

Apes and Agriculture

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27 **Abstract**

28 Non-human great apes – chimpanzees, gorillas, bonobos, and orangutans – are threatened by
29 agricultural expansion particularly from rice, cacao, cassava, maize, and oil palm cultivation.
30 Agriculture replaces and fragments great ape habitats, bringing them closer to humans and often
31 resulting in conflict. Though the impact of agriculture on great apes is well-recognized, there is still a
32 need for more nuanced understanding of specific contexts and associated effects on habitats and
33 populations. Here we review these contexts and highlight synergistic and antagonistic co-occurrences
34 between agriculture, both subsistence and commercial, and great apes. We estimate that one
35 individual great ape shares its habitat with about 100 people, mostly outside protected areas. This
36 makes it challenging to balance the needs of both humans and great apes given the growing human
37 population and increasing demand for resources. Further habitat loss is expected, particularly in
38 Africa, where compromises must be sought to re-direct agricultural expansion driven by subsistence
39 farmers with small fields (generally <0.64 ha) away from remaining great ape habitats. To promote
40 coexistence between humans and great apes, new financial models are needed. Optimized land use
41 planning, along with strategic investments in agriculture and wildlife conservation, can maximize the
42 synergy between conservation and food production. Effective governance and conservation financing
43 are crucial for optimal outcomes in both conservation and food security. Enforcing forest
44 conservation laws, engaging in trade policy discussions, and integrating policies on trade, food
45 security, circular agriculture, and sustainable food systems are vital to prevent further decline in great
46 ape populations. Saving great apes requires consideration of the specific agricultural contexts, not
47 just focusing on the apes themselves.

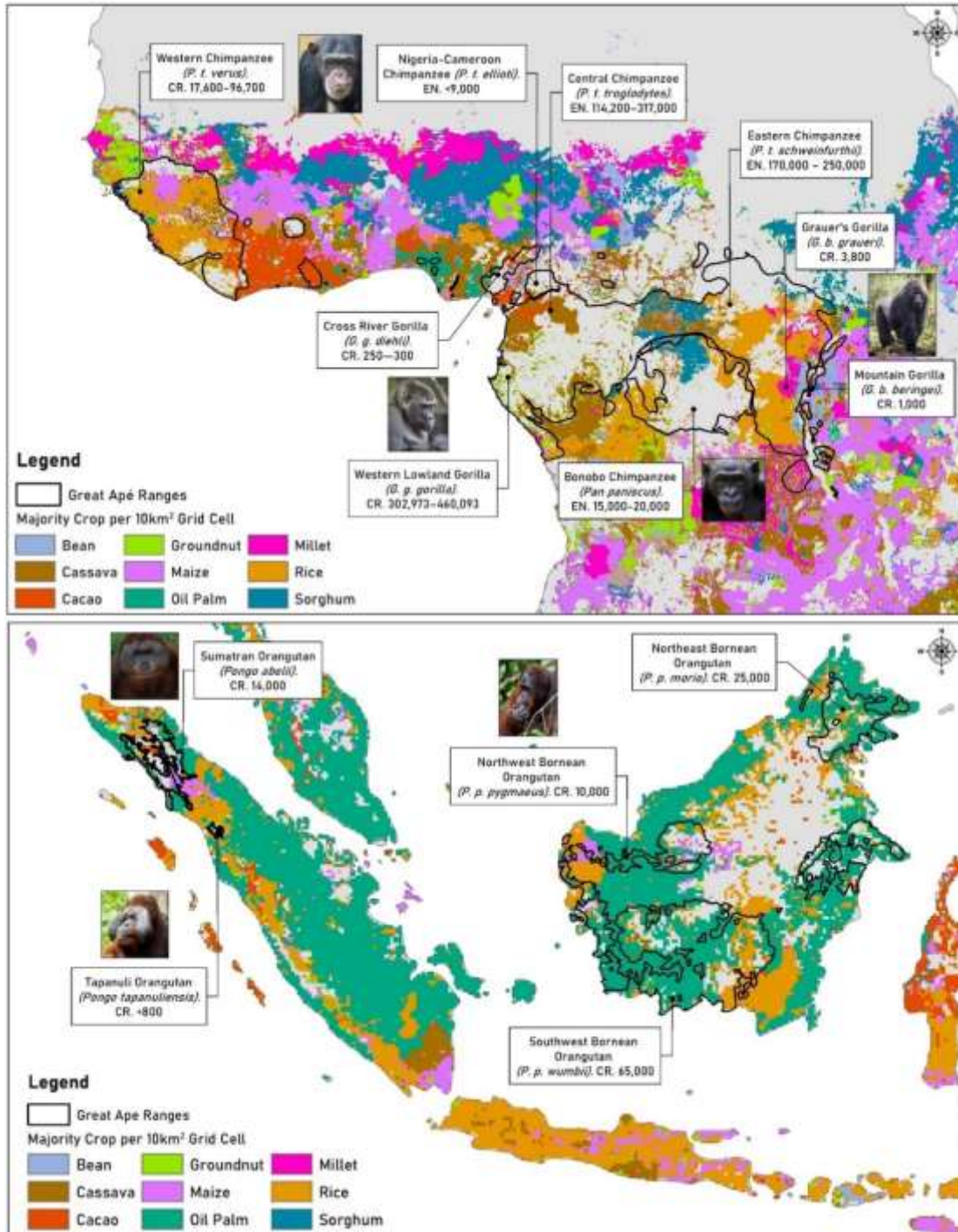
48 **1 Introduction**

49 Agricultural expansion is the leading cause of biodiversity loss, with global cropland estimated at
50 1,244 Mha in 2019 (Potapov et al., 2022) and predicted to expand by 193–317 Mha by 2050, mainly
51 in Africa (Schmitz et al., 2014). This expansion will result in the loss of habitat for 87.7% of the
52 19,859 terrestrial vertebrate species recently reviewed, with 1,280 species losing over 25% of their
53 remaining range (Williams et al., 2021). Balancing the demands for crops and conservation is one of
54 the biggest challenges of the twenty-first century (Dudley and Alexander, 2017), especially in the
55 tropics, where species diversity is high, and large natural ecosystems are declining due to human
56 population growth (Cincotta et al., 2000; Pendrill et al., 2022). The impact of agriculture on non-
57 human great apes (further referred to as “great apes”) in the Asian and African tropics is of particular
58 concern, with chimpanzees, bonobos, Western and Eastern gorillas, and three species of orangutans
59 all in decline and threatened with extinction within the coming decades (Figure 1). The distribution
60 and density of these species are primarily determined by habitat availability, disease, killing for meat
61 and other purposes, and people’s attitudes to sharing landscapes with great apes. Despite national
62 legislation legally protecting these species in all 23 countries they occur in, the threat to their survival
63 remains high (Caldecott and Miles, 2006; Bettinger et al., 2021).

64 The remaining great apes (750,000–1,250,000, see Figure 1) share their habitat with around 97
65 million people (1 great ape per 77–129 people, see Supplementary Materials and Table 1). In simple
66 terms, one great ape is shared with 100 humans, mainly in countries with high human population
67 growth, poverty (i.e., income of less than US\$2 per day), and low food security. For instance,
68 according to World Bank data, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has a 2.9% annual
69 population growth rate, which could double the number of people living alongside great apes in 25
70 years. Some of the great ape range countries are also those with the highest levels of
71 undernourishment, for example 21% of the Sub-Saharan people were undernourished in 2020 (The
72 World Bank, 2022a). Thus, there is an urgent need for increased local food production to improve
73 food availability and security. Growing human populations and a drive for economic development

74 through agriculture, alongside growing international demand, are, however, key drivers of
75 deforestation (Busch and Ferretti-Gallon, 2017) and therefore great ape habitat loss.

76 **Figure 1. (A).** African great ape subspecies ranges in relation to the distribution of crops
77 expressed as majority crop per 10*10 km grid cell (You et al., 2017). (B). Asian great ape
78 subspecies. Population estimates from Rainer et al. (2020) and ranges based on IUCN Red List
79 data for individual species.



