

1 Combining offtake and participatory data to assess the sustainability of a
2 hunting system in northern Congo

3
4 **Short running title:** Hunting sustainability in northern Congo
5

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25

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27

28 **ABSTRACT**

29 Research suggests that bushmeat is hunted at unsustainable rates throughout much of the
30 Congo basin, although accurately measuring hunting sustainability is challenging. Offtake data can
31 contribute towards sustainability assessments, and when incorporated with information on hunters'

32 strategies, can be used to monitor changes in hunting dynamics. We used a combination of 1) a long-
33 term, quantitative yet low-resolution hunting offtake dataset, 2) qualitative data acquired through
34 participatory methods, and 3) a high-resolution offtake survey, to examine the changes in a hunting
35 system undergoing change due to new roads and associated socioeconomic developments in northern
36 Republic of the Congo. Our results indicated that while the conclusions drawn from the different
37 datasets were broadly the same (indicating wildlife depletion, particularly in one hunting zone), the
38 results of the analysis of the participatory and the high-resolution offtake dataset provided an
39 explanation for trends in the long-term low-resolution offtake dataset, including the degree to which
40 long-term trends are due to changes in hunting strategy, or in underlying wildlife populations. We
41 discuss how participatory hunter surveys can be used to distinguish between changes in prey
42 populations and changes in hunting strategy in long-term low-resolution hunting offtake datasets,
43 therefore improving the effectiveness of long-term offtake datasets to assess sustainability of hunting.

44

45 **INTRODUCTION**

46 Wildlife is thought to be hunted unsustainably across much of Central Africa, and, indeed,
47 much of the tropics (Abernethy et al 2016; Bennett et al 2007; Fa et al. 2002; Nasi et al 2008; Ripple
48 et al. 2016; Wilkie et al 2011). However, accurate monitoring of hunting sustainability can be
49 challenging due to the dynamic nature of hunting systems (Ingram et al. 2021; Salo et al. 2014;
50 Weinbaum et al. 2013). Furthermore, assessing the sustainability of hunting systems undergoing
51 dramatic socio-economic and environmental change (Ingram 2020), for example new roads and the
52 establishment of commercial forestry such as is the case in northern Republic of the Congo
53 (Abernethy et al. 2013; Auzel & Wilkie 2000; Eves & Ruggiero 2000; Kleinschroth and Healey 2017;
54 Kleinschroth et al. 2019), can be particularly challenging.

55 Quantitative measures are needed to assess the ecological sustainability of hunting (Sirén
56 2015). Hunting sustainability assessments often rely on models based on comparing hunter offtake in
57 a given area and time-period with the maximum wildlife population production (e.g., population
58 growth models; Robinson & Redford 1991). However, this approach to understanding hunting
59 sustainability can be limited. These models contain inherent uncertainty because of poor biological

60 knowledge of wildlife species and the different sampling methods used to calculate wildlife offtake
61 (Ingram et al. 2021). Sustainability is also time and context specific, requiring tailored assessments
62 that account for spatial and temporal variation in hunter offtakes (Clayton & Radcliffe 1996).
63 However, some models are commonly used to assess sustainability during a short period of time,
64 presenting a snapshot of what is a dynamic and changing hunting system (Ling & Milner-Gulland
65 2006). Lastly, data required for some models can require significant resources to collect (although
66 citizen scientists or hunters have also collected such data; e.g., El Bizri et al. 2019), and can be
67 technically challenging, requiring high levels of expertise (Coad et al. 2019; Weinbaum et al. 2013).
68 Whilst such models can be invaluable to conservation scientists working in an area, they may be of
69 limited benefit to community-based hunting management, which may require a more adaptive and
70 less technically challenging approach.

71 An alternative approach to measuring sustainability, is to infer sustainability by using
72 indices/proxies (Robinson and Redford, 1994). For example, monitoring changes in harvesting rates
73 over time, using the overall number of animals and/or biomass harvested in a given area and time
74 period, has been used to provide insights into whether a hunting system is moving towards or away
75 from sustainability (Fa et al. 2005; Gill et al. 2012; Coad et al. 2013; Ingram et al. 2015). This
76 requires a combination of longitudinal wildlife harvest data and detailed information about hunter
77 behaviours (which could be collected by the hunters themselves). Other offtake-based proxies for
78 sustainability include measuring changes in the species composition or mean body mass of prey
79 profiles in order to detect possible wildlife population depletion trends (Rowcliffe et al. 2003;
80 Crookes et al. 2005; Ingram et al. 2015; Marrocoli et al. 2019). This recognises that prey profiles from
81 heavily hunted zones will contain fewer larger-bodied mammals, as hunters switch from more
82 vulnerable, often larger mammal species, to smaller often more resilient species, when the former
83 become depleted (Cowlshaw et al. 2005; Dirzo et al. 2014). Alternatively, Catch Per Unit Effort
84 (CPUE) can be used as a proxy for resource abundance (Rist et al. 2010), whereby declining CPUE
85 over a period of several years, or differences in CPUE between hunting zones, are indicative of
86 wildlife depletion and differing wildlife abundances respectively.

87 Offtake data are, however, notoriously hard to interpret as they represent the outcome of
88 several processes (Crookes et al. 2005). Both prey profiles and CPUE are sensitive to changes in
89 hunter behaviour (e.g., Bowler et al 2020; Coad et al. 2019; Dobson et al. 2019; Keane et al 2011;
90 Mockrin et al. 2011, Rist et al. 2008). For example, an increase in CPUE can occur with concomitant
91 declines in overall resource abundance as harvesters move to more profitable sites (Fonteneau et al.
92 1999), a phenomenon referred to as hyperstability (Hilborn & Walters 1992). The reliability of offtake
93 data in detecting changes in underlying prey populations depends on being able to control for
94 changes in hunting strategies (which includes factors such as who hunts, where, when, and how).
95 Working with hunters to understand their hunting strategy can allow an improved interpretation of
96 local hunting dynamics (Jost Robinson et al. 2011).

