

1 Sustainable wildlife extraction and the impacts of socio-economic change among
2 the Kukama-Kukamilla people of the Pacaya-Samiria National Reserve, Peru.

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27 the Kukama-Kukamilla people of the Pacaya-Samiria National Reserve, Peru.

28

29 **Abstract**

30

31 Throughout the tropics, hunting and fishing are critical livelihood activities for many
32 Indigenous peoples. However, these practices may not be sustainable following
33 recent socio-economic changes in Indigenous populations. Aiming to understand
34 how human population growth and increased market integration affect hunting and
35 fishing patterns, we conducted semi-structured interviews in five Kukama-Kukamilla
36 communities living along the boundary of the Pacaya-Samiria National Reserve, in
37 the Peruvian Amazon. Extrapolated annual harvest rates of fish and game species by
38 these communities amounted to 1,740 t and 4,275 individuals (67 t), respectively. At
39 least 23 fish and 27 game species were harvested. We found a positive correlation
40 between village size and annual harvest rates of fish. Catch-per-unit-effort (CPUE)
41 analyses indicated local depletion of fish populations around larger, more
42 commercial communities. CPUE of fish was lower in more commercial communities
43 and fishermen from the largest village travelled farther into the reserve, where CPUE
44 was higher. CPUE of game species was negatively correlated with village size only
45 when measured as number of hunted individuals, and not as biomass. Larger, more
46 commercial communities targeted larger, economically-valuable species. This study
47 provides evidence that human population growth and market-driven hunting and
48 fishing pose a growing threat to wildlife and Indigenous livelihoods through
49 increased harvest rates and selective harvesting of vulnerable species.

50

51 *Keywords:* Sustainability; Hunting; Fishing; Protected area; Amazon.

52

53 **Introduction**

54

55 In tropical forests, hunting and fishing are crucial to the livelihoods of Indigenous
56 peoples as a source of protein and income (East et al., 2005). Unfortunately, a growing
57 number of studies suggest current harvests of a variety of species exceed sustainable
58 levels, causing widespread population declines and local extinctions (Abernethy et al.,
59 2013; Castello et al., 2014; Morcatty & Valsecchi, 2015; Parry & Peres, 2015). As a
60 result, the sustainability of hunting and fishing has become the subject of considerable
61 concern among ecologists, anthropologists, protected area managers and
62 conservationists alike. This has sparked a debate surrounding the presence of Indigenous
63 peoples in protected areas, between those who view them as a direct threat to
64 biodiversity and as conservation allies (da Silva et al., 2005; Ohl-Schacherer et al.,
65 2007). In-depth monitoring of hunting and fishing is a key prerequisite to promoting the
66 sustainable use of natural resources, avoiding extinctions of important species while
67 preserving the rights of Indigenous people to land, traditions, and culture.

68

69 The decreasing sustainability of hunting and fishing practices has been
70 attributed in part to the rapid growth in Indigenous populations and their integration
71 in the market economy. These trends have triggered powerful socio-economic
72 changes, leading to an increasing demand for wildlife products from both the rural
73 and urban populations and a growing economic incentive to hunt and fish
74 commercially (McSweeney & Jockisch, 2007; Ohl-Schacherer et al., 2007; Suarez et
75 al., 2009; Fa et al., 2015). Simultaneously, improved technologies and transportation

76 have enhanced the capacity of a growing number of hunters and fishermen to capture
77 prey, including in previously inaccessible areas (Wilkie et al., 2000; Godoy et al.,
78 2010; Foerster et al., 2012). However, empirical studies have revealed mixed and
79 even positive effects of socio-economic development on wildlife harvesting (Lu,
80 2007). For example, opportunities for permanent and well-paid jobs combined with a
81 preference among wealthier households for alternative protein sources like store-
82 purchased meat can lead to a reduction in wildlife harvesting (Wilkie & Godoy,
83 2001; Gray et al., 2015; Vasco & Sirén, 2016). Understanding the complex
84 interactions between socio-economic factors and extractive activities in a variety of
85 social, cultural, and natural contexts remains imperative, especially given the need to
86 alleviate poverty among Indigenous peoples.

87

88 In the Peruvian Amazon, hunting and fishing constitute integral components of
89 the Kukama-Kukamilla culture. This Indigenous group harvests a large variety of
90 natural resources from their surrounding areas that include the Pacaya-Samiria National
91 Reserve (PSNR). In the past, a strict protectionist system in this reserve provoked a
92 backlash of rampant poaching and over-exploitation by the local people (Bodmer et al.,
93 2008). In the late 1990s, a new reserve administration adopted a co-management
94 approach that permitted low levels of hunting and fishing. Since then, populations of
95 key species have been increasing in the reserve, including threatened species such as the
96 woolly monkey *Lagothrix* spp., lowland tapir *Tapirus terrestris* and paiche *Arapaima*
97 *gigas* (Bodmer & Puertas, 2007).

98

99 In this study, we aimed to explore how socio-economic factors influence the
100 hunting and fishing patterns of the Kukama-Kukamilla people. While most studies have

101 explored the impacts of socio-economic conditions between households, we explored
102 the impacts at the community level. Through the use of semi-structured interviews, we
103 tested the hypothesis that larger communities with greater access to the economic
104 market exert higher pressure on wildlife and target more commercially valuable species.
105 These communities are expected to be affected by higher levels of wildlife depletion,
106 with preferred species disappearing near villages, triggering shifts in harvested species
107 spectra. Our study provides important insights for conservation management into the
108 factors that underpin sustainable resource use, specifically the risk of human population
109 growth and market-driven hunting and fishing brought about by rural development.

110

111 **Study area**

112

113 Our study was carried out in the PSNR, which covers an area of 2,080,000 ha in
114 the Department of Loreto, in the north-eastern Peruvian Amazon. It is bordered
115 by two tributaries of the Amazon River, the Ucayali and Marañón rivers, and
116 encompasses the two major drainage basins of the Pacaya and Samiria rivers.
117 The reserve is characterised by massive hydrological fluctuations that occur
118 between the high-water (October to May) and low-water (June to September)
119 seasons (Kvist et al., 2001).

120

121 The majority of inhabitants are descendants of the Tupi-Guarani
122 speaking Kukama-Kukamilla people and more recent immigrants of Caucasian
123 and Indigenous origin (Gow, 2007). Their main livelihood activity is fishing,
124 which is most productive during the low-water season, when fish become
125 trapped in the shrinking water bodies. Nonetheless, migrations of fish feeding on

126 fallen fruit in the *várzeas* (white-water flooded forests) make some fisheries
127 productive during the high-water season (Kvist et al., 2001). The Kukama-
128 Kukamilla also engage in opportunistic hunting, primarily during the high-water
129 season, when the terrestrial fauna is concentrated on the non-inundated *restingas*
130 (levees) (Bodmer et al., 1998).