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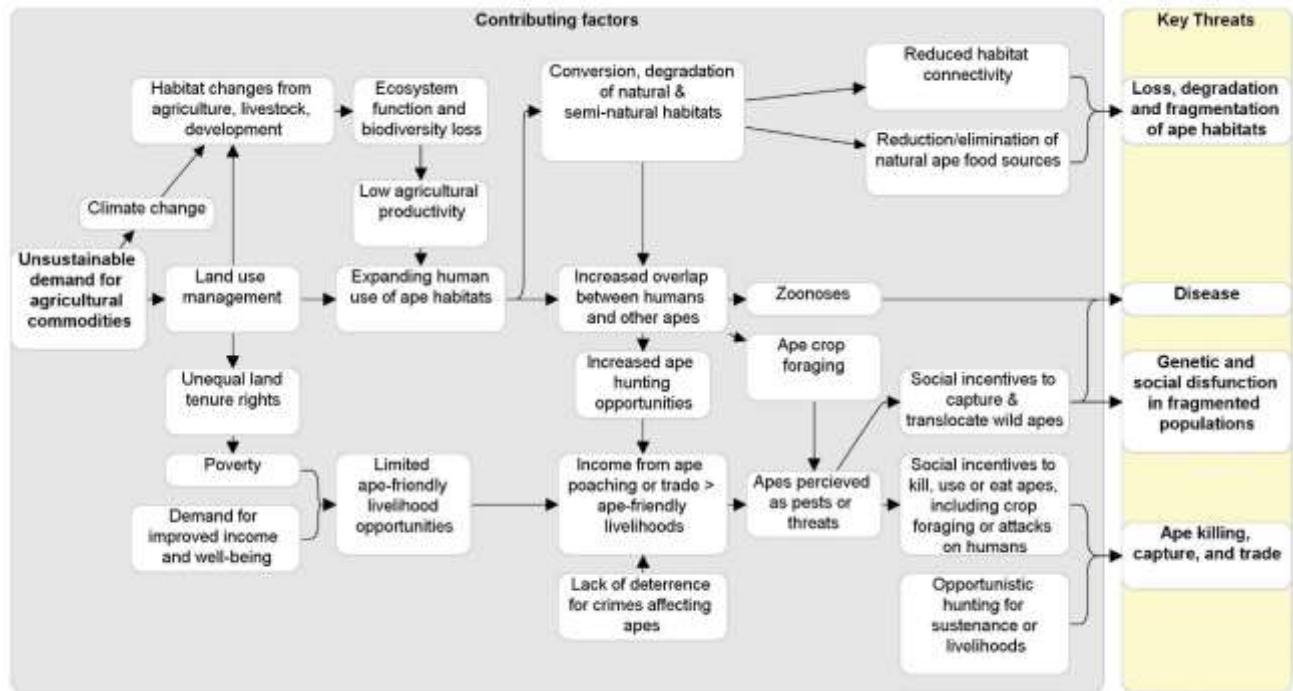
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82 **Table 1. Great ape taxa, the number of people within the great ape ranges (Schiavina et al.,**
 83 **2022), the primary drivers of forest cover loss (Laso Bayas et al., 2022), and main crops in great**
 84 **ape ranges (Meijaard et al., 2021).**

Great ape species or subspecies	Scientific name	Estimated number of people within great ape range in 2020 (predicted annual growth rate in % 2020-2030)	Two main primary driver(s) of forest cover loss for the period 2008 to 2019 within great ape ranges	Two main crops based on largest area within (sub)species range
Nigeria-Cameroon chimpanzee	<i>Pan t. ellioti</i>	2,411,401 (2.8)	Subsistence agriculture and other natural disturbances	Oil palm, cacao
Western chimpanzee	<i>P. t. verus</i>	28,170,665 (2.6)	Subsistence agriculture and pasture	Rice, cacao
Eastern chimpanzee	<i>P. t. schweinfurthii</i>	32,135,959 (2.4)	Subsistence agriculture and other natural disturbances	Cassava, maize
Central chimpanzee	<i>P. t. troglodytes</i>	14,222,850 (3.2)	Subsistence agriculture and other natural disturbances	Cassava, cacao
Bonobo	<i>Pan paniscus</i>	3,758,691 (1.5)	Subsistence agriculture and other natural disturbances	Cassava, maize
Western lowland gorilla	<i>Gorilla. g. gorilla</i>	12,020,627 (3.3)	Subsistence agriculture and other natural disturbances	Cassava, cacao
Cross-River gorilla	<i>G. g. diehli</i>	57,798 (2.7)	Subsistence agriculture and other natural disturbances	Cassava, vegetables
Grauer's gorilla	<i>G. b. graueri</i>	938,866 (2.4)	Subsistence agriculture and other natural disturbances	Beans, maize
Mountain gorilla	<i>G. b. beringei</i>	826 (26.9)	No data	Beans, potatoes
Northwest Bornean orangutan	<i>Pongo p. pygmaeus</i>	501,084 (1.5)	Subsistence agriculture and commercial oil palm/other plantations	Oil palm, tree crops
Southwest Bornean orangutan	<i>Pongo p. wurmbi</i>	1,441,523 (0.9)	Subsistence agriculture and commercial oil palm/other plantations	Oil palm, tree crops
Northeast Bornean orangutan	<i>Pongo p. morio</i>	1,080,217 (3.0)	Subsistence agriculture and commercial oil palm/other plantations	Oil palm, tree crops
Sumatran orangutan	<i>P. abelii</i>	16,526 (1.7)	Subsistence agriculture and commercial oil palm/other plantations	Oil palm, tree crops
Tapanuli orangutan	<i>P. tapanuliensis</i>	674 (0.6)	Subsistence agriculture, pasture and commercial oil palm/other plantations	Oil palm, tree crops

85 Agriculture poses a threat to great apes, with factors such as unsustainable use of natural resources,
 86 agricultural expansion, disease, genetic and social factors, and ape killing, capture, and trade
 87 negatively affecting their habitats (Figure 2). In terms of agricultural expansion, we focus on crops
 88 rather than livestock, because in the orangutan ranges livestock-related forest loss is rare, while, in
 89 Africa, such losses are concentrated in the drier parts where great apes generally do not occur
 90 (although chimpanzees in Tanzania and very dry areas in Senegal and Mali are an exception). Crop
 91 expansion is a major contributor to this threat, with crops such as maize (*Zea mays* L.), rice (*Oryza*
 92 spp.), millet (various species) and cassava (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) predominating (for details see
 93 **Error! Reference source not found., Error! Reference source not found., Error! Reference**
 94 **source not found.**). These crops are mostly grown in smallholder, subsistence agriculture contexts
 95 (Table 1), with fields typically being less than 0.64 ha in size (Lesiv et al., 2019), and further field
 96 size reduction ongoing (Abraham and Pingali, 2020). Rice, maize, and cassava show the most rapid
 97 expansion, while other crops such as sesame (*Sesamum indicum* L.), sunflower (*Helianthus annuus*
 98 L.), cotton (*Gossypium* L.) and okra (*Abelmoschus esculentus* (L.) Moench) have expanded but use
 99 up less land (FAOSTAT, 2023). African oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis* Jacq.) is another crop that has
 100 been a driver of deforestation, especially in Southeast Asia's orangutan range and is rapidly
 101 expanding in that region (**Error! Reference source not found.**), with concerns about its expansion
 102 in Africa and potential impact on great apes (Linder, 2013; Wich et al., 2014). While there has been
 103 much media attention on the impact of oil palm expansion on great apes, other crops such as rice and

104 cassava have largely escaped scrutiny (Jayathilake et al., 2021). We did not conduct a systematic
 105 review of crop foraging by each great ape species but highlighted some crops of specific concern for
 106 both expansion and foraging.



107

108 **Figure 2. Causal transmission chain of (negative) change between human expansion in land use**
 109 **and the fate of the great apes (referred to as “apes”)**

110 Great apes are mainly found in tropical and subtropical regions that are favorable for specific crops.
 111 There is, however, considerable variation in the type of crops grown across the great ape range. Most
 112 African great apes reside in tropical evergreen forests, but some populations are also found in
 113 deciduous woodland and drier savannah-dominated habitats interspersed with gallery forests. The
 114 crops grown in these areas are adapted to equatorial fully humid, monsoonal, summer dry, and winter
 115 dry conditions, including warm temperate areas in East Africa and more arid lands (Kottek et al.,
 116 2006). The crops grown in these regions are mostly annuals, with some crops like oil palm, tree
 117 crops, and cacao being perennial (Table 2). The usage of crop areas by great apes for feeding or
 118 dispersal, and the level of persecution they face for consuming different crops, vary depending on the
 119 type of crop cultivated. Furthermore, soil fertility may also influence great ape presence, with areas
 120 in Borneo that have low soil fertility and are poorly suited to agriculture, traditionally being used by
 121 nomadic hunter-gatherer people who likely hunted out orangutans in the past (Meijaard, 2017). It
 122 remains unclear whether this also applies to Africa, although the more fertile parts, such as volcanic
 123 mountain slopes (see, e.g., Hengl et al., 2021) seem to retain species such as mountain gorillas.

124 It is worth noting that not all remaining great ape habitats are formally protected, and much land
 125 outside protected areas is used for agriculture. For example, 83% of chimpanzees in West Africa
 126 (Heinicke et al., 2019) and about 80% of central chimpanzees and western gorillas in Central Africa
 127 reside outside protected areas (Kormos et al., 2003; Brncic et al., 2015; Tweh et al., 2015; Strindberg
 128 et al., 2018). Additionally, about 50% of orangutans in Indonesian Borneo reside outside protected
 129 areas (Meijaard et al., 2022b). These unprotected habitats are under threat from agricultural
 130 expansion, but this is also taking place within protected areas, depending on the type of protective

131 management, the degree and effectiveness of enforcement of the protective management regime, and
 132 the extent to which community needs are integrated. Overall, understanding the distribution and
 133 ecology of great apes is crucial in understanding the impact of agricultural crops on them.