97 Here, we test the degree to which participatory hunter surveys can be used to distinguish
98 between changes in prey populations and changes in hunting strategy in a low-resolution offtake
99 dataset, therefore improving the effectiveness of long-term offtake datasets to assess the sustainability
100 of hunting. To examine this, we ask whether sustainability inferences based on offtake surveys, and
101 hunter focused participatory surveys with explicit knowledge of hunter identity (here ethnicity) and
102 behaviour (hereafter combined as ‘hunting strategy’), resulted in different conclusions. We use data
103 gathered from a site that underwent socio-economic transformations in northern Republic of the
104 Congo due to new roads and the establishment of commercial forestry, where long-term offtake data
105 were collected as part of a Protected Area management program. The overall hypothesis of this
106 research is that long-term low-resolution offtake data combined with participatory hunter surveys can
107 explain changes and sustainability of a hunting system undergoing socio-economic change.
108 Specifically, we pose the following hypotheses: 1) New roads and associated socio-economic
109 developments increase hunting levels (number of animals, biomass), but without accounting for
110 hunting strategy we can only provide limited inferences about sustainability; 2) New roads and
111 associated socio-economic developments affect prey profile as medium-large animals are hunted out
112 around the village (halo effect) and small ungulates, primates, and other prey increase in the hunt
113 profile, but without accounting for hunting strategy we can only provide limited inferences about
114 sustainability; 3) Hunters can clearly articulate how they respond to changing abundance of wildlife

115 and local socio-economic changes and these changes can be incorporated into the design of offtake
116 surveys; and 4) Comprehensive assessment of hunting strategy in relation to hunt offtake (number of
117 animals per hunt, biomass per hunt, prey profile per hunt, and CPUE per hunt), illustrates that hunting
118 strategy significantly influences offtake.

119 **METHODS**

120 *Study site*

121 The study was conducted in the village of Makao-Linganga in the Likouala region of the
122 Republic of the Congo (hereafter ‘Congo’; Figure 1). Makao-Linganga is the second closest
123 permanent human settlement to the Nouabalé-Ndoki National Park (NNNP, established in 1993;
124 Maisels & Djoni-Djimbi [2001]), situated 45 kilometres from the park’s eastern border. At the time of
125 the study, NNNP was managed by the Congolese Ministry of Forest Economy and the Environment
126 (MEFE) in collaboration with the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) – in 2014 it became a Public-
127 Private Partnership (Hatchwell 2014).

128 The region has a low human population density (0.7-0.8 individuals/km²; Madzou 2002), and
129 in 2007, the population of Makao-Linganga comprised 565 people from two principal ethnic groups
130 with inter-dependent livelihoods: farmer-fishers, mainly Kaka-Ikenga, and the Aka-Mbendjelé hunter-
131 gatherers (Madzou & Yako 2000), hereafter referred to as the ‘Kaka’ and the ‘Aka’ respectively.
132 Traditionally the Aka were semi-nomadic, spending between four and eight months a year in forest
133 camps (Kitanishi 1995), although due to influences of commercial forestry and the conservation
134 project, the Aka now increasingly spend far more time in the villages and gun hunt for the Kaka, as
135 Aka rarely own guns or cartridges themselves.

136

137 *Hunting regulations and monitoring of wildlife offtake*

138 Given that NNNP is uninhabited, its integrity depends largely on effective management of its
139 peripheral ‘buffer’ zone. In 1991, the NNNP management and the local population of the two villages
140 closest to the NNNP border (Bomassa to the south-west and Makao-Linganga to the north-east
141 (Figure 1) entered into an agreement that these communities would sustainably manage the natural
142 resources of the buffer zone outside of NNNP, in turn receiving employment opportunities and

143 infrastructural support from NNNP. As part of this agreement, hunting regulations, broadly following
144 the Congolese hunting regulations fixed by Forestry Law 48/83, were drafted. These included: no
145 night hunting, no hunting with nylon or wire snares, no hunting of fully or partially protected species
146 without the appropriate license, and no transport or sale of bushmeat between sites (Ruggiero 1998).
147 To evaluate hunting sustainability, the NNNP project established a base in Makao-Linganga village,
148 whose rangers have monitored all bushmeat entering the village since 1997. Hunters are obliged to
149 register their hunts with the project both prior to hunting and on their return, which they have
150 complied with since 1997. However, it is possible that protected species are hunted and not registered,
151 and that in-migrants to Makao-Linganga are less compliant with registration of hunts. The population
152 of Makao-Linganga use four hunting zones, all of which vary in their historic and current hunting
153 pressure (Figure 2; Table 1).

