

Apes and Agriculture

1 **Erik Meijaard^{1,2,*}, Nabillah Unus¹, Thina Ariffin¹, Rona Dennis¹, Marc Ancrenaz^{1,3}, Serge**
2 **Wich⁴, Sven Wunder^{5,6}, Chun Sheng Goh^{7,8} Julie Sherman⁹, Matthew C. Ogwu¹⁰, Johannes**
3 **Refisch¹¹, Jonathan Ledgard¹², Douglas Sheil^{13,#}, and Kimberley Hockings^{14,#}**

4 ¹ Borneo Futures, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam

5 ² Durrell Institute of Conservation and Ecology (DICE), School of Anthropology and Conservation,
6 University of Kent, Canterbury, UK

7 ³ HUTAN – KOCP, Sandakan, Malaysia

8 ⁴ School of Biological and Environmental Sciences, Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool,
9 UK

10 ⁵ European Forest Institute, Barcelona, Spain

11 ⁶ Center for International Forestry Research, Lima 12, Peru

12 ⁷ Jeffrey Sachs Center on Sustainable Development, Sunway University, Kuala Lumpur

13 ⁸ Harvard University Asia Center, CGIS South, 1730 Cambridge St. MA 02138, USA

14 ⁹ Wildlife Impact, Portland, USA

15 ¹⁰ Goodnight Family Sustainable Development Department, Appalachian State University, Boone,
16 NC 28606, USA

17 ¹¹ Great Apes Survival Partnership, United Nations Environment Programme, Nairobi, Kenya

18 ¹² Artificial Intelligence Centre, Czech Technical University, 166 36 Prague 6, Czechia

19 ¹³ Forest Ecology and Forest Management Group, Wageningen University and Research, P.O. Box
20 47, 6700 AA, Wageningen, the Netherlands

21 ¹⁴ Centre for Ecology and Conservation, University of Exeter, Penryn, UK

22 [#] These authors contributed equally

23

24 *** Correspondence:**

25 Corresponding Author

26 emeijaard@borneofutures.org

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29 **Abstract**

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

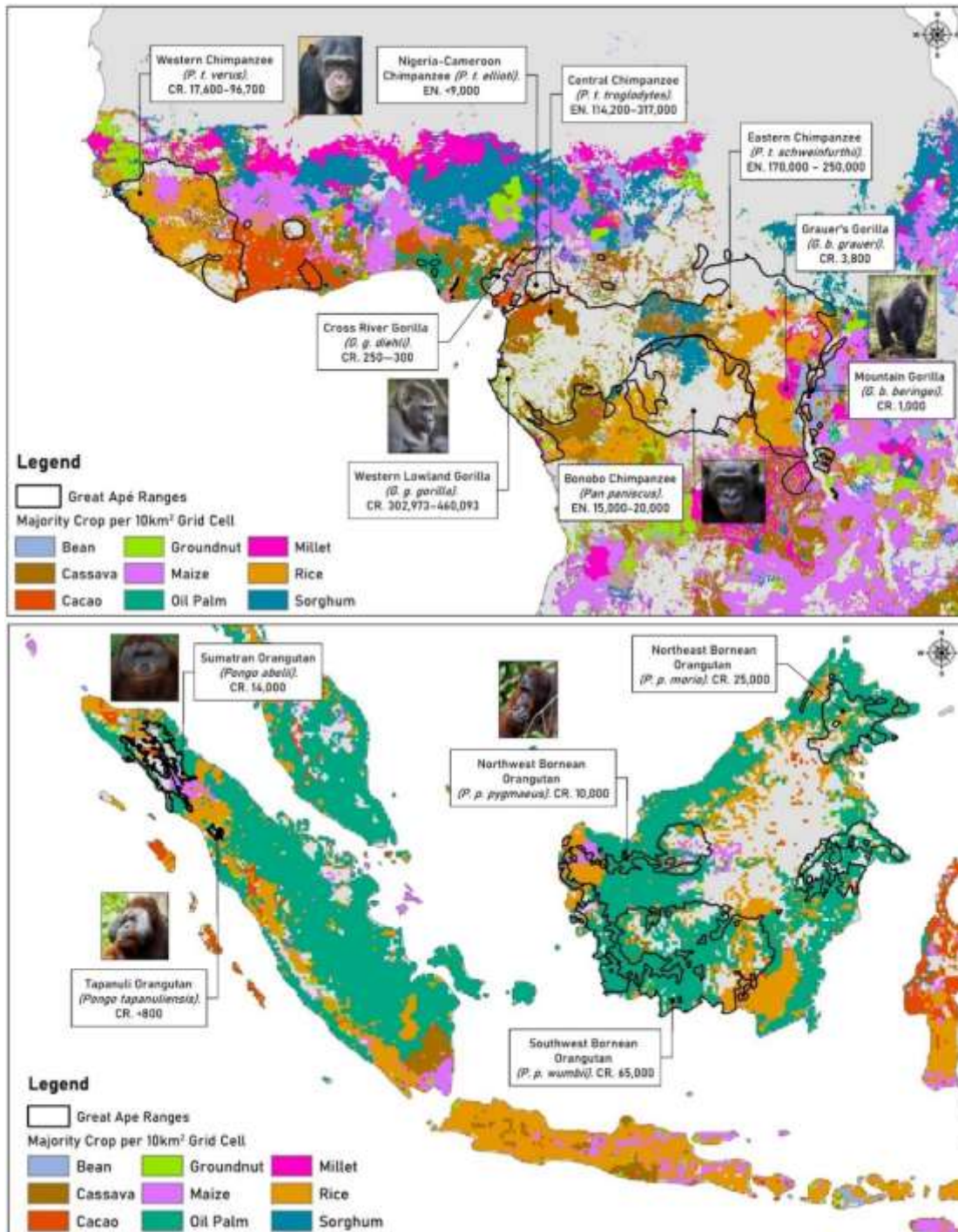
51 **1 Introduction**

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

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

75 World Bank, 2022a). Thus, there is an urgent need for increased local food production to improve
 76 food availability and security. Growing human populations and a drive for economic development
 77 through agriculture, alongside growing international demand, are, however, key drivers of
 78 deforestation (Busch and Ferretti-Gallon, 2017) and therefore great ape habitat loss.

