

Coexistence or Conflict? Understanding Human–Macaque Encounters in Delhi’s Urban Sanctuary

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Research Article

Keywords: human–wildlife conflict, rhesus macaque, urban biodiversity, conflict classification, community perceptions, mitigation strategies

Posted Date: August 26th, 2025

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21203/rs.3.rs-7227146/v1>

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Additional Declarations: No competing interests reported.

Version of Record: A version of this preprint was published at Urban Ecosystems on February 5th, 2026. See the published version at <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11252-025-01894-1>.

1 **Title:**

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15 **Abstract**

16 Urban–wildlife conflicts present critical challenges for biodiversity conservation and community well-being,
17 particularly in rapidly urbanizing landscapes. This study examines human–rhesus macaque (*Macaca mul*)
18 conflicts around Asola-Bhatti Wildlife Sanctuary, New Delhi, by applying a structured conflict classification
19 framework, Dispute, Underlying Conflict, and Deep-rooted Conflict, to quantify conflict depth and guide targeted
20 interventions. Between April and June 2024, we surveyed 200 households at the sanctuary margin, assessing
21 perceptions across five domains (Perception, Situation, History, Willingness, Authority Views) using Likert scales.
22 Statistical analyses comprised Pearson’s chi-square tests to identify significant associations and conditional
23 inference trees to reveal primary predictors of attitudes and conflict severity. Composite indices aggregated
24 responses to represent each conflict level. Findings reveal that macaque encounters are widespread (88%),
25 resulting in property damage (44.5%), increased workload (93%), and physical injuries (39%). Religious and
26 cultural beliefs foster positive attitudes and drive provisioning behaviors, while aggressive macaque actions and
27 dissatisfaction with wildlife authorities (67.5%) exacerbate tensions. Composite indices indicate that most
28 conflicts align with the Underlying Conflict level (OCI = 1.632), with Perception and Situation measures nearing
29 Deep-rooted Conflict, whereas History, Willingness, and Authority Views correspond to Dispute levels. These
30 results underscore the necessity for level-specific mitigation strategies, combining practical dispute resolution,
31 community reconciliation, and institutional trust-building, to promote sustainable human–wildlife coexistence in
32 urban ecosystems.

33 **Keywords:** human–wildlife conflict; rhesus macaque; urban biodiversity; conflict classification; community
34 perceptions; mitigation strategies

35 **1. Introduction**

36 Macaques are among the most successful members of the primate family; after humans, they are the most
37 widespread nonhuman primates, occupying an exceptional geographical range that includes Northeast, Africa,
38 Southeast Asia, southern China, and India, with *Macaca mulatta* (rhesus macaque) having the broadest
39 distribution among primate species [Priston & McLennan, 2012; Tiwari & Mukherjee, 1993]. In India, nonhuman
40 primates inhabit environments ranging from dense montane forests to open lands and urban settlements.

41 Historically, macaques adapted to diverse habitats, from natural forests to heavily human-modified landscapes.
42 However, immense ecological and anthropogenic pressures, such as agricultural expansion, deforestation, and
43 industrialization, have led to significant habitat loss [Southwick & Lindburg, 1986; Southwick & Siddiqi, 1994].

44 The first systematic survey by Southwick et al. (1965) estimated approximately two million macaques in
45 northwestern India; subsequent reports documented a drastic 90 percent decline during the 1960s and 1970s,
46 primarily linked to large-scale exports for laboratory experiments [Chakraborty, 1965; Southwick & Siddiqi, 1968,
47 1988, 2011].

48 In the 1980s, populations began to recover following India's 1978 export ban and the Green Revolution (1966),
49 which boosted food resources for people and wildlife, spurring rebounds across northern India, including New
50 Delhi [Southwick et al., 2011]. Continued deforestation and agricultural encroachment, however, forced macaques
51 into urban areas [Bowonder, 1982]. Their adaptability enabled survival in human-dominated landscapes but also
52 led to increased tensions. In New Delhi, negative interactions, including house raiding, attacks, property damage,
53 and fatalities, became common in the early 2000s [Down-To-Earth, 2023].

54 Public frustration prompted a Delhi High Court order in 2007 banning public feeding and mandating translocation
55 to Asola-Bhatti Wildlife Sanctuary. By 2014, 18 000 macaques had been relocated, but insufficient natural food
56 and continuous provisioning (costing ~INR 1 crore/year) sustained high densities and unrest [Nulkar, 2017;
57 Ganguly & Chauhan, 2018]. Lacking predators, macaque numbers continued to grow, driving troop movements
58 into adjacent villages and escalating human-macaque conflict [Ganguly et al., 2018; Ganguly & Chauhan, 2019].

59 Conflict escalation influences community perceptions of macaques and views of management authorities,
60 affecting mitigation effectiveness [Anand et al., 2018; Anand & Radhakrishna, 2020; Chauhan & Pirta, 2010;
61 Gopalan & Radhakrishna, 2022; Saraswat et al., 2015]. Crucially, human-wildlife conflict is shaped by a complex
62 interplay of socioecological dynamics, including cultural beliefs, socioeconomic status, encounter frequency,
63 historical management, and stakeholder relationships [Hill, 2021; IUCN, 2023]. Focusing solely on physical risks
64 can obscure deeper social roots and undermine sustainable coexistence [Madden & McQuinn, 2014; Redpath et
65 al., 2013].