154

155 *Commercial forestry roads and developments*

156 The NNNP is now surrounded by Congolese logging concessions to the north, east and south
157 (Forestry Management Units, FMUs, Figure 1). The Western border of the Park is the international
158 border between the Central African Republic and Congo, and most of that border is contiguous with
159 the protected areas of the Dzanga and Ndoki National Park sectors, and the Dzanga Special Reserve
160 (République du Cameroun; République centrafricaine; République du Congo, 2012). The
161 establishment of logging concessions within Congo (as elsewhere), have resulted in the development
162 of roads and in-migration into the region (Mavah 2006; Poulsen et al. 2007). In 2001 a new road built
163 by logging concession holder *Société THANRY-Congo* (STC), reached Makao-Linganga village, the
164 first road ever to reach this previously very remote village. In 2003-4, 200-250 migrants arrived to
165 work for STC. They first settled in the village, and then, in 2003, along with approximately 65 Aka
166 from Makao-Linganga, they relocated to Sombo forestry site (the HQ of the STC, 6km north of
167 Makao-Linganga). The population of Sombo was ~2500 in 2007 (Thanry-Congo 2012), including
168 commercial bushmeat hunters, who arrived between 2001 and 2003. A second road built by forestry
169 company *Congolaise Industrielle de Bois* (CIB) arrived in Makao-Linganga from the south in 2006,
170 bridging the Motaba river and increasing access to the Loundoungou FMU (Figure 2).

171

172 ***Data collection***

173 To understand whether sustainability assessments based on traditional offtake surveys, and
174 hunter-focused participatory surveys to provide information on hunting strategies, resulted in different
175 assessments as to the sustainability of the hunting offtake, we used data from sources outlined in the
176 following three sections.

177

178 *Long-term offtake records*

179 We used a 10-year (1997-2006) dataset of bushmeat offtakes from the village of Makao-Linganga,
180 collected by the NNNP conservation project staff. Data included prey species, hunting zone in which
181 the kill occurred, sex of prey, date of kill, hunter's name, and gun-owner's name. Snare-trapping was
182 very limited due to enforcement of conservation regulations in the village, although some trapping
183 still occurred and the resulting animals were consumed in forest camps. Project staff recorded
184 bushmeat directly from returning hunters on a daily basis, by walking around the village during the
185 day and by visiting returning hunters' households. A total of 30 species were recorded during the
186 1997-2008 period, but three species (*Philantomba monticola*, *Cephalophus callipygus*, and
187 *Potamochoerus porcus*) accounted for 69.5% of the total number of animals harvested, and 82.7% of
188 the total biomass harvested. Although project staff knew when every hunter left the village, not all
189 returning hunters reported their return, so staff supplemented the hunter register with word-of-mouth
190 to select hunters' households to visit. Whilst this village-level monitoring approach could have
191 recorded almost all offtake from hunters in the village between 1997-2000, when Makao-Linganga
192 was still a relatively small community, it likely underestimated absolute offtake after the arrival of the
193 road in 2001, when the village population grew relative to the number of NNNP rangers. Incoming
194 migrants were also less inclined to volunteer hunting information. The number of hunters rose from
195 56 in 2000 to 111 in 2004, while data collection effort remained similar. As a result, the prey and
196 biomass figures we present are likely to be an underestimate of the total number and biomass of
197 animals hunted at the village level, after 2000. Given that 1) hunting offtakes were monitored at the
198 village level, rather than monitoring a specific subset of hunters; and 2) the number of hunters

199 increased over time and survey effort remained the same, the offtake data therefore comprises a
200 greater number of hunters for the same effort, so total offtake from individual hunters becomes less
201 complete. For these reasons, these data cannot be used to analyse changes in individual hunting
202 offtakes overtime. In addition, due to the relative decrease in survey effort over time, we have
203 exercised caution in the interpretation of these data to infer site-level long-term changes in hunting
204 offtakes. However, given the effort to record bushmeat entering the village was substantial, we are
205 confident that the taxonomic composition of the catch (prey profile), and the relative contributions of
206 each hunting zone to the catch was accurate.

207 The long-term records are incomplete due to administrative (e.g., occasional staff shortages)
208 and political factors; in total the dataset contains 88 of 120 possible months (6693 animals) between
209 1997 and 2006, although no hunting zone data were available for 1998 or 1999. Therefore, to fill gaps
210 in the data, we extrapolated yearly totals from these data by calculating monthly averages from
211 existing data within each year, and multiplying these averages for missing months within each year to
212 account for differences in the number of hunters per year. Extrapolating assumes that monthly offtake
213 is constant throughout the year, and that there are no seasonal peaks, which is rarely the case.

214

215 *Participatory techniques*

216 Participatory rural appraisal (PRA) techniques were employed at the start of the research
217 period, June-July 2007, and again in June-July 2008. The principal researcher and the research team
218 made every effort to maintain independence from the conservation project in the eyes of the local
219 population, in order to establish a relationship of trust and enable hunters to talk openly about their
220 changing hunting strategies, particularly illegal practices.

221 Working with trained research assistants, we conducted four participatory mapping exercises
222 (Chambers 1994) and four group interviews, two of each with Kaka hunters, and two with Aka
223 hunters. Participatory mapping was used to understand changes in where hunters hunt, including
224 changes within the selection of the four hunting zones. Participatory mapping exercises focused on
225 mapping the forest space - defined by local names of rivers, streams, and other features - local hunting
226 zones, and changes in the use of these areas. Mapping exercises were not paper based but were

227 conducted *in situ* in hunting camps or in the village, and used available local materials such as palm
228 nuts and leaves (Riddell 2011). One research assistant acted as facilitator, while hunters themselves
229 designed the map. The resulting map was used as a discussion tool to explore the nature of reported
230 changes in wildlife populations and hunting. During the group interviews, there were more in-depth
231 discussions about a) their perceptions of changes in populations of wildlife species over time, and b)
232 their explanations for any observed changes. We elicited how they had adapted their hunting
233 strategies in response to these changes, or to other socio-economic changes in the village. Resource-
234 change timeline diagrams were used as tools to discuss changes in wildlife species relative to a
235 locally-significant timeline, using large sheets of paper which the facilitator marked. Timelines were
236 determined by identifying locally-significant events (e.g., change in the village chief, arrival of the
237 conservation project and forestry road) rather than years, from which the conversation about resource
238 changes could be marked. After the mapping exercises and group interviewing in June-July 2007, we
239 then classified the reported changes in hunting strategy into four groups, including: i) day/night, ii)
240 distance from village, iii) hunting zone, and iv) gun owner hunting by self or Aka hunter.