131

132 Approximately 100,000 people in over 200 communities are currently
133 living along the boundary of the PSNR (INRENA, 2009). We selected five
134 Kukama-Kukamilla villages located at the mouth of the Samiria River, which
135 were divided into two distinct areas: a) San Martín de Tipishca, Nuevo Arica and
136 Bolivar lie on the shores of the Tipishca Lake; and b) San José de Samiria and
137 Leoncio Prado are located along the Marañón River (Fig. 1). These villages
138 ranged from 40 to 120 households (Table 1), and differed in their exposure to the
139 market economy. The communities of the Marañón River supply produce to the
140 urban markets of Loreto by selling to freezer vessels or directly to market
141 vendors.

142

143 **Methods**

144

145 **Data collection**

146

147 We conducted 122 semi-structured interviews, which accounted for 34.9% of
148 households within the study area, between June-August 2013 (Table 1). The use
149 of semi-structured interviews was the preferred data collection method, as they
150 allow emphasis on specific topics depending on the interviewees' knowledge

151 and experience (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Recall bias was expected to be minimal,
152 as quantitative information asked was simple and activities are regular and
153 highly seasonal (Golden et al., 2013). Since all households were found to be
154 dependent on hunting and/or fishing, we adopted a convenience sampling
155 approach, selecting the most accessible households (Patton, 2002). We targeted
156 male heads of households for interviews, but in some cases interviewed women
157 instead, either because they too participated in hunting or fishing, or they had
158 acquired detailed information about harvests through cooking. We obtained prior
159 informed consent from participants before conducting interviews.

160

161 The social sensitivity of the topic being explored may have created some
162 bias in the data resulting from the under-representation of harvests. Where
163 possible, we used participant observation to verify interview responses. We
164 informed interviewees that no information gathered would be used against them
165 and that survey information would be anonymised.

166

167 Data analysis

168

169 We obtained household harvest rates of fish by asking fishermen to state the
170 total average biomass of fish caught per day, during high- and low-water seasons
171 separately. This was extrapolated to annual harvest rates by multiplying each
172 estimate of average daily yield for each season by 182.5 (6 months). A limitation
173 of using interviews to collect harvest data was that fishermen were unable to
174 state the quantity of each species harvested, because they measure the weight of
175 the entire catch. We therefore recorded the percentage of households that harvest

176 each species, using these data as proxies for relative harvest rates. We obtained
177 annual household harvest rates of game species by asking hunters to state the
178 average number of wild animals hunted per year for each species, as hunting is
179 less frequent than fishing. This was converted to biomass using body weight data
180 reported by Peres and Dolman (2000), Ohl-Schacherer et al. (2007), Cardoso et
181 al. (2012), and Mayor et al. (2015). We determined community-level harvest
182 rates of fish by multiplying average annual household harvest rates by the
183 number of households in each community, and in the case of game species, by
184 the percentage of households that engage in hunting.

185

186 We used these data to estimate catch-per-unit-effort (CPUE). The
187 assumption behind CPUE as an indicator of sustainability is that hunters and
188 fishermen must increase their efforts in areas with depleted populations to
189 achieve the required meat and fish return rates. A difference in CPUE is assumed
190 to reflect a difference in actual prey density or abundance (Rist et al., 2010). We
191 calculated CPUE of fish as Y/H and CPUE of game species as I/D and B/D ,
192 where Y is the total daily yield of fish harvested; H is the number of hours a day
193 fishermen leave their nets in the water (the most common method); I and B are
194 the total number of individuals and biomass of games species hunted annually,
195 respectively; and D is the number of days a year hunters are active. We averaged
196 across households to obtain community-level CPUE estimates.

197

198 We calculated the distance travelled on hunting and fishing trips using
199 reports of average time travelled. Based on information given by a local
200 informant, we estimated that 6 km were travelled in 1 hour in *peque peque*

201 (motorized canoe) and 4 km on foot. Since hunters limit their activities to within
202 2 km of the river, distance travelled was multiplied by four to obtain the size of
203 the total catchment area (Begazo & Bodmer, 1998). The corresponding
204 catchment area was drawn around the channels and lakes of the Samiria and
205 Marañón rivers and divided into zones of low, medium, and heavy exploitation,
206 using the maximum distances travelled by the top 25% and 50% percentiles as
207 the thresholds (Fig. 2). Given our project's social science dimension and use of
208 interviews, we determined that this measure of relative exploitation was
209 appropriate (Brodizio & Chowdhury, 2010; Hawken & Munch, 2012). We used
210 Welch's analysis of variance and the Kruskal-Wallis H test to compare distance
211 travelled on hunting and fishing trips between communities. The Pearson's rank
212 correlation coefficient allowed us to examine the relationship between CPUE
213 and distance travelled as an indication of local resource depletion (Fa et al. 2006;
214 Laurance et al. 2006).

215

216 We used multiple linear regressions to investigate the effects of socio-
217 economic variables on community-level harvest rates and CPUE. We included
218 village size as a continuous variable and market exposure as a categorical
219 variable in all models, using season as an additional categorical variable in the
220 analyses of fishing data. The response variables were log-transformed to account
221 for non-normal distributions. We estimated the significance of variables by
222 dropping them from the full model and using likelihood ratio tests to compare
223 nested models. We examined variations in the species compositions of harvests,
224 termed the 'harvest profile', using Principal Components Analysis (PCA).
225 Results were considered significant for $P < 0.05$. Statistical analyses were

226 undertaken in R version 3.3.1 (R Core Team, 2016).

227

228 **Results**

229

230 All households in the study area fished daily throughout the year. In 57% of
231 households, fishing was supplemented with hunting. 77% of hunters were active
232 less than 10 days a year, and only one hunted as often as 18 days a year. The
233 total biomass of wildlife harvested annually by the five communities was ~1,807
234 t (Table 1). The majority of fishermen (96%) reported travelling in *peque peque*
235 for no more than 6 hours, whereas 39% of hunters undertook trips of several
236 days, travelling over 6 hours to reach remote *restingas* inside the reserve. The
237 mean distance travelled by fishermen and hunters was 11.2 (± 4.1) km and 44.0
238 (± 11.1) km, respectively. The distance travelled on hunting trips did not differ
239 between communities ($H_{(4)} = 5.70$, $P = 0.22$), but fishermen from Nuevo Arica
240 and San Martín de Tipishca travelled farther than fishermen from other villages
241 (*Welch's* $F_{(4,29,67)} = 18.21$, $P < 0.001$). The combined hunting and fishing
242 catchment area for all communities covered ~576 km² (Fig. 2). There was a
243 positive correlation between the distance travelled into the reserve and CPUE of
244 fish during the low-water season (Pearson $r_{s(120)} = 0.22$, $P = 0.017$), but not the
245 high-water season (Pearson $r_{s(120)} = 0.17$, $P = 0.07$). No significant correlation
246 existed between distance travelled and CPUE of game species for number of
247 individuals (Pearson $r_{(69)} = 0.19$, $P = 0.88$) or biomass (Pearson $r_{s(69)} = 0.14$, $P =$
248 0.24).