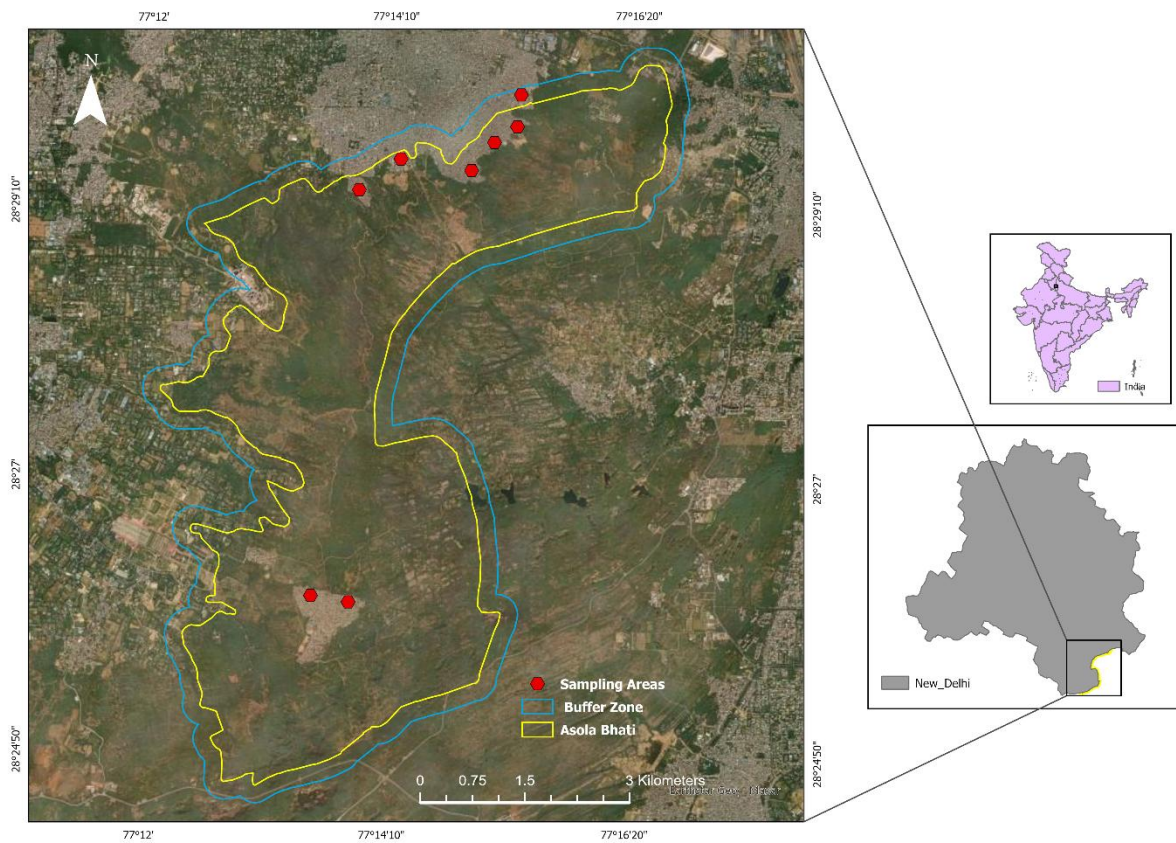
66 To address this complexity, we apply a structured "levels of conflict" framework, originally developed by the
67 Canadian Institute for Conflict Resolution and advanced by Madden & McQuinn (2014), which categorizes
68 wildlife conflict as Dispute, Underlying Conflict, or Deep-rooted Conflict. Disputes involve visible, tangible
69 problems; Underlying Conflicts stem from management dissatisfaction; Deep-rooted Conflicts center on identity,
70 values, or feelings of disempowerment [Madden & McQuinn, 2014]. Understanding these conflict levels at Asola-
71 Bhatti's boundary is essential. This study thus (1) categorizes human-rhesus macaque conflicts into Dispute,

72 Underlying, and Deep-rooted levels, and (2) proposes level-specific interventions for more effective and lasting
73 coexistence.

74 1. Materials and Methods

75 2.1 Study Area

76 The Asola Bhatti Wildlife Sanctuary (ABWLS) is a 32.71 km² protected area in the southeastern South Delhi
77 Ridge of the Aravalli Hills (28°28'34"N, 77°13'48"E). It uniquely represents the northeastern flat-topped
78 Precambrian Aravalli range in India's network of 565 sanctuaries [Chaudhary et al., 2023; Sharma & Chaudhry,
79 2017]. Biogeographically, ABWLS falls within the northern tropical thorn forest zone [Champion & Seth, 1968;
80 Delhi Forest Department, n.d.]. Historically, open-cast mining for quartzite ("Bajri") occurred until a 1990 ban,
81 leaving abandoned pits now converted into perennial water bodies [Kushwaha et al., 2014; Sharma & Chaudhry,
82 2017] (Fig. 1).



83

84

Figure 1: Study area map

85 ABWLS borders diverse human-dominated landscapes: Sanjay Nagar (dense settlement) to the south; Sangam
86 Vihar (large informal settlement) to the north; Sainik Farms (affluent residential) to the west; and contiguous forest
87 tracts toward Faridabad and Gurgaon, Haryana, to the south and east [Kushwaha et al., 2014].

88 Following reconnaissance revealing frequent negative human–macaque interactions, we selected Sangam Vihar’s
89 periphery for detailed study based on proximity to ABWLS, community dependence on sanctuary resources, and
90 availability of field assistants. A non-random, opportunistic sampling design was employed, appropriate for
91 exploratory case-study theory testing rather than representative prevalence estimation [IUCN, 2023;
92 Zimmermann, 2014].

93 Data were collected April–June 2024 from seven purposively selected blocks (M2, L2, I, H, G, J, Gupta Colony)
94 and the ABWLS head office area (approx. 28°33’39”N, 77°16’E), chosen for resource availability, macaque troop
95 presence, provisioning behaviors, waste disposal practices, and socioeconomic variation.

96 **Ethical Statements and Declarations**

97 **(a) Consent to Participate**

98 Prior to conducting interviews, informed consent was obtained verbally from each participant after explaining the
99 purpose and nature of the study. Participation was entirely voluntary, and individuals were assured of their right
100 to decline or withdraw at any point without any consequences. Although formal ethical committee approval was
101 not obtained for this study, all procedures followed ethical standards for research involving human subjects.

102 **2.2 Survey Design and Data Collection**

103 The questionnaire was designed in English based on objectives and literature [IUCN, 2023; Sangay et al., 2019;
104 Thinley et al., 2019, 2021; Zimmermann, 2014, 2020], piloted, and translated into Hindi by a subject expert. It
105 comprised 44 items in two parts (Appendix 1).

106 Part 1 captured demographics, residence duration, attitudes toward macaques, physical-harm experiences,
107 cultural/religious significance, current conflict situations, past mitigation attempts, and solution perspectives. Both
108 closed and open-ended questions generated quantitative and qualitative data.

109 Part 2 applied Zimmermann et al.’s (2020) human–wildlife conflict framework (Figure. 3; Table 1), segmenting
110 conflict into five domains. Based on this model, targeted questions measured conflict perceptions and intensity;
111 responses were scored to generate composite conflict indices for subsequent predictive analyses.

112 **2.2.1 Questionnaire and Response Measurement**

113 We employed five-point Likert scales (1 = Strongly disagree to 5 = Strongly agree) across all conflict domains
 114 (Table 1), enhancing granularity over three-point scales. A total of 200 households were surveyed, achieving
 115 gender balance among respondents (Table 1).

116 **Table 1:** Broader categories and key areas of questions for the Likert five-point scale

Category	Likert Statements
(a) Perceptions about the species that is being blamed in the conflict	Macaques significantly affect my economic stability.
	My feelings toward macaques are generally positive.
	Macaques play an important role in my cultural or religious practices.
(b) Questions about the apparent situation itself	Macaques frequently cause damage to my property.
	The conflict with macaques is severe and affects my daily life significantly.
	I am concerned about physical harm from macaques.
(c) Questions about the history of previous attempts (by any party) to address the conflict	Government had taken many steps to mitigate this conflict
	The government is handling human-macaque conflicts well.
(d) The extent of willingness to engage in attempts to find solutions	I would support community initiatives aimed at mitigating conflicts with macaques.
	I believe that peaceful coexistence with macaques is possible in the future.
(e) Views about others involved in, or trying to assist with the situation, such as authorities or other third parties	Macaques should live with us in colonies.
	I trust the local wildlife authorities to handle macaque-related issues.

