



Perspectives on ecotourism in the support zone communities of Cross River National Park, Nigeria

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Abstract

Ecotourism is a non-consumptive utilization of natural resources through which countries harness economic benefits. Its potential benefits for conservation needs the support of host communities to be successful. Perspectives on ecotourism in the support zone communities of Cross River National Park (CRNP) were assessed in this study. A total of 602 households' representatives were sampled in the Oban and Okwangwo divisions of CRNP, using systematic random sampling. Data were analyzed with descriptive and inferential statistics (chi-square, student t-test, and correlation analysis). Results revealed that majority of the households' representative were male (92.5%), married (83.7%) and engaged in farming as primary occupation (78.0%) while 40.0% had no formal education. Sixty eight percent of the respondents are aware of ecotourism activities, 54.0% participated in ecotourism and 91.4% had positive perception of ecotourism potential of the park. Awareness of ecotourism activities was not significantly different between park divisions ($t=1.11$, $p>0.05$). Marital status, education and occupation were significantly related to ecotourism awareness. There was significant association between awareness of ecotourism and SZC participation ($r=0.20$). Education has significant association with SZC participation. The need for more investment and proactive bottom –top management approach will be very effective for sustainable ecotourism in the park.

Keywords: Support Zone Community, Ecotourism, Awareness, Perception, Participation

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1. Introduction

Ecotourism relates to tourism activities in an undisturbed natural area which conserves the resources and improves the well-being of the local people. As defined by International Union for conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, IUCN (1997), ecotourism is an 'environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local population'. The International Ecotourism Society (TIES, 1990) asserts the following principles of ecotourism: minimizing impacts, building environmental and cultural awareness and respect, providing positive experiences for both visitors and hosts, providing financial benefits for conservation, providing financial benefits and empowerment for local people, and raising sensitivities to host countries' political, environmental and social climate. For any particular site or location to qualify for ecotourism the natural landscape must be relatively undisturbed for people to study, enjoy and admire the scenery and its wild animals and plants in their natural state.

Residents of communities bordering ecotourism destinations must be made to understand the huge benefits that ecotourism activities have to offer them in order to reduce unsustainable exploitation of the natural resources upon which ecotourism is based.

One of the most vital elements of ecotourism is the involvement of the host community (Diamantis, 2004). Tourism needs to be incorporated into the social and economic life of the community (Gun, 1994). This involvement should be in a direct form such as share of the revenue generated, employment and most importantly, control in development and implementation of ecotourism. Part of the involvement of the local population can come in the form of empowerment: the community is given the responsibility to make decisions, at least to be part of the decision making process. By having local involvement, the economy of the host community thrives as well.

The Cross River National Park divisions at Oban/Okwango in Cross River state, South South Nigeria is a wildlife park suitable for ecotourism. The Park is an important ecological gene pool containing one of the oldest rainforest in Africa. On account of its critical conservation status it has been designated as one of the 25 United Nations biodiversity hot spots in the world. The park has the endemic Cross River Gorilla (*Gorilla gorilla diehli*) a subspecies of the western lowland gorilla among others (CRNP, 2010). However to ensure sustainability in the development and management of the vast tourism potentials that abound in the park, the immediate and future needs of the host communities must be taken into account. The sustainability of the park as an ecotourism site is most vulnerable to the action of the people living around it and the more they perceive direct economic benefits coming to them the safer the area will be. This study therefore made some reflections on the interaction between the local communities' and ecotourism activities in Cross River National Park, Nigeria.

2. 2. Methodology

2.1. Description of study area

This study was carried out in Cross River National Park which lies between longitudes 5°05' - 6°29'N and latitudes 8°15' - 9°30'E, in the south south corner of Nigeria, in Cross River State (Figure 1). It covers an area of about 4,000 Km² of primary tropical moist rainforest ecosystem in the north and central parts, and montane mosaic on the Obudu Plateau (CRNP, 2010). The Cross River National Park is segmented into two non-contiguous divisions (Figure 2) – the Okwangwo division in the northern part covering 1000 km² and the Oban hills in the southern part, covering 3000 km² is only separated from the Koroup National Park in the Cameroon by the international boundary, is reputed to be the richest ecosystem in Nigeria in terms of biodiversity (Myers et al., 2000).

