tool in any closed population** including zoo’s, sanctuaries and closed parks when translocation is not considered to be a viable management option.”*

(CapeNature 2011, 7)

As we now know the Cape’s baboons are a unique case, not in the least because they are being managed on an individual level, instead of on a troop level as happens in the rest of the world.

But this special treatment also has its difficult sides, because every single baboon death has to be reported in monthly reports by the service provider³⁵ and is covered into detail in local media:

“Famous baboon that terrorised tourists euthanised” (The Sydney Morning Herald, 28 March 2011)

“South African officials have euthanised the country’s most famous baboon, known as Fred, who was well-known for raiding cars and frightening tourists along Cape Town’s scenic route. Fred was the ringleader of a group of baboons infamous for breaking into cars to chow down on sandwiches and snacks” (The Sydney Morning Herald, 28 March 2011)

“Baboon killed by authorities” (People’s Post, 4 September 2012)

“Stop baboon killings, urge conservationists” (Cape Argus, 5 September 2012)

“Last alpha male (not) standing” (Cape Argus, 25 September 2012)

“The death of Carpenter - the last adult male in a splinter Chacma baboon troop in the southern suburbs - has once again turned the spotlight on the city’s processes in dealing with wandering baboons” (Cape Argus, 25 September 2012)

“Three more baboons killed” (People’s Post, 2 October 2012)

“In Tokai, two male baboons, TK17 and TK18, said to have been the ‘most problematic’ baboons in the Tokai area were killed. (People’s Post, 2 October 2012)

“Animal cruelty” (The Echo False Bay, 11 October 2012)

“Two raiding baboons put down in Tokai” (Cape Argus, 12 October 2012)

“But with the death toll rapidly rising, activists are calling this ‘systematic culling’ a senseless exercise” (Cape Argus, 12 October 2012)

“Legal killings of baboons up to 17” (Cape Times, 21 November 2012)

“‘Aggro’ baboon is put down” (Cape Argus, 28 November 2012)

“An aggressive male baboon that attacked a Swiss woman hiking on her own in the Tokai plantation has been destroyed after an urgent application to CapeNature’s wildlife advisory committee for its removal was approved” (Cape Argus, 28 November 2012)

“Alpha male dies after being darted” (Cape Argus, 7 May 2013)

“The alpha male baboon of the Smitswinkel Bay troop has died during a darting operation, described as routine, to replace the battery in the tracking collar he was wearing” (Cape Argus, 7 May 2013)

³⁵ See for example the HWS monthly reports posted on <http://www.hwsolutions.org/data-and-reports.php>, Accessed on 1 August 2013

Stating whether baboons have been ‘humanely euthanised’ or ‘cruelly killed’ makes a lot of difference to the public perception. And so does the concept of ‘euthanasia’ in itself, since it is not only a highly sensitive topic of discussion amongst baboons, but amongst humans all over the world as well (See for instance Jackson & Keown, 2012). The definition listed in the Oxford Dictionary³⁶ is as follows:

“The painless killing of a patient suffering from an incurable and painful disease or in an irreversible coma. Origin: early 17th century (in the sense ‘easy death’): from Greek, from eu ‘well’ + thanatos ‘death’”

So going back to the baboons: is baboon euthanasia used on ‘patients suffering from an incurable and painful disease or in an irreversible coma’? Would it be an ‘easy death’ for animals otherwise enduring an end full of pain and suffering? And most of all, can we as humans determine whether or not such might even be the case? Since we can not interview the baboons about topics like these, but through conservation also have been interfering in their lives for centuries a clear ‘no’ will not suffice as an answer. What the conservation authorities have tried to imply with this term, namely the fact that it is indeed an ‘easy death’ with a minimum amount of pain involved for the baboons who are being ‘put down’, seems like a noble cause (Interview Daisy, 4 October 2012). Especially with the history of baboon management and debate surrounding these practices, the authorities have tried to show to the general public that they do not kill the baboons because they enjoy to see them suffer, suggesting that is done with the utmost care and with the lowest possible level of stress. However, just like with human euthanasia, the more debatable part of this unluckily chosen term implies that there is a certain sense of ‘own choice’ or agency taking the decision to euthanise, so called ‘active euthanasia’³⁷. When a terminally ill cancer patient decides for him- or herself that he or she had enough and does not wish to suffer any longer than necessary, this patient can request euthanasia³⁸. This patient is regarded as an active agent in the termination of his or her own life (the concept of baboon agency will be further explored in the next chapter). However, a notoriously raiding baboon who has been formally ‘judged’ through the baboon protocol does not play an active role in this decision, it is

³⁶ Source: <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/euthanasia?q=euthanasia>, Accessed 2 August 2013

³⁷ Source: <http://www.examiner.com/article/human-euthanasia-the-debate-the-arguments-for-both-sides>, Accessed 2 August 2013

³⁸ As for example Jackson & Keown (2012) show it is not as simple for humans as I describe it here and there is also a lot of discussion surrounding human euthanasia and one’s agency in this life-ending decision. Do for example people with a severe brain injury or advanced stages of Alzheimer’s disease still have agency to make such a choice? And should we as humans be able to ‘interfere with nature’ in this way?

only affected by its end result. And that is exactly the point where many people become increasingly annoyed with:

“It seems as if the Baboon Conservation Authorities (a quietly ironic acronym) have become a law unto themselves; the protocol which was widely touted as being there to protect the baboons has become the guise under which killing of baboons is given a semblance of legality.”

(Baboon Matters, 2013)

Because Cape Town has such a large community of concerned local residents and well known ‘activists’ who advocate against this concept of baboon ‘euthanasia’ a lot of attention is focussed on counting baboon deaths and determining who was responsible for them. As can be seen in the article written by Gosling (2012) in the Cape Times of 21 November, the number of ‘legal killings’ (notice the choice of words here³⁹) has gone up from 1 in 2009 (before the introduction of the protocol) up to 17 in 2012. ‘Great news’ according to BRU’s leading scientists:

“Yes, the number of baboons killed by the protocol has increased hugely, but even so there has been a great decrease in mortality. The total number that died from all causes, natural and human, came down from an average of 39.5 between 2006 and 2008, to 26 this year. And more importantly, the number of human induced baboon deaths came down from 35 in 2008 to just five so far in 2012. The human induced deaths were from a whole lot of things: shooting, poisoning, dogs, knocked over by cars. So what we’re seeing is a shift from residents killing baboons inhumanely, to the authorities accepting that they remove the worst raiders humanely.”

(J. O’Riain quoted in Gosling, 2012)

However, with every single death of one of the Cape Peninsula’s ‘beloved’ baboons a wave of shock and horror is created amongst those who have grown very fond of them. Many local residents have spent hours and hours observing their baboon neighbours, naming them and getting to know their habits and characters. And this ‘bonding’ (whether or not beneficial for the

³⁹ By using words as ‘humane killing’ or ‘legal killings’ a sense of general approval is simulated. Baboons are ‘made killable’ (Haraway 2008, 78) in a way in which their death can be legitimised by people. Just like Durham & Merskin (2009, 229) have shown us: the type of language used creates a certain amount of distance, reducing animals to numbers instead of individuals. When a released statement announces that ‘baboon TK-18 is to be ‘humanely euthanised’ because he is regarded as a threat to human health according to the baboon protocol’ it evokes much less emotion than when is being said that ‘Peter, your favourite baboon which you have been observing and interacting with for many years and who brings a smile upon your face when you see him on top of the mountain next to your house, is to be murdered by a lethal injection because he has been structurally misbehaving and people are fed up with him’. A practice which is also often being used when describing the suffering of test animals (ibid) or the battery caged chicken that ends up in your chicken nuggets (Haraway 2008, 267).

baboons themselves as we will discuss in chapter 5) creates a certain desire to protect individual baboons: as Charles (Interview, 10 October 2012) told me, he would not know what he would do if one of her favourites were to be 'killed'. Activists even speak of a certain 'hit list' used by the authorities, where the 'worst raiding baboons' will be taken off one by one. After one of the Cape's most famous baboons, named Carpenter, had been shot, the public responded harshly via multiple platforms. To illustrate just how bad reactions can get I will show some of them listed on the Facebook Page of a well known activist on the Cape Peninsula⁴⁰. In total this message generated 27 likes, 109 comments and was shared 51 times:

"22 september 2012

*CARPENTER IS **DEAD**!!!!!!!!!!!!!! He was **shot by SANParks** on 19 Sept 2012, while he was up on the mountain sitting on a rock, **minding his own business**. He was at the Lewis Gay Dam, the very same place where they shot Peter on 28 August. Both of these baboons were from the 13-strong Da Gama Fission troop, a little band of baboons consisting of Peter, Carpenter, 3 low-ranking females, 1 infant, 2 older babies still suckling and 5 juveniles, all previous children belonging to the females. **What is their future going to be now?** They have been herded together with the main troop. The infant is definitely **at risk of being killed**. I am **beyond angry and totally exhausted** by this **devastating news**. All the baboons I have known for years are **being mowed down one by one** old boy Quizzy is **next on their list** in Da Gama Park, as are more Scarborough baboons ... Slumko (alpha male of the Fission troop), Cookies, a very bold raiding juvenile and Zaneke, an old girl with a missing arm. Also on their list, is the only collared male in the Kommetjie troop, the alpha male Lucky (TK6) ... **what is his crime?** He's splitting away from the troop with a few females in tow ..."*

(Facebook page of local activist)

A very interesting kind of framing is used in this particular message, emphasising the presence of a 'hit list' for baboons 'who did no harm' and were just 'minding their own business'. It is no surprise that on a medium like Facebook the reactions that can be seen on the following two pages mostly agree with this view, placing the blame on those executing the baboon protocol. After all, it is a social network site where you are connected with friends and like-minded people.