241

242 *High-resolution offtake surveys*

243 The high-resolution offtake survey was designed to provide an understanding of how hunting
244 strategy influences prey profile, to improve the interpretation of the long-term offtake dataset and
245 therefore improve reliability of inferences made about the sustainability of hunting. While some
246 components of hunting strategy were already collected in the long-term offtake dataset (hunting zone
247 and season), the high-resolution offtake survey differed in that two additional indicators of behaviour
248 – distance of hunt from the village, and day or night hunts – were also included. Furthermore, actual
249 time hunting was also included in this dataset, which allowed for a more accurate calculation of Catch
250 Per Unit Effort data (CPUE; biomass caught per hour hunting), not possible with the long-term
251 dataset. Multi-day hunting trips assumed an average hunt time of eight hours/day based on reported
252 hunt time for day hunts around the village (mean=8.25hrs +/-3.12, N=228). Lastly, in this gun hunting
253 system, where gun owners either hunt themselves, or provide their shotgun to hunters (most often Aka
254 hunters), this factor (hunter ethnicity) was included as part of the hunting strategy, as hunters

255 explained that the prowess of the hunter – for which Aka hunters are known in this region - was one
256 of the main factors determining the outcome of a hunt. We evaluated data on these strategies to assess
257 the degree to which hunting strategy affects offtakes, measured as prey numbers per hunt, biomass per
258 hunt, prey profile per hunt and CPUE.

259 We conducted high-resolution offtake surveys over 12 months between June 2007 and June
260 2008 which included collecting data from 104 hunters. A trained research assistant recorded hunting
261 products entering the village from hunters for twenty days a month, which was verified weekly by the
262 first author. Data collected included the number of animals, species, sex, weight, hunting technique,
263 hunt location, time hunter was away from the village (based on position of the sun), whether the
264 animal was hunted at day or night, and socio-economic characteristics of all hunters involved in the
265 hunt. Hunted animals arriving in the village were almost exclusively from gun-hunting (99%), which
266 was also true for the long-term data set. Only the Aka use traditional methods, and most meat hunted
267 with traditional methods is consumed in the forest by the Aka, and therefore these were not included.

268

269 *Data analysis*

270 Data analysis occurred in four stages, corresponding to the four hypotheses. Firstly, we
271 graphically examined changes in bushmeat entering the village over the period of 1997 – 2006 based
272 on the long-term offtake records. Annual change was measured through three indicators: numbers of
273 animals hunted, biomass of animals hunted, and overall harvest prey profile (acknowledging that total
274 offtake at the village level will be increasingly underrepresented over time). The NNNP conservation
275 project assigned hunted animals to four categories based on their functional group and size, and these
276 were used for the purposes of analysis. They included: 1) small ungulates (blue duiker), 2) medium-
277 large ungulates (other duiker species and wild pig), 3) primates, and 4) all other species which
278 included rodents, carnivores, and birds. Overall harvest biomass for each category was obtained from
279 carcass numbers and mean species and sex-specific weights (Kingdon, 2003).

280 The second stage of data analysis aimed to examine whether there were significant changes in
281 prey profile over time, using the long-term dataset. We used the presence or absence of animals of the

282 different size/ functional group categories in each hunt as an indicator of prey profile. This accounts
283 for the difference in monitoring across years and hunters by analysing at the level of the hunt. In
284 addition to the effect of time, we explored other factors which potentially affect prey profile including
285 the season (dry or rainy season), the ethnicity of the hunter (Aka or Kaka), and the hunting zone
286 (Loundoungou, Sombo or Gomo; Appendix 1). As all these factors were only available for the years
287 between and including 2001 and 2007, six years of data were analysed. Generalized mixed effects
288 models (GLMMs) were used to explore the relationship between a response variable and independent
289 variables (fixed effects). Models were run in the R v2.9.2 (R Development Core Team 2009), using
290 the lme4 package (Bates et al. 2015). In all models, hunter ID was used as a random effect to account
291 for non-independence of repeated measures of the same hunter. Assessments of likelihoods using
292 binary data were modelled using a binomial error distribution and logit link function (Bolker et al.
293 2008). Models were compared using the Akaike information criterion (AIC) which allows comparison
294 of predictive ability between models with all combinations of factors. Models were run for three of
295 the four prey profile categories (medium-large ungulate, small ungulate and primates). The 'other'
296 category was not analysed because it made a very small contribution to the total offtake (<3%).

297 The third stage involved analysing the results from the participatory techniques. This had
298 already been partly carried out in the field when the main reported hunting strategy changes were
299 categorised by themes (Aronson 1994). Thematic analysis was also used to pick out prominent themes
300 concerning hunters' perceptions of changes of wildlife populations, and their reasons for any
301 adaptations to their hunting strategies.

302 The last step of the analysis aimed to understand the relationship between hunting strategy
303 and offtake. We used the four principal hunter strategies which hunters reported had changed because
304 of the new road and associated socioeconomic changes as factors in linear mixed models and
305 generalized mixed effect models (LMMs and GLMMs), to test whether offtake per hunt (hunt offtake)
306 as reported in the 2007-8 high-resolution offtake surveys related to reported hunting strategy. The
307 strategies included in the models were i) choice of hunting zone, ii) distance from the village, iii) day
308 or night, iv) the ethnicity of the hunter, and v) the season (Appendix 1). Again, hunter ID was
309 included as a random effect.