Cross River National Park is also home of about 78% of the primate species recorded in Nigeria. Notable among these are drills *Mandrillus leucophaecus*, lowland gorillas, *Gorilla gorilla* and Chimpanzees, *Pan troglodytes* (Marguba, 2002). The forest elephant, *Loxodonta africana cyclotis*, is much present in the park. The park is one of the three National Parks by which Nigeria fulfil its international obligations under the endangered migratory species treaty of the United Nation Environmental Programme (UNEP). The forest elephant migrates seasonally between Koroup National Park in Cameroon and Cross River National Park (Marguba, 2002). The park has a tropical climate characterized by a rainy season between April and November. The annual rainfall ranges between 2000 mm to 3000 mm; relative humidity in and around the park range from 80-90%. The temperature rarely falls below 19 °C with an annual mean of 27 °C. The Obudu Plateau also experiences temperatures as low as 6°C especially between June – September. The geology of Cross River National Park consists of old sedimentary rock as well as some granite intrusions, which are exposed at the surface. The soils, which are from old metamorphic rocks, are sandy, infertile and rocky, shallow and erodable on steeper slopes with quartz, gneiss and speckles of muscovite mica spackling being commonly observed from eroded hillsides (Udoigung et al., 2007).

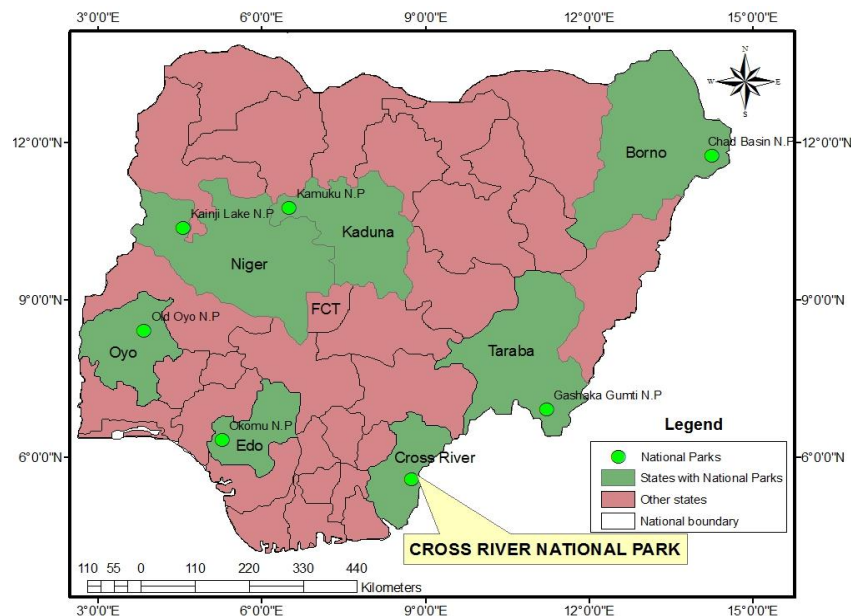


Figure 1. Map of Nigeria showing location of the Study Area

2.2. Method of data collection

Multistage Sampling technique was adopted in the study which involved selection of 20% of 105 Support Zone Community in Cross River National Park Divisions: Oban (39) and Okwango (66). Twenty one (21) communities were randomly selected in all, 8 and 13 communities in Oban and Okwangwo divisions respectively. Twenty percent of households' representatives in each of the selected communities (a total of 602) were sampled in the two divisions (table 1), using systematic random sampling as was done by Omonona, (2000). This was complimented by in-depth interviews with key informants (the community leaders, youth leaders), focused group discussion with representative separated by age and gender were grouped for discussion in each of the selected communities to enhance free discussion of the topic as was done by (Omonona et al., 2000; Hassan et al., 2003)

Table 1. Distribution of Communities across Oban and Okwango Divisions CRNP

Park Division	Number of Selected Community	Communities Visited	Number of Household Representatives Sampled
Oban (East & West)	8	Aking, Obong, Old Netim, Oban, Orem, Osomba, Nsan, New Ndembiji.	279
Okwango	13	Abo Obisu, Abo Mkpan, Bamba, Bahu kaku, Basu Okampa, Bokalum, Butatong, Kayang 1, Kayang 2, Okwa 1, Okwa 2, Okwango, Anape	323

2.3. Data analysis

The data collected for the study were subjected to analysis using descriptive and inferential statistics. The descriptive statistics included frequency counts, percentages, charts and graphs while the inferential

statistics included chi-square, student t-test, and correlation analysis which were done using SPSS 20 software. The level of significant chosen was $P \leq 0.05$.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. Demographic characteristics of the respondents in the sampled communities