134 **Table 2. Typology of main crops that occur in great ape ranges and are likely to cause most**
 135 **great ape habitat losses. All crop data (FAOSTAT, 2023)**

Crop	Total area W, C, and E Africa and SE Asia 2021 (ha)	Regional rate of expansion (% increase 2010-2021)	Main great ape species using these crops	Type of crop	Primary local crop use (subsistence or cash)	Primary global crop use	References
Rice	60,423,297	2.9%	Among others, chimpanzees forage on rice	Annual (up to 2-3 crop cycles per year).	In Africa (especially West) increasingly used in urban communities. Staple in Asia. Important cash crop.	Food	(McLennan and Hockings, 2014; Muthayya et al., 2014; Zenna et al., 2017)
Maize (corn)	47,035,255	21.3%	Chimpanzees, Western and Eastern Gorilla forage on maize	Annual (5–6-month crop cycle). Rotated with other crops	80% used for food (especially in East Africa).	56% used for livestock feed, remainder for food, ethanol, starch, oil, beverages, glue	(Naughton-Treves et al., 1998; Ranum et al., 2014; Hill, 2017; Ekpa et al., 2019; Erenstein et al., 2022)
Cassava. fresh	27,107,655	47.5%	Chimpanzees forage on cassava	Annual. Long growth cycle (10-12 months or more)	80% of global production from Africa and Asia. Food crop and income. Export crop in Asia	Livestock feed and food	(Caccamisi, 2010; Hockings et al., 2015; Garriga et al., 2018)
Oil palm fruit	26,898,747	45.7%	Orangutans and chimpanzees feed on fruits and use crop for dispersal	Perennial (25-year cycle)	Cash crop and local use. Export commodity in Asia	Food, biofuel, cosmetics	(Ancrenaz et al., 2015; Garriga et al., 2018; Meijaard et al., 2020)
Sorghum	21,172,564	3.4%	No major crop foraging by great apes reported	Perennial plant but grown in annual cycles (perennial tropical grass with a growing season of 4-5 months)	Mostly local food subsistence use in Africa. Not much used in SE Asia. Various stover uses	Livestock feed, biofuel and food	(Mundia et al., 2019)
Groundnuts, excluding shelled	16,161,007	22.6%	No major crop foraging by great apes reported	Annual (4–5-month crop cycle). Rotated with other crops	Local use for food, oil and feed. Nigeria and Indonesia major producers. Cash crop.	Important source of oil and protein	(Fletcher and Shi, 2016)
Millet	15,697,663	-19.5%	No major crop foraging by great apes reported	Depends on species. Grown in annual cycles (4-5	Mostly local food subsistence use in Africa, also livestock feed.	Increasing global demand for food. Drought-resistant	(Kumar et al., 2018; Antony Ceasar and Maharajan, 2022)

				months). Low fertilizer and pesticide needs	Not much used in SE Asia.	and considered a “healthy” grain	
Cow peas, dry	14,556,604	28.2%	No major crop foraging by great apes reported	Annual crop of semi-arid areas. Intercropped because of nitrogen-fixation	Mostly grown in Nigeria and Niger. Subsistence and cash crop used for food and feed.	Increasing demand from food & beverages industry	(Siddiq et al., 2022)
Beans (dry). Different species, e.g., lentils, chickpeas	11,777,348	15.2%	Western and Eastern gorilla forage on beans	Annuals. Crop cycle depends on species. Primarily grown at higher elevations	Subsistence and cash crop	Growing demand because of health benefits	(Siddiq et al., 2022)
Natural rubber in primary forms	11,111,673	39.6%	Some bark stripping and nesting reported by orangutans	Perennial	Cash crop. Indonesia and Malaysia major producers	Various industrial uses	(Umar et al., 2011; Campbell-Smith et al., 2012)
Cacao	9,444,854	20.0%	Chimpanzees and Western gorilla feed on cacao	Perennial	Cash crop, mostly for export	Chocolate products	(McLennan, 2013)

136 The different characteristics of the fourteen great ape species and subspecies (Table 1), the different
137 regions of the world in which they occur, and the different agricultural crops that may threaten their
138 habitats or provide some ecological opportunities to them (Table 2), result in a complex picture
139 regarding the relationship between agriculture and great apes. This is further compounded by the
140 scales at which crops are produced (e.g., smallholder or industrial scale), growth types (annual or
141 perennial, monoculture or inter-cropped) or whether crops are produced for subsistence or cash-
142 income purposes. Here we review the literature on great apes and agriculture with the objective to 1)
143 assess the dominant crops and food systems in the ranges of the 14 great ape species; 2) identify
144 antagonistic and synergistic co-occurrences; 3) understand economic and political factors that
145 influence future agricultural developments; and 4) provide recommendations towards improved co-
146 existence between apes and agriculture. We hope to clarify how future agricultural developments are
147 likely to affect different great ape species, and what can be done to minimize negative impacts and
148 facilitate synergies between conservation and agriculture.

149 **2 Key agricultural trends where apes and crops converge**

150 We analyze agricultural dynamics in areas with great apes. Agricultural production in Africa mainly
151 serves domestic consumption with a few crops generating export revenues (Rakotoarisoa et al.,
152 2012). Smallholder farming dominates, but the transition to business-oriented processes is underway
153 (Mukasa et al., 2017; Giller, 2020). However, farms still struggle to provide food security or living
154 income. Production is expected to increase (Sanchez, 2002; Pendrill et al., 2022; Potapov et al.,
155 2022), putting further pressure on land, especially in Ghana, Ivory Coast, Benin, Nigeria, and
156 Cameroon (Halpern et al., 2022). Infrastructural development related to extractive industries (Weng
157 et al., 2013) is linked to agricultural growth corridors (Independent Science and Partnership Council,
158 2016), impacting areas of high biodiversity like protected areas (Laurance et al., 2015).

159 Agricultural expansion on Borneo and Sumatra has led to major forest loss since the 1970s (Wilcove
160 et al., 2013). These tropical islands are highly suitable for the cultivation of crops such as oil palm,
161 with rice, rubber (*Hevea brasiliensis* Müll. Arg.), maize, coconut (*Cocos nucifera* L.), and coffee
162 (*Coffea arabica* L.) also grown (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Oil palm agriculture is
163 dominated by large-holders, but while there is more industrial-scale agriculture compared to African
164 great ape ranges (Table 1), forest loss has declined recently due to improved governance of this
165 sector (Gaveau et al., 2019; Gaveau et al., 2022). Nevertheless, soil impoverishment and economic
166 factors drive smallholder farmers to clear forests (Duffy et al., 2021), especially those with low
167 nutrient peat swamp forests that are important for orangutans (Meijaard et al., 2010b).

168 Across Sub-Saharan Africa and South-East Asia, agricultural expansion is leading to significant
169 changes in land use patterns, with certain crops showing particularly rapid rates of growth. According
170 to data from FAOSTAT, cassava, oil palm, and rubber have been the crops with the greatest regional
171 expansion rates (Table 2). Meanwhile, land under maize is also growing, and if current regional
172 trends continue, it may approach equivalence with the area under rice within the next decade. Two
173 other crops, yams (*Dioscorea* spp.) and plantain (*Musa* spp.), have also seen significant increases in
174 area between 2010 and 2021, with respective growth rates of 87.0% and 55.2% (FAOSTAT, 2023).

175 There is considerable variation in crop distribution across different regions. In Central Africa, for
176 instance, which is home to bonobos, chimpanzees, and Western gorillas, the largest areas are
177 allocated to cassava, maize, groundnuts (*Arachis hypogaea* L.), sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor* L.
178 Moench), and rice (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Meanwhile, in West Africa, which is
179 home to chimpanzees and Cross-River gorillas, sorghum, maize, and cow peas dominate (**Error!**
180 **Reference source not found.**). While the effects of climate change on crop distribution are unclear,
181 it is likely that areas with rain-fed agriculture and limited economic and institutional capacity to
182 respond to climate variability and change, such as some parts of West Africa, will be negatively
183 impacted through yield losses (Sultan and Gaetani, 2016). Such losses could increase pressure on
184 remaining forest areas, where great apes live. In Borneo, reductions in rainfall and increases in
185 temperature (McAlpine et al., 2018) are likely to limit areas suitable for crops such as oil palm,
186 which are vulnerable to prolonged drought, and thus reduce available orangutan habitat (Struebig et
187 al., 2015).

188 **3 Great ape ecology and agriculture**

189 Great apes are primarily adapted to a plant diet, with meat consumption by chimpanzees being an
190 exception (Fahy et al., 2013). Great apes may target crops in fields or fruit and trees in orchards and
191 plantations, especially when wild foods are scarce, but also because these may be preferred, since
192 they are highly nutritious and easy to access (Hockings and Humle, 2009; Campbell-Smith et al.,
193 2011; Hockings and McLennan, 2012; Seiler and Robbins, 2016). Great apes and humans also share
194 the need for water (Box 1). Preliminary studies indicate that individuals in some great ape species
195 change their behaviour over time to human-dominated landscapes, changing food items as they learn
196 what is edible and learning to navigate agricultural lands (McLennan and Hockings, 2014; Ancrenaz
197 et al., 2015; McLennan et al., 2021). As species with low reproductive outputs, retaliatory killings of
198 apes by humans in response to crop consumption is unlikely to be sustainable. Disagreements
199 between different human groups over how to manage problematic great ape behaviour can follow
200 (Campbell-Smith et al., 2011; Hockings and McLennan, 2012).