⁴⁰ As Facebook is a public domain and the owner of this page has chosen to have its messages shown to the public I will use them to demonstrate how these kind of messages influence the public discourse about the baboon protocol and the euthanising of raiding baboons. Out of respect for privacy I have tried to do my best to keep names hidden of the people who have responded on this matter and I will use these comments only to illustrate just how chaotic and intense arguments between the different stakeholders can get and how the use of certain words can influence people's perception of what is happening. I feel it is not my task to judge whether or not these comments are right or wrong.

-  So sorry
23 hours ago · 1
-  Oh ... this is so sad.....and there doesn't seem to be anything one can do to stop what is happening to the baboons. The authorities seem to be doing their "own" thing.....??
23 hours ago
-  My big boy, we tried so hard to stop them, but we failed. We've failed you all ... Sol, William, Fred, Rude Boy, Jimmy, Peter, Johnny Bravo, Moby, Sparkles, Mike, Oswald, TK10, TK12, TK14, 7 other unidentified Tokai baboons and not forgetting those who simply 'disappeared' without trace or died because of human beings ... you rest now, Carpenter, you are well rid of the most dangerous primate on earth ... humans.
23 hours ago · 5
-  I took this photo of Carpenter on the 1st of September, just 18 days before they murdered him ...
23 hours ago · 1
-  Sorry ... people are crazy. Big hug.
23 hours ago
-  they will never learn that we are the intruders and not the animals RIP
23 hours ago
-  ♥
23 hours ago
-  Tragic and shocking!
23 hours ago
-  Such a big beautiful boy x such a shame x keep up your good work with saving the rest and re-educating the locals x
23 hours ago
-  How horrifying indeed especially when some humans think that this world belongs only to themselves. Rest in Peace dear Carpenter - now nobody can hurt you again. So very sad.
23 hours ago · 1
-  ... rip
23 hours ago
-  What the? Why? What is WRONG with these people? I am so sorry for you and for the troop. I hope the baby survives.
23 hours ago
-  I want to go to the top of the frigging mountain and SCREAM WHY, WHAT WAS HIS CRIME !!!!!??????? [CRYING TO MUCH ...]FEEL SO HELPLESS...ITS SUCH A LOSING BATTLE ...WITH THESE PEOPLE ,WHO HATE OUR BABOONS
23 hours ago · 1
-  If they could only all come here and live at Bambelela...this is so sad and I'm lost for words as my heart bleeds for these precious souls...lost for mankind forever, their families mourning and in pain with ignorant people getting paid to take away what should be a treasure to all of us...SANPark: feel ashamed, this is disgusting...how do you ever look into a mirror again ? Inconsiderate Murderers!
23 hours ago · 1
-  When will it be open season on the people who killed this God's creature?
23 hours ago · 3
-  But Lynette this is just outrageous!!! I am so sorry and heartbroken!! These people are more than MURDERERS!! I cannot understand that this is at all possible!!!! Someone PLEASE HELP with advise!!!

23 hours ago · 2

So sad. It must be something that can be done to stop this! More letters to media? More people should know about this! What really is going on. You know the baboons. How can their story become more spread? Would WWF be able to make a difference?

23 hours ago · 4

The main thing to do right now is keep the petition going and really do what we can to get it to 10 000 signatures. I ~~mean~~ can you repost the link? In the meantime there are other actions being taken to make the authorities account for their evil immoral and despicable crimes against our heritage and their complete violation of our rights as citizens.

23 hours ago · 1

this is fucking shameful! these are NOT conservation officials, they are cold-blooded murderers. I wish the SAME EXACT deaths on them... shot dead for no valid reason! sharing to my group.

22 hours ago · 3

I will never of my live visiting sanaprc

22 hours ago

Listen to ARVO PART, spiegel im spiegel...When I am angry or sad about those cruel things ... I cry for all the lovely animals who deserved better life.... I am ashamed for being human!!!!

22 hours ago · 2

Truly not acceptable - Mankind has a strange way of dealing with what does not 'fit' into what he believes is his right to have - he eliminates his 'problem' . Highhanded, selfish, cruel and so very unnecessarily wasteful!

22 hours ago · 4

Bloody sick bastards!! HATE them! Aren't they supposed to be protectors?

22 hours ago · 1

. bastards

22 hours ago · 1

avages!!! why can NO-ONE in authority step in and help these innocent Baboons.. this is becoming totally out of hand. It hurts so every time I see this. Remembering Eric, George and the rest of the great alpha's. Whatever we can sign again, please send it around... RIP big boy...

22 hours ago · 1

this is horrible news... is there no more mature male in this troop now??

22 hours ago

I agree with every view expressed what can we do to stop this.? If only people would not feed them, this is what causes their murders. Why can't we just live side by side . So sickening and sad. I truly hope there is an enormous public reaction to this .

22 hours ago

When we were working with the penguins after the Treasure oil spill, the Sanparks staff used to stand around laughing about how they were going up the mountain to shoot Thars. It was great fun for them. Nothing but uneducated killers.

22 hours ago · 1

why? why should this happen.....this is unbelievable, the crimes committed by man..... the authorities????? where are they?????????????????

22 hours ago

SANParks IS one of the authorities, because they sit on the committee making the decisions to kill the baboons, along with Cape Nature and the City of Cape Town. The City have started using them to shoot the baboons because SANParks is not beholden to the baboon protocol, which states they are not allowed to kill alpha males ... it seems they're using this loophole to kill as many baboons as they can.

The reactions on Facebook (anonymous source)

Fascinatingly we see a huge amount of people responding who call the baboons by the names given to them by humans, which is also a factor in the discussion about baboon agency in chapter 5. Next to that threats are made, fingers are pointed, people appear to be in shock, and many of those who responded strongly disagree with current baboon management policy. And unfortunately, this particular measure is just one of many where all the stakeholders involved strongly disagree.

Discourse 2: Conservation as an elitist hobby

As Mike (Interview 10 October 2012) asked me during our interview: how can the conservation authorities be spending 10 million Rand (one million Euro) on the monitoring programme alone, when the people in the townships nearby are trying to get by without food, water and other basic needs? What makes conservation (and therefore the baboons) so special that it is more important than taking care of the people living in the city itself, he asked me. A good question, illustrating that the City of Cape Town faces many other problems next to the human-baboon conflict. According to an article in the Cape Argus (16 August 2012), more than 36 percent of Cape Town's households currently earn less than 3500 Rand a month (350 Euro's), battling to feed themselves. The unemployment rate in 2009 was 24 percent and just like the rest of South Africa, Cape Town also has some serious trouble with the HIV/Aids pandemic and crime⁴¹. But Cape Town's many other issues are not only visible when looking at statistics. As a legacy of apartheid, wealth is often still unequally distributed (Terreblanche, 2002), and especially the Cape Peninsula is popular amongst a certain elite. Less fortunate residential areas on the Peninsula however, are also affected by the presence of baboons, with the most prominent examples being Da Gama Park naval town, and Kommetjie's Ocean View suburb and Masiphumelele township. I have visited both Da Gama Park and neighbouring 'elite suburb' Welcome Glen during my day in the field with HWS, and this is what I wrote in my fieldnotes afterwards:

"Welcome Glen is a beautiful, and extremely tranquil little area, with enormous houses built just at the foot of the mountain slope. Who would not want to live in such an area, close to nature and with a view down towards the bright blue sea? But when you round the corner up to Da Gama Park... it seems as if you're in a completely different world. Which you are... this is a navy town, for navy staff and

⁴¹ Source: www.crimestatssa.com, Accessed 27 July 2013

their families. An average/low income area, which immediately showed in the level of upkeep/maintenance spent on the houses, their less fancy architecture and the smaller parcels.”