117 **2.3 Data Analysis**

118 All analyses were conducted in R v4.2 (R Studio 2024.04.2). We began with descriptive statistics to summarize
 119 key variable distributions. To test associations between attitudes, experiences, and demographic predictors, we
 120 used Pearson’s chi-square tests of independence with Yate’s continuity correction (chisq.test in the MASS

121 package). For predictive modeling, we employed conditional inference trees (ctree in the partykit package), a non-
122 parametric recursive partitioning method that hierarchically identifies significant explanatory variables without
123 strict distributional assumptions, handles nonlinear interactions, and is robust to multicollinearity and small
124 sample sizes. Built-in statistical stopping criteria reduce overfitting and multiple-testing risks, making this
125 approach well suited for exploratory socioecological data (Zimmermann, 2014; Sangay et al., 2020; Thinley et
126 al., 2019, 2021).

127 Although logistic regression and generalized linear models can adjust for confounders and estimate effect sizes,
128 our focus was on identifying the hierarchical ordering of predictors rather than marginal effects. We evaluated
129 five survey domains, Perception, Situation, History, Willingness, and Authority Views, by coding Likert responses
130 (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree) and generating composite scores. The Category Score for
131 domain i was computed as the average of all item scores in that domain, and the Overall Composite Index (OCI)
132 as the mean of the five domain scores.

133 **Category Score for category i :** $\text{Category Score}_i = \frac{1}{n_i} \sum_{j=1}^{n_i} S_{ij}$

134 where: S_{ij} = Score for the j^{th} question in category ‘ i ’

135 n_i = Number of questions in category ‘ i ’

136 **Overall Composite Index (OCI):** $\text{OCI} = \frac{1}{5} \sum_{i=1}^5 \text{Category Score}_i$

137 Likert categories were combined where necessary to ensure expected cell counts ≥ 5 , and all sampling limitations
138 (non-random, purposive design) are acknowledged as constraining generalizability and framing results as
139 hypothesis-generating. Composite scores were equidistantly grouped: 1–1.8 = Dispute, 1.81–2.6 = Underlying
140 Conflict, and 2.61–3 = Deep-rooted Conflict. Graphical outputs, including hierarchical trees, stacked bars, and
141 box plots, illustrate variable importance, distributions, and conflict levels (Zimmermann et al., 2020; IUCN,
142 2023).

143 **3 Results**

144 **3.1 Socio-Demography**

145 A total of 200 household respondents participated in the survey, providing a gender-balanced sample: 49.5 (n =
146 95) male and 50.5 percent (n = 105) female. Age distribution spanned 16 to 74 years, with the largest proportion
147 in the 36–55 years group (40 percent), followed by 18–35 years (19 percent), 56–65 years (16 percent), 66–75

148 years (16 percent), and 16–18 years (11 percent). In terms of residence duration near Asola-Bhatti Wildlife
149 Sanctuary, 33.5 percent (n = 67) reported over 20 years, 31 percent (n = 62) 11–20 years, 27.5 percent (n = 55) 6–
150 10 years, and 8 percent (n = 16) 1–5 years. This diversity of ages and long-term local residency offers robust
151 contextual insight into human–macaque interactions at the sanctuary’s periphery.

152 **3.2 Frequency and Impact of Human–Macaque Encounters**

153 Daily macaque encounters were reported by the vast majority of respondents ($p < 0.001$), with 88 percent (n =
154 176) experiencing such interactions weekly and 12 percent (n = 24) less frequently. Notably, 67 percent (n = 136)
155 reported macaques entering their houses, while 32 percent (n = 64) described macaques moving through their
156 colonies without entering homes.

157 Damage from these incursions was widespread and multifaceted: kitchen damage (31 percent, n = 62); rooftop
158 water-tank destruction (29 percent, n = 58); dustbin theft or disturbance (27.5 percent, n = 55); and damage to
159 household electronics (12.5 percent, n = 25).

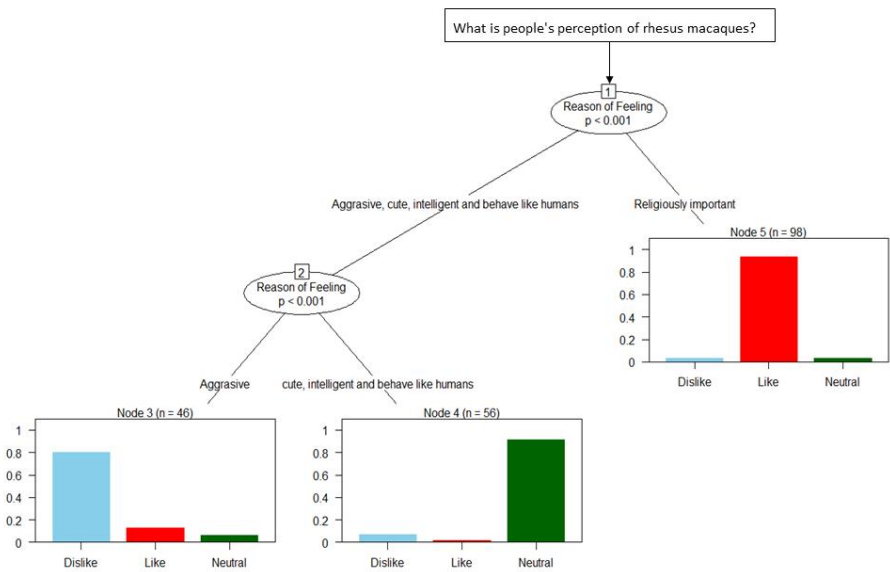
160 All respondents reported some impact. Primary impacts included property damage (44.5 percent, n = 89),
161 disruption of daily routines (40.5 percent, n = 81), and adverse effects on farming/agriculture (15 percent, n = 30).
162 Moreover, 93 percent (n = 186) indicated that macaque presence significantly increased household workload,
163 through property defense and repairs, compared to 7 percent (n = 14) reporting no additional burden.

164 Physical safety concerns were significant: 39 percent (n = 78) reported harm from macaques. Among these, the
165 majority were scratched or charged (34.5 percent, n = 69), and 6 percent (n = 12) were bitten, leaving 61 percent
166 (n = 122) unharmed.

167 Finally, rhesus macaques held strong cultural and religious significance for 68 percent (n = 136) of respondents,
168 associated with the deity Hanuman, while 32 percent (n = 64) reported no such affiliation, indicating a nuanced
169 spectrum of local attitudes affecting both perceptions and management strategies.