201 While some 310,000-672,000 chimpanzees remain (Figure 1), primarily in the central part of their
202 range, populations in the western part of their range are much smaller and highly fragmented due to

203 agricultural expansion. Rice, cacao, and cassava are major concerns in the chimpanzee range (Figure
204 1a and **Error! Reference source not found., Error! Reference source not found., Error!**
205 **Reference source not found.**), with high-value cacao being particularly problematic. In Southwest
206 Cameroon, Nigeria-Cameroon chimpanzees overlap with an important and expanding cacao
207 production area, where forest areas, including protected forest reserves that contained chimpanzees
208 have been converted to cacao production (Klarer, 2014). Also, in Côte d’Ivoire, cacao was the main
209 crop grown inside the national parks and forest reserves surveyed in one study, being present in 20 of
210 23 protected areas (Bitty et al., 2015; Kouassi et al., 2021), threatening “protected” Western
211 chimpanzee populations (Barima et al., 2020; Abu et al., 2021). As cacao is a perennial crop, it may
212 have some value for chimpanzees as a dispersal habitat, though the animals sometimes forage on
213 cacao crops at times of low fruit availability (Humble, 2003; Tehoda et al., 2017; Payne, 2019; Wade,
214 2020). Rice and cassava are also targeted by chimpanzees in, for example Sierra Leone (Garriga et
215 al., 2018) and Guinea (Hockings et al., 2009), although other species such as cane rats (*Thryonomys*
216 *swinderianus*), can cause more damage (Garriga et al., 2018). Not all crop feeding is problematic,
217 however. Chimpanzees in Cantanhez National Park in Guinea-Bissau are not considered to cause
218 significant damage to the main cash crop, cashew (*Anacardium occidentale* L.), as chimpanzees feed
219 only on the cashew pseudofruit, leaving the economically valuable cashew nut undamaged (Hockings
220 and Sousa, 2013).

221 Bonobos are mostly found in primary forests and seasonally-inundated swamp forests (Fruth et al.,
222 2016), and they are affected by forest loss caused by swidden subsistence agriculture (Fruth et al.,
223 2016; Molinario et al., 2020). **Error! Reference source not found.** suggests that most of this
224 subsistence agriculture involves cultivation of cassava, maize, rice, plantain, and groundnut, while in
225 the northern parts of the range, sorghum production dominates (Figure 1a). Especially cassava
226 cultivation seems problematic for bonobos. A recent study predicted that 75% of the deforestation in
227 the western Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) province of Bandundu will be driven by
228 expansion of cassava (Mosnier et al., 2016), and that similarly, cassava will likely be the biggest
229 driver of forest loss related to the development of road infrastructure in the DRC (Li et al., 2015).
230 Bonobos are not normally associated with crop foraging (Fruth et al., 2006), although one study
231 found the presence of sugar cane, banana, maize, papaya, pineapple, sweet potatoes and cocoa in the
232 bonobo’s diet (Inogwabini and Matungila, 2009), and crop foraging could be understudied.
233 According to Terada et al. (2015), habitats that are often considered minor-use, such as human-
234 modified and inundated areas, may be more significant for bonobos than currently acknowledged.
235 These areas have likely been overlooked in the past because the species does not create nests in these
236 habitats.

237 Compared to chimpanzees, gorillas require larger forest areas and are less adaptable to diverse
238 ecological conditions. They usually inhabit open Marantaceae forests with dense ground vegetation
239 and have less preference for open agricultural areas than chimpanzees. The critically endangered
240 Cross-River gorilla faces a significant threat from agricultural expansion, restricting its habitat to
241 hilly areas due to human activities, particularly hunting, rather than the availability of preferred food
242 sources (Bergl et al., 2016). The Cross-River gorilla's natural habitat has been destroyed for the
243 cultivation of crops like potato, beans, maize, rice, groundnuts, oil palm, and cassava (Tume et al.,
244 2020). This trend continues in areas with high human populations (Dunn et al., 2014). In the case of
245 the Western lowland gorilla, the dominant crops grown in their habitat include cassava, cacao,
246 plantain, vegetables, and oil palm (**Error! Reference source not found.**). These crops are often
247 cultivated in agro-forestry systems that overlap with gorilla habitat, and gorillas can cause significant
248 damage to plantain crops (Naughton-Treves and Treves, 2005). Cacao farms, which are a source of

249 income for local communities, may also be damaged by gorillas in areas where they overlap
250 (Naughton-Treves and Treves, 2005).

251 Like Cross-River gorillas, mountain gorillas are also limited by cultivated areas that surround their
252 forest habitats, including bamboo, mixed, and subalpine forests. Common crops in the range of
253 Grauer's gorillas include beans (Meijaard et al., 2021) (not shown in **Error! Reference source not**
254 **found.**, but taking up 62,427 ha), maize, plantain, and rice (**Error! Reference source not found.**),
255 while mountain gorillas' range is dominated by beans and potatoes (Meijaard et al., 2021).
256 Deforestation in Bwindi has primarily been driven by small-scale farming and tea plantations
257 (Twongyirwe et al., 2011). Some mountain gorillas in Bwindi have become habituated to human
258 presence and often spend time feeding outside the protected forest with negative impacts on banana,

259 sweet potato, maize, passion fruit, beans and coffee (Akampulira et al., 2015; McLennan and
260 Hockings, 2016; Seiler and Robbins, 2016).

261 Orangutans can adapt to habitat changes, as seen in their presence and feeding in different
262 environments such as *Acacia mangium* Willd. plantations in East Kalimantan (Meijaard et al.,
263 2010a), mixed agriculture mosaics in Sumatra (Campbell-Smith et al., 2011), and oil palm
264 plantations in Borneo (Ancrenaz et al., 2015) and in forests used for timber (Ancrenaz et al., 2010;

Box 1. The crucial role of access to water for great apes

Apes obtain water from their food and by drinking surface water or water collected in tree holes (Figure 3). However, agriculture and climate change have reduced the availability of water (Akpabio, 2007), affecting great apes' health, behaviour, and social interactions. For instance, apes in sub-Saharan Africa are facing water scarcity due to increased competition and climate change effects (Vise-Thakor, 2022). Reduced water sources force great apes to drink from fewer shared drinking spots, which increases disease risk (Wright et al., 2022) and the likelihood of aggressive interactions with people, especially children. It can also lead to contamination of water sources with pesticides and increased sharing of water sources between great apes and humans, which can increase pathogen sharing load (Masi et al., 2012; Shively and Day, 2015; Sharma et al., 2016). Great apes are adapting to these challenges by developing new traits (Kalan et al., 2020; Péter et al., 2022), but conservation planning must focus on ensuring safe access to water for great apes as part of forest protection.



Figure 3. Adult male chimpanzee at a drinking hole at Cantanhez National Park. Photo by Joana Bessa, Cantanhez Chimpanzee Project

265 Wich et al., 2016) (Figure 1b and **Error! Reference source not found.**). They prefer lowland forests
266 which are also suitable for agriculture (Santika et al., 2017). However, historically, lowland peat
267 swamp forests were not utilized for agriculture until the advent of modern farming practices and
268 drainage. These peat swamp forests likely served as a refuge from hunting for the great apes

269 (Meijaard, 2017). Oil palm has the greatest range overlap with all three orangutan species (**Error!**
270 **Reference source not found.**), and has contributed to their habitat decline (Wich et al., 2012; Wich
271 et al., 2016; Santika et al., 2017; Voigt et al., 2018), although remaining orangutan habitat may be
272 stabilizing in some areas (Meijaard et al., 2022b). Orangutans feed on young oil palm shoots and
273 fruits, but they are not a major crop pest (Ancrenaz et al., 2015). Rice cultivation has impacted
274 orangutan habitat in some areas, such as the Central Kalimantan peat swamp forests (Boehm and
275 Siegert, 2001) and Sumatra (Jayathilake et al., 2021).

276



277

278 **Figure 4. An adult male chimpanzee at Bossou in Guinea crossing a village homestead having**
279 **foraged on a papaya fruit. Photo by Kimberley Hockings**

280 **4 Reducing antagonistic co-occurrences between great ape conservation and agriculture**

281 Great apes can coexist with humans in shared landscapes, but local attitudes towards them determine
282 whether this is beneficial or harmful. Coexistence requires humans and wildlife to co-occur (Harihar
283 et al., 2013), with tolerable risks to both, and should be sustainable (Carter and Linnell, 2016). Some
284 sites have shown co-adaptation between chimpanzees and smallholder agriculture (Halloran, 2016;
285 Bersacola et al., 2021; McLennan et al., 2021), while orangutans survive in forest fragments in
286 Malaysian oil palm landscapes because people accept their presence (Ancrenaz et al., 2021). Wealthy
287 people in the latter landscape are generally not concerned about orangutans or crop losses, and
288 orangutans are generally safe, although it is unclear if they will remain viable in the long-term.
289 Conservation planning for great apes needs to consider whether agricultural expansion is driven by
290 poverty and if killing of great apes may continue, or if more stable conditions can be anticipated.