249

250 The communities of the Samiria basin collectively harvested 1,740 t of

251 fish annually (96.3% of biomass extracted), comprising 23 fish species (Table
252 2). The most widely caught species was *Prochilodus nigricans*, a species of both
253 commercial and subsistence importance. There was substantial variation in
254 harvest profiles between communities (Fig. 3). In San José de Samiria and
255 Leoncio Prado, fishermen harvested a large proportion of small, commercial
256 species such as *Leporinus* spp., as well as larger species like *Hoplias*
257 *malabaricus*. In San José de Samiria, smaller, less economically valuable species
258 like *Oxydoras niger* and *Leiarius marmoratus* also made up a significant
259 proportion of their catch. The communities of the Tipishca Lake depended on
260 the most abundant species, including *Liposarcus pardalis*, *Pygocentrus* spp. and
261 *Serrasalmus* spp. We found evidence that the paiche, a species of conservation
262 concern, was also caught.

263
264 The reported total annual harvest of game species in the study area was
265 ~4,275 individuals, equating to ~67 t (3.7% of biomass extracted) and
266 comprising 27 species (Table 3). Mammals were the most frequently extracted
267 group, making up 55.8% of all hunted individuals and 74.0% of hunted biomass,
268 followed by birds (24.9%; 2.9%) and reptiles (19.3%; 23.1%). The most
269 frequently hunted species were the white-lipped peccary *Tayassu pecari*, paca
270 *Cuniculus paca* and brown agouti *Dasyprocta variegata*. The majority of
271 biomass harvested came from large-bodied animals, mainly the white-lipped
272 peccary, lowland tapir, and black caiman *Melanosuchus niger*. The Amazonian
273 manatee *Trichechus inunguis*, which is strictly protected, was hunted
274 occasionally. As with fish harvest, we found that game harvest profiles varied
275 substantially between communities (Fig. 4). In San José de Samiria and San

276 Martín de Tipishca, hunters harvested a larger proportion of large-bodied
277 species, such as the lowland tapir, the South American river turtle *Podocnemis*
278 *expansa* and the white-lipped peccary, whereas the other communities harvested
279 a larger proportion of small primates and wetland birds.

280

281 The multiple linear regressions revealed a significant positive
282 relationship between village size and annual harvest rates of fish (Table 4, Fig.
283 5). However, village size had no effect on CPUE of fish ($F = 0.96$, $P = 0.37$).
284 There was also no effect of market exposure on harvest rates of fish ($F = 4.60$, P
285 $= 0.08$), but commercial communities had a significantly lower CPUE of fish
286 (Table 4, Fig. 6). As expected, season had a significant effect on harvest rates
287 and CPUE of fish, both of which were higher in the low-water season (Table 4).
288 Neither market exposure nor village size had a significant effect on harvest rates
289 of game species (all $P > 0.47$), and there was no significant effect of market
290 exposure on CPUE of game species, both when measured as individuals ($F =$
291 0.39 , $P = 0.59$) and biomass ($F = 0.01$, $P = 0.94$). The linear models revealed a
292 negative effect of village size on CPUE of game species when measured as
293 individuals (size coefficient = -0.01 ± 0.003 , $t_{1,3} = -3.9$, $P = 0.03$, Fig. 7), but this
294 effect was not present when measured as biomass ($F = 1.73$, $P = 0.32$).

295

296 Discussion

297

298 Our study adds to the growing body of research that suggests that socio-
299 economic factors influence wildlife harvesting by Indigenous peoples (Smith &
300 Wishnie, 2000; Lu, 2007; Godoy et al., 2010). Specifically, the patterns of

301 hunting and fishing by the Kukama-Kukamilla people of the PSNR reveal the
302 potential threat of increased market integration and a rising human population.
303 The data presented in this study include a number of potential sources of
304 variation that we did not control for, including environmental variables such as
305 habitat quality, which may have limited the statistical power of the analyses.
306 Furthermore, the small sample size of only five communities means caution must
307 be taken when interpreting the results of the significance tests. However, since
308 data points represent aggregates of household-level data, they reflect many more
309 underlying observations, and we believe this allows us to make reliable
310 inferences.

311

312 We discovered evidence of resource depletion in more commercial
313 communities, reflected in a lower CPUE of fish. This could explain why harvest
314 rates were similar across communities. If over-fishing had decreased fish
315 populations, this would have reduced the profitability of fishing and perhaps
316 limited commercial fishing activity (Vasco & Sirén, 2016). Nevertheless, the net
317 pressure of commercial fishing on depleted resources is likely greater than the
318 pressure exerted by non-commercial communities on relatively un-depleted fish
319 stocks. In San José de Samiria and Leoncio Prado, fishermen targeted small,
320 economically valuable species, indicating possible over-exploitation of larger
321 species. This trend is observed in the nearby markets of Iquitos, where the sale
322 of cheaper, smaller and faster-growing species has risen since the 1980s, while
323 the sale of larger species has declined (Garcia et al., 2008; Atwood et al., 2015).
324 The large proportion of less economically valuable species in harvests from San
325 José de Samiria could reflect an increasing reliance on these species for

326 subsistence.

327

328 As expected, larger communities exerted greater pressure on fish
329 resources through increased harvest rates. We therefore expected to see similar
330 signs of resource depletion in these communities. Nonetheless, community size
331 had no significant effect on fish CPUE. However, fishermen from San Martín de
332 Tipischa, the largest village, together with those from Nuevo Arica, travelled
333 farther on fishing trips than those from neighbouring communities, and during
334 the low-water season CPUE was higher farther into the reserve. This is
335 consistent with the paradigm that Neotropical people are central-place foragers,
336 travelling greater distances in search of preferred prey species as wildlife
337 populations become locally depleted (Levi et al., 2009; 2011). Thus, fishing in
338 previously un-exploited sites inside the PSNR could be masking resource
339 depletion in the Tipishca Lake. Fishermen from San Martín de Tipishca also
340 harvested small, abundant fish species, which may be able to sustain the larger
341 human population.

342

343 The results of our study provided no clear evidence of a decline in game
344 populations in the PSNR. Although CPUE of individuals was lower in larger
345 communities, this likely reflects selective harvesting rather than resource depletion,
346 since CPUE of biomass was similar across communities (Mayor et al., 2015). As
347 observed in other communities in the Peruvian Amazon (Zapata-Ríos et al., 2009;
348 Sirén & Wilkie, 2016), in San José de Samiria and San Martín de Tipishca, hunters
349 harvested large-bodied prey species, including ungulates, large primates and reptiles.
350 Encounter rates of these species in the forest are relatively low due to naturally low

351 population densities (Peres & Lake, 2003; Espinosa et al., 2014), so hunters are
352 likely targeting them for their greater meat harvests. The strong presence of preferred
353 species in the harvest profiles of the Kukama-Kukamilla suggests that wild meat
354 harvests are currently supplied by a relatively un-depleted source. This could be
355 indicative of a source-sink dynamic, with immigration of game species from the un-
356 hunted core zone of the reserve sustaining harvests in the catchment area (Navaro et
357 al., 2000; Ohl-Schacherer et al., 2007).