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



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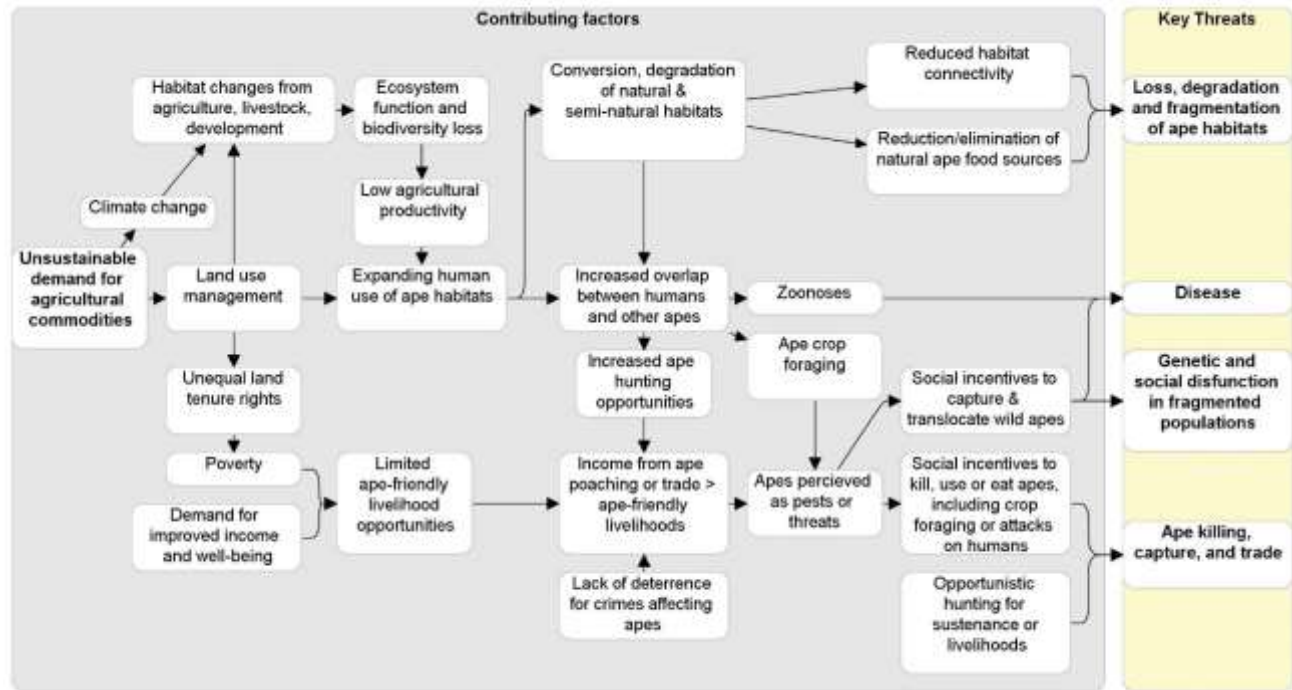
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85 **Table 1. Great ape taxa, the number of people within the great ape ranges (Schiavina et al.,**
 86 **2022), the primary drivers of forest cover loss (Laso Bayas et al., 2022), and main crops in great**
 87 **ape ranges (Meijaard et al., 2021).**

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

88 Agriculture poses a threat to great apes, with factors such as unsustainable use of natural resources,
 89 agricultural expansion, disease, genetic and social factors, and ape killing, capture, and trade
 90 negatively affecting their habitats (Figure 2). In terms of agricultural expansion, we focus on crops
 91 rather than livestock, because in the orangutan ranges livestock-related forest loss is rare, while, in
 92 Africa, such losses are concentrated in the drier parts where great apes generally do not occur
 93 (although chimpanzees in Tanzania and very dry areas in Senegal and Mali are an exception). Crop
 94 expansion is a major contributor to this threat, with crops such as maize (*Zea mays* L.), rice (*Oryza*
 95 spp.), millet (various species) and cassava (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) predominating (for details see
 96 Table S1, Table S2, Table S3). These crops are mostly grown in smallholder, subsistence agriculture
 97 contexts (Table 1), with fields typically being less than 0.64 ha in size (Lesiv et al., 2019), and
 98 further field size reduction ongoing (Abraham and Pingali, 2020). Rice, maize, and cassava show the
 99 most rapid expansion, while other crops such as sesame (*Sesamum indicum* L.), sunflower
 100 (*Helianthus annuus* L.), cotton (*Gossypium* L.) and okra (*Abelmoschus esculentus* (L.) Moench)
 101 have expanded but use up less land (FAOSTAT, 2023). African oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis* Jacq.) is
 102 another crop that has been a driver of deforestation, especially in Southeast Asia's orangutan range
 103 and is rapidly expanding in that region (Table S4), with concerns about its expansion in Africa and
 104 potential impact on great apes (Linder, 2013; Wich et al., 2014). While there has been much media
 105 attention on the impact of oil palm expansion on great apes, other crops such as rice and cassava have
 106 largely escaped scrutiny (Jayathilake et al., 2021). We did not conduct a systematic review of crop

107 foraging by each great ape species but highlighted some crops of specific concern for both expansion
 108 and foraging.



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

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

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

134 the extent to which community needs are integrated. Overall, understanding the distribution and
 135 ecology of great apes is crucial in understanding the impact of agricultural crops on them.