(Fieldnotes, 24 October 2012)

The difference between the ‘richer’ and ‘poorer’ ‘baboon hotspots’ does not lie solely in the level of upkeep and maintenance of the housing, but it is often connected with the level in which people are able or willing to ‘baboon proof’ their homes. As we have seen the current approach to baboon management is a combination, and next to baboon monitors in the field it also relies on participation of local residents to do as much as they can to not tempt the baboons to come into residential areas. But some of these residents do not live under ideal circumstances to baboon proof their houses.



On the left we can see a picture I have taken of one of the flat buildings in Da Gama where they are facing human-baboon conflict (Interview James, 12 October 2012). Unfortunately this particular block of flats is known as a ‘bad case’ (Interview Christine, 16 October 2012) and gets raided by baboons on a daily basis. The baboons have created their

sleeping sites on top of the flats, granting themselves easy access to open windows, garages and garbage bins left unattended. The design of the flats has been recently altered hoping to force the baboons to sleep elsewhere (Fieldnotes, 24 October 2012), but has not proven to be successful yet (some of the baboons still managed to get on top of the building anyway). But next to a ‘baboon proof’ design of the buildings themselves, an important part also lies with the residents themselves who are responsible for waste-management. As one of the HWS field managers showed me this is currently a sensitive issue between the service provider and the residents: especially the cellar like humid smelly spaces where the garbage bins are supposed to be stored, safely locked away, currently look more like a dark alley (with stinky sewage water, no lighting and garbage lying around everywhere) that most people would rather avoid when coming home at night (ibid). Plus, most people have other things to worry about, not everybody has the money or the time to baboon proof their home (Interview Christine, 16 October 2012). HWS has

stepped in and is now taking the garbage out for the time being, until alternative measures are found.

'Ocean View' (Kommetjie's 'coloured' community) and Masiphumelele (the 'black' community) on the other side of the Peninsula provide us with a different kind of example. These are not places where the baboons like to spend their time. In fact, the residents there do not even seem to have a baboon problem! Most baboons actually go around the two so they can visit other more 'baboon-raiding-friendly' villages (Interview Bart, 21 September). Both are low-income areas where residents are generally very hostile towards baboons: attacking them, or even having their dogs and kids chase them and in the past the baboon monitors even herded the baboons towards these areas because they knew they would cause less trouble there than the would in for example the wealthier village of Kommetjie (Interview Daisy, 4 October 2012). A high level of aggression and violence is what seems to keep the baboons away.

Unfortunately as is the case with many other discussions in South Africa the concept of race comes into play when discussing conservation and these kind of distinctions between 'black', 'white' and 'coloured' residential areas are often made by my informants, and is also clearly visible in surrounding cities. As we have seen in chapter 2 the actual founding of conservation (or was it preservation?) initiatives was almost always reserved to the 'white' ruling majority during colonial times (Carruthers, 1995). This strict separation has undergone many changes since the end of apartheid (Terreblanche, 2002), but the idea of conservation as a 'hobby' reserved for the 'white elites' has somehow remained. An image that is being enforced by the rise of 'gated communities' that are being put up now that electrical fencing as an official deterrent seems to be working in areas like Zwaanswyk. Of course these 'gates' also serve another purpose: they do not only keep unwanted baboon guests out, but certainly also reduce the risk of any unwanted human visitors. A situation which triggers memories about racial and/or class segregation from the apartheid era and increases the differences between wealthier and less wealthier suburbs.

In the case of the Cape's baboons this 'hidden' discourse about a 'white elitist group' involved in baboon management is often justified by looking at the city's statistics. Of the 3,6 million inhabitants Cape Town had in 2009, 540.000 were classified as being 'whites' (Cape Argus, 16 August 2012). The majority of these so-called whites are generally believed to live in the villages on the Cape Peninsula, either having a holiday home to get away from the busy city centre, enjoying retirement or having retreated down south to be closer to nature (Interview Mike, 10 October 2012). Many of my informants also fit this stereotype, with only one out of 22 interviewees being 'non-white', and many of them living on large properties. But does this necessarily mean that they are the only ones represented in the quest to manage the baboons?

And what about the baboon monitors, who do the actual labor in the field.... who are local 'black' Xhosa men (Interview Christine, 16 October 2012)? It seems to me like a too easy explanation: it is not so much the colour of one's skin that determines whether or not he or she becomes involved, it is mostly a financial and personal choice. If someone is willing to become involved in conservation and has the means to do so, Cape Town's 'baboon debate' will suck you right in. However, as is the unfortunate case, the city of Cape Town faces many problems, and the unequal distribution of wealth surfaces in many discussions about the way governmental and personal money is being spend. People living in areas such as Da Gama, Ocean View and Masiphumelele do not always have the means to deal with Cape Town's baboon problem because they have other problems in their lives to worry about. If you are struggling to feed your children, have limited access to public services (such as regular municipal waste collection) and are living below the poverty line, you might be less inclined to place padlocks on waste bins (if you even have any) and invest a lot of money to ensure that your doors and windows are sufficiently 'baboonproofed'.

Discourse 3: “Cape Town has the worst behaving baboons in the world”

(And it is all the activists’ fault!)

BaboonsRUs’ Dr. Shirley Strum⁴², one of the world’s leading baboon experts, visited Cape Town as part of a project for research capacity at UCT last year and was stunned by what she found: “All the reading that I had done in preparation for this and other visits to the baboons did not prepare me for what I witnessed first-hand in the Cape” (Cape Times, 23 July 2012). Trying to explain to the public what her findings were, she published an article in the Cape Times titled: ‘Activists and their anthropomorphism remain greatest threat to baboons’. I must admit, now knowing the context and the history of baboon management in the Cape, I can see why it caused a lot of commotion amongst the stakeholders involved. On the one hand you had the more ‘activist’ minded people who felt they were being attacked personally and on the other hand you had the ‘non-activist’ people who felt that what they had been saying all along was finally being acknowledged. And differences between the two were put under a magnifying glass, perhaps making the fierceness of the ‘baboon debate’ even worse. In the article Strum (Cape Times, 23 July 2012), with her 40 years of experience as a baboon researcher, does not sugarcoat it making statements like:

- *The majority of the troops had “taken baboon ingenuity and adaptability to their **logical extreme**”*
- *“I place the **blame** on the position of the **baboon activists**, who have **thwarted** the **only methods that might have prevented this situation**”*
- *Baboon “need to know the **boundaries** and **limits of acceptable behaviour**”*
- *“How could anyone **let** a troop sleep on the roof of an apartment building?”*
- *“It is a **joke** to have monitors walking behind, clapping at this point. I’m **not even certain that major deterrent efforts will be effective** for many of the troops, but it is **the only option now**, short of **eliminating** most or all of the baboons. The epitaph of these baboons will read: ‘met an untimely end because activists could not face reality’”*
- *“I am **scandalised** by the publicity **campaign mounted by the activists**. I care about baboons as much or more than they do. But because I care, I would **sacrifice some to save the whole** if that is what it takes. By contrast, activists seem to only care about **how ‘the humans’ feel about baboons**. They seem **unable to take the baboons’ point of view** or get out of their particular (and in the context of the rest of Africa, peculiar) **ethnocentric opinions about animal welfare**”*
- *“It would have worked if it was done well and consistently. Sadly, it was not”*

⁴² Source: www.baboonsrus.com, Accessed 27 July 2013

- *“If there were to be a **trial for the ‘murder’ of specific baboon males**, I would testify as an expert witness that the very same people bringing the charges are the ones who should be on trial because it was **their objections that prevented methods that could have saved these baboons**”*
- *“The future of the Cape baboons is being **endangered** by the very people shouting the loudest against **the only appropriate methods** we have now. If deterrence had been used successfully earlier; there would be **no need to kill any baboons today**”*
- *“**The only good outcome of these untoward attacks** is that they stimulated the Baboon Research unit to study what options remain. (...) they have thought outside the box and **should be commended not condemned**”*
- *“This **‘anti-science’ stance** of the activists demonstrates the **ignorance** that opinion matters as much as evidence”*
- *“**I strongly urge** the activists to stop this **senseless campaign**. Instead, they should use that energy to **help support the reasonable efforts** that are being proposed. If they don’t, they will have more baboon deaths on their conscience.”*