170 **3.3 Perception of the Species: Drivers of Attitudes Toward Macaques**

171 Nearly half of respondents (49.5 percent, n = 99) reported liking rhesus macaques, significantly more than those
172 who disliked them (22 percent, n = 44) or remained neutral (28.5 percent, n = 57) ($p < 0.001$). Drivers of these
173 attitudes varied: religious importance motivated 49 percent (n = 98), aggressive macaque behavior influenced 23
174 percent (n = 46), and attributes such as appearance, intelligence, or human-like behavior underpinned neutral
175 attitudes in 28 percent (n = 56).



176

177 **Figure 2:** Conditional inference tree showing “reason of feeling” as the primary significant predictor of local
 178 people’s attitude toward the rhesus macaques (*Macaca mulatta*) in ABWLS. Statistical significance of
 179 the tree split is indicated by *p* values.

180 “Feeling Toward Macaques” emerged as the strongest predictor of overall attitude in the conditional inference tree
 181 (Figure. 2) ($p < 0.001$). Among those citing religious significance, 91.8 percent ($n = 90$) liked macaques, with
 182 only 5.1 percent ($n = 5$) neutral and 3.1 percent ($n = 3$) disliking. Conversely, respondents viewing macaques as
 183 aggressive predominantly disliked them (84.8 percent, $n = 39$), with 8.7 percent neutral ($n = 4$) and 6.5 percent
 184 liking them ($n = 3$). Among those describing macaques as cute, intelligent, and human-like, 87.5 percent ($n = 49$)
 185 were neutral, 7.1 percent disliked ($n = 4$), and 5.4 percent liked them ($n = 3$), reflecting ambivalence shaped by
 186 specific interactions.

187 **3.4 Provisioning of Rhesus Macaques and Views on Penalties**

188 Provisioning was widespread: 90 percent ($n = 180$) of respondents had fed macaques, compared to 10 percent (n
 189 $= 20$) who had never done so ($p < 0.001$). Regarding penalties for feeding imposed by the forest department, 71
 190 percent ($n = 142$) opposed them ($p < 0.001$), while 16 percent ($n = 32$) supported penalties and 13 percent ($n =$
 191 26) were uncertain, highlighting potential enforcement challenges without community engagement.

192 **3.5 Community Perspective on Conflict**

193 Human-macaque conflict was regarded as very severe by 64 percent (n = 128), moderately severe by 26 percent
194 (n = 52), and mild by 10 percent (n = 20); no respondent considered it unproblematic (p < 0.001). Primary
195 perceived drivers were garbage dumps attracting macaques (47 percent, n = 94) and lack of natural food and water
196 (30.4 percent, n = 61), with additional factors of population pressure (13 percent, n = 26) and shelter-seeking
197 behavior (9.6 percent, n = 19).

198 To cope, 94.5 percent (n = 189) installed sharp metal fencing around dwellings or water tanks; 5.5 percent (n =
199 11) used dogs or other guarding methods. Fencing and food scarcity were viewed as primary human-provoked
200 causes of macaque attacks (47.5 percent, n = 95), followed by macaques trapped in colonies (34 percent, n = 68),
201 teasing by humans (16.5 percent, n = 33), and unprovoked attacks (2 percent, n = 4), illustrating multidimensional
202 conflict triggers.

203 **3.6 History of Previous Attempts to Address Conflict**

204 Awareness of official conflict management efforts was extremely limited. A significant majority of respondents
205 (91.5%, n = 183; p < 0.001) reported being unaware of any actions by authorities to reduce macaque conflict.
206 Among the very few who were aware (8.5%, n = 17), the only known strategy involved the capture and
207 translocation of macaques from colonies to forested areas; no respondents identified supplementary feeding within
208 the sanctuary. This reveals a striking communication gap between authorities and the community.

209 Similarly, institutional support channels were poorly recognized: 86% (n = 172) of respondents were not aware
210 of any helpline for reporting wildlife-related issues, compared to just 14% (n = 28) who indicated awareness of
211 such services. This further highlights the perceived lack of institutional engagement and accessible assistance.

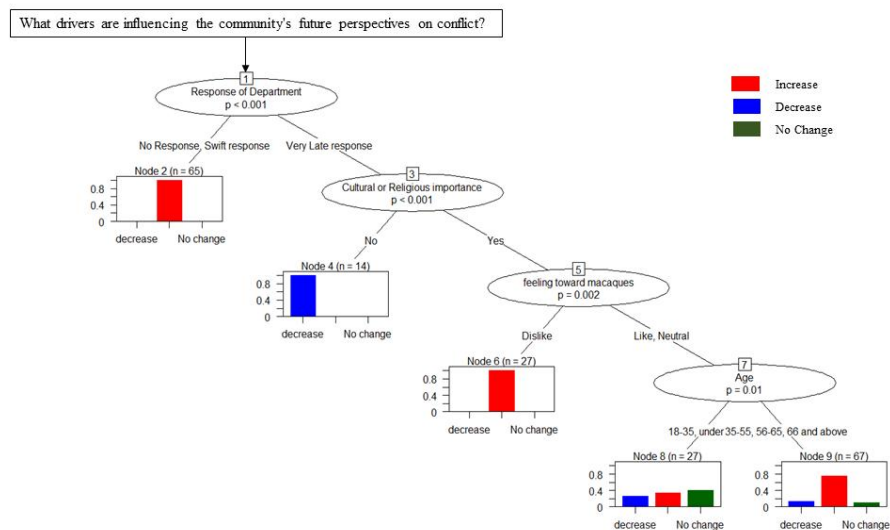
212 **3.7 Views about Authorities and Other Stakeholders**

213 Community dissatisfaction with authorities was widespread. Most respondents (67.5%, n = 135; p < 0.001)
214 characterized the forest department's response as very late, while 25.1% (n = 50) reported receiving no response
215 at all. Only a small minority (7.4%, n = 15) considered the department's response to be swift.

216 Key reasons given for delays or lack of response included the encroached or informal status of their communities
217 (46.5%, n = 93), perceptions of departmental apathy or inertia (26.5%, n = 53), the belief that macaques are not
218 considered a relevant wildlife concern by the authorities (15.0%, n = 30), and general uncertainty regarding the
219 causes (12.0%, n = 24).

220 **3.8 Future Perspectives on Conflict and Management Preferences**

221 A strong majority of respondents (76%, n = 152; $p < 0.001$) anticipated that conflicts with macaques will intensify
 222 in future, expecting that management will become increasingly challenging. Only 15% (n = 30) expected a
 223 reduction in conflict, while 9% (n = 18) anticipated no change, often believing the conflict has already reached its
 224 maximum level (see Figure 3).