136 **Table 2. Typology of main crops that occur in great ape ranges and are likely to cause most**
 137 **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., 2020b)
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 months). Low	Mostly local food subsistence use in Africa, also livestock feed.	Increasing global demand for food. Drought-resistant and considered a “healthy” grain	(Kumar et al., 2018; Antony Ceasar and Maharajan, 2022)

				fertilizer and pesticide needs	Not much used in SE Asia.		
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)

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

151 **2 Key agricultural trends where apes and crops converge**

152 We analyze agricultural dynamics in areas with great apes. Agricultural production in Africa mainly
153 serves domestic consumption with a few crops generating export revenues (Rakotoarisoa et al.,
154 2012). Smallholder farming dominates, but the transition to business-oriented processes is underway
155 (Mukasa et al., 2017; Giller, 2020). However, farms still struggle to provide food security or living
156 income. Production is expected to increase (Sanchez, 2002; Pendrill et al., 2022; Potapov et al.,
157 2022), putting further pressure on land, especially in Ghana, Ivory Coast, Benin, Nigeria, and
158 Cameroon (Halpern et al., 2022). Infrastructural development related to extractive industries (Weng
159 et al., 2013) is linked to agricultural growth corridors (Independent Science and Partnership Council,
160 2016), impacting areas of high biodiversity like protected areas (Laurance et al., 2015).

161 Agricultural expansion on Borneo and Sumatra has led to major forest loss since the 1970s (Wilcove
162 et al., 2013). These tropical islands are highly suitable for the cultivation of crops such as oil palm,

163 with rice, rubber (*Hevea brasiliensis* Müll. Arg.), maize, coconut (*Cocos nucifera* L.), and coffee
164 (*Coffea arabica* L.) also grown (Table S4). Oil palm agriculture is dominated by large-holders, but
165 while there is more industrial-scale agriculture compared to African great ape ranges (Table 1), forest
166 loss has declined recently due to improved governance of this sector (Gaveau et al., 2019; Gaveau et
167 al., 2022). Nevertheless, soil impoverishment and economic factors drive smallholder farmers to
168 clear forests (Duffy et al., 2021), especially those with low nutrient peat swamp forests that are
169 important for orangutans (Meijaard et al., 2010b).

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

177 There is considerable variation in crop distribution across different regions. In Central Africa, for
178 instance, which is home to bonobos, chimpanzees, and Western gorillas, the largest areas are
179 allocated to cassava, maize, groundnuts (*Arachis hypogaea* L.), sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor* L.
180 Moench), and rice (Table S1). Meanwhile, in West Africa, which is home to chimpanzees and Cross-
181 River gorillas, sorghum, maize, and cow peas dominate (Table S2). While the effects of climate
182 change on crop distribution are unclear, it is likely that areas with rain-fed agriculture and limited
183 economic and institutional capacity to respond to climate variability and change, such as some parts
184 of West Africa, will be negatively impacted through yield losses (Sultan and Gaetani, 2016). Such
185 losses could increase pressure on remaining forest areas, where great apes live. In Borneo, reductions
186 in rainfall and increases in temperature (McAlpine et al., 2018) are likely to limit areas suitable for
187 crops such as oil palm, which are vulnerable to prolonged drought, and thus reduce available
188 orangutan habitat (Struebig et al., 2015).

189 **3 Great ape ecology and agriculture**

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

202 While some 310,000-672,000 chimpanzees remain (Figure 1), primarily in the central part of their
203 range, populations in the western part of their range are much smaller and highly fragmented due to
204 agricultural expansion. Rice, cacao, and cassava are major concerns in the chimpanzee range (Figure
205 1a and Table S1, Table S2, Table S3), with high-value cacao being particularly problematic. In
206 Southwest Cameroon, Nigeria-Cameroon chimpanzees overlap with an important and expanding

207 cacao production area, where forest areas, including protected forest reserves that contained
208 chimpanzees have been converted to cacao production (Klarer, 2014). Also, in Côte d’Ivoire, cacao
209 was the main crop grown inside the national parks and forest reserves surveyed in one study, being
210 present in 20 of 23 protected areas (Bitty et al., 2015; Kouassi et al., 2021), threatening “protected”
211 Western chimpanzee populations (Barima et al., 2020; Abu et al., 2021). As cacao is a perennial
212 crop, it may have some value for chimpanzees as a dispersal habitat, though the animals sometimes
213 forage on cacao crops at times of low fruit availability (Humle, 2003; Tehoda et al., 2017; Payne,
214 2019; Wade, 2020). Rice and cassava are also targeted by chimpanzees in, for example Sierra Leone
215 (Garriga et al., 2018) and Guinea (Hockings et al., 2009), although other species such as cane rats
216 (*Thryonomys swinderianus*), can cause more damage (Garriga et al., 2018). Not all crop feeding is
217 problematic, however. Chimpanzees in Cantanhez National Park in Guinea-Bissau are not considered
218 to cause significant damage to the main cash crop, cashew (*Anacardium occidentale* L.), as
219 chimpanzees feed only on the cashew pseudofruit, leaving the economically valuable cashew nut
220 undamaged (Hockings 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). Table S1 suggests that most of this subsistence agriculture involves
224 cultivation of cassava, maize, rice, plantain, and groundnut, while in the northern parts of the range,
225 sorghum production dominates (Figure 1a). Especially cassava cultivation seems problematic for
226 bonobos. A recent study predicted that 75% of the deforestation in the western Democratic Republic
227 of the Congo (DRC) province of Bandundu will be driven by expansion of cassava (Mosnier et al.,
228 2016), and that similarly, cassava will likely be the biggest driver of forest loss related to the
229 development of road infrastructure in the DRC (Li et al., 2015). Bonobos are not normally associated
230 with crop foraging (Fruth et al., 2006), although one study found the presence of sugar cane, banana,
231 maize, papaya, pineapple, sweet potatoes and cocoa in the bonobo’s diet (Inogwabini and Matungila,
232 2009), and crop foraging could be understudied. According to Terada et al. (2015), habitats that are
233 often considered minor-use, such as human-modified and inundated areas, may be more significant
234 for bonobos than currently acknowledged. These areas have likely been overlooked in the past
235 because the species does not create nests in these habitats.

