

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

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27 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 recent
33 socio-economic changes in Indigenous populations. Aiming to understand how human
34 population growth and increased market integration affect hunting and fishing patterns,
35 we conducted semi-structured interviews in five Kukama-Kukamilla communities living
36 along the boundary of the Pacaya-Samiria National Reserve, in the Peruvian Amazon.
37 Extrapolated annual harvest rates of fish and game species by these communities
38 amounted to 1,740 t and 4,275 individuals (67 t), respectively. At least 23 fish and 27
39 game species were harvested. We found a positive correlation between village size and
40 annual total community-level harvest rates of fish and a negative relationship between
41 market exposure and mean per-capita harvest rates of fish. Catch-per-unit-effort
42 (CPUE) analyses indicated local depletion of fish populations around larger, more
43 commercial communities. CPUE of fish was lower in more commercial communities
44 and fishermen from the largest village travelled farther into the reserve, where CPUE
45 was higher. We found no effect of village size or market exposure on harvest rates or
46 CPUE of game species. However, larger, more commercial communities targeted larger,
47 economically valuable species. This study provides evidence that human population
48 growth and market-driven hunting and fishing pose a growing threat to wildlife and
49 Indigenous livelihoods through increased harvest rates and selective harvesting of
50 vulnerable species.

51

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

53

54 **Introduction**

55

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

70

71 The decreasing sustainability of hunting and fishing practices has been attributed
72 in part to the rapid growth in Indigenous populations and their integration into the
73 market economy. These trends have triggered powerful socio-economic changes,
74 leading to an increasing demand for wildlife products from both the rural and urban
75 populations and a growing economic incentive to hunt and fish commercially

76 (McSweeney & Jockisch, 2007; Ohl-Schacherer et al., 2007; Suarez et al., 2009; Fa et
77 al., 2015). Simultaneously, improved technologies and transportation have enhanced the
78 capacity of a growing number of hunters and fishermen to capture prey, including in
79 previously inaccessible areas (Wilkie et al., 2000; Godoy et al., 2010; Foerster et al.,
80 2012). Yet, empirical studies have revealed mixed and even positive effects of socio-
81 economic development on wildlife harvesting (Lu, 2007). For example, opportunities
82 for permanent and well-paid jobs combined with a preference among wealthier
83 households for alternative protein sources like store-purchased meat can lead to a
84 reduction in wildlife harvesting (Wilkie & Godoy, 2001; Gray et al., 2015; Vasco &
85 Sirén, 2016). Understanding the complex interactions between socio-economic factors
86 and extractive activities in a variety of social, cultural, and natural contexts remains
87 imperative, especially given the need to alleviate poverty among Indigenous peoples.

88

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

101

102 In this study, we aimed to explore how socio-economic factors influence the
103 hunting and fishing patterns of the Kukama-Kukamilla people. The results of this study
104 provide important insights into the factors that underpin sustainable resource use,
105 specifically the risk of human population growth and market-driven hunting and fishing
106 brought about by rural development. Previous studies have generally explored the
107 effects of socio-economic conditions on wildlife harvesting between households.
108 However, because households within a community harvest wildlife from a communal
109 catchment area, we explored the combined impacts of wildlife harvesting by the
110 community as a whole. Through the use of semi-structured interviews, we tested the
111 hypothesis that larger communities with greater access to the economic market exert
112 higher pressure on wildlife and target more commercially valuable species. These
113 communities are expected to be affected by higher levels of wildlife depletion, with
114 preferred species disappearing near villages, triggering shifts in harvested species
115 spectra.

116

117 **Study area**

118

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

125

126 The majority of inhabitants are descendants of the Tupi-Guarani speaking
127 Kukama-Kukamilla people and more recent immigrants of Caucasian and Indigenous
128 origin (Gow, 2007). Their main livelihood activity is fishing, which is most productive
129 during the low-water season, when fish become trapped in the shrinking water bodies.
130 Nonetheless, migrations of fish feeding on fallen fruit in the *várzeas* (white-water
131 flooded forests) make some fisheries productive during the high-water season (Kvist et
132 al., 2001). The Kukama-Kukamilla also engage in opportunistic hunting, primarily
133 during the high-water season, when the terrestrial fauna is concentrated on the non-
134 inundated *restingas* (levees) (Bodmer et al., 1998).