310

311 **RESULTS**

312

313 *Long-term offtake records*

314 *Change in harvest numbers and biomass over time*

315 Overall harvest numbers and biomass increased slightly between 1997 and 2000, when all
316 animals hunted by the village was recorded (Figure 3). In 2001, there is a marked increase in prey
317 numbers, because of the increased number of animals hunted from Sombo hunting zone, although this
318 increase is less marked for biomass. From 2001, we recognise that because the number of hunters
319 increased relative to survey effort, total offtake at the village level will be increasingly
320 underrepresented over time and should be interpreted with caution. Despite survey effort staying the
321 same, we still observed a slight increase in prey numbers in 2002, due to the increased number of
322 animals hunted from Loundoungou hunting zone. This is followed by a marked increase in overall
323 prey numbers and overall harvest biomass in 2003, the majority of which originated from Sombo and
324 Loundoungou hunting zones. This increase corresponds to the arrival of 200 in-migrants, looking for
325 forestry employment, in Makao-Linganga. In the same year hunting products from Bundi hunting
326 zone stopped arriving in Makao-Linganga. This was because as hunters from Makao-Linganga passed
327 near the forestry site on their return from hunting (Figure 2), they sold or exchanged bushmeat, rather
328 than bringing it back to the village.

329 Between 2004 and 2005, the in-migrants, along with 65 Aka, relocated to Sombo forestry
330 town, which corresponded to a slump in prey numbers and biomass arriving in Makao-Linganga in
331 these years (Figure 3). However, the arrival of the second road in 2006 corresponded with another
332 peak in the number and total biomass of hunted animals. This was the result of the creation of the new
333 bridge across the Motaba River, permitting hunters direct access to Loundoungou hunting zone,
334 without need for a canoe. There were also 20-30 road construction workers living in Makao-Linganga
335 in 2006, and an increase in people passing through the village. This led to increases in the number and
336 biomass of animals from Loundoungou hunting zone, which made up the majority of the overall

337 harvest by 2006. This increase in offtake from Loundoungou masked the reduction in the number of
338 animals originating from Sombo hunting zone since 2003 (Figure 3).

339

340 *Change in harvest prey profile over time*

341 Prior to the opening of the road, the harvest was dominated by medium-large ungulates, with
342 small contributions from other size/functional categories (Figure 4). However, the proportion of
343 medium-large ungulates in the overall harvest decreased suddenly with the new forestry road in 2001,
344 and continued to decline until 2006 (Figure 4). Correspondingly, the proportion of small ungulates
345 increased in 2001, and continued to increase over time, while offtake of primates and other species
346 remained steady. The increase in small ungulates in the overall harvest explains the sharp increase in
347 the number of hunted animals and yet marginal increase in total biomass in 2001.

348

349 *Change in prey profile per hunt*

350 Using data from 2001 to 2006 our GLMMs found strong support for the role of hunting zone
351 and hunter ethnicity in the likelihood of a medium-large ungulate being caught in a hunt (i.e., the hunt
352 harvest; Table 2; Appendix 2). The proportions of hunts containing medium-large ungulates from
353 different hunting zones matched known hunting pressure on these zones: Gomo, the most distant zone
354 with low historic and current hunting pressure, had the highest proportion of hunts containing
355 medium-large ungulates (76% of hunts); Loundoungou had low historic and increasing current
356 hunting pressure (61% of hunts); and Sombo had high historic and current hunting pressure (44% of
357 hunts containing medium-large ungulates; Figure 5).

358 Hunting zone also explained the proportion of hunts with primates in the harvest, with Sombo
359 zone hunts containing a higher proportion of hunts with primates than other zones. For small
360 ungulates, there was a significant interactive effect between year and zone (Table 2). This is likely
361 because of the increase in the number of hunts returning with small ungulates from Loundoungou and
362 Gomo after the new road in 2001, although the proportion of hunts with small ungulates was already
363 high in Sombo zone prior to the road.

364 Ethnicity of the hunter influenced the likelihood of a medium-large ungulate or primate in the
365 hunt. This was particularly pronounced for medium-large ungulates, which occurred in 63% of Aka
366 hunts, and only 31% of Kaka hunts.

367
368 ***Hunters' response to the road and wildlife depletion***

369 Participatory mapping and group interviews revealed that hunters perceived a reduction in the
370 abundance of wildlife that could be hunted legally around Makao-Linganga since the new road in
371 2001. This was particularly true of previously common large-medium mammal species, such as red-
372 river hog, and Peter's duiker, which hunters reported to be their preferred game. The consensus was
373 that Sombo hunting zone, particularly within a return-day's walk (up to 10-15km from the village)
374 were especially affected, whereas distant hunting sites, such as Gomo zone, were unaffected.

375 Hunters attributed this local wildlife depletion to: 1) increased gun-hunting as a result of the
376 increased accessibility of cartridges, new demand for bushmeat, and increased engagement of Aka
377 hunters in gun-hunting, 2) the growth of Sombo forestry town, including the increased disturbance
378 from the sawmill, and 3) increased gun and wire-snare hunting by commercial hunters in Sombo
379 which is adjacent to Sombo forestry town (Figure 2).