291 Preventing agricultural expansion is the best way to minimize negative impacts on great apes, but this
292 can be difficult in regions with undernourishment and poverty (Meijaard et al., 2022a). Areas of
293 poverty often coincide with good forest protection (Busch and Ferretti-Gallon, 2017), but
294 transitioning to middle-income levels may accelerate agricultural development and pose a threat.
295 Reducing poverty without deforestation requires greater stakeholder engagement (Garcia et al.,
296 2020), such as involving communities in forest enterprise (Santika et al., 2019), although the broader
297 applicability of such models across great ape ranges remains unclear. Also, even when deforestation
298 rates can be reduced, reducing poaching rates is challenging and requires long-term financing
299 (Sandker et al., 2009).

300 Efforts to reduce forest loss and poaching rates whilst alleviating poverty could help reduce pressures
301 on great ape populations and habitats as economies develop, i.e., the forest transition (Mather and
302 Needle, 1998). Deforestation is positively related to real GDP per capita until a turning point around
303 USD 3,000 per capita income, beyond which deforestation is expected to decline (Ajanaku and
304 Collins, 2021). However, in areas with low to medium poverty, growing GDP, expanding agriculture,
305 and growing rural populations, African apes are most threatened (Tranquilli et al., 2012). Local
306 economic development that spares forest or development away from forest areas could reduce
307 population pressure and forest losses. The Sub-Saharan region is already undergoing rapid
308 urbanisation with forecasts indicating that ca. 58% of its population is going to live in cities by 2050
309 compared to ca. 40% now (UNDESA, 2019). Nevertheless, although overall annual growth rates
310 have declined from 2.4% in 1980 to 1.7% in 2021 (The World Bank, 2022b), rural population growth
311 is likely to continue. Resulting migration patterns in Sub-Saharan Africa are complex, even more so
312 when driven by armed conflict (Mercandalli et al., 2019). We also note that while poverty levels may
313 locally prevent deforestation, these may not be a good predictor of great ape survival itself. Ordaz-
314 Németh et al. (2021) found a negative quadratic relationship between African great ape densities and
315 GDP, with decreasing great ape densities, partially poaching-related, above a nationwide GDP of \$5
316 billion annually, which translates into a per capita GDP for these countries between USD 500 and
317 2,500. The effects of GDP maybe therefore play out differently on deforestation and poaching, and
318 poverty and income levels as such may thus be poor predictors of great ape survival.

319 The debate on land sharing versus land sparing is relevant to reducing negative interactions between
320 people and great apes (Phalan et al., 2011; Law and Wilson, 2015). Land sparing aims to set aside
321 large tracts of land for exclusive wildlife use while intensifying agriculture on existing farmland to
322 keep people and great apes apart. On the other hand, land sharing seeks coexistence between people
323 and great apes through small-scale eco-friendly farming and sustainable forest management in
324 patchworks of low-intensity agriculture. Empirical evaluations suggest that land sparing results in
325 better outcomes for wildlife diversity and abundance in the short term (Phalan et al., 2011; Hulme et
326 al., 2013; Williams et al., 2017), but others note that isolated protected areas within an agricultural
327 matrix can increase inbreeding and vulnerability to extinction (Kremen and Merenlender, 2018). The
328 offsite impacts of intensive agriculture, such as the use of fertilizers, herbicides, fungicides, and
329 pesticides (Matson and Vitousek, 2006; Dudley and Alexander, 2017), can also be significant and
330 harmful to great apes (Krief et al., 2017). Research suggests that intensification does not necessarily
331 reduce the area under agriculture because high yields drive further agricultural expansion (Byerlee et
332 al., 2014; Balmford, 2021). The reality for great apes is likely to remain a mixed sharing and sparing
333 model, where parts of their remaining range will need to be included in protected areas while others
334 will need to be shared with farmers (Meijaard et al., 2022c). Protected land is still necessary in these
335 shared landscapes due to the low reproductive rates of great apes, their area requirements, and crop
336 foraging. Therefore, land sparing-type solutions that safely protect habitat fragments and keep them

337 connected are required for the synergistic coexistence of people and great apes (Ancrenaz et al.,
338 2021).

339 **5 Discussion**

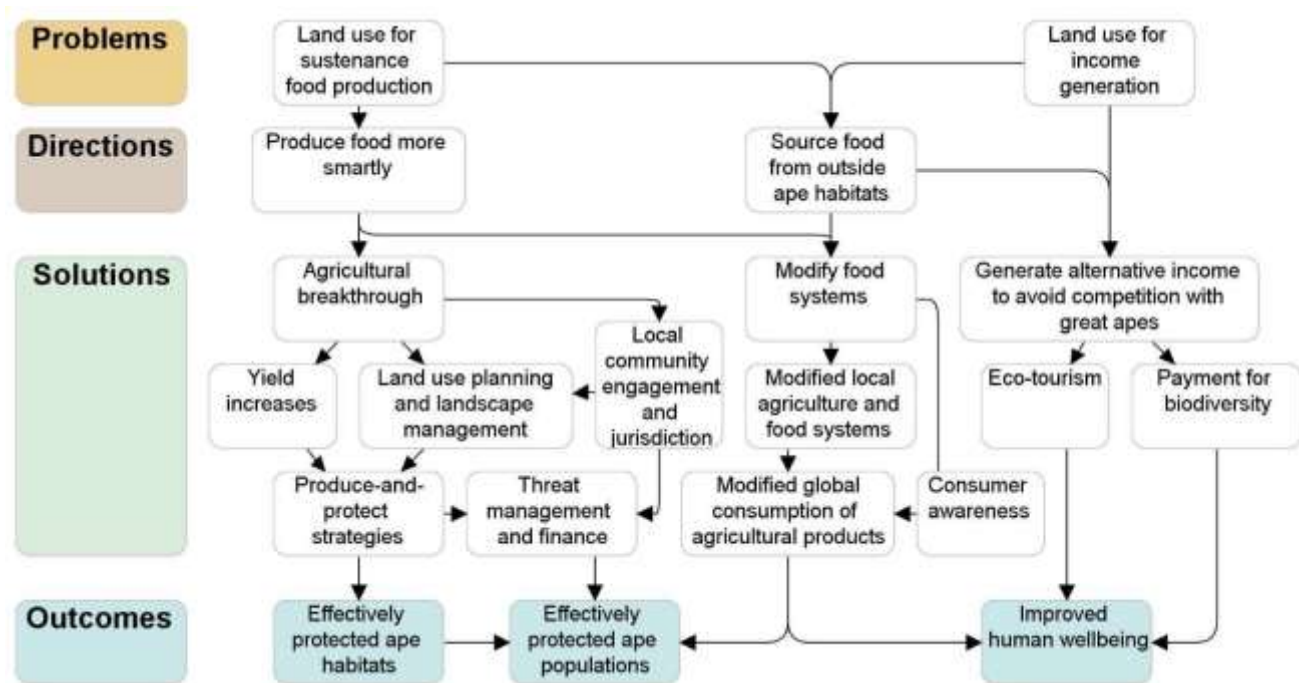
340 The coexistence of great apes and agriculture is challenging, and our study finds that synergies
341 between the two are mostly absent, making it difficult to achieve win-wins for both. Positive
342 examples of coexistence occur in areas with high local welfare, stable forest cover, and long-term
343 conservation programs or revenue from tourism. However, crop consumption by apes can result in
344 negative interactions with people, leading to retaliatory killings to protect crops or for personal
345 safety. Agricultural expansion is likely to cause further declines in ape populations, making
346 sustainable and resilient interactions between people and nature difficult to achieve. If we truly want
347 to save great apes from extinction, then we must prioritize implementing strict spatial planning and
348 rigorous enforcement measures. This includes designating no-go areas, improving crop productivity,
349 resolving human-wildlife conflicts, securing adequate conservation finance, and clearly defining the
350 roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders (Table 3). Without a committed and sustained
351 effort in these areas, the survival of great apes will remain uncertain, and the consequences of their
352 extinction will be irreversible. Finding solutions that work for great apes would have implications for
353 many other threatened species in similar socio-ecological contexts across the tropics.

354 **Table 3. Primary food system archetypes for each great ape taxon based on country profiles by**
355 **Marshall et al. (2021). Food systems in Democratic Republic Congo and Central African**
356 **Republic are assumed to be Rural and Traditional. For food system description see Error!**
357 Reference source not found..