135

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

145

146 **Methods**

147

148 Data collection

149

150 We conducted 122 semi-structured interviews, which accounted for 34.9% of

151 households within the study area, between June-August 2013 (Table 1). The use of
152 semi-structured interviews was the preferred data collection method, as they allow
153 emphasis on specific topics depending on the interviewees' knowledge and experience
154 (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Recall bias was expected to be minimal, as quantitative
155 information asked was simple and activities are regular and highly seasonal (Golden et
156 al., 2013). All households were found to be dependent on hunting and/or fishing, so we
157 adopted a convenience sampling approach, selecting the most accessible households
158 (Patton, 2002). We targeted male heads of households for interviews, but in some cases
159 interviewed women instead, either because they too participated in hunting or fishing, or
160 more often they had acquired detailed information about harvests through cooking. We
161 obtained prior informed consent from participants before conducting interviews.

162

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

168

169 Data analysis

170

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

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

187

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

198

199 We calculated the distance travelled on hunting and fishing trips using reports of
200 average time travelled. Based on information given by a local informant, we estimated

201 that 6 km were travelled in 1 hour in *peque peque* (motorized canoe) and 4 km on foot.
202 Since hunters use watercourses to navigate to hunting sites and limit their activities to
203 within 2 km into the forest from the river's edge, distance travelled was multiplied by
204 four to obtain the size of the total catchment area (Begazo & Bodmer, 1998). The
205 corresponding catchment area was drawn around the channels and lakes of the Samiria
206 and Marañón rivers and divided into zones of low, medium, and heavy exploitation,
207 using the maximum distances travelled by the top 25% and 50% percentiles as the
208 thresholds (Fig. 2). Given our project's social science dimension and use of interviews,
209 we determined that this measure of relative exploitation was appropriate (Brodizio &
210 Chowdhury, 2010; Hawken & Munch, 2012). We used Welch's analysis of variance
211 and the Kruskal-Wallis H test to compare distance travelled on hunting and fishing trips
212 between communities. The Pearson's rank correlation coefficient allowed us to examine
213 the relationship between CPUE and distance travelled as an indication of local resource
214 depletion (Fa et al. 2006; Laurance et al. 2006).

215

216 We used multiple linear regressions to investigate the effects of socio-economic
217 variables on CPUE and harvest rates. We included village size as a continuous variable
218 and market exposure as a categorical variable in all models, using season as an
219 additional categorical variable in the analyses of fishing data. The response variables
220 were log-transformed to account for non-normal distributions. We estimated the
221 significance of variables by dropping them from the full model and using likelihood
222 ratio tests to compare nested models. We examined variations in the species
223 compositions of harvests, termed the 'harvest profile', using Principal Components
224 Analysis (PCA). Results were considered significant for $P < 0.05$. Statistical analyses
225 were undertaken in R version 3.3.1 (R Core Team, 2016).

226

227 **Results**

228

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

245

246 The communities of the Samiria basin collectively harvested 1,740 t of fish annually
247 (96.3% of biomass extracted), comprising 23 fish species (Table 2). The most widely
248 caught species was *Prochilodus nigricans*, a species of both commercial and subsistence
249 importance. There was substantial variation in harvest profiles between communities
250 (Fig. 3). In San José de Samiria and Leoncio Prado, fishermen harvested a large

251 proportion of small, commercial species such as *Leporinus* spp., as well as larger
252 species like *Hoplias malabaricus*. In San José de Samiria, smaller, less economically
253 valuable species like *Oxydoras niger* and *Leiarius marmoratus* also made up a
254 significant proportion of their catch. The communities of the Tipishca Lake depended
255 on the most abundant species, including *Pterygoplichthys pardalis*, *Pygocentrus* spp.
256 and *Serrasalmus* spp. We found evidence that the paiche, a species of conservation
257 concern, was also caught.