358

359 Nevertheless, large-bodied game species are particularly vulnerable to over-
360 exploitation due to slow reproductive rates (Mayor et al., 2017). The continued
361 harvest of vulnerable species by the Kukama-Kukamilla people will likely cause
362 significant population declines in the PSNR and a shift in prey selection toward a
363 broader range of smaller, less-preferred species, following the general trend observed
364 throughout the Amazon (Naranjo & Bodmer, 2007; Peres & Palacios, 2007;
365 Constantino, 2016). The region has also been experiencing more extreme droughts
366 and seasonal flooding in recent decades, which could exacerbate the impacts of
367 unsustainable wildlife extraction by limiting resources for wildlife and causing direct
368 mortality of animals (Bodmer et al., 2017). The recent sharp decline in populations
369 of the white-lipped peccary throughout its range, for which non-anthropogenic
370 impacts are suspected, will put further pressure on alternative and more vulnerable
371 prey species (Fragoso, 2004; Richard-Hansen et al., 2013; Mayor et al., 2015).

372

373 Overall, our results indicate that the forests of the PSNR are able to
374 provide important food supplements for the Kukama-Kukamilla people.
375 However, hunting and fishing in some villages appears to be approaching critical

376 thresholds, threatening the natural capital of the reserve. Around the world, the
377 combination of human population growth and increased market integration of
378 Indigenous peoples is linked to a downward spiral of local species extinctions
379 and a diminishing supply of crucial protein and income. In this context, the
380 sustainable management of natural resources represents a crucial opportunity for
381 biodiversity conservation where protected areas and Indigenous territories
382 overlap (Zimmerman et al., 2001). Development professionals, protected area
383 managers, and conservationists need to help maintain low hunting and fishing
384 pressure by diversifying and enhancing existing livelihood strategies, thereby
385 reducing poverty in rural communities and conserving vulnerable species
386 (Bodmer & Lozano, 2001; Bassett, 2005; Gandiwa, 2011). Community-based
387 management is needed to monitor the impacts of socio-economic and climatic
388 change, and to ensure the long-term sustainable use of forest species, both inside
389 and outside protected areas.

390

391 **Author contributions**

392

393 REB and MK designed the data collection methods and REB provided logistical
394 support in the field. MK collected and analysed the data and wrote the first draft
395 of the manuscript. JCA, MK, CE, REB and PM edited the manuscript to produce
396 the final draft. AB produced the maps.

397

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399

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409

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610

611 **Biographical sketches**

612

613 Maire Kirkland conducts research into the sustainable use of natural resources.

614 Cristina Eisenberg works on food-web relationships, sustainable natural
615 resources use, and ecological restoration globally, with a focus on Indigenous
616 communities. Andy Bicerra, Richard E. Bodmer and Pedro Mayor are involved
617 in wildlife research and biodiversity conservation in the Neotropics. Jan C.

618 Axmacher explores patterns of biodiversity in China and the UK.

Table 1. Details of interviews and community-level household harvest rates in the five Kukama-Kukamilla communities located at the mouth of the Samiria River. The amount of meat available for consumption was calculated as 70% of biomass extracted (Hill et al., 1984; Roos et al., 2007). The values for individuals were calculated based on an average household size of 6.

Community	San Martín de Tipishca	Nuevo Arica	Bolivar	Leoncio Prado	San José de Samiria
Number of families	120	50	40	90	50
Number interviewed (%)	29 (24.2%)	28 (56.0%)	9 (22.5%)	30 (33.3%)	26 (52.0%)
Total harvest per year (t)					
Fish	679.64	222.26	359.32	327.95	151.26
Game	15.01	14.42	8.40	9.94	10.70
Total meat	694.65	236.68	367.72	337.89	161.96
Total harvest per household per year (t)					
Fish	5.66	4.45	8.98	3.64	3.03
Game	0.21	0.51	0.37	0.19	0.38
Total meat	5.87	4.96	9.35	3.83	3.41
Total meat available for consumption					
Per household per year (t)	4.11	3.47	6.55	2.68	2.39
Per individual year (t)	0.68	0.58	1.09	0.45	0.40
Per individual per day (kg)	1.88	1.59	2.99	1.22	1.09

Table 2. Fish species harvested by the Kukama-Kukamilla people, showing the proportion of households harvesting each species during high- and low-water seasons.

Species	Scientific name	Local name	Percentage of households (%)	
			High	Low
Characiformes				
	<i>Prochilodus nigricans</i>	Boquichico	83.33	77.12
	<i>Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus</i>	Shuyo	60.83	41.18
	<i>Mylossoma duriventre</i>	Palometa	26.67	45.00
	<i>Hoplias malabaricus</i>	Fasaco	26.67	28.57
	<i>Triportheus</i> spp.	Sardina	25.00	22.69
	<i>Leporinus</i> spp.	Lisa	15.83	22.69
	<i>Brycon</i> spp.	Sabalo	5.83	5.74
	<i>Pygocentrus/Serrasalmus</i> spp.	Piraña	14.17	17.65
	<i>Potamorhina latior</i>	Yahuarachi	6.67	4.20
	<i>Colossoma macropomum</i>	Gamitana	0.83	0.83
Perciformes				
	<i>Satanoperca jurupari</i>	Bujurqui vaso	15.00	23.33
	<i>Astronotus ocellatus</i>	Acarahuazú	9.17	26.27
	<i>Cichla monoculus</i>	Tucunaré	0.83	6.67
Siluriformes				
	<i>Liposarcus pardalis</i>	Carachama	64.17	51.28
	<i>Pseudoplatystoma tigrinum</i>	Tigre zúngaro	4.17	5.83
	<i>Pimelodus blochii</i>	Bagre	3.33	4.17
	<i>Pseudoplatystoma fasciatum</i>	Doncella	3.33	2.50
	<i>Hoplosternum</i> spp.	Shirui	2.50	0.83
	<i>Hypophthalmus edentatus</i>	Maparate	0.83	1.67
	<i>Sorubim lima</i>	Shiripira	0.83	0.00
	<i>Oxydoras niger</i>	Turushuqui	0.83	0.83
	<i>Leiarius marmoratus</i>	Achara	0.83	0.83

Table 3. Annual harvest rates of game species by the Kukama-Kukamilla people, showing the number of individuals and biomass harvested per household per year.