The result of socio demographic characteristics of respondents in table 2 revealed that male were 95.70% and 89.80% in Oban and Okwango divisions respectively while female household heads were 4.30% and 10.20% respectively in both divisions. It is often not common for a household to be headed by female. Age distribution indicated that 13.30%, 32.30%, 24.00%, 19.00%, and 11.50% of the household heads in Oban division had ages of less than 30years, 30-39years, 40-49 years, 50-59years and above 60 years respectively. Also, 15.20%, 36.80%, 25.10%, 14.20%, and 8.70% in Okwango division had ages of less than 30years, 30-39years, 40-49 years, 50-59 years and above 60 years respectively. Also, 83.50%, 3.60%, 7.90% and 5.00% of the respondents are married, single, widowed and divorced in Oban division respectively and 83.90%, 3.10%, 4.30%, and 8.70% in Okwango divisions are married, single, widowed and divorced respectively.

Educational attainments of the household heads in the study area indicated that 39.80% and 39.90% had no formal education, 35.80% and 29.70% had primary education, 20.80% and 18.90% had secondary education while 3.60% and 11.50% have attained tertiary education (NCE, OND, HND and University) in both Oban and Okwango divisions respectively. It was further revealed that 21.50%, 70.60%, 6.50%, 1.40% represent household size varying between 1-5, 6-10, 11-15, 15-20 in Oban and 23.80%, 69.70%, 4.00%, 2.50% in Okwangwo divisions respectively. Highest incidence is seen between 6-10 household sizes while 15-20 had the least in both divisions.

Table 2. Socio-demographic Features of Respondents in the Sampled Communities of Oban and Okwango

Variables	Oban N=279	Okwango N=323
Gender		
Male	267 (95.70)	290 (89.80)
Female	12 (4.30)	33 (10.20)
Age		
<30	37 (13.30)	49 (15.20)
31-40	90 (32.30)	119 (36.80)
41-50	67 (24.00)	81 (25.10)

51-60	53 (19.00)	46 (14.40)
>60	32 (11.50)	28 (8.70)
Marital Status		
Single	10 (3.60)	10 (3.10)
Married	233 (83.50)	271 (83.90)
Divorced	14 (5.00)	14 (4.30)
Widowed	22 (7.90)	28 (8.70)
Educational Attainment		
Non Formal	111 (39.80)	129 (39.90)
Primary	100 (35.80)	96 (29.70)
Secondary	58 (20.80)	61 (18.90)
Tertiary	10 (3.60)	37 (11.50)
Household size		
1-5	60 (21.50)	77 (23.80)
6-10	197 (70.60)	225 (69.70)
11-15	18 (6.50)	13 (4.00)
16-20	4 (1.40)	8 (2.50)

Very high percentage of the household heads was involved in farming as their major livelihood as shown in figures 2, 77.10% and 76.80% of the household heads were farmers in both Oban and Okwangwo divisions respectively, 7.50%, and 3.10% were trading, hunting was 2.50% and 5.30%, 2.90% and 1.20% were artisans, 0.70% and 1.20% were into fishing, 4.70% and 12.40% of the household heads were government servants or retired persons earning monthly pensions in both Oban and Okwangwo divisions respectively while 1.40% were clergy and 3.20% were hired labour in Oban division.

3.2. Support Zone Communities' Awareness of Ecotourism Activities in CRNP

Figure 3 presents Support zone communities awareness of ecotourism activities in Cross River National Park. Majority (68%) of the respondents are aware of ecotourism activities in Oban and Okwango divisions of

CRNP. Table 3 presents a T- test analysis on respondents’ awareness of ecotourism activities between Oban and Okwangwo divisions of CRNP. Result showed that awareness of ecotourism activities was not significantly different between park divisions ($t=1.11, p>0.05$).