Great ape species or subspecies	Primary food system	Main crops concern for expansion or foraging	Key strategies to facilitate coexistence
Nigeria-Cameroon Chimpanzee	Emerging and Diversifying	Oil palm, rice, cassava	Produce and protect, threat management and finance, yield increases
Western Chimpanzee	Mostly Rural and Traditional; Some Informal and Expanding	Rice, cacao, cassava, groundnut	Produce and protect, threat management and finance, yield increases
Eastern Chimpanzee	Mostly Rural and Traditional	Cassava, plantain, maize	Produce and protect, threat management and finance, payment for biodiversity
Central Chimpanzee	Informal and Expanding; Emerging and Diversifying	Cassava, plantain, rice	Produce and protect, threat management and finance, payment for biodiversity
Bonobo	Rural and Traditional	Cassava, groundnut, maize	Produce and protect, threat management and finance, payment for biodiversity
Western Lowland Gorilla	Informal and Expanding; Emerging and Diversifying	Plantain	Produce and protect, threat management and finance, payment for biodiversity
Cross River Gorilla	Informal and Expanding	Vegetables	Produce and protect, threat management and finance, yield increases
Grauer's Gorilla	Rural and Traditional	Beans	Yield increases, produce and protect, threat management and finance
Mountain Gorilla	Rural and Traditional	Beans, vegetables, fruit	Eco-tourism, payment for biodiversity, community engagement
Northwest Bornean orangutan	Informal and Expanding	Oil palm, tree crops, rice	Produce and protect, threat management and finance
Southwest Bornean orangutan	Informal and Expanding	Oil palm, tree crops, rice	Produce and protect, threat management and finance
Northeast Bornean orangutan	Modernizing and Formalizing	Oil palm	Key stakeholders and jurisdictional approach, produce and protect
Sumatran Orangutan	Informal and Expanding	Oil palm, rice	Produce and protect, threat management and finance

Tapanuli Orangutan	Informal and Expanding	Fruit, rice	Produce and protect, threat management and finance
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358 Great apes face competition for land and resources with humans, particularly where crops such as
 359 rice, cassava, maize, cacao, and oil palm are grown within their ranges (Table 3). This creates trade-
 360 offs between reducing poverty, feeding people, and conserving the environment. To address this,
 361 strategies must tackle the root causes of the problem, including land use competition. We suggest a
 362 framework for discussion, presented in Figure 5, focused on three directions. The first is to increase
 363 food production sustainably through agricultural innovations and smarter land use practices. The
 364 second is to modify food consumption patterns and distribution systems to reduce pressure on land
 365 and resources. Alternative food sources with minimal impact on great apes, including imported
 366 foods, could be explored. However, this may require significant lifestyle changes and could raise
 367 complex issues related to food security and trade considerations. The third direction focuses on
 368 generating alternative income.

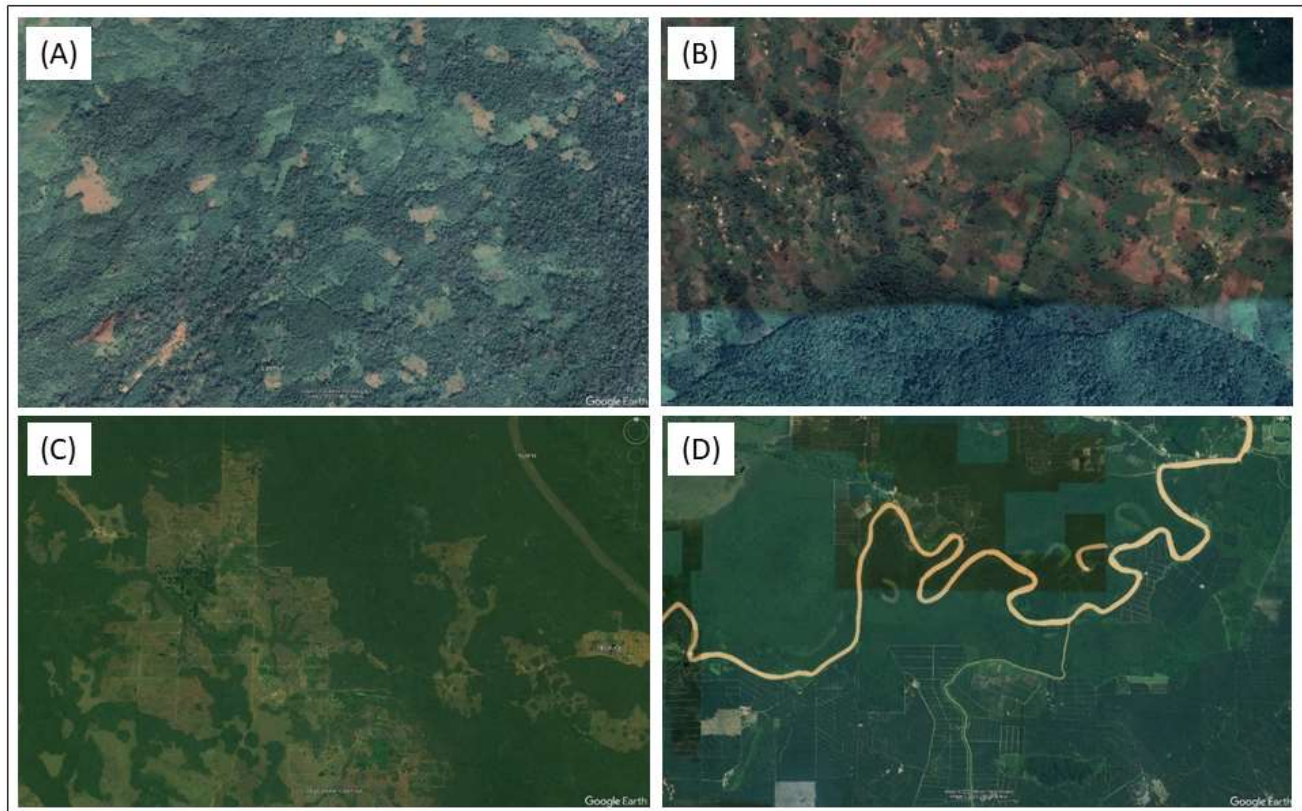


369
 370 **Figure 5. Theory of Change and structure of Discussion**

371 We emphasize the importance of adopting a landscape approach in managing the competition
 372 between humans and great apes. Within this framework, we propose several solutions, including
 373 strategies to increase yield, produce-and-protect practices, and threat management techniques. Next,
 374 we explore potential strategies to improve alternative income sources for communities, thereby
 375 reducing the need for land exploitation that can trigger competition with great apes. Finally, we
 376 consider the need to rethink our food systems in the context of the competition with great apes. We
 377 analyse potential solutions on both the consumption side and the production side, including
 378 modifying local food systems (e.g., by promoting dietary changes among local communities, such as
 379 switching from rice to other crops) and global food systems (e.g., by reducing waste and rethinking
 380 food versus materials use) (Figure 5).

381 **5.1 Land use planning and landscape management**

382 To effectively address the conflict between great ape habitats and agricultural development, land use
383 planning should consider the impact of different crops on local and international trade and
384 consumption, as well as the scale of agricultural development and environmental impact. For each
385 great ape priority area, a locally supported plan that balances agriculturally driven development and
386 conservation is necessary. These plans should consider the location of agriculture and natural
387 ecosystems, the scale and mode of production, and crop choice (Jansen et al., 2020). Smallholder
388 agriculture, which dominates much of great ape habitat, can be challenging to regulate, and new
389 financial models are needed to facilitate change among smallholders. An effective approach could
390 focus on food systems rather than crops themselves (Marshall et al., 2021) (Figure 6) and the
391 transformations these systems are undergoing (Dornelles et al., 2022). Encouraging diversification of
392 food systems is needed, for example, through introduction of nutrition-rich legumes, pulses,
393 horticulture crops and livestock, while investment in rural market infrastructure allows smallholders
394 to commercialize and enhance the supply of perishable products (Abraham and Pingali, 2020).
395 Different food systems offer different transformation pathways, either in an agroecological direction
396 based on the redesign and diversification of agroecosystems or following Fourth Industrial
397 Revolution pathways characterized by new technologies (Pimbert, 2022). Therefore, it is crucial to
398 understand the socio-ecological context in which crops are grown, which is often more critical for
399 land use and conservation planning than the crop itself, except when great apes forage on specific
400 crops.



401
402 **Figure 6. Example of different primary food systems with great apes. A. Rural and traditional;**
403 **smallholder farm area in Sierra Leone near Gola Rainforest National Park. Google Earth**
404 **image © 2023 Maxar Technologies and © 2023 CNES/Airbus; B. Informal and expanding:**
405 **farm area to the north of Bwindi Impenetrable Forest, Uganda Google Earth image © 2023**
406 **CNES/Airbus and © 2023 Maxar Technologies; C. Emerging and diversifying; new oil palm**

407 **development in Gabon in areas with chimpanzee and western gorilla populations. Google Earth**
408 **image © Landsat/Copernicus; D. Modernizing and formalizing: Lower Kinabatangan area in**
409 **Sabah, Malaysia where 800 orangutans live in forest fragments surrounded by industrial-scale**
410 **oil palm. Google Earth image © 2023 Maxar Technologies and © 2023 CNES/Airbus.**

411 Governments, industry, financial institutions, scientists, and civil society stakeholders should work
412 together to achieve food system transformation by identifying areas where environmental, social, and
413 economic costs of conversion to agriculture outweigh the benefits (net-positive benefits). The
414 economic, environmental, and social value of ecosystems should be evaluated before development,
415 including understanding the potential net revenues from agriculture and the socio-political dynamics
416 (Goh, 2020). Trade agreements, as the key policy tools that are enforceable, play an important role,
417 as does international finance. Great apes play a crucial role in Performance Standard 6 of the
418 International Finance Corporation, which seeks to avoid negative impacts on apes and link finance to
419 conservation outcomes. Any area recognized as having priority great ape populations cannot be
420 developed, and conservation organizations should collaborate with other stakeholders to build a
421 consensus on "no-go" areas for development based on factors such as food security and the
422 importance of areas for great ape populations (Ancrenaz et al., 2016). The World Bank and other
423 financing entities also follow such standards, and projects in areas with great apes are acceptable only
424 in exceptional circumstances and require involvement of the International Union for the Conservation
425 of Nature (IUCN) experts.