258

259 The reported total annual harvest of game species in the study area was ~4,275
260 individuals, equating to ~67 t (3.7% of biomass extracted) and comprising 27 species
261 (Table 3). Mammals were the most frequently extracted group, making up 74.0% of
262 hunted biomass and 56.0% of all hunted individuals, followed by reptiles (23.1%;
263 19.1%) and birds (2.9%; 24.9%). The majority of biomass harvested came from large-
264 bodied animals, mainly the white-lipped peccary (*Tayassu pecari*), lowland tapir, and
265 black caiman *Melanosuchus niger*. The white-lipped peccary, paca *Cuniculus paca* and
266 brown agouti *Dasyprocta variegata* were the most frequently hunted in terms of number
267 of individuals. The Amazonian manatee *Trichechus inunguis*, which is strictly
268 protected, was hunted occasionally. As with fish harvests, harvest profiles of game
269 species varied substantially between communities (Fig. 4). In San José de Samiria and
270 San Martín de Tipishca, hunters harvested a larger proportion of large-bodied species,
271 such as the lowland tapir, the South American river turtle *Podocnemis expansa* and the
272 white-lipped peccary, whereas the other communities harvested a larger proportion of
273 small primates and wetland birds.

274

275 The multiple linear regressions revealed a significant positive relationship

276 between village size and annual community-level harvest rates of fish (Table 4, Fig. 5).
277 However, village size had no effect on mean per-capita harvest rates ($F = 0.33$, $P =$
278 0.59) or CPUE ($F = 0.96$, $P = 0.37$) of fish. In contrast, there was no effect of market
279 exposure on community-level harvest rates of fish ($F = 4.60$, $P = 0.08$), but commercial
280 communities had significantly lower mean per-capita harvest rates and CPUE of fish
281 (Table 4, Fig. 6-7). As expected, season had a significant effect on harvest rates and
282 CPUE of fish, both of which were higher in the low-water season (Table 4). Neither
283 market exposure nor village size had a significant effect on harvest rates or CPUE of
284 game species (all $P > 0.31$).

285

286 **Discussion**

287

288 Our study adds to the growing body of research that suggests that socio-economic
289 factors influence wildlife harvesting by Indigenous peoples (Smith & Wishnie, 2000;
290 Lu, 2007; Godoy et al., 2010). Specifically, the patterns of hunting and fishing by the
291 Kukama-Kukamilla people of the PSNR reveal the potential threat of increased market
292 integration and a rising human population. The data presented in this study include a
293 number of potential sources of variation that we did not control for, including
294 environmental variables such as habitat quality, which may have limited the statistical
295 power of the analyses. Furthermore, the small sample size of only five communities
296 means caution must be taken when interpreting the results of the significance tests.
297 However, because data points represent aggregates of household-level data, they reflect
298 many more underlying observations, and we believe this allows us to make reliable
299 inferences.

300

301 We discovered evidence that increased market exposure leads to resource
302 depletion, reflected in a lower CPUE of fish in commercial communities. A reduction in
303 fish populations as a result of over-fishing may have reduced the profitability of fishing
304 and limited commercial fishing activity, which would explain why fishermen in
305 commercial communities had lower mean per-capita harvest rates (Vasco & Sirén,
306 2016). Nevertheless, the net pressure that commercial fishing puts on depleted resources
307 is likely greater than the pressure exerted by non-commercial communities on relatively
308 un-depleted fish stocks. In San José de Samiria and Leoncio Prado, fishermen targeted
309 small, economically valuable species, indicating possible over-exploitation of larger
310 species. This trend is observed in the nearby markets of Iquitos, where the sale of
311 cheaper, smaller and faster-growing species has risen since the 1980s and the sale of
312 larger species has declined (Garcia et al., 2008; Atwood et al., 2015). The large
313 proportion of less economically valuable species in harvests from San José de Samiria
314 could reflect an increasing reliance on these species for subsistence.

315

316 As expected, larger communities exerted greater pressure on fish resources
317 through increased harvest rates, because there is both more people to feed and a greater
318 number of fishermen. We therefore expected to see similar signs of resource depletion
319 in these communities. Nonetheless, community size had no significant effect on CPUE
320 of fish. However, fishermen from San Martín de Tipishca, the largest village, together
321 with those from Nuevo Arica, travelled farther on fishing trips than those from
322 neighbouring communities, and during the low-water season CPUE was higher farther
323 into the reserve. This is consistent with the paradigm that Neotropical people are
324 central-place foragers, travelling greater distances in search of preferred prey species as
325 wildlife populations become locally depleted (Levi et al., 2009; 2011). Thus, fishing in

326 previously un-exploited sites inside the PSNR could be masking resource depletion in
327 the Tipishca Lake. Fishermen from San Martín de Tipishca also harvested small,
328 abundant fish species, which may be able to sustain the larger human population.