236 Compared to chimpanzees, gorillas require larger forest areas and are less adaptable to diverse
237 ecological conditions. They usually inhabit open Marantaceae forests with dense ground vegetation
238 and have less preference for open agricultural areas than chimpanzees. The critically endangered
239 Cross-River gorilla faces a significant threat from agricultural expansion, restricting its habitat to
240 hilly areas due to human activities, particularly hunting, rather than the availability of preferred food
241 sources (Bergl et al., 2016). The Cross-River gorilla's natural habitat has been destroyed for the
242 cultivation of crops like potato, beans, maize, rice, groundnuts, oil palm, and cassava (Tume et al.,
243 2020). This trend continues in areas with high human populations (Dunn et al., 2014). In the case of
244 the Western lowland gorilla, the dominant crops grown in their habitat include cassava, cacao,
245 plantain, vegetables, and oil palm (Table S6). These crops are often cultivated in agro-forestry
246 systems that overlap with gorilla habitat, and gorillas can cause significant damage to plantain crops
247 (Naughton-Treves and Treves, 2005). Cacao farms, which are a source of income for local
248 communities, may also be damaged by gorillas in areas where they overlap (Naughton-Treves and
249 Treves, 2005).

250 Like Cross-River gorillas, mountain gorillas are also limited by cultivated areas that surround their
251 forest habitats, including bamboo, mixed, and subalpine forests. Common crops in the range of
252 Grauer's gorillas include beans (Meijaard et al., 2021) (not shown in Table S6, but taking up 62,427

253 ha), maize, plantain, and rice (Table S6), while mountain gorillas' range is dominated by beans and
254 potatoes (Meijaard et al., 2021). Deforestation in Bwindi has primarily been driven by small-scale
255 farming and tea plantations (Twongyirwe et al., 2011). Some mountain gorillas in Bwindi have
256 become habituated to human presence and often spend time feeding outside the protected forest with
257 negative impacts on banana, sweet potato, maize, passion fruit, beans and coffee (Akampulira et al.,
258 2015; McLennan and Hockings, 2016; Seiler and Robbins, 2016).

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

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

263 Wich et al., 2016) (Figure 1b and Table S7). They prefer lowland forests which are also suitable for
264 agriculture (Santika et al., 2017). However, historically, lowland peat swamp forests were not utilized
265 for agriculture until the advent of modern farming practices and drainage. These peat swamp forests
266 likely served as a refuge from hunting for the great apes (Meijaard, 2017). Oil palm has the greatest
267 range overlap with all three orangutan species (Table S7), and has contributed to their habitat decline
268 (Wich et al., 2012; Wich et al., 2016; Santika et al., 2017; Voigt et al., 2018), although remaining
269 orangutan habitat may be stabilizing in some areas (Meijaard et al., 2022b). Orangutans feed on
270 young oil palm shoots and fruits, but they are not a major crop pest (Ancrenaz et al., 2015). Rice
271 cultivation has impacted orangutan habitat in some areas, such as the Central Kalimantan peat swamp
272 forests (Boehm and Siegert, 2001) and Sumatra (Jayathilake et al., 2021).

273



274

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

277 **4 Reducing antagonistic co-occurrences between great ape conservation and agriculture**

278 Great apes can coexist with humans in shared landscapes, but local attitudes towards them determine
279 whether this is beneficial or harmful. Coexistence requires humans and wildlife to co-occur (Harihar
280 et al., 2013), with tolerable risks to both, and should be sustainable (Carter and Linnell, 2016). Some
281 sites have shown co-adaptation between chimpanzees and smallholder agriculture (Halloran, 2016;
282 Bersacola et al., 2021; McLennan et al., 2021), while orangutans survive in forest fragments in
283 Malaysian oil palm landscapes because people accept their presence (Ancrenaz et al., 2021). Wealthy
284 people in the latter landscape are generally not concerned about orangutans or crop losses, and
285 orangutans are generally safe, although it is unclear if they will remain viable in the long-term.

286 Conservation planning for great apes needs to consider whether agricultural expansion is driven by
287 poverty and if killing of great apes may continue, or if more stable conditions can be anticipated.

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

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

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

332 shared landscapes due to the low reproductive rates of great apes, their area requirements, and crop
 333 foraging. Therefore, land sparing-type solutions that safely protect habitat fragments and keep them
 334 connected are required for the synergistic coexistence of people and great apes (Ancrenaz et al.,
 335 2021).

336 5 Discussion

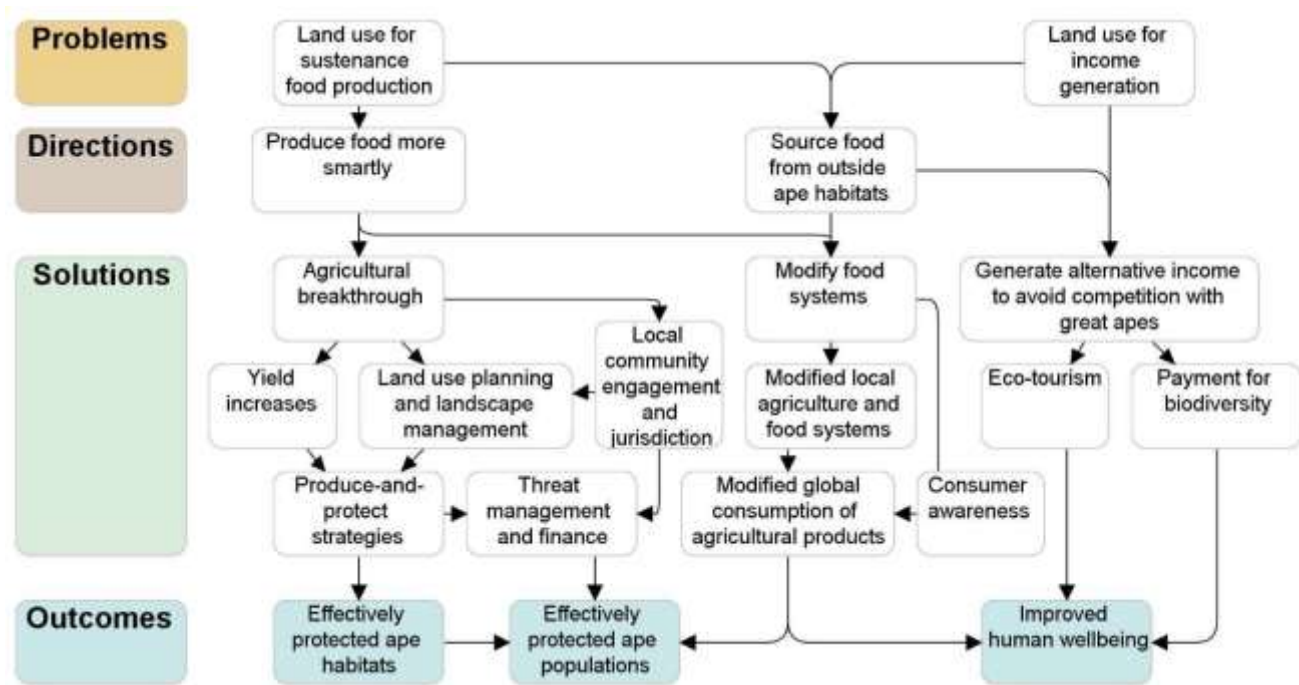
337 The coexistence of great apes and agriculture is challenging, and our study finds that synergies
 338 between the two are mostly absent, making it difficult to achieve win-wins for both. Positive
 339 examples of coexistence occur in areas with high local welfare, stable forest cover, and long-term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