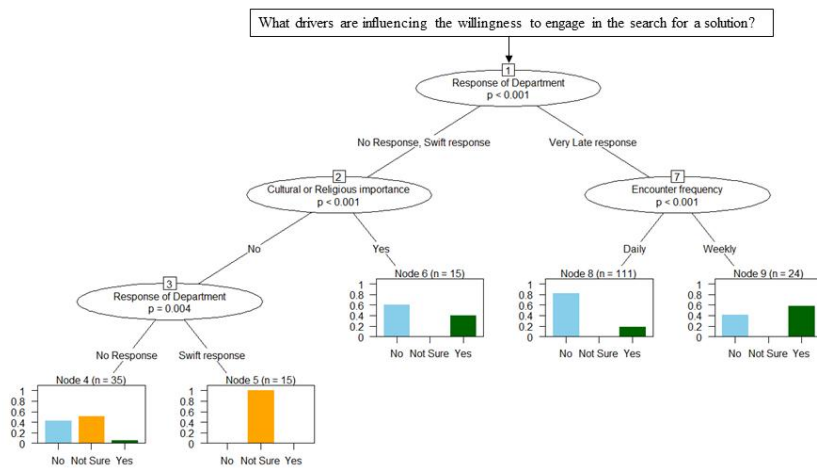


225
 226 **Figure 3:** Conditional inference tree showing “response of department” as the primary significant predictor of
 227 local people’s opinion on future with macaques in ABWLS. Statistical significance of the tree split is indicated by
 228 p values.

229 Perceptions about likely future trends in conflict were significantly shaped by views on the department’s
 230 responsiveness. Among those perceiving no response from authorities, 69.2% (n = 45) expected conflict to
 231 escalate. For respondents who perceived a delayed departmental response, cultural or religious importance of
 232 macaques emerged as a significant moderator: those not assigning cultural/religious significance nearly all
 233 (92.9%, n = 13) believed conflict would decrease. In contrast, among those for whom macaques have cultural or
 234 religious importance, opinion split further by attitude and age, respondents disliking macaques (81.5%, n = 22)
 235 were especially likely to expect increased conflict, while among those with positive or neutral feelings, younger
 236 individuals (18–35 years) generally predicted no change and older respondents (56–65 years) anticipated
 237 escalation.

238 **3.9 The Extent of Willingness to Engage in Attempts to Find a Solution**

239 Most community members (62.5%, n = 125) expressed unwillingness to participate in community-based conflict
 240 mitigation initiatives; a minority (21%, n = 42) were willing, with 16.5% undecided. The principal determinant
 241 for willingness was again the perceived “response of the department” ($p < 0.001$). For those perceiving the
 242 department’s response as “very late,” encounter frequency significantly shaped willingness: respondents facing
 243 daily macaque encounters were more reluctant (64.9%, n = 72 not willing), while those with weekly encounters
 244 were more inclined to participate (54.2%, n = 13), though a substantial subset still opted out (45.8%, n = 11). For
 245 individuals perceiving departmental response as absent or swift, higher uncertainty around participation was
 246 reported (Figure 4).



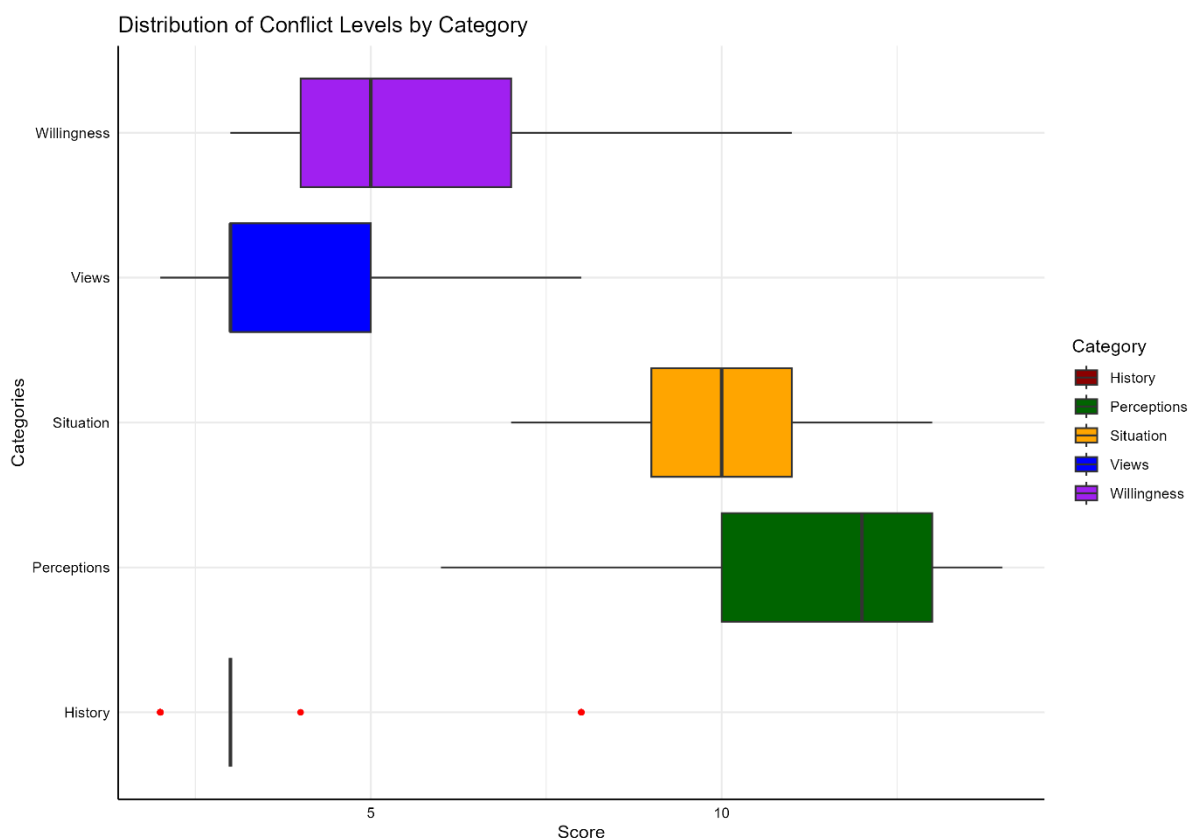
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248 **Figure 4:** Conditional inference tree showing “response of department” as the primary significant predictor of
 249 local people’s willingness to participate in the management of conflict in ABWLS. Statistical significance of the
 250 tree split is indicated by p values.

251 Cultural or religious significance of macaques further modified willingness: among those attributing such
 252 significance, 46.7% (n = 7) were more willing to engage, while 53.3% (n = 8) still leaned toward nonparticipation;
 253 when macaques held no such significance, respondents displayed even greater uncertainty. Motivations for
 254 reluctance included the belief that conflict management should be handled by the forest department (15%, n =
 255 30), doubts about effectiveness due to lack of forest habitat for macaques (28.5%, n = 57), distrust in authorities
 256 (25%, n = 50), acceptance of communal responsibility (21%, n = 42), and lack of time (10.5%, n = 21). These
 257 patterns reflect the multifaceted barriers shaping community engagement in mitigation efforts.