Species		Individuals	Biomass
Scientific name	Local name	(n/household/year)	(kg/household/year)
Artiodactyla			
<i>Tayassu peccari</i>	Huangana	2.97	103.99
<i>Pecari tajacu</i>	Sajino	0.62	15.58
<i>Mazama americana</i>	Venado colorado	0.30	6.09
Rodentia			
<i>Cuniculus paca</i>	Majáz	2.54	20.29
<i>Dasyprocta variegata</i>	Añuje	1.96	9.78
Cingulata			
<i>Dasyus novemcinctus</i>	Carachupa	1.61	9.65
Primates			
<i>Alouatta seniculus</i>	Coto	1.10	7.16
<i>Sapajus apella</i>	Mono negro	0.51	1.48
<i>Cebus albifrons</i>	Mono blanco	0.42	1.13
<i>Saimiri boliviensis</i>	Maquisapa	0.12	1.05
<i>Ateles</i> spp.	Fraile	0.09	0.08
<i>Lagothrix</i> spp.	Choro	0.03	0.25
Perissodactyla			
<i>Tapirus terrestris</i>	Sachavaca	0.57	79.13
Carnivora			
<i>Nasua nasua</i>	Achuni	0.20	1.01
Sirenia			
<i>Trichechus inunguis</i>	Vaca marina	0.04	17.39
Pelecaniformes			
<i>Ardea</i> spp.	Garza	1.22	1.46
<i>Phalacrocorax brasilianus</i>	Cushuri	1.00	1.50
Anseriformes			
<i>Cairina moschata</i>	Sachapato	1.16	3.48
Galliformes			
<i>Pipile cumanensis</i>	Pava	0.94	1.32
<i>Penelope jacquaca</i>	Pucacunga	0.71	0.92
<i>Mitu tuberosa</i>	Paujil	0.57	1.75

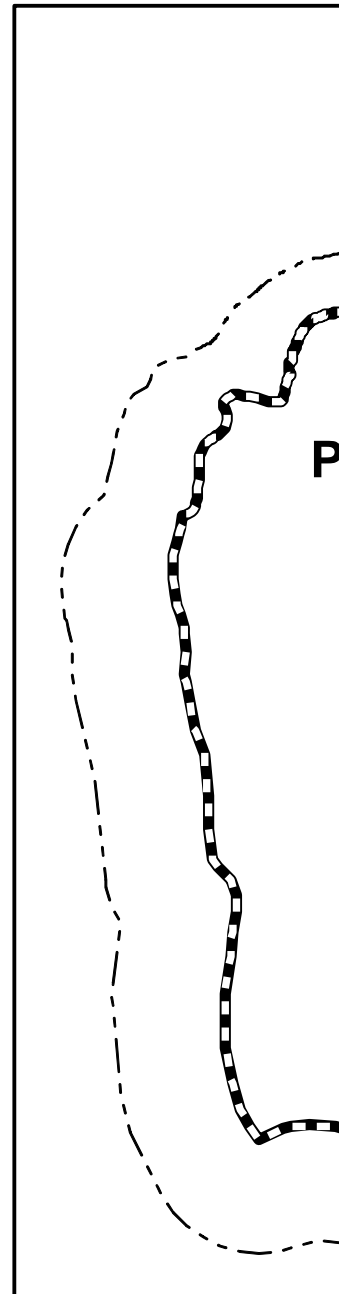
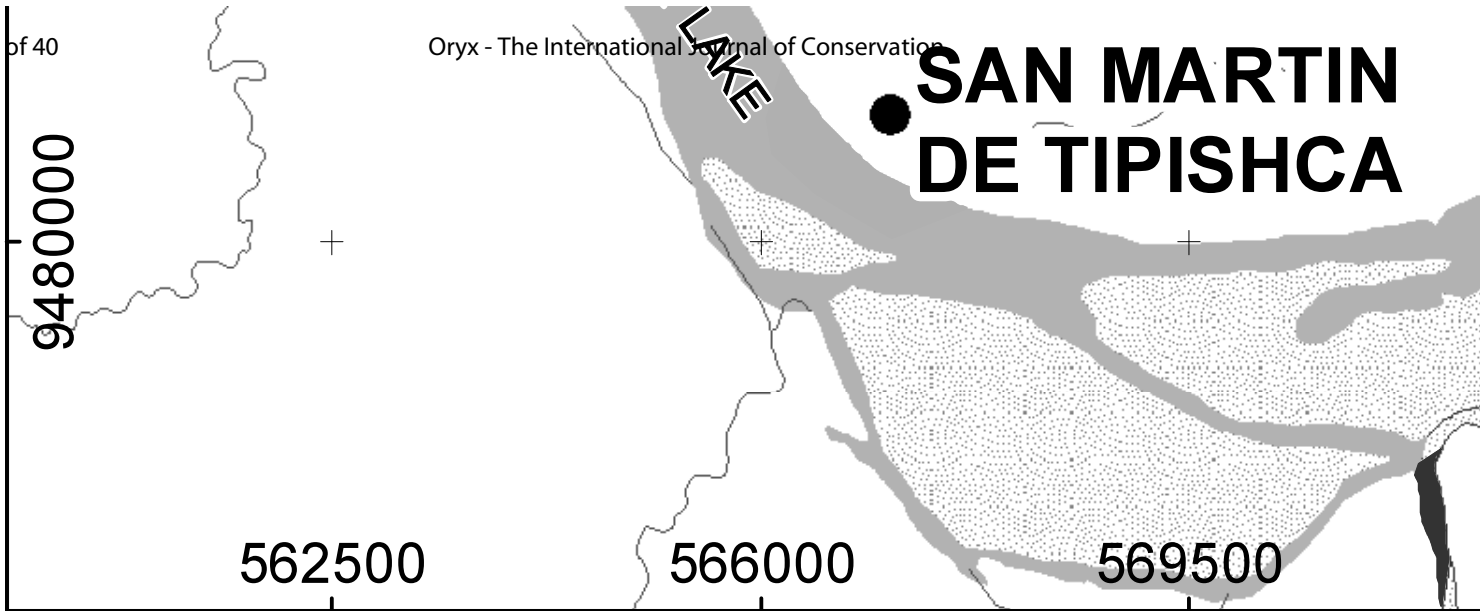
Tinamiformes			
<i>Crypturellus undulates</i>	Panguana	0.23	0.26
Testudinae			
<i>Podocnemis unifilis</i>	Taricaya	2.09	16.70
<i>Chelonoidis denticulata</i>	Motelo	0.77	6.14
<i>Podocnemis expansa</i>	Charapa	0.43	11.30
Crocodilia			
<i>Melanosuchus niger</i>	Lagarto negro	0.91	42.00
<i>Caiman crocodylus</i>	Lagarto blanco	0.32	9.57