426 Planning at the landscape scale is vital for great ape survival in human-dominated habitats.
427 Orangutan populations are maintained in some oil palm concessions in Indonesia and Malaysia with
428 selected areas of protected forest from a few hundred to several thousand hectares connected by
429 forest corridors and riparian areas (Ancrenaz et al., 2015). Similarly, populations of chimpanzee and
430 Western gorilla are maintained in areas of forest within an oil palm concession in Gabon (Ancrenaz
431 et al., 2016). How such management contexts affect longer term population viability remains poorly
432 understood. Preliminary studies indicate that both orangutans and chimpanzees retain dispersal
433 dynamics in fragmented landscapes that mirror those in large forests (i.e., female dispersal in
434 chimpanzees and male dispersal in orangutans) (McCarthy et al., 2018; Ancrenaz et al., 2021), and
435 that the presence of corridors and small patches in the agricultural matrix likely increases population
436 viability in orangutans (Seaman et al., 2021; Seaman et al., 2022).

437 **5.1.1 Yield increases**

438 Increasing the productivity on existing agricultural lands can reduce the need for agricultural
439 expansion (Zhang et al., 2021), but closing yield gaps to achieve food security seems challenging and
440 more land expansion is likely, unless additional local demand is met by imports (van Ittersum et al.,
441 2016). The largest potential production increases relate to fallow duration and multiple cropping
442 rather than single crop yields, and key components of boosting productivity and reducing impacts
443 include the use of early-maturing varieties, intercropping, catch crops, and enhanced irrigation (Poore
444 and Nemecek, 2018). Land expansion rates will especially be high in countries such as Nigeria and
445 Ghana with rapid human population growth, export-driven agricultural production growth, emerging
446 and diversifying food systems, and limited available agricultural land, thus affecting species such as
447 chimpanzee and Western gorilla. Furthermore, as productivity increases so do agricultural land rents,
448 which could create new incentives for agricultural expansion and deforestation (Phelps et al., 2013).

449 On the other hand, rising agricultural productivity and profits in pre-established agricultural areas
450 could act as magnets for local immigration, drawing them away from vulnerable frontier areas and
451 helping to promote land sparing for nature conservation (Laurance et al., 2009; Laurance et al.,

452 2015). Widespread technology adoption processes that substantially increase agricultural productivity
453 in pre-established agricultural lands could, depending on their effect on the demand for production
454 factors (labour, capital, land), still reduce deforestation, to the extent that increased product supply
455 reduces agricultural market prices (Angelsen and Kaimowitz, 2001). Improved agricultural
456 technologies on pre-cultivated prime agricultural lands could thus help slowing forest conversion, or
457 even abandonment of marginal agricultural lands – including the ones where great apes traditionally
458 compete with agricultural expansion. Globally, this argument has been referred to as the Borlaug
459 hypothesis, related e.g., to the impact of the 20th century Green Revolution on reduced pressures for
460 expanding upland, low-productive agriculture – and has some empirical support (Stevenson et al.,
461 2013). On sub-global scales, the non-expansion and abandonment of marginal agricultural lands is
462 also key to the aforementioned ‘forest transition’ processes, i.e., of forest cover stabilizing or even
463 increasing at high levels per-capita income (Mather and Needle, 1998; Meyfroidt and Lambin, 2011).

464 **5.1.2 Produce-and-protect strategies**

465 Another strategy could be to combine both policy tools – i.e., on the one hand land-use planning of
466 ‘no-go’ conservation reserves on forestland with poor agricultural potential, and on the other
467 improving agricultural yields on already cultivated land (Zhang et al., 2021). Such ‘produce-and-
468 protect’ type of strategies of combining land-sparing agriculture with protected areas and private
469 reserves for the provision of biodiversity services, indigenous lands and other actively enforced
470 protection strategies may also be the most promising pathways for meeting the goals of great ape
471 conservation and food production (Hanson and Ranganathan, 2022). Their attractive element is above
472 all in their mutually reinforcing effects. On the one hand, effectively closing the agricultural frontier
473 hampers land extensification and is inductive to the adoption of land-saving technologies that can
474 increase producer incomes. Conversely, protecting land areas from crop expansion is easier when
475 supply of the same crop is increasing and prices are not increasing, thus counteracting any ‘leakage’
476 of forest pressures from the newly protected area to elsewhere (Meyfroidt et al., 2020).

477 Robust governance and increasing conservation incentives can help ensure land sparing, but
478 implementation of these strategies may require tracking future agricultural land rents (Phelps et al.,
479 2013) and targeting development planning away from core great ape areas (e.g., avoiding road
480 building into or through priority habitats). This can stimulate economic growth and draw people
481 away from frontier areas while increasing the value of natural ecosystems. Targeting development far
482 from priority great ape areas makes sense as impacts on biodiversity are most severe in the earliest
483 stages of agricultural expansion, especially when conversion occurs in forest interiors (Chaplin-
484 Kramer et al., 2015). Therefore, new financing models are needed to protect natural ecosystems, and
485 conservation organizations should collaborate with governments and industry partners to build a
486 consensus about “no-go” areas for development based on the presence of priority great ape
487 populations and other high-risk factors.

488 **5.1.3 Threat management and finance**

489 Threat prevention strategies for great ape conservation require sustained external funding, which can
490 come from various sources such as nature-based tourism (Maekawa et al., 2013) or funding from
491 industry (Larson et al., 2021). However, the success of conservation efforts is not only about
492 protecting habitats but also ensuring the safety of great apes from hunting, poaching, and diseases
493 such as Ebola (Rizkalla et al., 2007; Strindberg et al., 2018; Sherman et al., 2022). Increased
494 investment in patrolling and law enforcement, as well as the presence of civil society organizations,
495 can help reduce pressure on great ape populations and habitats. To achieve this, there needs to be a
496 significant increase in and reallocation of conservation funding. Increasing the market value of

497 biodiversity and allowing this to finance conservation services from nearby rural communities is one
498 way to close the funding, while ensuring that funds end up where decisions about great apes
499 surviving are made gap (Ledgard and Meijaard, 2021; Fergus et al., 2023). The engagement of the
500 private sector in conservation is another way to increase investment into biodiversity conservation,
501 such as through offsetting biodiversity impacts or managing and maintaining species habitats (Bull
502 and Strange, 2018). For example, palm oil certified through the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil
503 requires that areas of high conservation value are protected and values retained (RSPO, 2018).
504 Effective management of great ape populations requires funding, manpower, and infrastructure which
505 many companies have access to. Furthermore, facilitating collaboration between industrial-scale
506 operators and smallholders, such as has been attempted in the palm oil industry, can speed up
507 knowledge transfer and increase yields for smallholders.

508 It is important to note that simply increasing funding is not enough. Efficient allocation of funds to
509 more effective interventions is crucial. One billion USD allocated over 20 years to orangutan
510 conservation was insufficient to stop their decline, probably due to inefficient allocation of funds
511 (Santika et al., 2022). In summary, great ape conservation efforts require sustained external funding
512 input and efficient allocation of funds to effective interventions. Increased investment in patrolling
513 and law enforcement, as well as the engagement of the private sector in conservation, can help
514 achieve conservation goals. However, it is important to ensure that funds end up where ultimate
515 decisions are made about great ape survival and that conservation efforts address not only habitat
516 protection but also the safety of great apes from hunting, poaching, and diseases.

517 **5.1.4 Key stakeholders and jurisdictional approach**

518 Effective engagement and motivation of communities living in proximity to great apes, in addition to
519 earlier mentioned financial benefits, is essential for successful conservation (Chua et al., 2020;
520 Bettinger et al., 2021). This needs to address the key question of what communities can gain from
521 participating in conservation programmes, and if they can help guide goals, planning and execution,
522 i.e. “Whose Conservation” (see, e.g., Kaimowitz and Sheil, 2007; Mace, 2014). Engaging
523 communities in conservation planning alongside broader village development planning could ensure
524 that conservation objectives become integral to these broader plans (Vermeulen and Sheil, 2007;
525 Meijaard et al., 2022b). Considerable experience exists in exploring, developing and implementing
526 such initiatives (Lynam et al., 2007; Margules et al., 2020). The opportunities are generally greater
527 than is assumed (Padmanaba and Sheil, 2007; Vermeulen and Sheil, 2007) as local people will often
528 have goals and interests of their own that overlap with those of conservationists (Sheil et al., 2006).
529 Working together to identify and achieve locally defined goals can be a useful means to build trust,
530 reduce conflict and build a consensus towards addressing wider conservation goals (Sayer et al.,
531 2013; Sheil, 2017). This could overcome the current problem that provisions for great ape
532 conservation are often written by people who have little connection to or understanding of the
533 livelihood strategies and patterns of indigenous communities (Chua et al., 2020).

534 Despite the challenges there is some optimism with ongoing development and improving forest
535 governance reducing forest loss at least in some great ape range areas. More funding needs to be
536 made available for spatial planning and implementation that considers both agricultural development
537 and environmental conservation objectives and steers agricultural expansion away from great ape
538 priority areas. In areas where great apes and people co-exist, higher values of biodiversity and other
539 ecosystem services are needed that can make conservation competitive when compared to
540 agricultural expansion. The fate of great apes is highly symbolic for the global environmental crisis,

541 which calls for the highest government support to make sure the world can both feed its people and
542 maintain our hominid cousins.