258 **3.10 Identification of Conflict Levels**

259 To assess the depth and character of human–macaque conflict within the community, additive scores from survey
260 responses were computed across five analytic domains. These indices, ranging from 3 to 15, were grouped
261 equidistantly: scores of 3–7 defined the “Dispute” level, 8–11 “Underlying Conflict,” and 12–15 “Deep-rooted or
262 Identity-based Conflict.” This classification revealed substantial variation in conflict level by category (Figure 5).
263 The overall composite index (OCI = 1.632) indicates that most conflict is situated at the Underlying level.
264 However, there are notable contrasts between domains: higher values for Perceptions (OCI = 2.445) and
265 Situational assessments (OCI = 2.09) indicate Deep-rooted Conflict, reflecting fundamental disputes over species
266 identity and persistent negative experiences. In contrast, History (OCI = 1.15), Willingness to Engage (OCI =
267 1.145), and Views about authorities (OCI = 1.33) correspond more to Dispute-level conflict, suggesting
268 community engagement with or satisfaction about interventions and authorities remains relatively superficial
269 (Figure 5).



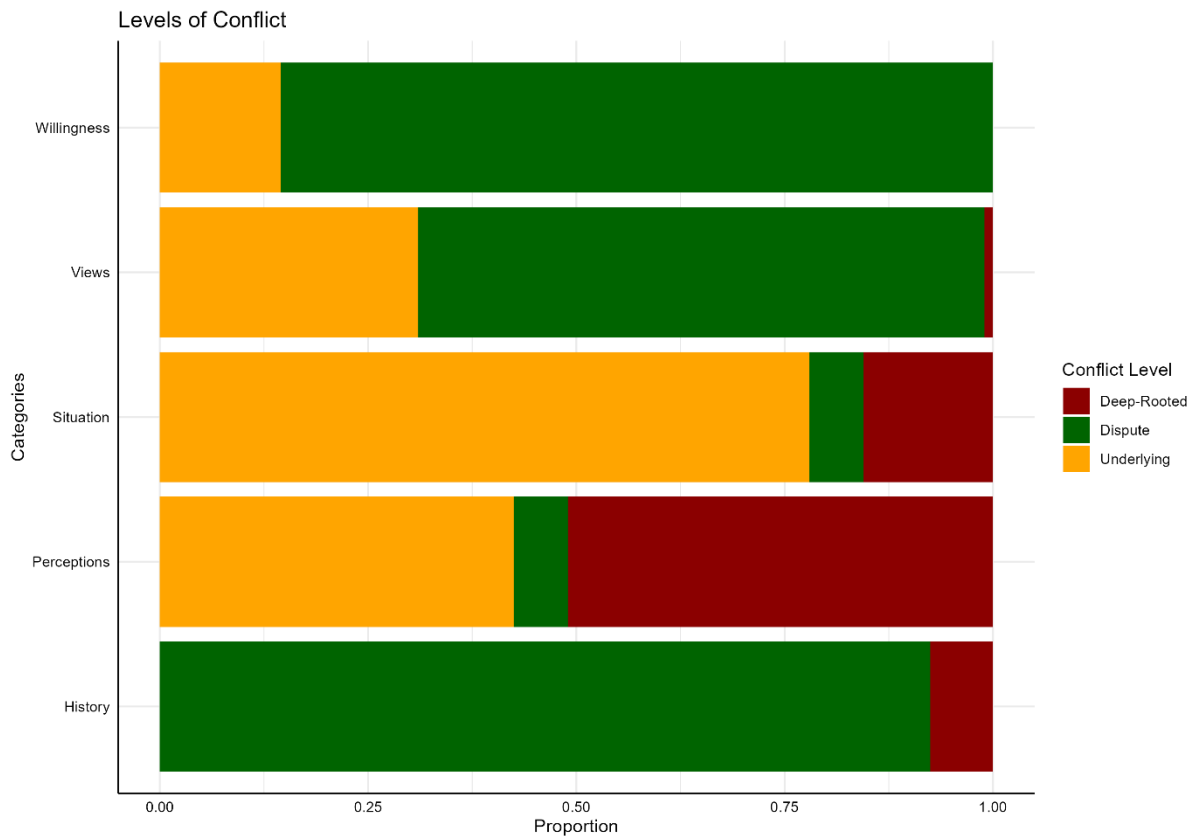
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271 **Figure 5:** Overall composite indices (OCI) showing the scores of each of the five categories.

272

273 When examining proportions within each category:

- 274 • For “Perception about Species,” a majority (51.0%, n = 102) fell into the Deep-rooted level, 42.5% (n =
275 85) were at the Underlying level, and only 6.5% (n = 13) registered a Dispute, pointing to fundamental
276 issues rooted in community identity, values, and beliefs.
- 277 • Regarding "Questions about the Apparent Situation," 78.0% (n = 156) were classified as Underlying,
278 15.5% (n = 31) as Deep-rooted, and 6.5% (n = 13) as Dispute, indicating the day-to-day situation remains
279 persistently problematic and is escalating for many.
- 280 • In “History of Previous Attempts,” an overwhelming 92.5% (n = 185) were categorized as Dispute and
281 only 7.5% (n = 15) as Deep-rooted, reflecting a generally superficial community recognition of past
282 management efforts, often perceived as ineffective.
- 283 • For “Willingness to Engage,” most responses (85.5%, n = 171) were at the Dispute level, with only
284 14.5% (n = 29) at Underlying and almost none at Deep-rooted, indicating generalized reluctance to
285 participate in resolution efforts.
- 286 • With "Views about Others Involved" (authorities and third parties), 68.0% (n = 136) were Dispute, 31.0%
287 (n = 62) Underlying, and just 1.0% (n = 2) Deep-rooted, showing dissatisfaction with authorities is
288 common but rarely reaches entrenched or identity-based opposition (Figure 6).



289

290

Figure 6: Level of conflict across each of the five categories.

291

Collectively, these findings illustrate that while some conflict has reached deep-rooted levels, particularly

292

regarding perceptions of macaques and the lived situation, most areas, especially related to historical

293

interventions, willingness to participate, and views on authorities, remain at a more surface, dispute-oriented stage.

294

This layered conflict profile highlights the pressing need for interventions tailored not only to resolve visible

295

disputes but also to address the less visible underlying and identity-based dimensions to achieve long-term

296

coexistence.

297 **4. Discussion**

298

This case study at the periphery of Asola-Bhatti Wildlife Sanctuary, New Delhi, investigated community attitudes

299

and perceptions concerning rhesus macaques, park managers, and existing management efforts, with the primary

300

aim of identifying the prevailing level of human–wildlife conflict. By surveying 200 local residents, we deepened

301

understanding of the complex dynamics underlying these persistent interactions.