351 **Table 3. Primary food system archetypes for each great ape taxon based on country profiles by**
 352 **Marshall et al. (2021). Food systems in Democratic Republic Congo and Central African**
 353 **Republic are assumed to be Rural and Traditional. For food system description see Table S8.**

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

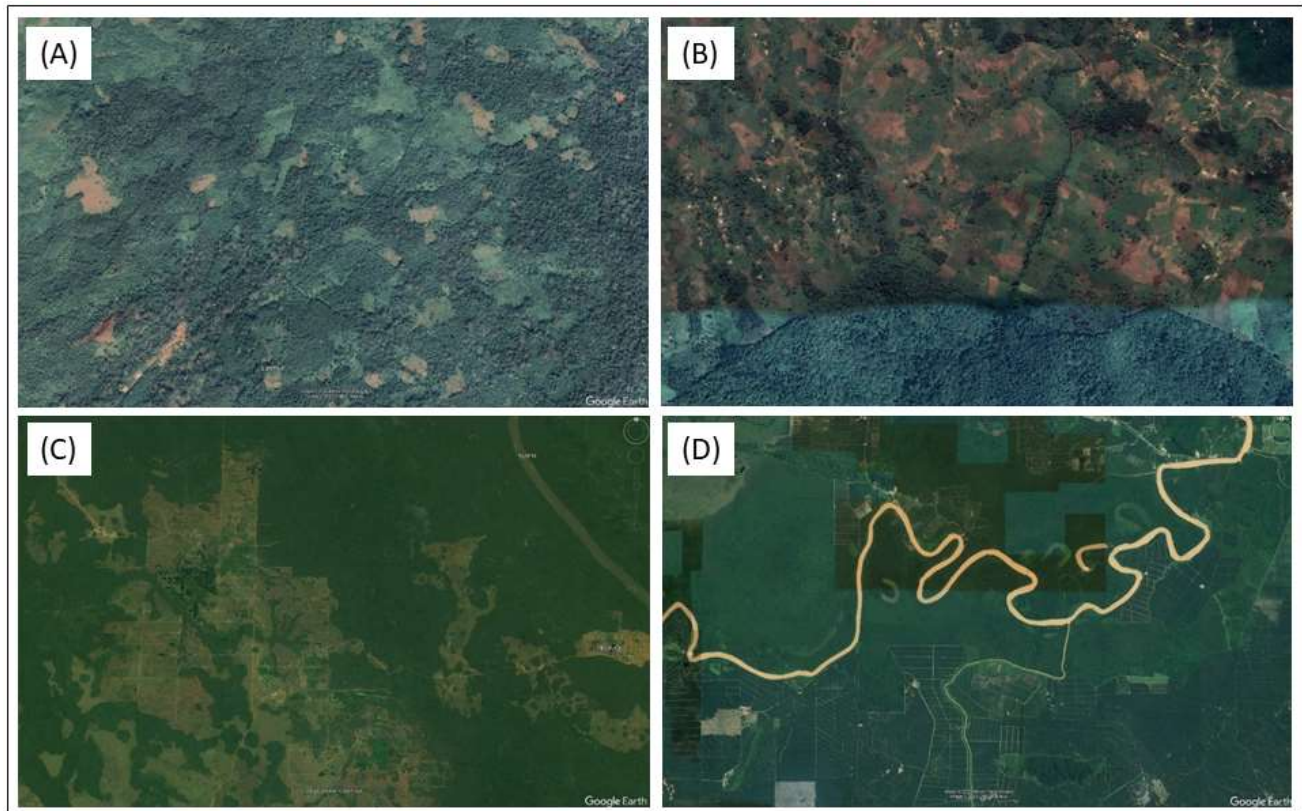


365
 366 **Figure 5. Theory of Change and structure of Discussion**

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

377 **5.1 Land use planning and landscape management**

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



397
398 **Figure 6. Example of different primary food systems with great apes. A. Rural and traditional;**
399 **smallholder farm area in Sierra Leone near Gola Rainforest National Park. Google Earth**
400 **image © 2023 Maxar Technologies and © 2023 CNES/Airbus; B. Informal and expanding:**
401 **farm area to the north of Bwindi Impenetrable Forest, Uganda Google Earth image © 2023**
402 **CNES/Airbus and © 2023 Maxar Technologies; C. Emerging and diversifying; new oil palm**

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

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

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

433 **5.1.1 Yield increases**

434 Increasing the productivity on existing agricultural lands can reduce the need for agricultural
435 expansion (Zhang et al., 2021), but closing yield gaps to achieve food security seems challenging and
436 more land expansion is likely, unless additional local demand is met by imports (van Ittersum et al.,
437 2016). The largest potential production increases relate to fallow duration and multiple cropping
438 rather than single crop yields, and key components of boosting productivity and reducing impacts
439 include the use of early-maturing varieties, intercropping, catch crops, and enhanced irrigation (Poore
440 and Nemecek, 2018). Land expansion rates will especially be high in countries such as Nigeria and
441 Ghana with rapid human population growth, export-driven agricultural production growth, emerging
442 and diversifying food systems, and limited available agricultural land, thus affecting species such as
443 chimpanzee and Western gorilla. Furthermore, as productivity increases so do agricultural land rents,
444 which could create new incentives for agricultural expansion and deforestation (Phelps et al., 2013).