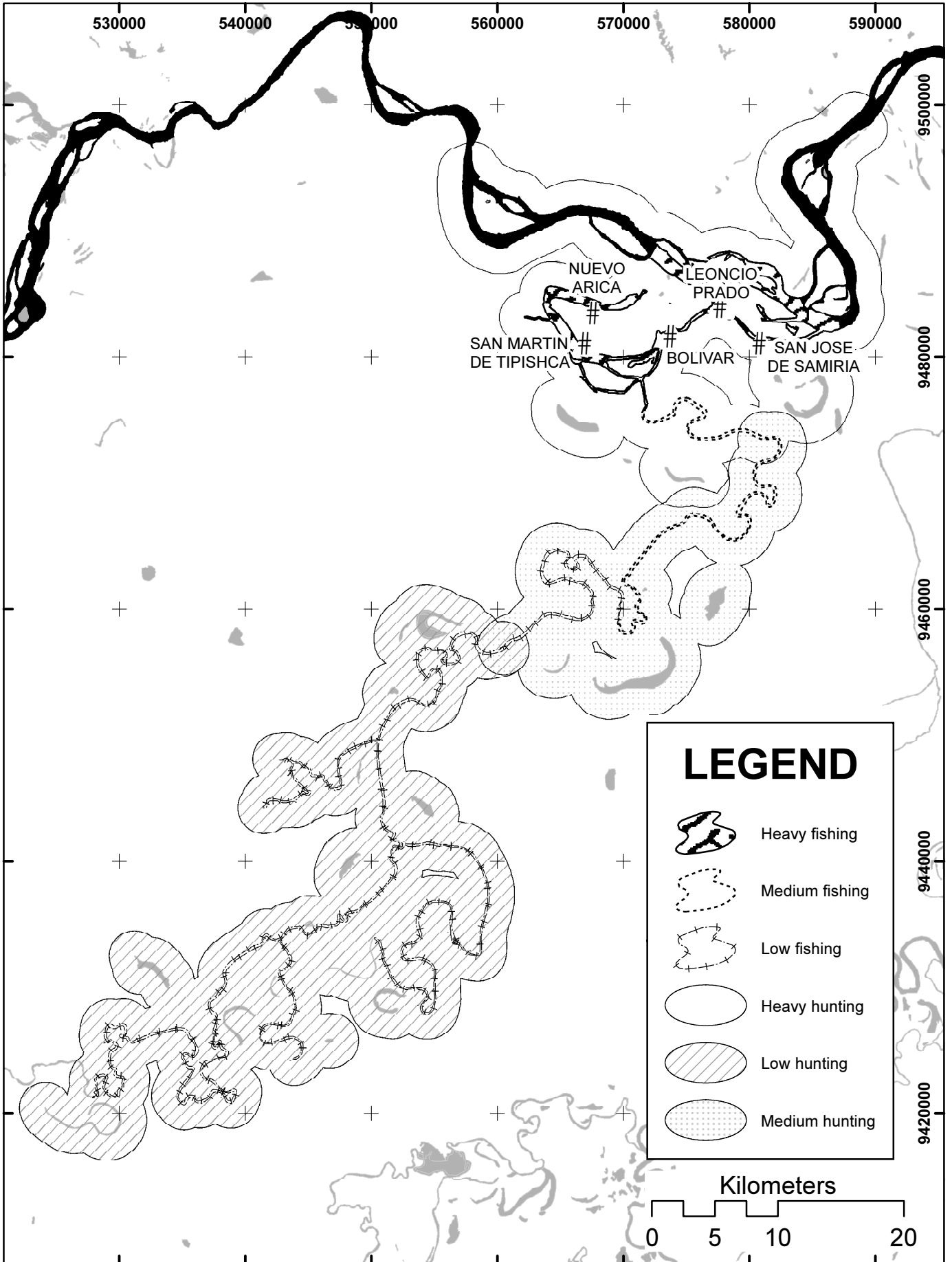
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Table 4. Results of the multiple linear regression analyses showing how community-level harvest rates and CPUE of fish are affected by village size, market exposure and season.

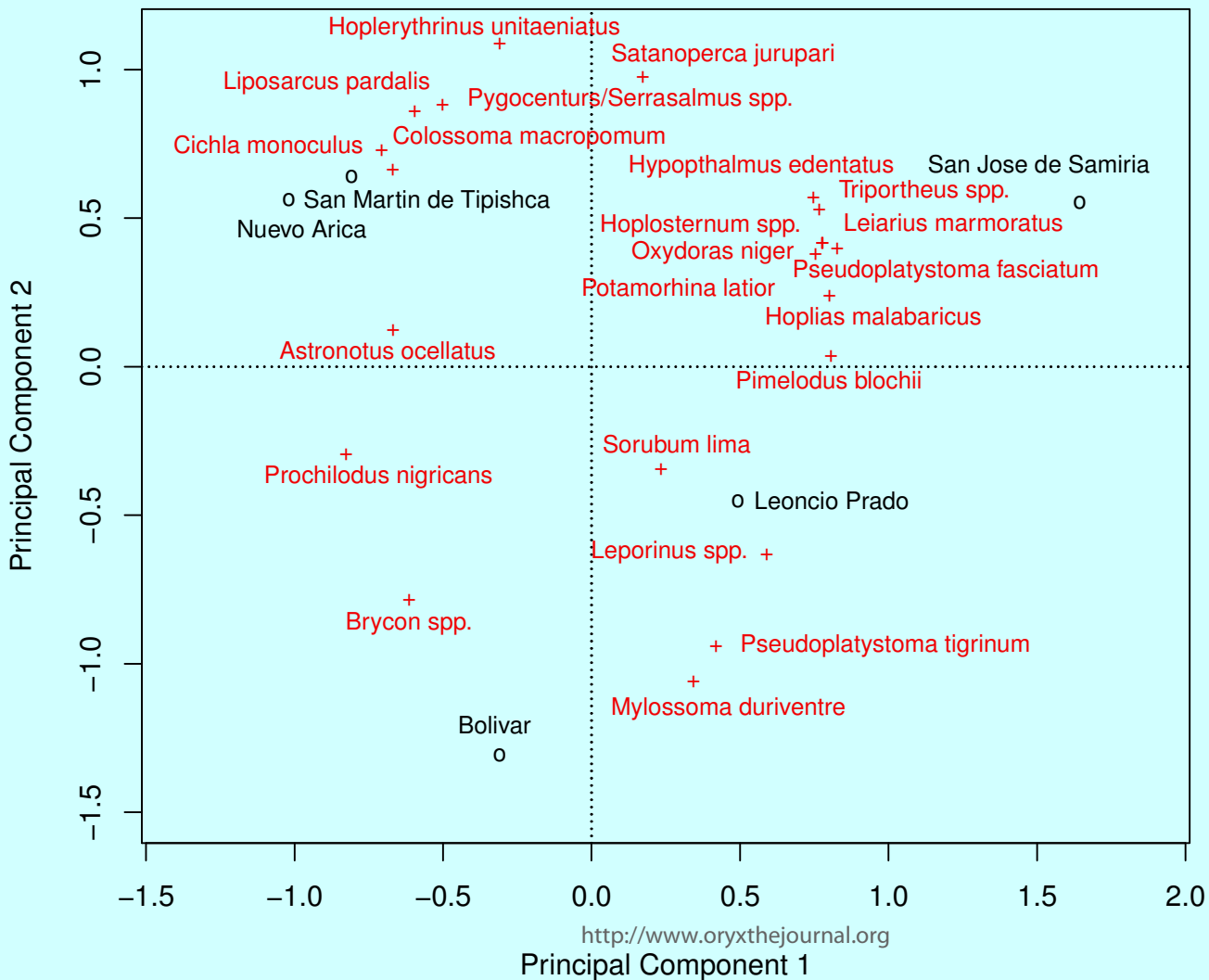
	Estimate \pm SE	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Harvest rates			
(Intercept)	3.42 \pm 0.35	9.74	0.000
Size	0.01 \pm 0.00	2.66	0.033
Low-water season	1.25 \pm 0.26	4.80	0.002
CPUE			
(Intercept)	-0.80 \pm 0.14	-5.73	0.001
Commercial	-1.10 \pm 0.17	5.73	0.001
Low-water season	1.61 \pm 0.17	6.77	0.000

