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FERAL URBAN WILD BOARS: MANAGING SPACES OF CONFLICT WITH CARE AND ATTENTION

Abstract: The article provides an insight into the status of urban wild boars and their relationship with human neighbours, focusing on the spaces of conflict. The population of wild boars in Gdynia, Poland, serves as the point of departure for the study, which employs interviews with the local community, observations and discourse analysis of the local news portals. The article uses Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing's concept of ferality as the framework for looking at the transformations undergone by the wild boars in the process of becoming city dwellers and considers Donna Haraway's making kin as the possibility of multispecies "getting on well". Demonstrating the impossibility of simple solutions, the text further looks at the problematic notion of management, to propose a rethinking of the concept through care and attention as a possible path to conviviality.

Keywords: wild boars, feral, urban boars, feral urban boars, nonhuman citizens

I. A short story of wild boars in Gdynia

Orłowo is a peaceful neighbourhood in Gdynia, Poland, on the coast of the Gdańsk Bay in an area very rich in woodland. Rows of detached houses with gardens go right up to a strip of thick forest, beyond which is the Bay. The forest is a nature reserve, full of various forms of life. Steep hills and deep ravines are covered in thick deciduous woodland. For years it has been a wild boar haven. My grandparents used to live there, and I remember how in the nineties whole boar sounders (boar groups) would block the narrow streets of the neighbourhood. They were not afraid of cars or people, so sometimes it would just be quicker to go the other way. Back then it was a bit of a novelty, some people would even feed the boars vegetable peels and apples, although others said it would only encourage them to try and get into the gardens. You knew not to approach a sow with small piglets and to stop dogs from getting near them. The boars would normally never attack people, unless threatened. They

seemed particularly keen on getting into people's trash, so unless you were willing to keep your bin in your garden all the time, you had to protect it somehow. People tried to stop the raids from happening, and the neighbourhood wore signs of their ingenuity – they would chain their bins, or build little sheds especially for them. But the ingenuity was not limited to the humans; and so, having your trash spread over the street and the sidewalk, halfway down your neighbour's house, was not uncommon. Sometimes the wild boars would find an open gate, or just break the chained plastic bins into pieces, regardless of the protective measures. Today, the bins are provided by the municipality and are too big for the chains, so they need to be kept inside the fence right until the moment the waste collectors come. My cousin, who lives there now, tells me the boars have apparently learnt that the trash is collected on Tuesdays, so they come out Monday night, looking for bins taken out the previous evening by those who do not want to get up at the crack of dawn. Even a fence does not provide secure protection, unless it is very sturdy, because the boars can find the week spots. Especially if there are apples lying on the ground in the garden. It motivates people to pick them up as they fall. Garden composts have also been targeted. The local community, for most part, has grown accustomed to the situation and learnt how to live together with the wild boars. However, as any large predators have been eradicated from this area a long time ago, with the abundance of food and milder winters of the recent decades, the boars became more and more numerous. Until recently, if the population grew too large (per the local government's assessment), the boars would be caught and transported to forests further away from the city. However, since the recent African Swine Fever (ASF) outbreaks among domestic pigs and wild boars in Europe, these relocations have been banned and boar-human encounters became more and more common, causing an increase in the number of conflicts.

II. Introduction: A global local issue

In this article, which introduces a larger study, I want to look at the human-wild boar urban cohabitation, particularly from the perspective of the spaces of conflict that arise from human-nonhuman interaction, and methods of addressing those conflicts, without necessarily aiming at erasing them entirely. This situated analysis (in Haraway's understanding of the term, Haraway, 1988) departs from Gdynia and is placed within the broader Polish cultural and socio-political context. However, learning from the experience of feminist theories in bridging situated knowledges and attempts at creating some forms of universalities (Tsing, 2005) and drawing from the tools provided by Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing and Donna Haraway, the results of the study carry insights reaching beyond Poland and beyond the case of wild boars, providing a peek into the precarity of cohabitation and complexity of becoming with "others". The study looks at Gdynia's wild boar population, combining three different perspectives, or narratives: personal observation, news reports analysis, and interviews with the

local community, in an attempt to achieve a possibly complicated image, which at the same time remains firmly situated and affective. There is a growing number of journalistic articles dedicated to the issue of city boars, in local, national, as well as internationally reaching media, further suggesting that this has become an important subject. However, for this article, I will focus on the local news reports from the last five years, during which time several important changes happened, with the rapid population growth, the outbreak of the African Swine Fever and resulting bans on boar relocation and orders to cull populations.