Just like in the introduction statement made by Bill Bailey in paragraph 4.2, I have highlighted some of the words used by Strum to show in what ways discourse is being expressed and influenced. Having been a baboon expert for more than 40 years, we can see that in this article Strum speaks with a certain level of authority, presenting her observations and opinions as ‘the only true story’. In the weeks that followed, the article in the Cape Times caused a lot of commotion amongst the general public. Some of the headlines, especially featuring the ‘letter to the editor’ section of newspapers were:

“Anthropologist **slams** baboon monitoring” (Cape Times, 24 July 2012b)

“**Cape activists have allowed** baboons to become ‘**uncontrollable**’ says US expert” (Cape Times, 24 July 2012a)

“Primate numbers” (Cape Times, 24 July 2012)

“**Self-interest**” (Cape Times, 24 July 2012)

“Baboon sense” (Cape Times, 25 July 2012)

“**Sanity at last**” (Cape Times, 25 July 2012)

“**Hats off, Prof!**” (Cape Times, 25 July 2012)

“Baboon **veto**” (Cape Times, 26 July 2012)

“We have **never experienced** bad baboon behaviour **to this extreme**” (Cape Times, 26 July 2012)

“**Setting the record straight** about some baboon matters” (Cape Times, 30 July 2012)

Those who agreed with Strum's viewpoints were happy that someone finally dared to 'speak up' (Cape Times, 25 July 2012) and judge the way the conversation about baboon management had evolved. Strum was being congratulated (ibid), and those in favour of her argument noted that when an expert like herself was willing to give her advice "we should all sit up and take notice" (Cape Times, 24 July 2012). Others, especially from the so called 'activists' point of view felt attacked and responded in the newspapers to the accusations made by others, defending their own decisions and actions:

"My criticism of management did not start when I lost the tender of the walks [i.e. NCC had a better bid during the tender process and was therefore made service provider instead of Baboon Matters]- I am sure that everyone on the baboon management forums will testify to the fact that I was always critical and a pain in the butt, even when I had the contract and the walking tours."

(Cape Times, 30 July 2012)

After having read Strum's detailed account of her view on baboon management in Cape Town, two other wildlife experts from Canada, Liv Baker and Sara Dubois, who had been visiting South Africa in the same month joined in to express their opinion about the human-baboon conflict the city is facing (Cape Times, 26 July 2012). Again, a couple of quotes to illustrate the statements being made by these experts:

- *"This last week we visited the Cape area to see the problem for ourselves and were **shocked with what we saw: baboons running frantically among crowds of people, grabbing at their backpacks, stealing garbage from open bins, all while tourists took photos. We never before experienced conflict that has reached this level and are saddened by it, knowing that it has lead to the harassment and death of baboons**"*
- *"Cape Town is set up to be a **leader in the humane management of wildlife interactions. As a community, you possess a municipality that sees the value of proper management and stands behind this with funding. You also have university researchers who are deeply invested in the welfare of the local baboons and want to apply their knowledge of baboon behaviour and social structure to protect the lives of these animals. Importantly, the community also has passionate citizens who share the same concern**"*
- *"Unfortunately, it seems that **the human-human conflict has dominated this issue and, in turn, done the most damage to the baboons. Before all is lost we hope that these groups can finally recognise their***

common goal: to reduce baboon suffering, to support their natural behaviours, and to reduce human-caused death”

- *“We inherently teach our children **what is good and bad behaviour**, it’s time to do the same with baboons and even tourists, in order to reach **a common goal to promote the welfare of baboons and the safety of Cape Town residents**”*

A rather different way of looking at it, not placing the blame on one specific group of stakeholders, but mostly advocating the need for all parties to start working together to face the baboon problem the city is facing. Noble, a resident from Scarborough, poses in his letter to the Cape Times (26 July 2012):

“The point is not whether Shirley Strum is right or wrong, or whether the authorities, baboon managers and researchers she supports are right or wrong. They are probably all partly right and partly wrong. The real challenge is that while there have been successes, for which all of the parties deserve some credit, current baboon management on the Cape Peninsula is not working nearly as well as it needs to. Disputes will not help make things work better, but concerted thought, logic and science might. People who share concerns and objectives should work together, not against one another.”

(Cape Times, 26 July 2012)

Following up on these suggestions made by Noble and Baker & Dubois, we will go to the final empirical chapter of this thesis. Coming back to the research question I have posed in the beginning of this thesis: ‘how do different views on baboon agency shape the conservation policy making dialogue in Cape Town, South Africa?’, I will show that the concept of baboon agency and the way the stakeholders think about it influences the role they play in Cape Town’s ‘baboon debate’. It indeed seems as if all stakeholders are more than willing to cooperate to achieve their common goal of baboon welfare, but somehow the human-human conflict about the fundamental principles of conservation has overshadowed this. A better understanding amongst all will benefit not only the baboons themselves, but certainly also their human neighbours.

Part IV
A deeper understanding
Blurring boundaries

Chapter 5: the X-factor

During the very first official interview of fieldwork (Interview Bart, 21 September 2012) my informant asked me an interesting question: If everybody involved in Cape Town's 'baboon debate' loved baboons and was concerned about their welfare, why was it that they could not 'get it right' when it came to their management? Was there perhaps a mysterious underlying X-factor that has kept them from finding a solution with which everybody could agree?

At that time, I figured that the answer to that question would be a seemingly easy one, coming down to personal interests, love-hate relationships between the several stakeholders and political games. But as we have seen in the previous chapters things are far more complicated. In the rhetoric used to discuss Cape Town's human-baboon conflict there is indeed an underlying tension that feeds into the arguments that are being made. An X-factor that influences the discussion about how, why and if the baboons on the Cape Peninsula need to be managed. And that particular X is: the way people think about the human-animal relations, animal agency and animal rights. Philosophical principles about what it means to be human (Bourke, 2011) and how animals relate to that influence day to day policy making decisions. Should we as humans, for example, manage other non-human species? Can we decide whether or not certain animals are pests and do we have the right to intervene by 'euthanising' some of them? Do animals such as baboons have equal rights to land and food resources? And is there actually such a thing as a human-animal divide? Or are we just as much animal as our somewhat more hairy cousins?

5.1 Human-animal studies

The kind of questions raised in the introduction to this chapter tie in with a newly emerging field of science studying human-animal relations (Noske n.d., 185), often referred to as human-animal studies (Woodward 2011, 53). This discipline connects and encourages academics from both natural and social science backgrounds to step outside their disciplinary comfort zone and study human-animal relationships in a more transdisciplinary manner, trying to close the gap between both. As Noske (n.d., 190) describes it:

"We are sadly stuck with two seemingly unrelated images: one of humankind and one of animalkind conveyed by two totally separate brands of science, the one typifying humans as social subjects, the other typifying animals as biological objects. The newly emerging discipline of human-animal relations will find this a formidable obstacle to overcome."

(Noske n.d., 190)

Although human-animal studies is a relatively new field compared to traditional disciplines within the social sciences and natural sciences, there have been quite a few established scholars exploring it. One of the ‘founding fathers’ was French philosopher Jacques Derrida (2002), joined by other influential academics such as Donna Haraway (2006 and 2008), Frans de Waal (2009), Mark Bekoff (2007), Joanna Bourke (2011), Barbara Noske (n.d.) and Wendy Woodward (2008 and 2011).

“In a famous passage in ‘The Animal that Therefore I Am (More to Follow)’, Derrida strips himself bare for his readers, asking us to imagine him standing naked in his bathroom. Suddenly, Derrida admits, he became aware of the gaze of his cat. Who is this cat who dares to look at the great philosopher without any clothes on? (...) Derrida’s cat is a ‘real cat’. This living cat did not appear in the bathroom ‘as representative, or ambassador, carrying the immense symbolic responsibility with which our culture has always charged the feline race, from La Fontaine [‘s fables] to Tieck (author of ‘Puss in Boots’). In other words, this cat is not a symbol; she responds to a specific name, not as ‘the exemplar of a species called cat (...)’. Equally, Derrida recognizes that he would be wrong to call the cat ‘my pussycat’, as though the cat is an object to be owned.”