SAN MARTIN DE TIPISHCA

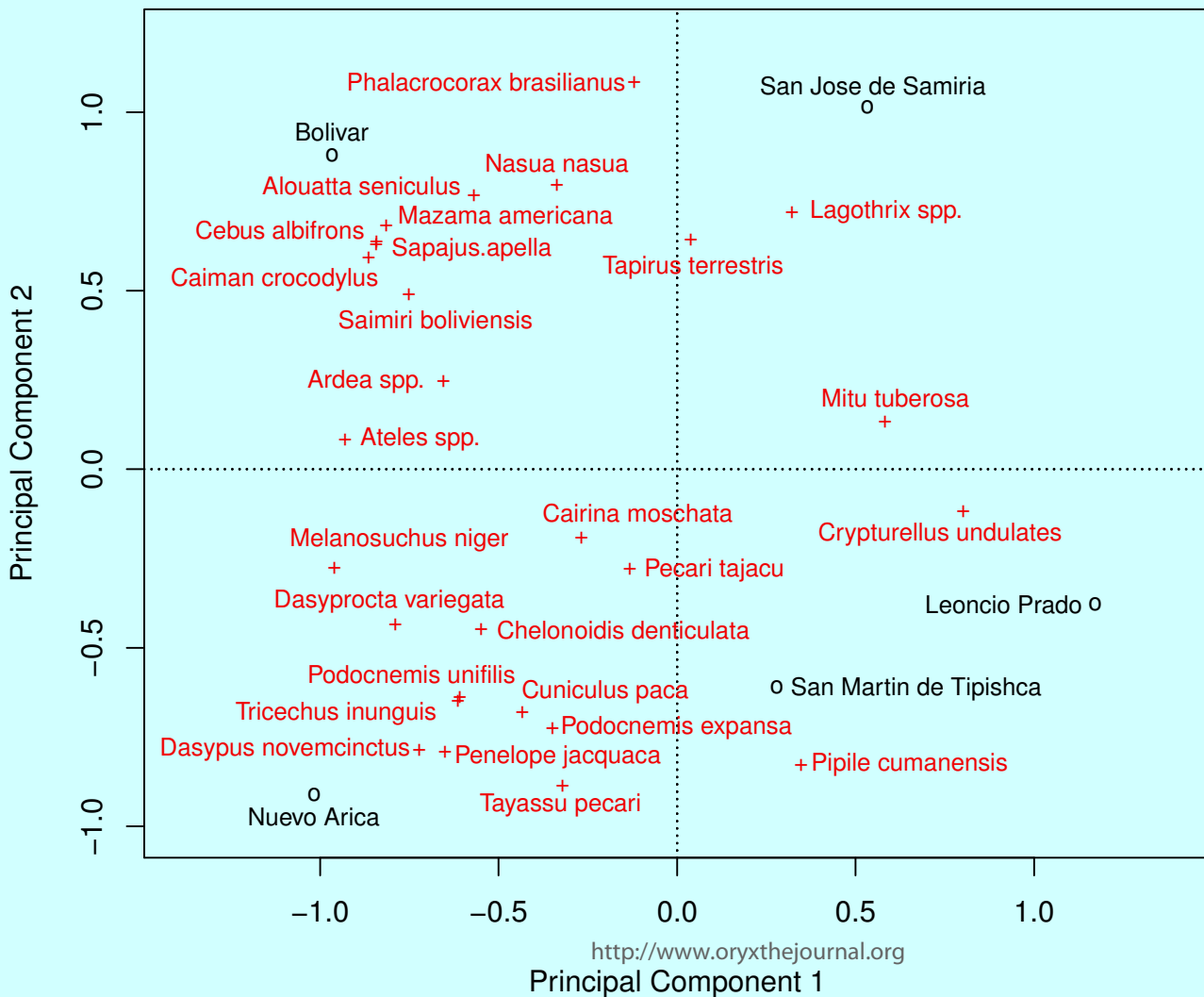




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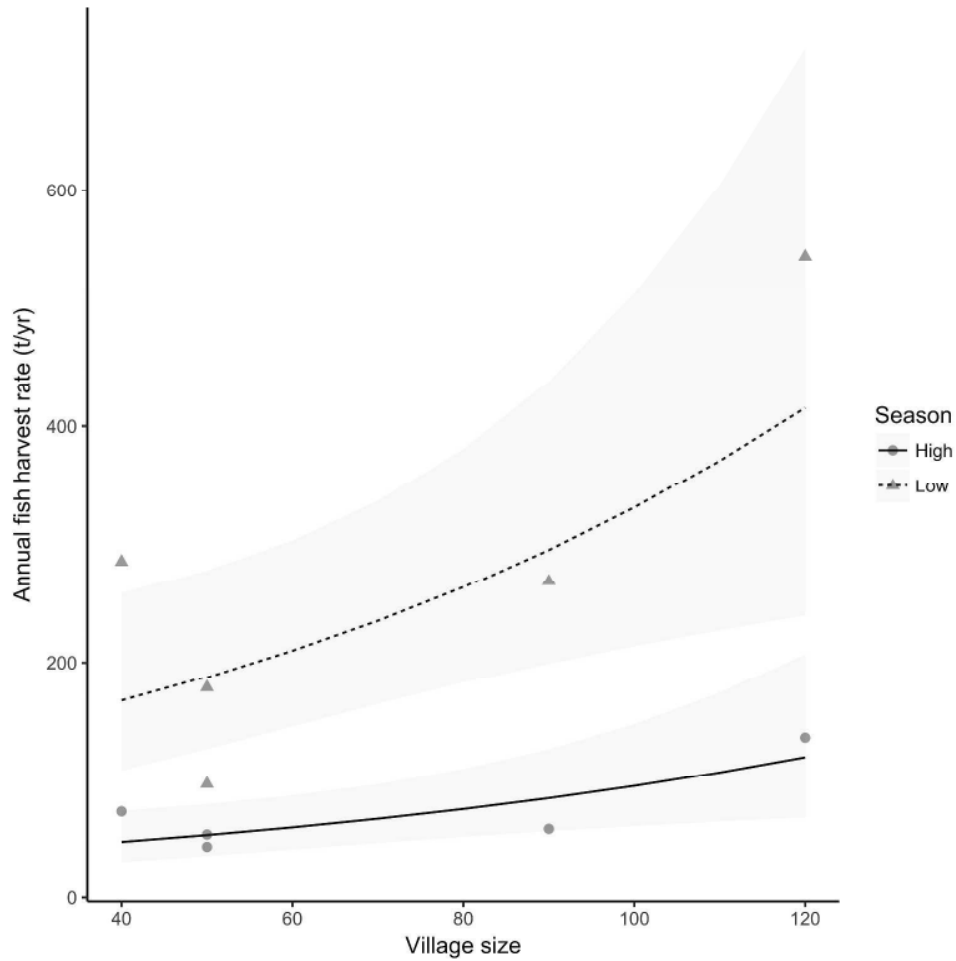


Figure 5. The effect of village size on annual community harvest rates of fish in the five Kukama-Kukamilla communities located at the mouth of the Samiria River during the high- and low-water seasons. The lines are the predicted slopes from the linear regression model and the shaded areas represent 95% confidence intervals.