Gdynia

I begin in Gdynia because I have known the Orłowo boars for many years and because it provides an interesting place to start this investigation. It is a port city of about 250 thousand people and is part of the Tricity metropolitan area (Gdańsk, Sopot, Gdynia) of about 750 thousand people. The Tricity urban area is wedged between thick woodland and the Gdańsk Bay, which means nonhuman encounters are very common. There are various sea birds, including gulls and terns, but also typical woodland birds, like tits and woodpeckers, some foxes, badgers, martens, and other critters. Gdańsk and Sopot are old settlements, but until the early XX century Gdynia was just a fishing village. The city was built around the newly stablished port and granted city rights in 1926. Gdynia is a lively place, popular with tourists, but at the same time very relaxed and considered one of the best Polish cities to live in. The Tricity area is known for its active civil society, with a large number of grassroots initiatives relative to its size, many of which address ecology, particularly the local marine ecosystems.

Wild boars

Wild boars offer an interesting case for the study of the troubled relationships between humans and nonhumans in the urban landscape. Much larger and more formidable than most wild animals regularly found in European cities, they occupy one of the extremes of the range of nonhuman citizens. Not unlike rats or pigeons, wild boars can attract strong affective responses from people who come into contact with them. Their intelligence, curiosity, resourcefulness and quirky appearance win many hearts, but at the same time make them the "perfect pest": dirty, unruly, pesky, even dangerous. The growing numbers of urban boars are not only characteristic of Gdynia – other cities, including Kraków, Berlin, Barcelona, Hong Kong, and Rome are being increasingly populated by wild boars. Local press report about alarming incidents – women and children chased by boars, people getting bitten and afraid to leave their homes. These incidents, clashes, and conflicts happen when the boars encroach onto the "human" domain of the city. Less and less scared of people, attracted by the

abundance of food in the urban environment, the wild swine are becoming permanent residents. For most part, they hide in the suburban forests, coming in and out of the city using green corridors, like train tracks, riverside bushes, or parks. Sometimes they venture right into the city centres. They are known to disrupt the urban order by digging up lawns, trampling fences and flowers, destroying trash bins and spreading their contents down the sidewalk. They also disrupt traffic, either by blocking it or getting into collisions with cars. As the human citizens complain about the presence of boars, city authorities attempt to "get rid of the nuisance", or "reduce the threat", using a range of methods. These vary from chemical deterrents, physical barriers, live catching and transfer to the forest, through killing those animals that cause problems, to indiscriminate killing of entire populations. Depending on the place and time, each of these methods receives a different amount of support from the local communities. It seems the presence of wild boars' otherness can render human spaces unfamiliar, they become no longer "safe", no longer "ours". That is when some humans want them out – when they begin to transform the space around us and them, through living, feeding and breeding in it. They could remain a quaint background feature of the landscape, but self-determination and independent decision-making with regard to the city décor will often be met with resistance of their human neighbours.

Behind these stories lie more fundamental questions. Who are cities for? Can boars be accepted by humans as urban fauna? What are the attitudes towards wild boars? What forms of cohabitation are possible? What does the treatment of nonhuman others tell us about the human citizens? How do humans and wild boars negotiate space? Can this relationship be sustainable? By this I do not mean a relationship that is devoid of conflict – after all, as Haraway instructs, let us "stay with the trouble" – but can it remain flexible enough to recuperate after a crisis? The last question is inspired by Anna Tsing reclaiming and proposing a new take on the word sustainability (Tsing, 2017, p. 51); although here it employs a slightly broader understanding of the term, to go beyond livability and also encompass relationships, and "getting on well" (Haraway, 2016).

III. Feral urban wild boars

Wild boars and domestic pigs are taxonomically the same species, *Sus scrofa*, though they are divided into a number of separate sub-species. When domestic pigs escape into the wild, within a few generations they will grow thick coarse fur and look very similar to wild boars, although some differences will remain, as they have been bred selectively for hundreds of years to have more muscles (meat) and fat on them. Most European wild boars are not escaped pigs, but in other parts of the world, like the USA and Australia, wild pigs come from domestic pigs.