(Bourke 2011, 16)

Being a ‘great philosopher’ Derrida challenged everyone to think in a new way about their ‘companion species’ (Haraway 2006, 98), whether being ‘wild’ or ‘domesticated’. He did not want to classify the cat as something owned by himself, nor did the cat represent cats as a ‘species’⁴³. Derrida argued that the cat staring at his naked body in the bathroom that day was an individual, capable of thinking and acting upon this encounter with his human companion. The cat possessed a level of agency and Derrida wondered about its possible thoughts and ideas during that specific moment. Of course this kind of thinking represents a very advanced kind of argumentation, questioning fundamental boundaries between what is considered to be human and what is seen as nonhuman, and distancing itself from previous anthropocentric⁴⁴ ways of reasoning within Western philosophy. This recognition of individual animal’s agency (McFarland & Hediger, 2009) is exactly the point where confusion arises within the public discourse surrounding baboon management in Cape Town. In her discussion of this kind of

⁴³ Another reflection that is discussed by Derrida is the notion of ‘animaux’. Weil (2008) states that the philosopher takes it one step further, noting that even amongst humans there is a vast array of differences. How can we therefore speak of only two categories, the human and the nonhuman? What about all the different kinds of species, and the diversities within a single species? A discussion that is a little bit out of the scope of this research, but does show just how deep the rethinking of the human-animal divide can go.

⁴⁴ Anthropocentrism is here defined as: “viewing and interpreting everything in terms of human experience and values” (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/anthropocentric>, Accessed 22 August 2013).

representation of animals in South Africa's newspapers Woodward draws our attention to the different ways there is being written about baboons and the kind of suggestive language that comes with it, analysing an article written by Gordon in the Sunday Times:

"When a baboon in greater Cape Town and a lion cub kept on a canned hunting reserve are individualised and named, they do function as metonymic of others of their species, whose plight the reader is drawn into sympathising with. (...) Gordon refers to the 'urban myths' centred on the 'superstar' alpha male of the troop, William the Conqueror, who 'oozes testosterone and is indeed cleverer than a monkey' (..). William's masculinity is proven by his exploits characterised as those of 'a latter-day Fagin' or 'a James Bond who dispatches cadres on missions'. (...) Alternatively, the baboons are comical human manques or mythologised for their apparently astonishing intelligence in infiltrating houses and fridges. (This surprise engendered by animal cognition is another repetitive response in media representation of animals.) When baboons embody agency and intentionality, as they do here, they are judged as disorderly and dangerous."

(Woodward 2011, 61)

Ideas about whether or not the baboons actually 'possess agency' can be seen as a 'hidden transcript' as described by Scott (1992). They inform the way people feel and speak about baboon management. If you feel that the baboons 'were here first' (Interview Charles, 10 October 2012; Interview Dan, 16 October 2012) and we as humans are merely a guest within 'their' territory, having to respect their spaces and treating them as individuals who make their own decisions, you are bound to advocate a rather different management approach than those who believe strongly in the need for humans to 'preserve' or 'conserve' the Cape's baboons, having to act as 'baboon babysitters' to ensure that they stay out of trouble. Once again there is a whole range of opinions about baboon agency as we have seen throughout these last two chapters. Possible explanations for this divergence can be sought after in debates about animal rights, but we should not lose focus of the very specific context and background of the South African society in itself and the history of segregation that has long informed policy decisions (as discussed in discourse 2 in Chapter 4). The fact remains that these different views cause a lot of heated debate when trying to create baboon management policies.

5.2 Can we 'go in'?

In discussing the life and work of John Aspinall (1926-2000), who was together with Ian Player one of the most famous English environmentalists involved in former Zululand, Draper and Maré (2003) reintroduce his concept of 'going-in'. A term which traces back to the zoos Aspinall owned during the twentieth century and the way in which he stimulated his zookeepers to cross "the boundaries between 'wild' animals and people, entering the zoo enclosures, and bonding with animals such as wolves, tigers and gorillas" (Draper & Maré 2003, 551). A practice which we can still see today in all sorts of nature documentaries and television series. In the age of animal 'whisperers'⁴⁵, several (pseudo) scientists are now also well known for living with troops of wolves (for example Jim and Jamie Dutcher in National Geographics' *Living with Wolves* and Shaun Ellis as the Wolf Man) and grizzly bears (Discovery Channel's Timothy Treadwell). They show the mainstream international audience that "going in requires more than physical movement into zoo enclosures. Success entails an emotional bonding that dismantles the subject-object relations between people and animals so fundamental to humanist belief" (Barbara Noske in: Draper & Maré 2003, 552). Although the actual act of 'going-in' has not always only been successful (Timothy Treadwell and his girlfriend were attacked and eaten by one of the bears in 2003⁴⁶), the philosophy behind Aspinall's ideas about crossing the boundaries between what is human and what is non human remains.

With regards to Cape Town's baboons we can say that the idea of 'going in' has also been practiced by both local NGO Baboon Matters and scientists of BRU (as well as by many individual residents living in close proximity of the baboons). Baboon Matters has organised so called 'baboon walks' in the past, to give local people and tourists a chance to experience the animals 'in their natural habitat'. Guided by one of their experienced employees people would go up the mountains, to observe the baboons from a distance. Three of my informants Charles (Interview 10 October 2012), Dan (Interview 16 October 2012) and David (Interview 31 October 2012) have experienced such a baboon encounter. All speak very highly of the way this was being organised, with both no danger for the baboons (they could for example not bring any food with them except for a water bottle) as well as for the humans (David had to go and stand behind their guide when one of the bigger males started to approach them, because the baboons were more familiar with him and knew not to get too close). Another way of 'going-in' has been

⁴⁵ Whether it be horse whisperers in the 1998 movie 'The Horse Whisperer' (<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0119314/>, Accessed 31 July 2013) or National Geographic's Cesar Millan as a 'dog whisperer' (Millan, 2010), people who claim to 'speak the language of animals' have become very popular in recent years. In Cape Town there is also a lady who claims she is able to communicate with the baboons on a more spiritual level (Interview Charles, 10 October 2012).

⁴⁶ Source: <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/grizzly-man/>, Accessed 14 June 2013

practiced for many centuries by zoologists and ethologists, with perhaps Jane Goodall (2009) and Diane Fossey (1983) as its two most famous advocates of this kind of research amongst primates. Up close long-term observation is almost inherent to scientific research about animals and many of the researchers involved in Cape Town's 'baboon debate' throughout the last decade have studied the baboons this way. Not only researchers like Kinsky (2002) or Beamish (2008) have spent a considerable amount of time with the baboons up on the mountains of the Cape Peninsula to study their behaviour and living patterns, so have the baboon monitors who are with the baboons every single day. A lot of comments have been made about the two, questioning whether 'going-in', bonding and interacting with the baboons is desirable. Has this for example caused the baboons to become habituated towards humans? There are some examples where people have actually been touched or even groomed by the baboons (Interview David, 31 October 2012), which is totally the opposite of the recommendations being made by the baboon conservation authorities, who urge people to stay away from the baboons and by no means encourage physical contact (either violent or friendly). And perhaps this is true, and the very act of 'going in' has perhaps made matters worse for Cape Town's human-baboon conflict.

But what is at the very bottom of this conflict is not so much the act of 'going in' practiced by the humans involved in the debate surrounding management policies, but rather the fact that the baboons have turned the tables and are 'going in' themselves. They have become an active agent in the interaction between baboons and humans. Affecting the lives of non-baboons, foraging for non-baboon foods, venturing into non-baboon territory and adapting to the changing circumstances that might prevent them to do all this. What is life like for them? How have they experienced the conservation management changes throughout the last decades? How do they cope with the growing numbers of their non-baboon human neighbours that take up more and more land? Having to watch out for increased traffic along the coastal routes, human monitors following them around all day, paintballs aimed in their direction, noisy whips, bear bangers, electrified fences, tourists trying to touch them or chase them to get a better picture, and local residents approaching them without respect for baboon etiquette (claiming to have a special bond with them)? Fascinating questions which are of course hard to answer because we have not found a way to communicate with the baboons yet. It is therefore not the very act of 'going in' that I here want to advocate, but more the philosophy behind it. Making an effort to get to know the baboons better and see things 'from the baboon's point of view' seems to me an admirable cause. A currently still somewhat vague notion as scientific fields such as the idea of human-animal studies which has been discussed in paragraph 1.3 and 5.1, but one that will be explored in the years to come. We should attempt to look beyond the blurred lines discussed in this thesis, not merely explaining baboon behaviour as something that is 'in their nature'. As

suggested by my informant Bart (Interview 21 September 2012), in the end: “our approach will show how sophisticated we as human being are when it comes to conservation”. All of the stakeholders involved in Cape Town’s ‘baboon debate’, whether or not officially incorporated into current management structures, find themselves at a crossroad. Are they only going to focus on what values the baboons have for them as humans and keep on shaping policies from that point of view alone, or are they willing to work together to find solutions that benefit the baboons and humans equally? Cape Town’s baboon might be a unique case, being the ‘worst behaving baboons in the world’ (Strum, 2012), but that also provides local conservation initiatives with a once in a lifetime opportunity. An example can be created for the world to see. Can policy making on the Cape Peninsula go beyond ideologies from the past such as culling, preservation, conservation and CBNRM and develop a new line of thinking where no-one’s ‘stakes’ will be excluded and the baboons also ‘have a say’? Creating a balance between human and baboon instead of a conflict? Re-establishing the dialogue might be a first step, after which, paraphrasing the book title chosen by Trethowan (2009), the interaction with Cape Town’s baboons and the image derived from that can be changed. Perhaps the reputation of the baboons is not the one that needs to be adjusted from ‘beast’ to ‘blessing’... but that of the non-baboon inhabitants of the Cape Peninsula is.