380 Hunters reported changing their strategies over time in a variety of ways. We classified these
381 changes in hunting strategies into four groups: i) increase in night hunting, ii) increased distance
382 travelled for gun-hunting, iii) increased use of Loundougou zone, and iv) increase in proportion and
383 number of hunts where Aka hunters are provided with the gun to hunt. The first three strategies are
384 primarily driven by hunters' need to maintain a high CPUE in the face of prey depletion and increased
385 demand for bushmeat, while strategy iii) was also prompted by the bridging of the Motaba river, and
386 strategy iv) represents a social change as a result of forestry and conservation – reducing the time Aka
387 spend living in the forest, increasing the time spent living in the village, and increasing engagement
388 with the village and forestry economy (Riddell 2013). If offtake is linked to hunting strategy, as
389 indicated by the analysis of the long-term dataset, then changes in hunting strategies over time could
390 result in trends in bushmeat offtake which appear to be as a result of changes in wildlife abundance,
391 but are in fact purely as a result of changes in hunting strategy.

392

393 ***High-resolution offtake surveys***

394 Considering that hunters reported that their strategies had changed over the course of the
395 long-term monitoring, we sought to understand how hunting strategy is linked to four hunting
396 sustainability indicators: number of animals, biomass, prey profile, and CPUE.

397

398 *Number of animals caught per hunt*

399 We found strong support for the role of hunting zone, day or night hunts, and distance from
400 the village, in the likelihood of having more than one animal per hunt (Appendix 2). Although there
401 was no apparent difference between Loundoungou and Gomo zones, a lower proportion of hunts
402 contained more than one animal in Sombo hunting zone. A higher proportion of those hunts far from
403 the village contained more than one animal, while night hunts were more likely to contain more than
404 one animal (75%) than day hunts (39%). Support for the interaction between hunting zone and
405 distance occurred because hunts close to the village in Sombo hunting zone were more likely than
406 distant hunts to contain more than one animal, while in Gomo and Loundoungou all hunts had a
407 similar likelihood of containing more than one animal. This anomaly in the Sombo hunting zone is
408 related to the fact that hunters rarely use Sombo zone for camp hunting as a result of wildlife
409 depletion, but instead prefer to hunt close to the village.

410

411 *Biomass per hunt*

412 Our results show strong support for the effect of hunting zone, hunter ethnicity, and distance
413 from the village on the biomass of the harvest (Appendix 2). Hunts occurring in Gomo zone had the
414 highest biomass per hunt, followed by Loundoungou and then Sombo. Hunts by Aka hunters had a
415 higher biomass than those by Kaka hunters. However, Aka hunter biomass per hunt at night was not
416 significantly different to Kaka hunter biomass per hunt. Lastly, the biomass harvested also increased
417 with distance from the village, and an interaction between distance and day or night hunts occurred as
418 distant day hunts (15km+) contained a higher biomass than distant night hunts, the opposite was
419 found for close and medium hunts (0-5km, 6-15km).

420

421 *Prey profile per hunt*

422 All four hunting strategies considered in the analysis appeared to affect the likelihood of all
423 three size/functional groups in the hunt harvest (Appendix 2).

424 The effect of hunting zone on the likelihood of a hunt containing a medium-large ungulate
425 was the same as in the long-term monitoring dataset, with a higher proportion of hunts from Gomo,
426 then Loundoungou and then Sombo, containing medium-large ungulates, although the difference
427 between Loundoungou and Sombo in 2007-8 is not as pronounced as results from the long-term
428 dataset. Fewer hunts from Gomo returned with small ungulates in the harvest compared to the other
429 hunting zones, although there was no apparent difference between the proportion of hunts including a
430 primate between zones. However, a higher proportion of Aka day hunts from Sombo included a
431 primate compared to other zones.

432 Overall, 59% of day hunts by Aka hunters contained medium-large ungulates, compared to
433 only 16% of day hunts by Kaka hunters (Figure 6). This supports claims by Kaka hunters that the
434 Aka's superior hunting skills make them more able to hunt medium-large ungulates. However, this
435 difference is not apparent when lamping at night, where hunting a medium-large ungulate requires
436 less skill than during the day.

437 Similarly, Aka return with a marginally higher proportion of small ungulates during the day
438 compared to the Kaka, although this difference was not apparent at night. Kaka instead often returned
439 with primates, present in 66% of Kaka hunts, compared to only 36% Aka hunts.

440 Day or night affected the likelihood of primates and small ungulates in the hunt harvest, but
441 not medium-large ungulates. There was also strong support for the role of distance, with proportions
442 of hunts with medium-large ungulates increasing with distance, and the proportion of primates
443 declining with distance (Figure 7).

444 An effect of season only appeared in the closest hunts to the village (0-5km), and in Sombo
445 hunting zone, where we would expect wildlife to be the most depleted. Primates were more likely to
446 be included in hunt harvests in the zone closest to the village during the dry season, possibly because
447 ungulates are difficult to hunt at this time (partly as a result of dry undergrowth which reduces hunter

448 stealth), and are more depleted around the village. There was also an increased proportion of small
449 ungulates in Sombo hunting zone in rainy season hunts, as they are easier to hunt in the rainy season,
450 and medium-large ungulates are depleted in this zone.

451

452 *Catch Per Unit Effort (CPUE)*

453 The strongest support for hunting strategy affecting CPUE (kg/hour) was for hunting zone,
454 day and night hunts, and distance (Appendix 2). CPUE was only significantly different between
455 Loundoungou (1.9kg/hour) and Sombo (1.5kg/hour). Night hunts yielded a higher CPUE (2.3kg/hour)
456 compared to day hunts (1.7kg/hour), which confirms hunters' reports that night hunts are more
457 efficient as a result of the use of lamps. There was also some support for the role of season, with dry
458 season hunts having a lower CPUE (1.6kg/hour) than rainy season hunts (2.0kg/hour), possibly as a
459 result of hunter visibility and limited stealth in the dry season.