Wild boars are native to Eurasia and North Africa (Powell, 2003). Humans domesticated swine very early on and European colonialists took them with them wher-

ever they went, where they quickly either were purposefully released or they escaped, contributing to the more-than-human colonisation of these places. Highly adaptable, intelligent and fast to breed, they succeeded almost everywhere they went; now they can be found on all the continents apart from Antarctica and many islands (Powell, 2003). In large parts of Europe, wild boar populations were decimated by humans, through hunting and loss of habitat (Veličković et al., 2016). They survived in what we can call, after Tsing, patches of more-than-human livability. Wild boars are very adaptable and can reproduce quickly – their resurgence together with entire multispecies assemblages, to carry on within Tsing's conceptual cosmos (Tsing, 2017), was a success. However, in some spaces, thanks to the species' fecundity, resurgence turned into proliferation. Tsing uses these two terms to describe very different phenomena. While resurgence is a return of previously damaged multispecies assemblages (like a forest regrowing after a fire), proliferation is a threat to multispecies life (Tsing, 2017). Today, wild boars can be found almost everywhere in Europe, their populations growing rapidly, perhaps with the exception of Great Britain and Ireland, which only have small and isolated populations (Tack, 2018). Many wild boar populations live in areas where forests neighbour farmed land, like fields of corn, as this allows them to supplement their diets and be less dependent on seasonal variation. This is, studies suggest (Tack, 2018; Fruziński, Łabudzki, 2002), the reason why the populations are growing so fast – before, their sizes were limited during long harsh winters, when many animals would die of starvation, or through predation by wolves. With almost no wolves left, wide access to farmed fields, and milder winters caused by climate change, more of them are able to survive.

Because of these entanglements in human histories and infrastructures, although the boars are wild, they are not entirely "natural", as they have been changed and transformed by living in close proximity to humans. They are what Tsing calls feral (Tsing, 2018; Tsing, Mathews, Bubandt, 2019). Wild boars were displaced from their "original" environment by human technologies of expansion. They adapted, gained new abilities and now they create new histories, ones they would not have created had they not become entangled with these technologies. Outside of human control, they participate in the making of the more-than-human Anthropocene. In many places the species is considered highly invasive and a threat to native ecosystems (particularly beyond their original range, but not only, see e.g. Rosvold, Andersen, 2008). Boars living close to humans are therefore feral – even the shape of their social structures is changed because of the hunting pressure, as they adapted their usually closely related matriarchal social units to include unrelated individuals, survivors of the hunts (Scandura, 2009). Because of the intensive hunting, most boars do not live to be more than a couple of years old, even though their lifespan in the wild can reach over ten years (Jezierski, 1977; Toïgo et al., 2008). This begs the question about what influence does this entanglement have on boar cultures, if there are very few fully mature individuals

within the social units? After all, pigs have recently been recorded using tools[1] – an anthropocentric criterium indeed, but as studies on other species suggest, there is a strong cultural element to the passing on of such expertise (Vale et al., 2017).

The histories of wild boars resonate with Donna Haraway's story of feral pigeons, although she uses the word feral in a more straightforward manner than Tsing.

> Everywhere they have gone, these cosmopolitical pigeons occupy cities with gusto, where they incite human love and hatred in extravagant measure. Called "rats with wings", feral pigeons are subjects of vituperation and extermination, but they also become cherished opportunistic companions who are fed and watched avidly all over the world. Domestic rock doves have worked as spies carrying messages, racing birds, fancy pigeons at fairs and bird markets, food for working families, psychological test subjects, Darwin's interlocutors on the power of artificial selection, and more. (…) Pigeons are competent agents – in the double sense of both delegates and actors – who render each other and human beings capable of situated social, ecological, behavioral, and cognitive practices. (Haraway, 2016, pp. 15–16)

Haraway points out the similarities between humans and pigeons and suggests that in navigating similarity and difference, there may be a chance of learning to "get on well" with each other (Haraway, 2016). Interestingly, as mentioned in the earlier part of the text, swine in general are similar to humans in many respects, they are omnivorous, highly intelligent and adaptable (Powell, 2003), they create adaptable social structures (Scandura, 2009). Haraway is interested in the potential of making kin, which closely resonates with Tsing's multispecies alliances. Can boars and humans be allies?