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

448 2015). Widespread technology adoption processes that substantially increase agricultural productivity
449 in pre-established agricultural lands could, depending on their effect on the demand for production
450 factors (labour, capital, land), still reduce deforestation, to the extent that increased product supply
451 reduces agricultural market prices (Angelsen and Kaimowitz, 2001). Improved agricultural
452 technologies on pre-cultivated prime agricultural lands could thus help slowing forest conversion, or
453 even abandonment of marginal agricultural lands – including the ones where great apes traditionally
454 compete with agricultural expansion. Globally, this argument has been referred to as the Borlaug
455 hypothesis, related e.g., to the impact of the 20th century Green Revolution on reduced pressures for
456 expanding upland, low-productive agriculture – and has some empirical support (Stevenson et al.,
457 2013). On sub-global scales, the non-expansion and abandonment of marginal agricultural lands is
458 also key to the aforementioned ‘forest transition’ processes, i.e., of forest cover stabilizing or even
459 increasing at high levels per-capita income (Mather and Needle, 1998; Meyfroidt and Lambin, 2011).

460 **5.1.2 Produce-and-protect strategies**

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

473 Robust governance and increasing conservation incentives can help ensure land sparing, but
474 implementation of these strategies may require tracking future agricultural land rents (Phelps et al.,
475 2013) and targeting development planning away from core great ape areas (e.g., avoiding road
476 building into or through priority habitats). This can stimulate economic growth and draw people
477 away from frontier areas while increasing the value of natural ecosystems. Targeting development far
478 from priority great ape areas makes sense as impacts on biodiversity are most severe in the earliest
479 stages of agricultural expansion, especially when conversion occurs in forest interiors (Chaplin-
480 Kramer et al., 2015). Therefore, new financing models are needed to protect natural ecosystems, and
481 conservation organizations should collaborate with governments and industry partners to build a
482 consensus about “no-go” areas for development based on the presence of priority great ape
483 populations and other high-risk factors.

484 **5.1.3 Threat management and finance**

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

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

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

513 **5.1.4 Key stakeholders and jurisdictional approach**

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

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

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

539 **5.2 Alternative income to avoid land competition with great apes**

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

544 **5.2.1 Eco-tourism**

545 Eco-tourism has been recognized as a potential solution for achieving poverty eradication and
546 conservation goals for communities facing imminent threats of agricultural expansion. The successful
547 conservation of mountain gorillas has been largely funded by nature-based tourism (Maekawa et al.,
548 2013), but this has also resulted in increased negative interactions between habituated gorillas and local
549 communities (Hill, 2005; Seiler and Robbins, 2015; Robbins, 2021), highlighting the complexity of
550 eco-tourism contexts. Nevertheless, the value of nature-based tourism to countries such as Rwanda is
551 obvious. In Borneo, eco-tourism businesses also contribute significantly to the regional GDP (Goh and
552 Potter, 2023), but scaling up tourism to cover the entire range of Bornean orangutan is challenging and
553 may result in lower prices due to increased competition. While eco-tourism can benefit great apes and
554 local communities, it is unlikely to positively influence significant parts of the great apes' range soon.
555 The pandemic and the associated travel restrictions and periodic suspension of great ape visits have
556 revealed the over-dependency on tourism (Ezra et al., 2021). Alternative financial mechanisms are
557 needed to provide a safety net for communities when tourism does not bring in the much-needed
558 resources.

559 **5.2.2 Payment for biodiversity**

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

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

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

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

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

607 **5.3 Rethinking agriculture and food systems**

608 **5.3.1 Modifying global consumption and local agriculture**

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

619 Promoting dietary changes within local communities can help reduce the demand for food production
620 that destroys great ape habitats (Abraham and Pingali, 2020). However, balancing conservation
621 efforts with the food security of these communities presents a major challenge. Subsistence
622 agriculture is vital for many people living in great ape regions, and altering their dietary choices and

623 agricultural practices can have significant economic implications. Cultural and social barriers further
624 complicate the process, requiring time and effort to implement changes. Education and capacity
625 building programs can help transition local food systems to more sustainable practices. However,
626 such interventions must be approached with caution as they involve changing traditional ways of life.

627 **5.3.2 Consumers' awareness**

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

642 **6 Conclusion**

643 Great apes face significant threats from unsustainable agriculture driven by high poverty and demand
644 for agricultural resources. Ensuring coexistence between great apes and people is of paramount
645 importance, particularly considering that most great apes live outside protected areas. However, the
646 challenge lies in the fact that each individual ape shares its habitat with approximately 100 people.
647 Achieving successful coexistence requires significant incentives and efforts from people to protect
648 and preserve these conservation icons. New financial models are needed to facilitate this coexistence.
649 Optimized land use planning, guided by strategic investments in agricultural development and
650 wildlife conservation, can maximize synergies between conservation and food production goals. It is
651 vital to support effective economic development policies, enforce forest conservation and
652 environmental laws, engage in trade policy discussions, and link policies on trade, food security,
653 circular agriculture, and sustainable food systems with forest and great ape impact monitoring. The
654 global agenda should focus on closing crop yield gaps, promoting healthier diets, reducing food loss
655 and waste, and allocating more research funding to address the challenges of great ape and human
656 coexistence.