1425x1425mm (72 x 72 DPI)

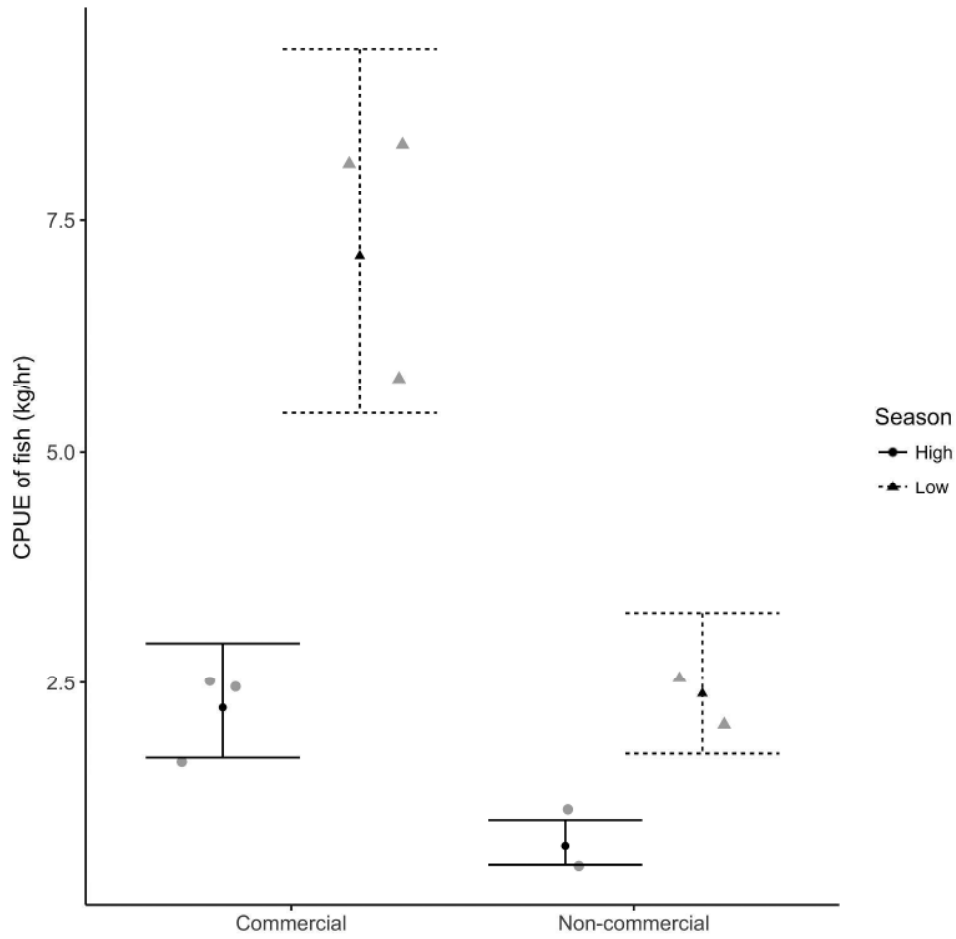


Figure 6. The effect of market exposure on CPUE of fish in the five Kukama-Kukamilla communities located at the mouth of the Samiria River during the high- and low-water seasons, with the predicted means from the linear regression model and 95% confidence intervals.

1425x1425mm (72 x 72 DPI)

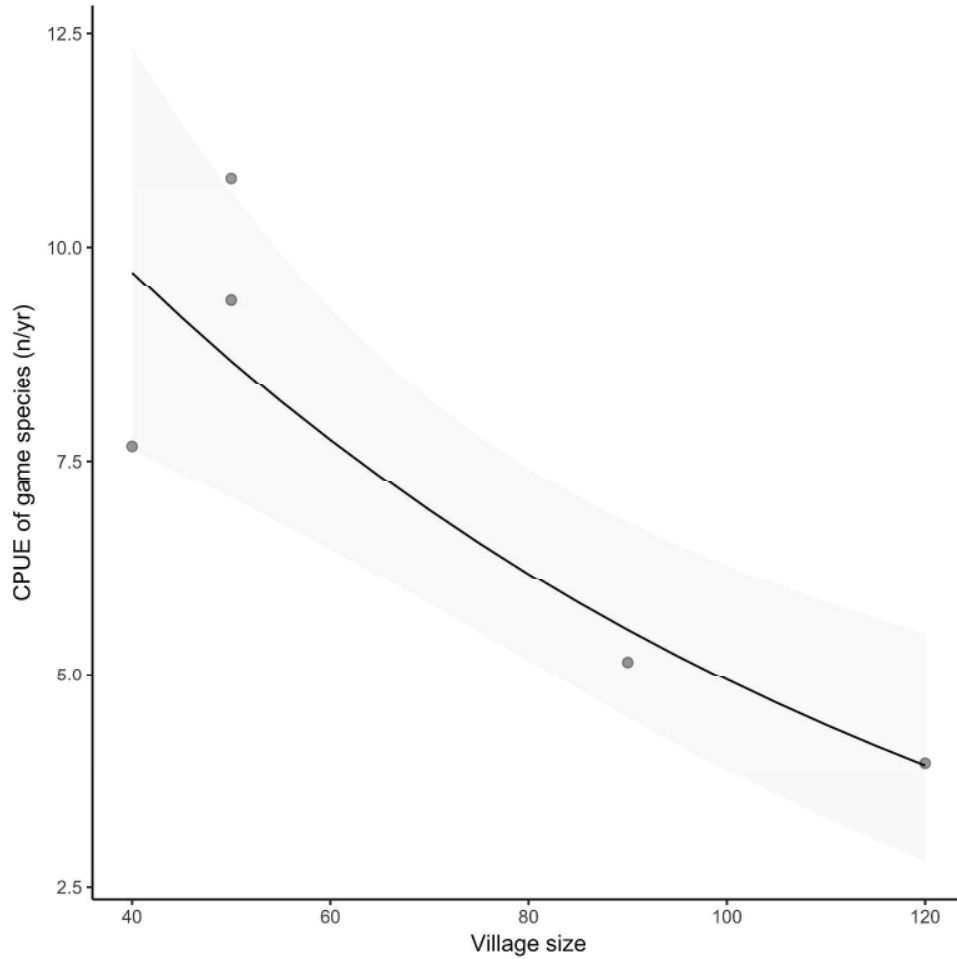


Figure 7. The effect of village size on CPUE of game species, when measured as the number of individuals, in the five Kukama-Kukamilla communities located at the mouth of the Samiria River. The lines are the predicted slopes from the linear regression model and the shaded areas represent 95% confidence intervals.

1425x1425mm (72 x 72 DPI)