IV. Boar life

Boars in the countryside

In order to understand the status of wild boars in the city of Gdynia, it is important to look at the broader context. Wild boars occupy an ambivalent position in the Polish cultural imaginary. Historically considered smart, formidable animals, recently their position has shifted significantly. They even became one of the symbols of the political divisions of Polish society and politics. Outside the city, wild boars are not safe from conflicts with people – they cause significant losses to agricultural crops, and road accidents. Because of that, particularly the crop losses, they are often considered pests and intensively hunted. In Poland, wild boars are in the least protected category of wild animals, which means there are no seasonal or other protections on them and pregnant sows and piglets too can be shot. They are therefore the most popular big game in Poland, with between 185,000 and 342,000 killed annually in the recent

[1] https://www.nationalgeographic.com/animals/2019/10/first-tool-use-pigs-visayan-endangered/ (accessed: 10.11.2019).

years.[2] Hunting is a highly contested topic in Poland. Hunting organisations have strong links to the current conservative government, the Catholic Church, and some branches of business, but many people oppose hunting, and there has been a number of public displays of this opposition (see e.g. Szczygielska, 2018). The role of hunting in Polish traditional culture is also contested. Hunting organisations claim that hunting traditions are deeply rooted in Polish history, and even linked to traditional family values (only very recently children were banned from participating in hunts); but there is a counter-narrative, claiming that although people have been shooting to animals in Poland for centuries, the cultural meaning and prestige of hunting changed several times over time, and the current tradition, based on the cult of Saint Hubertus, with its close links to religion and high social status, did not start until the late XX century (Konczal, 2013).

Conflict and ASF

Wild boars are also entangled in the global outbreak of African Swine Fever (ASF), which is a highly contagious disease caused by a virus that attacks domestic pigs and wild boars alike. In Poland, the boars have been in the centre of a heated conflict over the methods of fighting with the recent spread of ASF. The conflict, which bears close resemblance to others like it that happened in Poland in the last fifteen years (e.g. about the Rospuda Valley and the Białowieża Forest), fell upon entrenched divisions in the society. The government and a large number of farmers and hunters argued that in order to stop the threat that ASF poses to domestic pigs (or, rather, the pork industry), mass culling (that is, killing – I will talk more about the language of animal death further on) of the wild boars was necessary in order to radically limit its population in large parts of the country and thus create an ASF-free buffer zone between the disease hotspots and areas free of the virus. On the other side of the conflict, ecologists, scientists and many citizens opposed this strategy. An open letter[3] was published, signed by over a thousand scientists, arguing that the effect would be opposite to intended, that during the hunts and afterwards transporting the carcasses of the killed wild boars, the blood and remains would splatter on the ground, get on the vehicles and people's clothes and hands, helping the disease spread (as the virus can remain viable for a long time[4]), pointing out that in the years of the most intense hunts, the number of infections rose rapidly. Instead, those opposed to "population reduction" argue that stopping the spread of ASF to farm pigs should be done through increasing biosecurity measures by farmers who work with pigs, by washing hands

[2] Statistical Yearbook of Forestry / Rocznik Statystyczny Leśnictwa GUS, Warszawa 2018.

[3] The letter can be found here: https://naukadlaprzyrody.pl/2019/01/09/list-otwarty-srodowiska-naukowego-w-sprawie-redukcji-populacji-dzikow/ (accessed: 10.11.2019).

[4] See the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) agency of the United Nations: http://www.fao.org/ag/againfo/programmes/en/empres/Gemp/cont-plan/cp-asf/asf1242-virus.htm.

and sterilising clothes, equipment and vehicles. As in the case of the Białowieża Forest and the Rospuda Valley, many Polish citizens took to the streets in an attempt to influence the government to stop the killings,[5] and social media again became an important outlet for both sides to express their views.