329

330 We found no clear effect of village size or market exposure on harvest rates or
331 CPUE of game species. This implies that people in larger, commercial villages have
332 been able to shift to alternative sources of protein, such as fish or livestock, to meet
333 subsistence and commercial needs. The strong presence of preferred species in harvest
334 profiles suggests that wild meat harvests in the PSNR are currently supplied by a
335 relatively un-depleted source. In San José de Samiria and San Martín de Tipishca,
336 hunters harvested large-bodied prey species, including ungulates, large primates and
337 reptiles. Encounter rates of these species in the forest are relatively low due to naturally
338 low population densities, so hunters are likely targeting them for their greater meat
339 harvests, as occurs in other Amazonian communities (Peres & Lake, 2003; Zapata-Ríos
340 et al., 2009; Espinosa et al., 2014; Sirén & Wilkie, 2016). The current hunting patterns
341 of the Kukama-Kukamilla people may be indicative of a source-sink dynamic, with
342 immigration of game species from the un-hunted core zone of the reserve sustaining
343 harvests in the catchment area (Navaro et al., 2000; Ohl-Schacherer et al., 2007).

344

345 Nevertheless, large-bodied game species are particularly vulnerable to over-
346 exploitation due to slow reproductive rates (Mayor et al., 2017). The continued harvest
347 of vulnerable species by larger, commercial communities will likely cause significant
348 population declines in the PSNR and a shift in prey selection toward a broader range of
349 smaller, less-preferred species, following the general trend observed throughout the
350 Amazon (Naranjo & Bodmer, 2007; Peres & Palacios, 2007; Constantino, 2016). The

351 region has also been experiencing more extreme droughts and seasonal flooding in the
352 last few decades, which could exacerbate the impacts of unsustainable wildlife
353 extraction by limiting resources for wildlife and causing direct mortality of animals
354 (Bodmer et al., 2017). The recent sharp decline in populations of the white-lipped
355 peccary throughout its range, for which non-anthropogenic impacts are suspected, will
356 put further pressure on alternative and more vulnerable prey species (Fragoso, 2004;
357 Richard-Hansen et al., 2013; Mayor et al., 2015).

358

359 Overall, our results indicate that the forests of the PSNR are able to provide
360 important food supplements for the Kukama-Kukamilla people. However, hunting and
361 fishing in some villages appears to be approaching critical thresholds, threatening the
362 natural capital of the reserve. Around the world, the combination of human population
363 growth and increased market integration of Indigenous peoples is linked to a downward
364 spiral of local species extinctions and a diminishing supply of crucial protein and
365 income. In this context, the sustainable management of natural resources represents a
366 crucial opportunity for biodiversity conservation where protected areas and Indigenous
367 territories overlap (Zimmerman et al., 2001). Development professionals, protected area
368 managers, and conservationists need to help maintain low hunting and fishing pressure
369 by diversifying and enhancing existing livelihood strategies, thereby reducing poverty
370 in rural communities and conserving vulnerable species (Bodmer & Lozano, 2001;
371 Bassett, 2005; Gandiwa, 2011). Community-based management is needed to monitor
372 the impacts of socio-economic and climatic change, and to ensure the long-term
373 sustainable use of forest species, both inside and outside protected areas.

374

375 **Author contributions**

376

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

381

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383

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392

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572

573 **Biographical sketches**

574

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

576 Eisenberg works on food-web relationships, sustainable natural resources use, and
577 ecological restoration globally, with a focus on Indigenous communities. Andy Bicerra,
578 Richard E. Bodmer and Pedro Mayor are involved in wildlife research and biodiversity
579 conservation in the Neotropics. Jan C. Axmacher explores patterns of biodiversity in
580 China and the UK.

Table 1. Details of interviews and harvest rates in the five Kukama-Kukamilla communities located at the mouth of the Samiria River. The amount of meat available for consumption refers to the edible portion of fish and game meat, which was calculated as 70% of biomass extracted (Hill et al., 1984; Roos et al., 2007).