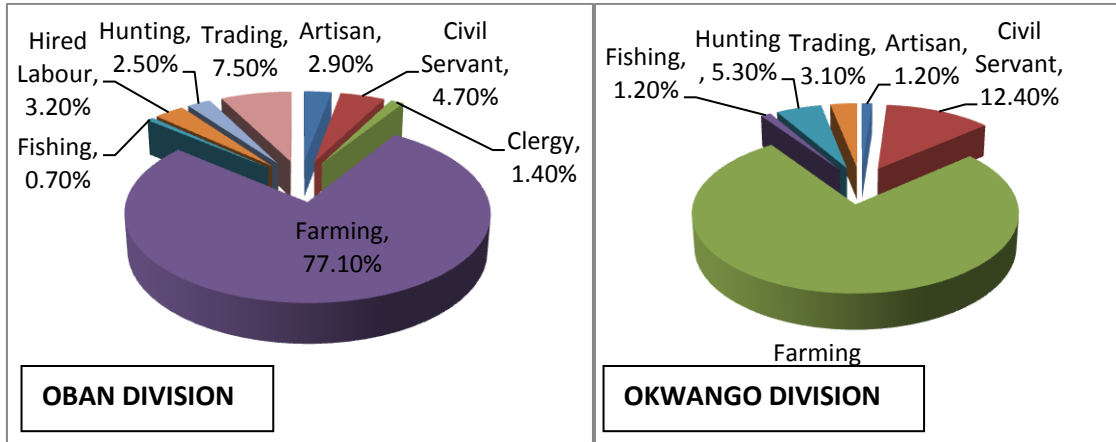


Figure 2. Major Occupation among Respondents in Oban and Okwangwo Division of CRNP

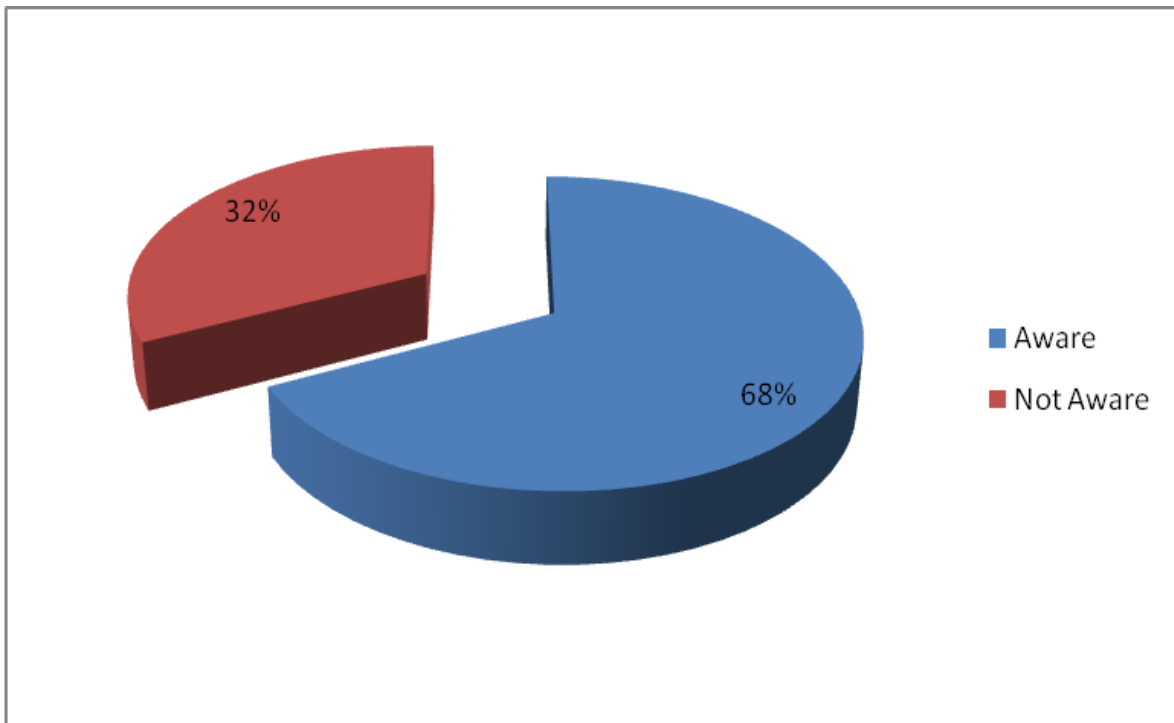


Figure 3. Support zone communities’ awareness of ecotourism activities in CRNP

Table 3. T - test Analysis of Respondents' Awareness of Ecotourism Activities between Oban and Okwangwo Divisions of CRNP

Park Divisions	n	Mean	Std Dev.	Df	t	Sig.
Oban	279	0.70	0.460	592.518	1.115	0.265
Okwangwo	323	0.66	0.476			

Significant at $p < 0.05$

3.3. Perception of Support Zone Communities on the potential of Ecotourism Development in Cross River National Park.

As indicated in Table 4 majority (91.36%) of the respondents had positive perception toward the development of ecotourism in Cross River National Park. 35.06%, 14.26%, 13.12%, 12.15%, 9.64% and 7.13% of the respondents opined that ecotourism will bring about increase income and quality of life, community development, employment opportunities, business opportunities, a means of conservation and increase demand for local arts and crafts respectively. Respondents (8.64%) had a negative perception that ecotourism development in the park will create problems for local communities. In Oban division 92.82% and 7.18% of the respondents had both positive and negative opinion towards ecotourism development in the park respectively. Highest percentage (34.44%) are of the opinion that ecotourism will increase their income and quality of life, 14.35% perceived that it will bring about business opportunities, 12.92% and 12.52% perceived that it will generate employment and bring about community development respectively. 11.09% opined that it is a means of conservation of natural resources while 7.50% are of the perception that ecotourism development in the park will increase demand for local arts and craft while 7.18% perceived that ecotourism will bring problems to the local communities.