Because boars do not recognise state borders, the government fears that even when the Polish populations are wiped out, boars can come from countries to our east; in order to stop the spread of ASF a plan was made to build fences along the eastern border of Poland. This plan was not realised, although such fences have already been built between Denmark and Germany and there are plans of more. This is a familiar narrative, of building walls and fences in order to protect the native from the foreign, one we hear very often with regard to human migrants and refugees. Language plays an important part in creating this narrative, as in the case of human migrants. Those who want to build walls de-humanise migrants, for example by calling them cockroaches or rats. When reading about the fight with the ASF, boars are not killed, they are "reduced", "culled". It is informative to look at the language being used when describing these phenomena, as it establishes the narrative and controls the effect on the reader. Language used to describe killing animals has been studied many times. As Schopenhauer pointed out, in some languages, including German, the words describing various acts of life, including death, are different for humans and for animals, in order to conceal the fact of their similarity (Schopenhauer, 1995 [1840]). Reading some of the articles I came across when doing research for this paper, it is sometimes difficult to make out which animals get killed and which are just tranquilised and transported to a different location. It is the language of management, almost of cleaning, distanced and sterile. There is of course a very simple purpose for using this language – many people do not want to hear about 350,000 killed boars.[6] There is something viscerally disturbing in the mental image this creates (the same of course applies to farm animals). Even many active hunters oppose to what they see as a massacre of a (nonhuman) population (see article marked as "i"). Can this reaction be a sign that some affective relationship, some kinship already exists?

Stories of boar terror

In order to answer the questions posed in this early stage of the study, get a more complex picture of the human-boar relationship in Gdynia, and situate the narrative, I combine observations, unstructured interviews with four members of the local community, and analysis of 9 articles from online local news portals from the years 2014–2019 (the list of articles and letters, a–i, assigned to them is as the end of the text). This timeframe was chosen to capture any potential changes in narrative re-

[5] https://oko.press/polacy-solidarni-z-dzikami-mapa-protestow/ (accessed: 7.11.2019).

[6] Although, it should be pointed out, that at the time of mass protests the quota was 185,000 (2018/2019), down from 341,000 the year before (2017/2018), when the protests were significantly less active.

garding the emergence of ASF in 2015. I chose these sources for this stage of the study as they offer a fairly broad and diverse overview of the field at hand, providing starting points for more directed research in the next stages.

In one of the interviews, I was told by a person who had lived in Orłowo for over forty years, that, and this is aligned with my own knowledge, wild boars began regularly coming to Orłowo in the nineties. At first a bit of a novelty, they became part of the neighbourhood's tissue. Some people would feed them, others would campaign to stop the feeding and discourage them from coming, but most people just got used to their presence. Most households have boar stories to tell: about a dug up lawn, or a ransacked trash bin. The boars would also ruin the city lawns and make a mess of the local playgrounds. But for most part, for years their presence was accepted as part of living close to the forest, with an occasional incident.

When we look at a news report from 2014 (a), it states that Gdynia has a "problem" with wild boars and informs about a 40% increase in the wild boar population (although unclear over what period) and intensified efforts on the side of the local government, including new boar-catching equipment and a launch of an information campaign *Even if you love – don't feed the boars!* Humans and boars in the area generally give each other space and conflicts usually only arise when the unwritten rules are broken – if a dog chases a group of boars and they defend themselves, or if they make a particularly big mess of the city's newly planted flowers. Of course, this narrative is one-sided and I am not claiming the boars are aware of the terms of the peace. But, in this asymmetrical way, space was usually made for them to live and do their thing, even when people were not all too happy about it. As already mentioned, there are no predators in the area and parts of the surrounding woodland are closed to hunting, either because they are a nature reserve or because they are too close to the city, so this precarious balance of nonhuman presence is regularly threatened by the population exceeding a certain size. This is when the local government would organise for the boars to be caught and transported away from the city. Interestingly, apart from the article from 2014 (a), which mentions that wild boars can carry diseases that can be transferred onto humans and dogs, this trope did not appear again, although boars can, in fact, be carriers of zoonotic diseases (Meng et al., 2009). This is different from the coverage from Barcelona, where boars potentially giving people hepatitis, tuberculosis and other diseases are some of the dominant worries pertaining to the local wild boar situation. The two articles from 2015 (b, c) already tell a story of an intensifying invasion, of a wild boar following a woman with a small child in a stroller, a devastation of public trash bins, lawns and a disruption on the city's ring road when a group of boars found a hole in the fence. Both articles include interviews with the local officials; one of them indicates problems with correctly establishing the size of the population, as already at that point more than twice more boars had been caught and transported out of the area than their total estimated number (b). The same issue returns in an article from 2018 (d). The articles also mention insufficient funding and organisational problems arising from unclear division of responsibilities