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 community-level 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-capita per year (t)					
Fish	0.94	0.74	1.50	0.61	0.51
Game	0.04	0.09	0.06	0.03	0.06
Total meat	0.98	0.83	1.56	0.64	0.57
Total meat available for consumption					
Per household per year (t)	4.11	3.47	6.55	2.68	2.39
Per-capita per year (t)	0.68	0.58	1.09	0.45	0.40
Per-capita 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>Pygocentrus/Serrasalmus</i> spp.	Piraña	14.17	17.65
	<i>Potamorhina latior</i>	Yahuarachi	6.67	4.20
	<i>Brycon</i> spp.	Sabalo	5.83	5.74
	<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>Pterygoplichthys 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>Oxydoras niger</i>	Turushuqui	0.83	0.83
	<i>Leiarius marmoratus</i>	Achara	0.83	0.83
	<i>Sorubim lima</i>	Shiripira	0.83	0.00

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

Species			Annual per-capita harvest	
Order	Scientific name	Local name	Biomass (kg)	Number of individuals
MAMMALIA				
Artiodactyla	<i>Tayassu pecari</i>	Huangana	17.33	0.50
	<i>Pecari tajacu</i>	Sajino	2.60	0.10
	<i>Mazama americana</i>	Venado colorado	1.02	0.05
Perissodactyla	<i>Tapirus terrestris</i>	Sachavaca	13.19	0.10
Rodentia	<i>Cuniculus paca</i>	Majáz	3.38	0.42
	<i>Dasyprocta variegata</i>	Añuje	1.63	0.33
Sirenia	<i>Trichechus inunguis</i>	Vaca marina	2.90	0.01
Cingulata	<i>Dasyus novemcinctus</i>	Carachupa	1.61	0.27
Primates	<i>Alouatta seniculus</i>	Coto	1.19	0.18
	<i>Sapajus apella</i>	Mono negro	0.25	0.09
	<i>Cebus albifrons</i>	Mono blanco	0.19	0.07
	<i>Saimiri boliviensis</i>	Maquisapa	0.18	0.02
	<i>Lagothrix</i> spp.	Choro	0.04	0.01
	<i>Ateles</i> spp.	Fraile	0.01	0.02
Carnivora	<i>Nasua nasua</i>	Achuni	0.17	0.03
REPTILIA				
Crocodilia	<i>Melanosuchus niger</i>	Lagarto negro	7.00	0.15
	<i>Caiman crocodilus</i>	Lagarto blanco	1.60	0.05
Testudinae	<i>Podocnemis unifilis</i>	Taricaya	2.78	0.35
	<i>Chelonoidis denticulata</i>	Motelo	1.02	0.13
	<i>Podocnemis expansa</i>	Charapa	1.88	0.07
AVES				
Anseriformes	<i>Cairina moschata</i>	Sachapato	0.58	0.19
Galliformes	<i>Mitu tuberosum</i>	Paujil	0.29	0.10
	<i>Pipile cumanensis</i>	Pava	0.22	0.16
	<i>Penelope jacquacu</i>	Pucacunga	0.15	0.12
Pelecaniformes	<i>Phalacrocorax brasilianus</i>	Cushuri	0.25	0.17
	<i>Ardea</i> spp.	Garza	0.24	0.20
Tinamiformes	<i>Crypturellus undulatus</i>	Panguana	0.04	0.04

Table 4. Results of the multiple linear regression analyses showing the effect of village size, market exposure and season on log-transformed harvest rates and CPUE. Non-significant variables were excluded from each model.

	Estimate \pm SE	<i>t</i> -value	<i>P</i> -value
Community-level harvest rates			
(Intercept)	3.41 \pm 0.35	9.74	<0.000
Village size	0.01 \pm 0.00	2.66	0.032
Low-water season	1.25 \pm 0.26	4.80	0.002
Per-capita harvest rates			
(Intercept)	-1.52 \pm 0.18	-8.61	<0.000
Commercial	-0.54 \pm 0.22	-2.44	0.045
Low-water season	1.25 \pm 0.22	5.76	<0.001
CPUE			
(Intercept)	-0.80 \pm 0.14	5.73	<0.001
Commercial	-1.10 \pm 0.17	-6.27	<0.001
Low-water season	1.61 \pm 0.17	6.78	<0.001