302

Our results are consistent with previous research documenting frequent negative encounters between people and

303

macaques, such as attacks, injuries, food snatching, property damage, and household intrusions, which together

304 increase community anxiety and workload (Ganguly & Chauhan, 2019; Ganguly et al., 2018; Nulkar, 2017). In
305 this study, 88 percent of surveyed participants reported frequent negative interactions with rhesus macaques,
306 including significant property damage (44.5 percent), disruption of daily activities (40.5 percent), and increased
307 workload (93 percent). The majority of these incidents were driven by macaques' search for provisioned food, as
308 well as persistent human fear of personal attack, a dynamic reflected in both our data and the wider literature.

309 Sengupta and Radhakrishna (2018) emphasize that provisioning alters macaque dietary behavior, leading to
310 reduced natural foraging and decreased dietary diversity, ultimately increasing macaques' reliance on human-
311 modified habitats. Parallel findings by Beisner et al. (2015) indicate that greater food availability intensifies
312 human-macaque conflict, while Solomon (2013) reports that fear of macaque aggression prompts defensive
313 human responses, perpetuating a recurring cycle of tension.

314 **4.1 Perceptions of the Species Blamed in the Conflict**

315 In our study, negative encounters and macaque aggression were found to substantially shape unfavorable
316 community perceptions of rhesus macaques. Yet, despite the significant economic impact and disruption caused
317 by these primate interactions, a remarkable level of tolerance persists within the community. This tolerance reflects
318 a complex, sometimes paradoxical relationship, strongly influenced by cultural values and practical realities. For
319 many, macaques hold deep cultural and religious meaning, particularly as manifestations of Lord Hanuman, a
320 connection that not only shapes local attitudes but also affects approaches to conflict management (Riley, C.M.,
321 2013; Radhakrishna, 2018).

322 Notably, cultural and religious importance emerged as the primary driver of positive attitudes in our results: 49
323 percent of respondents cited this factor and, among these, 91.8 percent reported positive views toward macaques.
324 Conversely, aggressive macaque behaviors were associated with a high rate of dislike (84.8 percent among those
325 citing aggression), aligning with previous findings on how threatening animal behaviors negatively impact
326 perception (Beisner et al., 2015).

327 Beyond these two groups, our study identified a substantial subset (28 percent) of the community that assigns
328 neither religious nor cultural importance to macaques. This group generally perceives macaques as "cute,
329 intelligent, and human-like," with most (87.5 percent) expressing neutral attitudes. This suggests that, for these
330 individuals, perceptions are less rooted in entrenched beliefs or direct conflict and more in the frequency and
331 quality of everyday interactions. This pattern reflects findings from Singapore, where Sha et al. (2009) showed
332 that neutral attitudes toward long-tailed macaques, based on human-like behavior, can shift rapidly depending on

333 the nature of interactions. Recognizing such perceptual diversity is critical for designing conflict resolution
334 approaches suited to local values.

335 Regardless of whether their perspectives arose from religious, cultural, or neutral frames, the vast majority of
336 respondents (90 percent) reported feeding macaques. This provisioning is widely accepted, as shown by the 71
337 percent opposition to penalties for provisioning. Such behaviors are strongly intertwined with personal beliefs and
338 community norms. Regional patterns mirror these findings: in Goa, provisioning is more common among non-
339 Hindu groups, whereas in Himachal Pradesh, Hindus are most likely to feed macaques (Sengupta & Radhakrishna,
340 2020).

341 **4.2 Assessment of the Apparent Situation**

342 The practice of provisioning has complex consequences for both macaque behavior and the broader dynamics of
343 human–primate interaction. While food handouts can, under certain circumstances, strengthen human–animal
344 relations, they also drive greater ecological and social stress in shared landscapes. Prolonged provisioning elevates
345 macaque presence in human-dominated areas, increases aggressive interactions within and between species, and
346 ultimately amplifies the likelihood and severity of conflict (Peng, 2008). Despite these risks, most residents
347 continue to see provisioning as either benign or culturally sanctioned, a perspective underscored by widespread
348 community resistance to penalties for feeding, a pattern consistent with observations from other regions (Sengupta
349 & Radhakrishna, 2020).

350 Negative human–macaque interactions remain a central concern: 90 percent of respondents viewed such
351 encounters as very or moderately severe. The main factors attracting macaques into residential zones were poorly
352 managed garbage dumps (47 percent) and the lack of accessible natural food and water resources (30.4 percent).
353 This trend is reinforced by similar findings from other studies, where unmanaged waste sites attract macaque
354 groups and foster proximity to people and conflict-prone spaces (Rai & Rai, 2024; Pemasasa, 2022). The scarcity
355 of natural resources further compels macaques to depend on human foods, escalating competition and
356 complicating efforts at peaceful coexistence.

357 **4.3 Evaluation of Previous Attempts to Address Conflicts**

358 Effective management of human–rhesus macaque conflict necessitates close coordination among stakeholders,
359 including the Forest Department, local authorities, NGOs, researchers, and community representatives.
360 Historically, interventions have ranged from translocation of macaques to continued food provisioning within

361 sanctuary limits (Delhi Forest Department, 2014; Radhakrishna & Sinha, 2010). However, these steps have not
362 succeeded in reducing conflict frequency or improving community satisfaction, as shown by persistent feelings
363 of frustration and disillusionment along the sanctuary's edge.

364 A particularly striking finding from our study was the severe lack of local awareness regarding conflict
365 management efforts: 91.5 percent of respondents reported no knowledge of official actions, and 86 percent could
366 not name any wildlife helpline or reporting resource (Ilham et al., 2023). Such widespread unawareness points to
367 a serious gap in institutional outreach and community engagement, which in turn erodes trust and thwarts
368 collaborative approaches for conflict mitigation. Comparable patterns have been documented in other settings,
369 where high-profile interventions are rarely followed by ongoing communication or support, leaving communities
370 ill-informed and marginalized from management processes (Stevens et al., 2024).

371 Furthermore, our study did not uncover evidence of sustained or systematic efforts, such as public awareness
372 campaigns or actionable follow-up plans, by the Forest Department since the initial, large-scale macaque
373 translocation. This absence of ongoing outreach and dialog likely compounds the persistence and escalation of
374 underlying and deep-rooted conflict dynamics along the urban–sanctuary boundary.

375 **4.4 Perceptions about Authorities and Third Parties Involved**

376 Gaps in communication and management visibility have contributed to consistently negative community
377 perceptions of government authorities involved in macaque conflict mitigation. Our findings show that 88.6
378 percent of respondents reported either no response or very delayed response from the department during conflict
379 situations. Similar patterns have been documented by Ganguly and Chauhan (2019) and Solomon (2013), who
380 highlighted disconnects between communities and wildlife management authorities, with responsiveness often
381 influenced by the community's informal or encroached status. In this study, 46.5 percent of residents attributed
382 the department's lack of timely response to the unofficial status of their settlement, a pattern consistent with
383 Solomon (2013).