between the agencies (d, e). Two of the articles also mention that some of the traps used to catch boars were purposefully damaged by unknown perpetrators (b, d). It is uncertain whether or not it was done by people opposed to the relocation program, although the method would suggest so. People I spoke to believe the boars transported to the forest usually came back anyway. They said they could recognise some of the individuals. For them, this is not an anonymous mass of wild boars, these are "their boars". This regular population growth and transports established the rhythm until 2018, when because of the spread of ASF a ban was introduced on transporting wild boars. One news report from 2018 informs about the local government issuing permits for the trouble-causing boars to be shot (d). In the same report we read "a year ago the officials did not even want to hear about shooting to the boars in the city, claiming that they could manage the invasion using more delicate methods. As has become apparent, these do not work. The boars are doing what they want. The locals are afraid of them, and the losses in damaged city greenery and dug-up lawns go into tens of thousands of zlotys. A week does not go by without Gdynians intervening at our editorial office about dangerous animals near their homes" (d, transl. A.K.). One portal reports a hesitant shift in the attitudes of the locals towards killing the boars in areas visited by particularly fearless animals (e); but, interestingly, it does not mention the actual shooting that was happening at the time. Several articles conclude many people are still decidedly against the killing (d, g, e, j). Nevertheless, some 200 animals were killed in 2018 (d). The article that does talk about the shootings, contains an interview with a hunter licenced by the officials to "reduce the population", who said he and the other hunters refused to shoot to animals caught in the traps (d). The hunter also reportedly said they kept the killings quiet to avoid protests from the community. The winter of 2018/2019 was the time of mass protests across Poland against shooting wild boars as part of the nationwide campaign against the spread of ASF. Many people in the Tricity area joined the protests (i). In 2019, a report says that by July 40 boars were killed in Gdynia, although the officials claim these were only the problematic individuals or those injured in traffic accidents (g). It is interesting to notice the change from the 200 killed in the year before the time of the protests. It is uncertain if it was a result of public pressure, although likely, as it does not seem to be caused by the drop in population size. In an article from 2018 an interviewed city official claims another 700 boars should be "reduced" (d). In 2019 the tone of the articles is changed, there are no more stories of boar invasion, the portals focus on reporting about the locals worried about the shootings (f), one article mentions the officials coming up with new projects to use chemical deterrents, which are not harmful to humans or other animals, but boars dislike their smell (h). One of the people I spoke to told me this method had been used on one of the city lawns and it was successful in making the lawn unpalatable to the boars.

These accounts, visibly biased (but this was to be expected), paint a picture of a complicated entanglement of humans and nonhumans. One of the most significant results of the research I did at this stage of the project is that the trouble Haraway

writes about, is real trouble. This is not a story I was expecting, of hard-line anthropocentrists who just will not accept their nonhuman neighbours vs. the human-nonhuman boar alliance. People, boars, and dogs get seriously hurt, plants are uprooted, city infrastructure and various things get damaged. And yet, most humans prefer to seek solutions that allow the boars to live. Maybe this is because they are somehow relatable through their similarities to humans, and can be thought of as cute – they may be an example of "charismatic species" (Lorimer, 2015) – whatever the reason, by the looks of it, a complicated alliance (Tsing, 2017) has been drafted. The results of research conducted so far for this study seem to suggest that, indeed, some humans are making kin with boars. But at the same time they show the realities of the alliance in its current shape – that unless the issue becomes publicised, not many will inquire about the details of how their city's boar population is managed. The trope I was expecting to find, of the boars being dirty and disease-ridden, was not in fact present in the analysed reports, or brought up by people I interviewed. The reports do, however, confirm my initial assumptions that the city unravels and ceases to function properly when the nonhuman presence reaches a certain level – then the humans no longer feel safe and at home. But it seems that a balance can be reached – that there is a certain level of boar disturbance people are willing to live with, that the exercise in life containing conflict and opposing interests somehow keeps going. Feral urban wild boars learn quickly, perhaps we can learn together. And this truly is staying with the trouble.