543 **5.2 Alternative income to avoid land competition with great apes**

544 Achieving direct and immediate benefits for people who are asked to live side-by-side with great
545 apes, for example through ecotourism (Robbins, 2021) or payments for conservation services
546 (Ledgard and Meijaard, 2021; Fergus et al., 2023), could avoid negative perceptions regarding apes
547 that are becoming accustomed to human-dominated landscapes (Chua et al., 2020).

548 **5.2.1 Eco-tourism**

549 Eco-tourism has been recognized as a potential solution for achieving poverty eradication and
550 conservation goals for communities facing imminent threats of agricultural expansion. The successful
551 conservation of mountain gorillas has been largely funded by nature-based tourism (Maekawa et al.,
552 2013), but this has also resulted in increased negative interactions between habituated gorillas and local
553 communities (Hill, 2005; Seiler and Robbins, 2015; Robbins, 2021), highlighting the complexity of
554 eco-tourism contexts. Nevertheless, the value of nature-based tourism to countries such as Rwanda is
555 obvious. In Borneo, eco-tourism businesses also contribute significantly to the regional GDP (Goh and
556 Potter, 2023), but scaling up tourism to cover the entire range of Bornean orangutan is challenging and
557 may result in lower prices due to increased competition. While eco-tourism can benefit great apes and
558 local communities, it is unlikely to positively influence significant parts of the great apes' range soon.
559 The pandemic and the associated travel restrictions and periodic suspension of great ape visits have
560 revealed the over-dependency on tourism (Ezra et al., 2021). Alternative financial mechanisms are
561 needed to provide a safety net for communities when tourism does not bring in the much-needed
562 resources.

563 **5.2.2 Payment for biodiversity**

564 Often the people who live with great apes do not see any economic benefits. As an example, around
565 Bwindi Impenetrable Forest National Park, communities living within 0.5km of the boundaries are
566 significantly poorer than those living further away and are affected by wild crop raiding animals
567 (Twinamatsiko et al., 2014). Conservation efforts, particularly the management of national parks,
568 have historically exacerbated rural poverty by restricting access to forest resources, fining for minor
569 acts and the loss of crops and livestock to protected wildlife (Blomley et al., 2010). Improved
570 compensation schemes for conservation are therefore needed to finance the conservation of great
571 apes and provide financial benefits to those living alongside them.

572 Developing payment for ecosystem services (PES) programs that financially incentivize local
573 communities to conserve critical forested areas for great ape survival could be a potential approach
574 (Wunder, 2005). To jumpstart financing for great ape conservation, compensation schemes for
575 conservation could be combined with carbon credit schemes; however, it's crucial to ensure that
576 biodiversity conservation isn't overshadowed. To address this concern, a nested approach can be
577 used, where carbon credits are nested within a broader conservation project that includes biodiversity
578 conservation and other ecosystem services (Law et al., 2012). The conservation project can generate
579 carbon credits that can be sold on the carbon market to finance the broader conservation project. The
580 revenue generated can be used to compensate communities living with great apes or to restore
581 degraded great ape habitat (Darusman et al., 2021). This approach can ensure that both biodiversity
582 and carbon sequestration goals are achieved, and local communities benefit from conservation
583 efforts.

584 One potential strategy is to establish compensation mechanisms to offset the costs that communities
585 incur from living alongside great apes, such as damage to crops and livestock. Compensation
586 programs can offer communities financial or material support to alleviate the economic losses
587 inflicted by great apes, thus reducing conflicts between humans and wildlife and increasing the
588 likelihood of coexisting with great apes in the long term. These programs can be supported by
589 various sources, including conservation groups, government entities, and private sector entities with
590 an interest in preserving great apes and their habitats. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that once
591 these compensation schemes are established, they will likely need to remain in place indefinitely.

592 Biocredits have emerged as an economic instrument to incentivize conservation in remote areas with
593 great apes (Porras and Steele, 2020). Similar to carbon credits, they generate revenue by selling units
594 of biodiversity resulting from improved conservation actions. Biocredits can be purchased by
595 government bodies, philanthropic organizations, and private companies. German companies have
596 already expressed interest in purchasing biocredits for conservation through an online marketplace
597 (Krause and Matzdorf, 2019). These mechanisms provide direct financial contributions to
598 conservation organizations and communities, supporting initiatives like citizen science monitoring
599 and tree planting. The use of biocredits for direct payments to individuals, communities, and local
600 conservation managers is still limited but shows promise for the future (Community Conservation
601 Namibia, 2023).

602 Finally, interspecies money proposes a system to acquire data on other species and direct significant
603 funds based on their continued existence (Ledgard, 2022). Technological advancements, such as low-
604 cost sensors, drones, eDNA sampling, and artificial intelligence, enable the gathering and
605 interpretation of data in the wild (Ledgard and Kharas, 2022). This allows for the allocation of
606 interspecies money, determined by actual conservation results and verified presence of individual
607 great apes through face recognition. Implementing this novel concept requires rewriting economic
608 rules transparently and accurately, as well as financing and executing pilot projects in the wild to test
609 its validity (Ledgard, 2022).

610 **5.3 Rethinking agriculture and food systems**

611 **5.3.1 Modifying global consumption and local agriculture**

612 To address deforestation and protect great apes, it is crucial to understand the consumption dynamics
613 and underlying causes of agricultural expansion. Palm oil, for example, satisfies a significant portion
614 of global vegetable oil demand (FAOSTAT, 2022), but reducing its use requires a shift in global
615 consumption patterns (Goh, 2016; Meijaard and Sheil, 2019). Efforts to reduce reliance on palm oil
616 must also consider potential adverse impacts on other regions and conservation efforts (Meijaard et
617 al., 2020). Protecting great apes within the context of modern agriculture necessitates a
618 comprehensive approach that considers the complex factors driving agricultural expansion, including
619 internationally traded cash crops like cocoa, coffee, and oil palm. While a radical change in global
620 consumption patterns solely for great ape protection is unlikely, efforts should be tied to larger issues
621 such as climate change.

622 Promoting dietary changes within local communities can help reduce the demand for food production
623 that destroys great ape habitats (Abraham and Pingali, 2020). However, balancing conservation
624 efforts with the food security of these communities presents a major challenge. Subsistence
625 agriculture is vital for many people living in great ape regions, and altering their dietary choices and
626 agricultural practices can have significant economic implications. Cultural and social barriers further

627 complicate the process, requiring time and effort to implement changes. Education and capacity
628 building programs can help transition local food systems to more sustainable practices. However,
629 such interventions must be approached with caution as they involve changing traditional ways of life,
630 potentially triggering unwanted debates.

631 **5.3.2 Consumers' awareness**

632 There is an important role of consumers in putting pressure on retailers, producers and governments
633 to ensure that the products they use are not associated with the loss of great apes and their habitats.
634 Currently, there is some consumer awareness about the environmental impacts of palm oil production
635 on orangutans (e.g., Ostfeld et al., 2019), but much less so about, for example, chocolate
636 consumption and chimpanzees. Although a complex undertaking, providing consumers with fact-
637 based and transparent information, e.g., through labelling processes, about the impact of the
638 production rice, cassava, peanut, cacao and other crops in great apes' ranges would give them a more
639 informed choice and an ability to influence markets and land-use decision-making (Meijaard and
640 Sheil, 2019). The European Union's New Deforestation Regulation, although criticized by tropical
641 producing countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia, provides a tool for consumers to differentiate
642 products not on what they contain (e.g., a no-palm oil label) but rather as to how ingredients were
643 produced ("great ape safe" or "deforestation free"). Also verified more sustainable production
644 practices such as those certified under the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil can give consumers a
645 more information choice.

646 **6 Conclusion**

647 Great apes face significant threats from unsustainable agriculture driven by high poverty and demand
648 for agricultural resources. Coexistence between great apes and people is crucial, especially as most
649 great apes reside outside protected areas. New financial models are needed to facilitate this
650 coexistence. Optimized land use planning, guided by strategic investments in agricultural
651 development and wildlife conservation, can maximize synergies between conservation and food
652 production goals. It is vital to support effective economic development policies, enforce forest
653 conservation and environmental laws, engage in trade policy discussions, and link policies on trade,
654 food security, circular agriculture, and sustainable food systems with forest and great ape impact
655 monitoring. The global agenda should focus on closing crop yield gaps, promoting healthier diets,
656 reducing food loss and waste, and allocating more research funding to address the challenges of great
657 ape and human coexistence.

658 **7 Conflict of Interest**

659 The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial
660 relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

661 **8 Author Contributions**

662 EM, RD, MA, SWi and DS contributed to conception and design of the study. NU, TA and RD
663 organized the database and spatial analysis of crop and other data. JS developed the causal change
664 diagrams. EM wrote the first draft of the manuscript. KH, SWu, CSG, MO, and DS wrote sections of
665 the manuscript. All authors contributed to manuscript revision, read, and approved the submitted
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674 **11 Data Availability Statement**

675 The datasets analysed for this study can be found in the [NAME OF REPOSITORY, TBD] [LINK].

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1313 **13 Supplementary Material**