460

461 **DISCUSSION**

462 Using a unique combination of datasets, we demonstrate that changes in hunting offtake can
463 reflect hunting strategies as well as the underlying wildlife population. We illustrate how using
464 offtake data alone as a proxy for wildlife abundances may lead to erroneous inferences about hunting
465 sustainability if changes in hunting strategies are not simultaneously understood. The analysis allowed
466 us to evaluate the impact of two commercial logging roads on hunters' behaviour. By combining these
467 datasets, we can make inferences on hunting sustainability in the case study village in northern
468 Congo, illustrating that in one hunting zone (Sombo) there was evidence for wildlife depletion.

469

470 *Contribution of each dataset to inferences about sustainability*

471 Our results support our first hypothesis that new roads and associated socioeconomic
472 developments increase hunting levels (number of animals, total biomass), but without accounting for
473 hunting strategy it is only possible to make provide limited inferences about sustainability. Changes in
474 offtake numbers and biomass were closely linked to the human population and settlement patterns in

475 and around Makao-Linganga, corresponding to two new roads. However, caution should be used
476 when interpreting the trends in the long-term offtake data because data on total offtake at the village
477 level was incomplete. Nevertheless, had total biomass and prey numbers been analysed without
478 considering the hunting zone where the animals were caught, the decline in prey numbers originating
479 from Sombo hunting zone would have been masked by the corresponding increase from
480 Loundoungou zone, as hunters shifted to this more profitable site. As in other village offtake surveys
481 (see Mockrin et al. 2011), our study illustrates the importance of spatially stratifying data collection
482 and analysis.

483 There was also support for hypothesis 2, that new roads and associated socio-economic
484 developments affect prey profile as medium-large animals are hunted out around the village (halo
485 effect) and small ungulates, primates, and other prey increase in the hunt profile, but without
486 accounting for hunting strategy we can only provide limited inferences about sustainability. The
487 seemingly unexplainable and immediate shift in prey profile between 2000 and 2001, when all
488 animals were analysed together, was identified as unlikely to reflect changes in wildlife abundance
489 alone. Although assessing overall prey profile of the total offtake in a given area is commonly used as
490 an indicator to infer hunting sustainability (see for example Gill et al. 2012; Coad et al. 2013), when
491 we analysed prey profile in terms of presence or absence of each size/functional group at the hunt
492 level, the findings were far more revealing. Comparisons of both medium-large ungulates and
493 primates between zones matched our expectations considering the historical and current hunting
494 pressures in each zone: that Sombo would have the least proportion of hunts with medium-large
495 ungulates, and Gomo, the most distant zone, the most. In addition, this analysis illustrated that Sombo
496 had a high proportion of hunts with small ungulates prior to the forestry road compared to other
497 hunting zones, indicative of historic hunting pressure in this zone. However, there was a rapid
498 increase in small ungulates in Gomo hunts over time, despite the fact that Gomo is distant from the
499 village. These findings suggest that the long-term dataset is a reflection of multiple processes other
500 than simply changes in wildlife populations alone.

501 Hunters provided strong evidence for hypothesis 3, that hunters can clearly articulate how
502 they respond to changing abundance of wildlife and local socio-economic changes and these changes

503 can be incorporated into the design of offtake surveys. The results from the participatory techniques
504 supported the results from the long-term monitoring data: hunters reported a reduction in medium-
505 large ungulates in Sombo hunting zone, and reported that they increasingly used Loundoungou zone.
506 Although hunters were not able to provide us with the quantitative data generated by the long-term
507 monitoring dataset, the general conclusions based on the findings of both methods would have been
508 the same. The additional advantages of the participatory techniques in this case were their ability to
509 describe changes in hunter strategies, and give explanations for these changes, and this understanding
510 is vital to informing management. PRA techniques should be seen as a useful tool to complement
511 long-term scientific data collection, involve hunters in sustainability assessments, and therefore
512 community management of wildlife.

513 We find strong evidence for hypothesis 4, that wildlife offtake is linked to hunting strategy,
514 when including hunting strategy (identified from the participatory techniques) in the analysis of the
515 high-resolution offtake data. Only through use of this dataset are some of the trends in this long-term
516 monitoring dataset explainable. For example, the sudden prey profile shift at the time of the new road
517 (Figure 4), and the increase in the number of animals hunted without a similar increase in biomass
518 (Figure 3), can be explained by the initiation of night hunting: night hunts have a higher likelihood of
519 containing small ungulates and more than one animal than day hunts. In addition, based on low CPUE
520 and a low proportion of medium-large ungulates hunted when hunts occurred close to the village, the
521 high-resolution offtake dataset was able to provide some evidence for a 'halo' of depletion around
522 Makao-Linganga. Based on this knowledge, and the fact that hunters reported increasing their travel
523 distance over the years, it is highly likely that the long-term dataset is suffering from hyperstability.
524 However, the lack of monitoring of these behavioural factors in the long-term dataset means it is
525 impossible to quantify the effect of these factors. Nevertheless, by showing that hunting strategy
526 affects offtake, and providing qualitative data indicating that hunting strategy has changed over time,
527 the high-resolution offtake dataset has helped us understand that the long-term dataset is compounded
528 by changes in hunting strategy. Despite this, the comparisons of prey profile between the three
529 principal hunting zones using the different datasets all reached the same general conclusion.