IV. Care and attention

What can be, therefore, the way to maintaining and improving this precarious balance? As the results of observations seem to indicate, the base on which to build modes of cohabitation is there already, in the form of a certain level of kinship. However, this relationship requires constant upkeep – if boars were allowed free range of cities, this would just push interests of another group to the side, like children or endangered species whose unhatched eggs or young are eaten by boars (Ivey et al., 2019; USDA Report, 2016). Care is necessary, but some practices of care, without enough attention, can cause more harm than good. Back when the boars first started coming to Orłowo, one of the neighbours used to feed them boiled potatoes. This annoyed other neighbours, whose trash bin got regularly ransacked, and who blamed her for getting the boars used to coming to the neighbourhood. Some other people would feed the boars apples from their gardens (so the boars later started breaking into gardens to get the apples), but there were also people who, with good intentions, fed the boars processed food that made them sick. Apart from getting the wild boars in trouble with humans, feeding them the wrong things at the wrong time can also make them more dependent on food supplied by humans and potentially less capable of finding food on their own when they become adults. As pointed out by one of the

people I interviewed, some of these care practices might in fact be directed at feeling good about oneself rather than making the effort to learn about the needs of the other, in this case the boars. At the risk of sounding banal, both care and attention are needed here.

On the very small scale, like the Orłowo neighbourhood, practices of care and attention can go a very long way. But when we think about the whole city, particularly when building new cities or making changes in existing ones, structures are necessary. Cities are an exercise in negotiation – between pedestrians, drivers and cyclists, between children who want playgrounds and those who want a quiet neighbourhood, and between humans and nonhumans. These groups have different interests, different representation, and different bargaining power. Some groups have no representation and no bargaining power, and their interest is always secondary to that of others. Who is the city for? Is it for people? But all people, or only some, for example drivers, or young able-bodied adults? The urban nonhumans have largely been ignored, unless they carried aesthetic value and did not cause too much trouble. City management without care and attention can have damaging results. Most European cities were built a long time ago, before the time cars and boars needed to negotiate space, with much smaller populations and different social structures in mind. The cities grow and transform, and although urban planning is not a zero-sum game, some groups always get forgotten.

This is an issue of city management – a word with an ugly tradition and capitalist and colonial connections. Management implies a relation of power, where one is controlled by the other. Management is the go-to word when dealing with something unruly that needs to be subordinated. But, perhaps, the word can be reclaimed. Following the example of Tsing reclaiming sustainability, and instead of building a new language structure, let us re-think management with regard to a city. After all, to manage also means "to treat with care" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary), "to succeed in doing or dealing with something, especially something difficult" (Cambridge Dictionary). Treading carefully, so as not to validate the excesses of violence done in the name of management, perhaps we can create new ways of making cities more livable for all their inhabitants. And it should be pointed out that there is indeed a growing interest in the nonhuman presence in cities in urban planning, urban geography and other disciplines (see e.g. Hinchliffe et al., 2005; Hinchliffe, Whatmore, 2006; Franklin, 2017).

Co-habitation in cities?

Living in a city together with wild boars is a complex practice of negotiation. Boars are too large, too strong, and too resolute and resourceful to be unconditionally accepted as urban fauna. They don't suit the vision of a sterile and orderly city. However, to become less attractive for the boars, the cities would first need to indeed be sterile (in both meanings of the word) and orderly, with trash always neatly locked

away and hedges trimmed. Perhaps luckily, not all cities are like that, and in the unkempt parks, city woodland, and even the neighbourhood square, there remain spaces for the boars to be part of the city life as well. The sterile model of the city is unsustainable, and, frankly, I would not want to live in a city that does not have any unruly inhabitants. This cohabitation, perhaps a conviviality (Hinchliffe, Whatmore, 2006), often leading to conflict, which remains its inalienable element, is an exercise in negotiating space and resources, something we need not only in our relationships with nonhumans, but humans as well.

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