Chapter 6: Summary and conclusions

As we have seen, the seemingly simple cartoon illustrated on the title page of this thesis represents so much more than just an ordinary example of a conflict between man and baboon. It represents a very challenging public debate surrounding Cape Town's human-baboon conflict. The history of conservation in South Africa in general, and baboon management on the Cape Peninsula in specific, underwent a lot of changes within fundamental thinking about who in the cartoon belongs more: the humans or the baboons. We as humans are no longer the only ones 'going into' baboons' lives, but the baboons themselves are actively 'going into' the lives of their non-baboon neighbours. Notions about rights of baboons have been reshuffled.

After an extensive period of fieldwork from 2009 to 2011, British anthropologist Samantha Hurn suggest that diverging viewpoints about baboons themselves might be at the source of the debate surrounding Cape Town's baboon issue, a conclusion that ties in with my own hypothesis about the importance of attitudes towards baboon agency. The concept central to the main research question posed in this thesis: how do different views on baboon agency shape the conservation policy making dialogue in Cape Town, South Africa?

"Each of the loci of disagreement between opposing sides of the baboon issue reflect divergent ways of thinking about baboons. On the one hand are those, epitomized by some of the scientists, who recognize that in order for the collective to survive, some individuals must be sacrificed. This essentially utilitarian attitude (...) represents the logic of population management that underpins much of conservation decision-making in the contemporary world. On the other hand are those, epitomized by the animal-rights lobby, who recognize nonhuman animals as individuals with as much right to life as any other individual (including humans)."

(Hurn 2011, 48)

Once again the human-animal divide seems to be drawn to the fore, not only by scientists, but by many other stakeholders as well:

"Baboons are regarded as illegitimate inhabitants of the area, reduced to a criminal element which overturns rubbish bins because deterrents have not been instituted. (...) Where baboons are, 'conflict' (...) follows."

(Woodward, 2012)

From the early days of colonial settlement when there was an abundance of wildlife, the baboons were seen as ‘vermin’ and the colonial rulers even declared rewards for those who helped to kill them. Through preservation, conservation and CBNRM initiatives, now up to the Cape’s present day wildlife legislation where the baboons are even being managed on an individual level and more attention is being paid to Cape Town’s human-wildlife conflict than anywhere else in the world. Not only local, provincial and national conservation authorities are involved, but so are (local and international) leading scientists, conservation managers in the field, local residents, baboon activists, representatives of communities, NGO’s, veterinarians, journalists, concerned individuals and many more.

As we have seen it is not only a different perception, but also an entirely different attitude towards nature and animals that currently separates the different stakeholders. According to my informants you are either/or: you love the baboons or you hate them, you want to save them or you do not, you believe in conservation based on scientific facts or you do not ‘believe in science’ (Interview Daisy, 23 November 2012) all together. These kinds of oppositions feature prominently in the public discourse surrounding baboon management, and are magnified by the fact that the most ‘vocal’ stakeholders represent the two ‘sides to the story’. Questions about Cartesian dualisms such as facts vs. emotions, capitalism vs. spiritualism, animal rights vs. animal welfare, conservation vs. society and nature vs. culture dominate the public discourse and people tend to only think alongside these lines. If you are ‘pro’ one argument than that instantly makes you ‘anti’ the other one. A way of reasoning that especially the Cape’s activists are accused of: “the problem when you take the activist route is that you can not compromise, because every concession you make conflicts with what you believe in..stand for..” (Interview Christine, 24 October 2012). But as Mike (Interview, 10 October 2012) has shown us there are many more colours within the continuum than just black or white⁴⁷. Although people remain to speak in these kind of dualisms, the lines between baboon and human have become blurred because of their close interaction and much more people find themselves ‘somewhere in the middle’ (like Mike himself).

As stated by James (Interview, 12 October 2012) “some people just think differently” and from my findings I conclude that this difference is mostly informed by opinions about baboon agency. Because when you see baboons as an active agent in conservation, your perception of how they should be treated also changes. If you consider the baboon as an individual, actively

⁴⁷ However, as shown in discourse 2 of Chapter 4, the terms black and white always have an ‘extra’ interpretation within the South African historical context. It immediately evokes feelings of segregation and enforces ideas of conservation as a ‘white elitist hobby’.

'going in' to the lives of humans, you believe in a rather different management style than when you feel that humans should manage animals because they can not do so themselves.

Next to that, if you see one of the baboons as a person, with its own name, a Peter or a Carpenter for example, his own life and his own feelings a certain amount of emotions become involved. "When you look into their eyes, you fall in love" (Interview Christine, 24 October 2012). And the stronger that 'love' gets, the more urgently you want to help 'save them' because you feel that the 'Baboons Matter'. Every individual baboon is unique, but so are humans, and that is precisely the reason why there is such a diverse range of actively involved stakeholders within Cape Town's 'baboon debate'. It is not just that some people 'love' the baboons more than others (although I must admit, there is a tiny minority of people who absolutely hate them), it is the way in which they express this fondness of the animal that differs. Those who believe baboons' agency should be more publicly acknowledged choose different approaches than those who feel we as humans should be the ones helping the baboons to survive because they can not play an active role in it themselves. Some of us become activists, some become scientists, some become journalists, some become conservationists or baboon monitors and others... they dedicate their Master thesis to the Cape's marvellous baboons.

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Own pictures (taken during fieldwork period September - December 2012):

Pages: 11, 16, 19, 31, 32, 32, 33, 38, 48, 50, 54, 57, 59, 77,

Appendix III, IV and V.

Appendix

- I: Informants and methods
- II: Methodological reflections
- III: Pictures of baboon areas
- IV: Human-Baboon-Conflict Areas
- V: Brochures and Pamphlets

I: Informants and methods

Semi-structured/informal interviews

Name informant	Date	Time	Location
Johan	21 September 2012	15.00 hr	Kirstenbosch
Bart	21 September 2012	15.30 hr	Kirstenbosch
Owen	26 September 2012	Did not show up, cancelled last-minute on 8 more occasions	Kommetjie
Daisy	28 September 2012	13.00 hr	Pringle Bay (Phone Conv.)
Daisy	4 October 2012	13.00 hr	Rondebosch
Mike	10 October 2012	10.00 hr	Noordhoek
Charles	10 October 2012	14.00 hr	Scarborough
James	12 October 2012	10.00 hr	Somerset-West
Christine	16 October 2012	11.30 hr	Tokai
Dan	16 October 2012	15.00 hr	Welcome Glen
Christine and her colleagues	24 October 2012	09.00 hr	Da Gama Park Welcome Glen Scarborough
David	31 October 2012	14.30 hr	Belville
Jane	1 November 2012	14.00 hr	Stellenbosch (Phone Conv.)
Adrian	14 November 2012	14.00 hr	Scarborough
Susan	22 November 2012	10.00 hr	Zwaanswyk
Daisy	23 November 2012	10.00 hr	Rondebosch
Richard	23 November 2012	12.00 hr	Rondebosch

Name informant	Date	Time	Location
Mike	17 December 2012	11.00 hr	Stellenbosch (Phone Conv.)

(Participant) Observation and other activities relevant for data gathering

Activity	Date	Time	Location
Old Land, New Practices Conference	10 September 2013 to 16 September	All day	Grahamstown
Departmental Seminar Prof. Kees de Waal, Stellenbosch University	20 September 2012	13.00	Stellenbosch
Braai at Local Professor's House	29 September 2012	18.00	Stellenbosch
Field site visit	1 October - 2 October	All day	Pringle Bay
UWC Animal Colloquium	2 November 2012	All Day	Belville
Hiking trips Cape Point	10 October 2012, 3 November 2012 21 December 2012	-	Cape Point NP
Hiking trips Tokai	20 November 2012 22 November 2012	-	Tokai Forest
Volunteer work	23 November 2012 - 18 December 2012	A couple of days	Animal Shelter Stellenbosch
Archival work	3 December 2012 - 18 December 2012	A couple of days	Stellenbosch University Library

II: Methodological Reflections

In this section attention is being paid to how and why certain methods have been used in this research project. Since most of the reflections and choices are of a more personal nature, I have chosen to put it in a separate appendix instead of in the main text of the thesis. In my opinion it would have distracted readers too much from my original line of argumentation, resulting in an inconsistent and confusing thesis.