657 **7 Conflict of Interest**

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

660 **8 Author Contributions**

661 EM, RD, MA, SWi and DS contributed to conception and design of the study. NU, TA and RD
662 organized the database and spatial analysis of crop and other data. JS developed the causal change
663 diagrams. EM wrote the first draft of the manuscript. KH, SWu, CSG, MO, and DS wrote sections of

664 the manuscript. All authors contributed to manuscript revision, read, and approved the submitted
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673 **11 Data Availability Statement**

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

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1324

1325 **13 Supplementary Material**

1326 We estimated the number of people living within great ape range areas by overlaying the GHS
 1327 population grid multitemporal (1975-2030) data (Schiavina et al., 2022) with the IUCN Red List
 1328 distribution ranges for the great ape taxa (2022).

1329 To map the dominant crops per grid cells we used the SPAM 2017 v2.1 Sub-Saharan Africa for the
 1330 Great Ape ranges in Africa and the SPAM 2010 v2.0 Global Data for ranges in Borneo and Sumatra
 1331 (You et al., 2017). We decided to use the Physical Area values from the SPAM dataset, although other
 1332 values such as Harvested Area, Production, and Yield are also available. The Physical area is measured
 1333 in hectares and represents the actual area where a crop is grown, not counting how often production

1334 was harvested from it. Physical area is calculated for each production system (e.g., irrigated, rainfed)
 1335 and crop, and the sum of all physical areas of the four production systems constitute the total physical
 1336 area for that crop. The sum of the physical areas of all crops in a pixel may not be larger than the pixel
 1337 size. We used a script developed by Meijaard et al. (2020a) to extract the dominant crop for each grid
 1338 cells. All spatial analyses were conducted in the Environmental Systems Research Institute (ESRI)
 1339 ArcGIS 10.8 software environment.

1340 **Supplementary Tables**

1341 **Table S1. Harvested areas of agricultural crops in Central Africa in 2019, and their percentage**
 1342 **change between 2010 and 2019 (FAOSTAT, 2021).**

Crop	Area harvested in 2021 (ha)	Change between 2010 and 2021
Cassava, fresh	7,535,577	36.7%
Maize (corn)	7,322,685	47.6%
Groundnuts, excluding shelled	2,254,953	-4.0%
Sorghum	2,045,456	-14.7%
Rice	1,942,118	47.2%
Beans, dry	1,704,971	25.0%
Plantains and cooking bananas	1,526,485	54.2%
Millet	1,424,628	-15.7%
Cocoa beans	869,219	18.7%
Seed cotton, unginne	680,492	79.8%
Oil palm fruit	553,457	65.2%
Bananas	513,053	63.6%

1343

1344 **Table S2. Harvested areas of agricultural crops in West Africa in 2019, and their percentage**
 1345 **change between 2010 and 2019 (FAOSTAT, 2021).**

Crop	Area harvested in 2021 (ha)	Change between 2010 and 2021
Sorghum	13,737,918	8.1%
Maize (corn)	13,520,502	52.6%
Cow peas, dry	13,106,130	29.0%
Millet	12,691,978	-20.9%
Cassava, fresh	12,546,809	117.7%
Rice	10,104,389	55.2%
Groundnuts, excluding shelled	9,040,324	34.5%
Yams	8,201,417	87.0%
Cocoa beans	6,922,895	28.4%
Oil palm fruit	5,173,715	21.3%
Cashew nuts, in shell	3,204,429	57.4%
Seed cotton, unginne	3,124,338	98.0%

Okra	1,791,114	247.3%
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1346

1347 **Table S3. Harvested areas of agricultural crops in Eastern Africa in 2019, and their percentage**
1348 **change between 2010 and 2019 (FAOSTAT, 2021).**

Crop	Area harvested in 2021 (ha)	Change between 2010 and 2021
Maize (corn)	17,025,842	12.4%
Beans, dry	6,054,096	24.8%
Sorghum	5,122,364	0.2%
Cassava, fresh	3,739,221	-0.1%
Cereals n.e.c.	3,298,590	16.1%
Rice	3,289,855	11.1%
Groundnuts, excluding shelled	3,103,205	36.1%
Sesame seed	2,348,819	135.7%
Wheat	2,334,855	24.1%
Sweet potatoes	1,983,550	15.6%
Coffee, green	1,886,433	32.0%
Sunflower seed	1,574,202	103.1%

1349

1350 **Table S4. Harvested areas of agricultural crops in Southeast Asia in 2019, and their percentage**
1351 **change between 2010 and 2019 (FAOSTAT, 2021).**

Crop	Area harvested in 2021 (ha)	Change between 2010 and 2021
Rice	45,086,935	-5.9%
Oil palm fruit	21,155,398	52.9%
Natural rubber in primary forms	9,976,282	38.5%
Maize (corn)	9,166,226	-6.6%
Coconuts, in shell	6,913,482	-2.7%
Cassava, fresh	3,286,048	-2.2%
Beans, dry	3,216,386	-5.8%
Sugar cane	2,868,954	27.1%
Other vegetables, fresh n.e.c.	2,253,388	34.7%
Coffee, green	2,183,649	5.0%

1352

1353 **Table S5. Ten largest crops in terms of physical crop area within the ranges of each of the four**
1354 **Chimpanzee subspecies based on SPAM 2017 data (International Food Policy Research**
1355 **Institute, 2020) and the IUCN Red List species ranges (IUCN, 2022). PA = Crop Physical Area**

1356 (in hectares); % = Percentage of crop relative to total subspecies range. Sorted by Total % of
 1357 ranges for each crop. Data from Meijaard et al. (2021).