384 Additional negative perceptions were linked to beliefs that the department is unwilling or lacks motivation to
385 address conflict (26.5 percent of respondents), indicating broader institutional challenges. For a minority (15
386 percent), uncertainty about whether rhesus macaques are officially classified as “wild” contributed to ambiguity
387 and further eroded trust in authorities' engagement and accountability.

388 **4.5 Willingness to Engage in Conflict Resolution Efforts**

389 Community willingness to participate in conflict mitigation efforts is strongly influenced by perceptions of
390 departmental responsiveness and broader attitudes toward macaques. Senthilkumar et al. (2024) observe that
391 effective and timely government actions are critical for building public trust; conversely, delayed or inadequate
392 responses foster beliefs that conflicts will worsen and become more difficult to resolve. Consistent with this, our
393 study finds that 76 percent of respondents expect future escalation of human–macaque conflict, especially those
394 perceiving poor departmental response, holding negative attitudes toward macaques, or belonging to older age
395 groups (56–65 years).

396 Research underscores that perceptions of fairness, effectiveness, and responsiveness in management directly shape
397 conservation attitudes and willingness to collaborate (Madden & McQuinn, 2014; Pebsworth et al., 2021).
398 Negative and distrustful views reduce tolerance and hinder support for nonlethal or participatory strategies. Global
399 perspectives emphasize community involvement and adaptive management as essential elements for successful
400 conflict mitigation (Madden, 2004).

401 Reflecting this, 62.5 percent of respondents expressed unwillingness to engage in community-led mitigation
402 programs. Primary reasons for non-participation included shifting responsibility to the forest department (15
403 percent), doubts about local participation efficacy due to limited habitat for macaques (28.5 percent), and lack of
404 confidence in managing authorities (25 percent). Conversely, respondents willing to participate often cited
405 communal responsibility, though practical limitations such as time constraints posed barriers.

406 These diverse perspectives emphasize the necessity for inclusive and context-sensitive management strategies.
407 Building trust between communities and authorities, clarifying program goals, and addressing logistical
408 constraints are critical to enhance participation and cooperation (Dickman, 2010). Ultimately, grasping the factors
409 driving both willingness and reluctance is essential for crafting sustainable, community-driven conflict resolution
410 efforts.

411 **4.6 Existing Level of Conflict**

412 Our findings indicate that perceptions of inadequate departmental response, deepening distrust, and limited
413 community involvement, alongside widespread expectations of worsening conflict, emphasize the importance of
414 assessing not only the presence but also the depth of tensions between people and rhesus macaques. Using
415 composite indices to categorize conflicts into three levels, we found that most cases in the study area corresponded
416 to Level 2, the 'Underlying conflict' category (OCI = 1.632).

417 This underlying level is defined by visible disputes that arise from a legacy of repeated, unresolved incidents.
418 Such a history creates escalating frustration and entrenched divisions, as what managers may see as “resolved”
419 disputes often remain lasting sources of resentment for affected residents (Zimmermann et al., 2020; Madden &
420 McQuinn, 2014). The persistence of this divide represents a classic “them versus us” dynamic, which further
421 complicates effective intervention.

422 For example, Govindrajan (2019) described a comparable situation in Uttarakhand, where relocation of macaques
423 from urban to rural areas, intended as a solution, instead triggered new conflict and community backlash. These
424 patterns underscore the essential need for collaborative conflict resolution that addresses historic grievances and
425 actively incorporates local voices (IUCN SSC, 2018; IUCN, 2023).

426 **4.6.1 Addressing Underlying Conflicts (Level 2)**

427 Resolving Level 2 conflicts requires more than just technical or practical fixes; it demands strategies that
428 acknowledge the historical baggage of disputes and proactively identify common ground. Conflict resolution
429 should involve reframing issues, discussing past grievances, and explicitly recognizing the relevant social context
430 (Zimmermann, 2014; Zimmermann et al., 2020).

431 Effective negotiation skills and stakeholder relationship-building are vital to moving beyond partial or conditional
432 alignments of interest. Prioritizing shared goals, like community safety, access to resources, or conservation
433 objectives, can support stronger collaboration (Kumar & Sethi, 2005). Experiences from Japan and other settings
434 suggest that community-based approaches, rather than top-down mandates, are more effective at aligning
435 management with local perceptions and needs (Suzuki & Muroyama, 2010; Hockings & Humley, 2009; Anand &
436 Radhakrishna, 2020). Meaningful community engagement in decision-making, acknowledgment of historical
437 grievances, and adaptation of solutions to the specific social context are critical steps to build trust and facilitate
438 long-term coexistence.

439 **4.7 Conclusion: The Need for Long-Term, Community-Centered Solutions**

440 A nuanced understanding of conflict levels, ranging from surface disputes to deeply rooted divides, enables a
441 deeper diagnosis of the dynamics driving human–macaque tensions. By exploring perceptions, management
442 histories, and socioeconomic factors, this study underscores the importance of community-centered approaches.
443 True progress requires the involvement of local voices, historical reconciliation, and culturally sensitive solutions
444 to move beyond recurring disputes.

445 This research is not without limitations. Conducted within a single geographic region, the findings may not be
446 universally generalizable. Self-reported data introduce potential biases, the cross-sectional design limits temporal
447 insights, and the absence of direct behavioral observation means that some conflict dynamics may remain hidden.
448 Future studies should expand geographic scope, incorporate longitudinal and observational methods, and integrate
449 community-based participatory frameworks to strengthen both analysis and recommendations.

450 Addressing these conflicts calls for a deliberate shift from short-term fixes to sustained, inclusive efforts. Building
451 trust, improving communication, and targeting root causes, rather than symptoms, are essential to achieving
452 durable solutions. By equitably balancing the needs and priorities of both wildlife and local communities, this
453 work offers a practical pathway for more holistic management of human–wildlife conflicts and points toward
454 policy innovations suited to India’s rapidly changing urban–wildlife interface.

455 **Acknowledgments:**

456 We are highly thankful to the staff and officials of the Delhi Forest Department for all the ground assistance.

457 **Declaration of Interest Statement:**

458 The authors declare no competing interests.

459 **Data Availability Statement:**

460 The data supporting this study are not publicly available due to confidentiality agreements with participants and
461 restrictions imposed by the funding institution. However, access to the dataset can be granted upon request to
462 the corresponding author or via the Wildlife Institute of India’s data repository, subject to approval.

463 **Funding Statement:**

464 We are highly thankful to the Delhi Forest Department for funding this research.

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