An ad-hoc research project and topic

Before discussing the methods that have been used during my fieldwork in Cape Town, South Africa, I will briefly explain the sequence of events that have led to this particular research project. My fieldwork period has been an rather unusual one in which most of my initial expectations and research ideas had to be adjusted.

In the first half of 2012 I had been preparing for an entirely different research project in one of the Private Game Reserves near the Kruger Park in South Africa. I would investigate conflicts between humans and elephants within the 45,000ha wide conservation area. The focus would especially be on tourism-related incidents, which was a particular area in which my host-organisation was interested. Using a Grounded Theory approach, I would research what kind of tourism related stakeholders encountered the so called Human-Elephant-Conflicts (HEC's) and how these were handled. My aim was also to experience those conflicts and interactions myself, joining game drives of the local lodges and visiting the homes of staff living in the reserve. I would be hosted by an organisation specialised in elephant-research, which would also provide interesting insights into the world of elephant ethology. Unfortunately as it turned out, a lot of false promises had been made by my host organisation and I ended up in a very stressful situation, in a remote corner of the reserve. But what was even worse was that the main topic of my research, the elephants which my host organisation claimed to do so much research about, were nowhere to be found in the entire 45.000ha conservation area. I packed my bags and left, in search of a new research project that was worthy of a Research Master's degree.

Luckily with a lot of help I found a new topic of interest on the other side of the country, which has turned out to be even more exciting than my original one. I would come to research human-baboon-conflicts in the Cape Town area instead. A fascinating topic, due to the urban surroundings of this problem and the heated debate it has caused over the years. However, most of my preparations in the months before fieldwork had become much less relevant and within the next month I had to sort out both the practicalities of my new fieldwork site and subject and a

new theoretical angle for my actual research project. However, it was not until after fieldwork that I actually found the theoretical concept central to this thesis. I had a hunch that there was some underlying X-factor, but due to time constraints in the field it was not until coming home that I found that this mysterious X was in fact the concept of animal agency.

Research period

Because of this new turn of events, my initial fieldwork planning also had to be revised. Instead of an on-site instant start with the elephants in the Game Reserve in August, most of my time that month was spent sorting out my new research project and finding a place to stay. It was not until September that I was actually able to really start making contact with possible informants, visiting potential field sites and learning about baboons. Having swapped elephants for baboons meant that I had to learn about these new creatures in the field from my informants as quickly as I could. I decided that it would cost me too much time to create an entirely new research proposal before starting my research, so I used a more *laissez-faire* kind of approach. This of course influenced the kind of methods that I used and the way I used them.

Locations

As mentioned, choosing a field site in my new situation happened on a more ad-hoc base. Personally, I managed to find a place to stay near friends in the town of Stellenbosch, about a 50 minutes commute to the Cape Town area. The actual 'baboon-hotspots' where human-baboon interactions took place only emerged after a while, having talked to and visited informants, reading papers/reports/articles and so on. One can say that even these sites are therefore selected based on my empirical data, still using the ideology behind Grounded Theory (Birks & Mills 2011, 74). These 'hotspots' are all in the area surrounding Table Mountain National Park, the South-Western part of Cape Town. Another site which is a well-known baboon area is Pringle Bay near the Kogelberg Nature Reserve area in the East of Cape Town. The baboons here live mainly along the coast and are at the centre of a discussion about a controversial National Geographic's documentary where baboons are lured into a house filled with food while their behaviour is analysed.

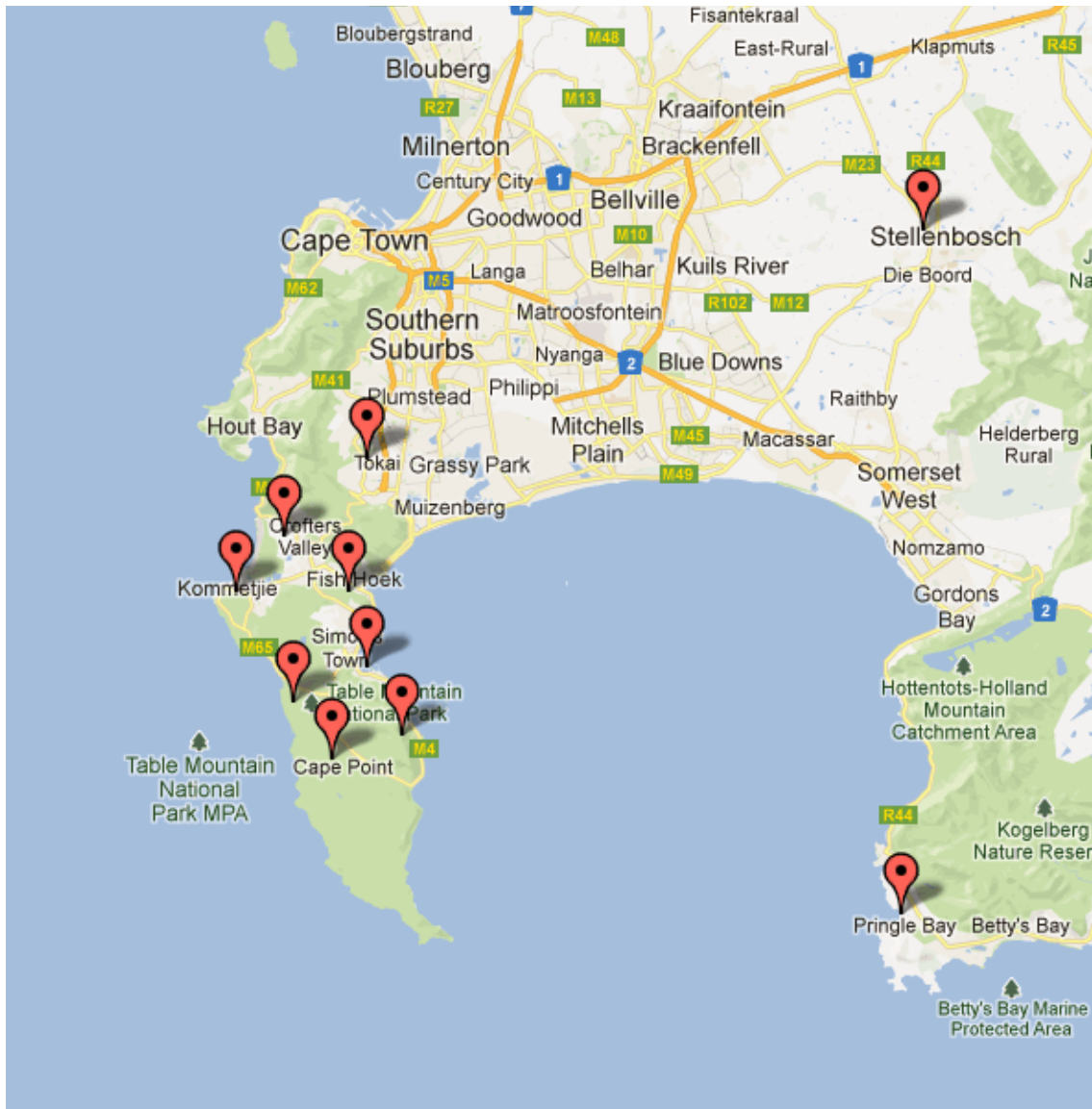


Figure 11. Personal google maps made about field sites.

(Source: maps.google.nl, Accessed 2 August 2013)

Selecting informants

The 'baboon debate' as I have come to know it evolves around a very select group of people and has been going on since the early 1990s. It was therefore not difficult to identify who these key role players were and where they could be found. New names and contacts emerged from interviews, casual talks with friends, newspaper articles and a good dose of 'Googling'. One can also say that next to using my own network, a very modest amount of snow ball sampling (Browne 2005, 47) has been used. Through the network of some of my most willing informants, new informants could be contacted and social networks opened up. In the end, I have managed to speak to the majority of the people involved, but unfortunately not to all of them. Due to several reasons. We are talking here about people who work in very busy and demanding

positions at the authorities, public figures, academics and so on. So obviously, getting them to agree to an interview and make room for me in their busy schedule was a challenge in itself.