Crops	Nigeria-Cameroon <i>P. t. ellioti</i>		Western <i>P. t. verus</i>		Eastern <i>P. t. schweinfurthii</i>		Central <i>P. t. troglodytes</i>		All subspecies Total crop area
	PA	%	PA	%	PA	%	PA	%	
Rice	66,731	0.7	2,957,486	5.4	638,031	0.6	12,037		3,674,285
Cacao	240,845	2.5	1,824,436	3.4	17,043	0.0	288,618	0.4	2,370,942
Cassava	233,129	2.4	448,959	0.8	1,248,391	1.3	346,736	0.5	2,277,215
Maize	109,017	1.1	743,662	1.4	884,190	0.9	52,986	0.1	1,789,855
Plantain	118,544	1.2	253,137	0.5	827,407	0.8	214,711	0.3	1,413,799
Groundnut	22,578	0.2	822,439	1.5	149,315	0.2	54,233	0.1	1,048,565
Oil palm	294,777	3.0	435,654	0.8	148,262	0.2	63,908	0.1	942,601
Vegetables	204,826	2.1	299,785	0.6	133,096	0.1	119,349	0.2	757,056
Other cereals	0	0.0	636,381	1.2	10,427		3,080	0.0	649,888
Beans	58,378	0.5	8,125	0.0	473,522	0.5	14,513	0.0	554,538
total	1,348,825	13.7	8,430,064	15.6	4,529,684	4.6	1,170,171	1.7	

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1360 **Table S6. Ten largest crops in terms of physical crop area within the ranges of Bonobo,**
 1361 **Western and Eastern Gorilla based on SPAM 2017 data (International Food Policy Research**
 1362 **Institute 2020) and the IUCN Red List species ranges (IUCN 2022). PA = Crop Physical Area**
 1363 **(in hectares); % = Percentage of crop relative to total subspecies range. Sorted by Total % of**
 1364 **ranges for each crop. Data from Meijaard et al. (2021).**

Crops	Bonobo <i>Pan paniscus</i>		Western Lowland Gorilla <i>G. g.</i> <i>gorilla</i>		Cross River Gorilla <i>G. g. diehli</i>		Grauer's Gorilla <i>G. b. graueri</i>		Mountain Gorilla <i>G. b. beringei</i>	
	PA	%	PA	%	PA	%	PA	%	Total crop area	Total %
Rice	63,692	0.2	3,925	0.0	1,243	0.3	13,532	0.3	2,545	3.2
Cacao	900	0.0	245,282	0.4	3,771	1.0	16	0.0	14	0.0
Cassava	270,995	0.7	284,152	0.4	15,271	4.2	11,481	0.2	3,171	4.0
Oil palm	13,620	0.0	51,516	0.1	6,881	1.9	45	0.0	0	0.0
Maize	131,983	0.3	35,983	0.1	3,011	0.8	25,568	0.5	10,251	13.0
Vegetables	4,505	0.0	111,432	0.2	13,549	3.7	2,985	0.1	1,914	2.4
Plantain	39,594	0.1	209,240	0.3	2,922	0.8	17,956	0.4	7,414	9.4
Yams	2,551	0.0	38,001	0.1	10,470	2.8	204	0.0	80	0.0
Groundnut	22,707	0.1	35,108	0.1	1,590	0.4	675	0.0	556	0.8

1365 **Table S7. Eleven largest crops in terms of physical crop area within the ranges of Bornean,**
 1366 **Sumatran and Tapanuli Orangutan based on SPAM 2010 data (International Food Policy**

1367 **Research Institute 2020) and the IUCN Red List species ranges (IUCN 2022). PA = Crop**
 1368 **Physical Area (in hectares); % = Percentage of crop relative to total subspecies range. Sorted**
 1369 **by Total % of ranges for each crop. Data from Meijaard et al. (2021).**

Crops	Bornean Orangutan <i>P. pygmaeus</i>		Sumatran Orangutan <i>P. abelii</i>		Tapanuli Orangutan <i>P. tapanuliensis</i>		Total crop area
	PA	%	PA	%	PA	%	
Oil palm	1,240,878	5.5	100,982	5.6	7,687	7.5	1,349,547
Tree crops	392,588	1.7	83,422	4.6	5,748	5.6	481,758
Rice	231,035	1.0	59,861	3.3	3,647	3.6	294,543
Coconut	118,919	0.5	14,452	0.8	145	0.0	133,516
Vegetables	27,209	0.1	7,105	0.4	1,219	1.2	35,533
Maize	24,854	0.1	61,340	3.4	627	0.6	86,821
Cacao	21,351	0.1	31,072	1.7	686	0.7	53,109
Other oil crops	20,286	0.1					20,286
Tropical fruit	17,283	0.1					17,283
Coffee			59,792	3.3	1,779	1.7	61,571
Totals	2,094,403	9.2	418,026	23.1	21,538	20.9	2,533,967

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1371 **Table S8. Food system archetypes and their typical characteristics (after van Berkum and**
 1372 **Ruben, 2021)**

Food system archetypes	Description
Rural and traditional	Farming mainly done by smallholders, with low agricultural yields and limited diversity. Scarce infrastructure results in seasonal variation and large food losses. Most food is sold locally in informal open market, small shops and street vendors.
Informal and expanding	Rising incomes, formal employment and urbanization, with demand for processed and packaged foods from locally-sourced and imported ingredients. Coexistence of informal markets (fresh food) and supermarkets (convenience foods) but limited quality standards and no regulation.
Emerging and diversifying	Increasing number of medium- and large-scale commercial farms linked to markets. Modern supply chains for fresh foods, and supermarkets expansion to smaller towns. Processed foods are common in urban and many rural areas, but fresh food continues to be acquired through informal markets.
Modernizing and formalizing	Higher agricultural productivity and larger farms that rely on mechanization and input-intensive practices. More sophisticated food infrastructures result in fewer food losses. Food imports enable year-round availability of diverse basket of foods. Public safety and quality regulation is common.
Industrialized and consolidated	Large-scale, input-intensive farms serve specialized markets. Supermarket density is high and formal food sector captures nearly all of the food intake, including fresh foods, fast food and home delivery. Food policies focus on banning trans fats and the reformulation of processed foods.

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