530 The question remains as to which offtake metrics are the most accurate indicators of
531 sustainability. Kümpel *et al.* (2010) argue that changes in prey profile and CPUE are the most
532 accurate. In our case study, CPUE yielded a different result from prey profile data. This is possibly
533 due to the measure of effort we used, which assumed that hunters hunt for an average of eight hours
534 for every hunt, regardless of their distance from the village. However, Rist *et al.* (2008) demonstrate
535 that CPUE is sensitive to the measure of effort used: the authors illustrate that the proportion of total
536 time spent hunting actually decreases with increasing distance from a village in Equatorial Guinea.
537 Importantly, it is evident from our findings that the likelihood of catching each prey size/functional
538 group was influenced by different processes. For example, the ethnicity of the hunter during day hunts
539 influenced the likelihood of catching medium-large ungulates, while the likelihood of catching small
540 ungulates and primates was instead influenced by whether the hunt was conducted during the day or
541 night. However, the presence or absence of medium-large ungulates in hunt harvests yielded the same
542 results for all three methods of assessment. Medium-large ungulates are preferred prey species in this
543 region, and preferred species are killed when encountered by hunters, and therefore are more likely to
544 represent wildlife densities than non-preferred species. Hunters based the quality of different hunting
545 zones based on their perceptions of the abundance of medium-large ungulates, indicating this is a
546 locally significant indicator of sustainability. Ultimately, however, accurate indicators of
547 sustainability from offtake data may vary between sites, but must be one which represents local
548 processes that are understood, e.g., in this example the dynamics between Aka and Kaka hunters.

549

550 ***Implications for sustainability assessments***

551 To answer our original question, ‘do the sustainability assessments based on traditional
552 offtake surveys, and hunter focused participatory surveys with local knowledge of hunting strategy,
553 result in different conclusions?’, we argue that the general conclusions are the same, although the use
554 of participatory and high-resolution offtake methods allowed us to qualify the degree to which the
555 long-term dataset was representative of wildlife abundance or hunting strategy. The lack of
556 information about hunting strategy in the long-term dataset prevented us from quantifying the effect
557 of behaviour. If inferences about sustainability were based solely on the immediate change in offtake

558 prey-profile in the long-term dataset in 2001, without an understanding of hunter strategies, the data
559 would be interpreted as representing a dramatic change in wildlife abundance. By using information
560 on hunting strategies to help interpret the long-term offtake dataset, a more comprehensive
561 understanding emerges, in which changes are not solely attributable to changes in wildlife abundance.

562 Our analyses provide further evidence for the dynamic nature of hunting systems, illustrating
563 the need to monitor hunting and hunting behaviour over time, which when taken into account can help
564 to inform whether offtake-based indicators of sustainability are likely to be reliable. The evidence for
565 wildlife depletion in Sombo hunting zone (all data sources), and close to the village (participatory and
566 high-resolution data sources), may not necessarily mean that the overall hunting system around
567 Nouabale-Ndoki National Park and surrounding logging concessions is unsustainable. Finding a
568 ‘halo’ of depletion around settlements is relatively common, and not necessarily indicative of
569 unsustainable use (e.g., Alvard et al. 1997). For example, Novaro *et al.* (2005) show that spatial
570 heterogeneity in hunting pressure, with lower prey densities close to hunter population centres, and
571 increasing densities with increasing distance away from these centres, can lead to a source-sink
572 scenario. However, where the hunting haloes of villages are overlapping, or at least in close
573 proximity, as is often the case in Central Africa, viable “source” populations of wildlife may be
574 limited (Coad 2007). The northern Republic of the Congo is an area where overall hunting pressure
575 may be still low enough to maintain wildlife in the long-term (see Abernethy et al 2016; Grantham et
576 al 2020), as long as careful hunting management is practised.

577

578 **CONCLUSION**

579 Interpretation of offtake data, when used to make inferences about sustainability, requires an
580 understanding of the degree to which offtake reflects the relative abundance of wildlife populations.
581 Put simply, changes in hunters’ behaviour can mask changes in wildlife abundance as hunters adapt
582 their hunting strategies to evolving socio-economic contexts and wildlife depletion. We have shown
583 how hunters adapted their strategies in light of the arrival of a commercial forestry road, and that
584 including data on these hunting strategies in offtake monitoring protocols provided a qualitative
585 understanding of the effect of hunting strategy, therefore providing explanations for offtake trends in

586 the long-term low-resolution monitoring data. Incorporating hunting strategy into data collection
587 protocols, and using participatory techniques to understand changes in hunting strategy, is one way to
588 control for the effect of hunting strategy. We believe this method provides a valuable way to increase
589 the reliability of inferences about sustainability made from offtake data, and could easily be
590 incorporated into community-based hunting monitoring efforts and management.

591

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762 **Figure captions:**

763 **Figure 1.** Location of Makao-Linganga village in relation to NNNP, Sombo forestry town 6km north,
764 and the two forestry roads, one from the north (2001) and one from the south (2006).

765

766 **Figure 2.** Extent of hunting zones used by Makao-Linganga population. Bundi-Bossiani hunting zone
767 is no longer used by hunters from Makao-Linganga.

768

769 **Figure 3.** Total biomass and number of animals hunted per year and per hunting zone. The number of
770 animals hunted are presented by hunting zone to highlight the change in contribution of each hunting
771 zone to overall harvest over time, while key events are also indicated to assist interpretation

772

773 **Figure 4.** Percentage contribution of different size/functional animal groups to the overall harvest per
774 year.

775

776 **Figure 5.** Proportion of hunts within each hunting zone that contained one of three size/functional
777 animal groups (long-term low-resolution offtake dataset).

778

779 **Figure 6.** Comparison of the proportion of day and night hunts by Kaka and Aka hunters containing
780 medium-large ungulates.

781

782 **Figure 7.** Prey profile of hunts by distance from Makao-Linganga village.

783

784 **DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT**

785 Research data are not shared.