Next to this, it soon became clear to me that there were internal dynamics within the debate surrounding baboon management. People seemed to have been literally hating each other for decennia and choosing one side of the story meant instantly being rejected by the other one. An issue inherent with the technique I used to find my informants: “snowball sampling (as with most sampling techniques) relies on individuals’ willingness to be involved in research and consequently some people will always be excluded” (Browne 2005, 53). So, after having spoken to one particular (and generally despised) person, suddenly one of my informant’s most fierce competitors in the debate started to cancel appointments with me that I had made weeks before. Apparently they assumed that I had already taken sides and feared that things they would tell me could be used against them. Unfortunately it was not until the last weeks of my fieldwork that I had learned this was the reason for being cancelled on more than eight times and informants not showing up or not responding to my e-mails and phone calls on several occasions. A shame, because my aim during fieldwork was to remain as non-judgemental as I could be and hear all sides of the story, not just to advocate one.

Used methods

Semi-/Unstructured interviews

My main method in this research project has been interviewing (Angrosino 2007, 42). I have interviewed around 18 of the key role players in Cape Town’s ‘baboon debate’ (which is the majority), including one interview over the phone. Because of the time pressure that was present when I finally started talking to my informants (my first real interview was end-September, which meant that I only had 3 months left to gather my data) and the lack of a useful research proposal, I did not use a topic guide or standardised interview questions (ibid, 43). My strategy was to just let my informants do the talking and see what kind of ‘hot issues’ emerged (Birks & Mills 2011, 75). I played dumb: I did not know anything about what was happening with the baboons (which was also true at first) and they were the experts that could teach me all about what was going on. This strategy turned out to pay off: people were very excited to share their experiences with me and sometimes kept on going for almost three hours. A very valuable source of information. After conducting my first few interviews I’ve noticed that some themes kept on emerging and I started to highlight them in my field notes (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw 1995, 151). On the one hand I could use those topics in less easy-going interviews when people would not

know what to talk about anymore, and on the other hand I could also ask more in-depth questions about subjects that needed further explanation.

Observant participation and participant observation

Next to interviews I have also gathered information in other ways. I have visited a land rights conference at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, a colloquium at the University of Western Cape, spent a day in the field with the current baboon-management service provider HWS (Human Wildlife Solutions), investigated the Zwaanswyk baboon-proof fence, and have hiked to baboon sites on several occasions.

At the first two activities, it was extremely refreshing to get new insights in topics that are closely related to the one of this research project. Although the 'Old Land, New Practices' conference in Grahamstown was more oriented towards land reform and struggles between humans, there were interesting theories that were also applicable for the baboon situation in Cape Town. The colloquium at UWC had a lot of overlap with thoughts and theories that have emerged from the empirical data in this research project, as the focus was more on the way we look at animals and animal vulnerabilities. These two field experiences were in an academic setting (a familiar situation to me as a student) and therefore had a more educational function, triggering my own thinking process along the way. Resulting in a sort of participant observation experience (Angrosino 2007, 55). Both were also excellent networking opportunities, I even managed to get in touch with my first important informant through one of the people I met in Grahamstown.

The other above mentioned field trips emerged from my empirical data and contacts. Especially the electrical fence in the Zwaanswyk community has been mentioned in almost every interview I have conducted and is known as one of the current 'success' stories in baboon management. Having been able to see this famous fence with my own eyes, taking pictures and talking to one of the local residents has been an eye opening experience. I took on more of a observer-as-participant role (Angrosino 2007, 54). The same goes for the HWS field trip. HWS provides the baboon monitors which keep track of the baboons all day long and chase them away from the residential areas. Before joining them, I had heard a lot of complaints about the way they use their paint ball guns to scare off baboons, resembling scary SWAT teams and so on. Seeing them with my own eyes and speaking to them about their motivations and intentions changed the picture for me completely. And last but not least, I hiked to several places along the Cape hoping to get a glimpse of the baboons and maybe even experience my own human-baboon-conflict. Only in Pringle Bay did I get lucky: I managed to see one of the baboons try to

open sliding doors, throwing rocks at windows and even ending up on the drivers seat of my own car.

At a certain point of my fieldwork I realised that I had trouble understanding a particular group of my informants. Their drive to protect the baboons at any cost, bordering on extreme activism, did not make sense to me. After talking to some of them, it was even harder for me to understand them... some of their statements seemed so philosophical that I started to question their sanity (along with and influenced by some of the more 'down to earth' informants). Even I (as an outsider) could see that sometimes keeping the animal alive at all costs is not the best solution, why couldn't they see the same? But after talking to my supervisor I realised that instead of writing these people off as the 'crazy baboon people' (as most people do), I could also try to make a bigger effort to understand them. I tried to figure out about which animal I could be just as passionate as these 'baboon huggers' (apparently baboons did not trigger the animal activist in me) and concluded that one of my passions could be a match.. dogs. And in particular puppies. So to awaken the inner 'baboon-hugger' in me, I decided to spend some of my time at the local animal shelter in Stellenbosch, taking care of abused and neglected dogs. Unfortunately I have not been able to organise another interview after this experience, but it has certainly helped me look at their answers and stories differently in writing the final thesis. During my fieldwork I therefore ended up using Draper and Maré's concept of 'going-in' (2003, 551) in two ways. At one hand I was going into the enclosures of the animals in the local animal shelters to awaken my 'inner activist' and learn about the lives of the dogs I would interact with and by doing so, I was on the other hand getting a better perspective of the world of the baboon activists and the people involved in animal welfare.

Literature/desk research

While trying to set up appointments for interviews I simultaneously started with the desk research part of my fieldwork. I did not know how easy or difficult it would be to get in touch with the key role players in Cape Town's 'baboon debate', so I tried other ways to find information about what was going on as well. Next to scientific articles written by people involved in baboon management, I also came across those of other baboon scientists from around the globe (Birks & Mills 2011, 80). Searching the internet, there were very many websites related to the Cape's baboons, as well as management reports, meeting minutes and discussion forums. I have also tracked a BBC documentary series made in 2009, called 'Baboons with Bill Bailey', which explains some of the issues in great details. Further more, since baboon

management is such a very hot topic, I have also found flyers, posters, signs and even entire books written by the people who are actively involved in the debate promoting their viewpoints.

To get more background information on the history of the 'baboon debate' in the Cape I decided to do archival research at the library of the University of Stellenbosch in my final weeks of fieldwork (that was the university closest to where I lived at the time). I have managed to get my hands on several copies of two of the local newspapers: the Cape Argus and the Cape Times. These articles mainly cover the year 2012, with some exceptions. I also have gathered a few baboon-related articles from the national newspaper in Afrikaans, Die Burger. These newspaper articles are used as supporting documentation (Angrosino 2007, 50) about the history of the 'baboon debate' and management, as well as examples of popular discourses within this dynamic.

Recording data

With regards to the documentation of data during interviews/speeches/meetings/conferences I have made use of a voice recorder (Birks & Mills 2011, 76), an old habit from previous studies that has come in handy for this research project as well. Important to keep in mind with this technique is that you do not forget to take notes during your recordings as well (Angrosino 2007, 49), in case technology fails you (or you just forget to press the recording button and only find out half-way through the interview). I have also made sure that I kept several copies of my recordings in different places, to make sure I would not lose such a valuable source of information.

Next to this I had my digital camera with me, to try and document the baboons themselves. As Birks and Mills (2011, 83) state, visual media are a less traditional data source, but can be found when in the field. Unfortunately that was easier said than done. Of course, documenting sites where baboons were frequently seen, villages they visited, baboon-proofing measures and signs which warned residents could be done at any given time. However, when I set out to actually capture more baboons on camera because I felt they were a bit too absent in my material, the baboons were nowhere to be found. Even at the sites where they would most likely be, luck was not on my side. But since the Cape's baboons are amongst the most documented in the world, luckily secondary sources with photo and video material are everywhere and especially the documentary made by Bill Bailey (2009) and the abundantly illustrated book by Trethowan (2009) provided me with a lot of (audio) visual material of these fascinating creatures.

III: Pictures of baboon areas



Table Mountain National Park



Cape Point National Park



Tokai Forest Plantation





Pringle Bay



Chapman's Peak

IV: Human-baboon-conflict areas



Welcome Glen Residential area



Noordhoek and Kommetjie area



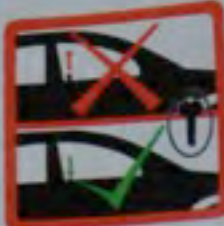
Ocean View (mountain area)



Scarborough

Baboons are **WILD and must be treated with **RESPECT****

- **DO NOT FEED BABOONS**
- **DO NOT OPEN WINDOWS OR DOORS**
- **LOCK CAR DOORS AND STAY IN CAR**



Irresponsible human behaviour spells a **DEATH SENTENCE for **BABOONS****

Feeding of baboons is punishable under the Nature Conservation Ordinance 19 of 1974.

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