In Okwangwo division 90.09% of the respondents had a positive perception for ecotourism development while 9.90% had a negative perception. Increase income and quality of life had the highest percentage of 35.59%, 15.77% perceived community development, 13.29% opined that it will generate employment opportunities, 10.25% opinion was on business opportunities, 8.39% opined it as a means of conserving natural resources, increase demand for local arts and craft had 6.81% being the least while 9.91% are of the opinion that ecotourism will bring about problems in the communities.

Table 4: Perceived Opinion of respondents on the potential of Ecotourism Development in Oban and Okwangwo Divisions of Cross River National Park

3.4. Support Zone Communities' Participation in Ecotourism Activities of CRNP

Figure 4 presents Support zone communities participation in ecotourism activities of Cross River National Park. Fifty four percent (54%) of the respondents reported participation in ecotourism while 46% are not.

Table 4. Perceived Opinion of respondents on the potential of Ecotourism Development in Oban and Okwango Divisions of Cross River National Park

Perception	Number of Respondents in Oban Division	Percentage of Respondents (%)	Number of Respondents in Okwango Division	Percentage of Respondents (%)	Absolute Number of Respondents in both Divisions	Percentage of Respondents in both divisions (%)
Positive	1423	92.82	1600	90.09	3023	91.36
Negative	110	7.18	176	9.90	286	8.64
Perceived Opinion						
Business Opportunities	220	14.35	182	10.25	402	12.15
Community Development	192	12.52	280	15.77	472	14.26
Means of Conservation	170	11.09	149	8.38	319	9.64
Generate Employment Opportunities	198	12.92	236	13.29	434	13.12
Increase Income and Quality of Life	528	34.44	632	35.59	1160	35.06
Increase Demand for Local Arts and Crafts	115	7.50	121	6.81	236	7.13
Create Problems for local Community	110	7.18	179	9.91	286	8.64
Total	1533	100	1776	100	3309	100

**These results are from multiple responses.*

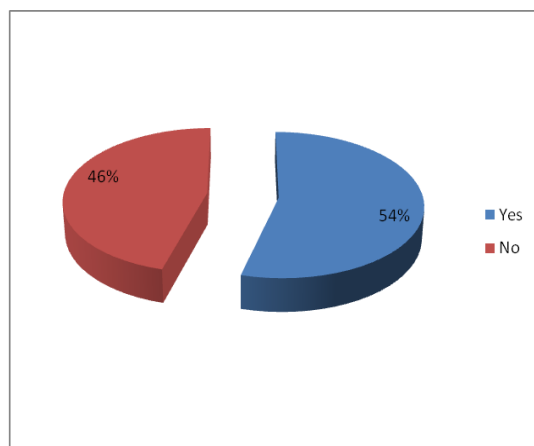


Figure 4. Support Zone Communities’ participation in ecotourism activities of CRNP

3.5. Relationship between demographic characteristics of respondents and their awareness, perception and participation in CRNP ecotourism activities.

Table 5 presents Chi Square test of association between demographic characteristics of respondents, their awareness, perception and participation in CRNP ecotourism activities. The results indicated that marital status ($\chi^2=9.90$, $p<0.05$), education ($\chi^2=11.42$, $p<0.05$) and occupation ($\chi^2=13.83$, $p<0.05$), were significantly related to ecotourism awareness, while education ($\chi^2=13.81$, $p<0.05$) has significant association with SZC participation. Correlation Test of Association between awareness of ecotourism and SZC participation in Table 6 shows that there was significant association between awareness of ecotourism and SZC participation ($r=0.20$, $p<0.01$). Demographic factors were not good predictors of SZC perception of ecotourism ($p>0.05$).

Table 5: Chi Square test of association between demographic characteristics of respondents and their awareness, perception and participation in CRNP ecotourism activities.

Table 5. Chi Square test of association between demographic characteristics of respondents and their awareness, perception and participation in CRNP ecotourism activities

Variables	X ² Calculated	Df	P-value	Remark
Ecotourism awareness versus				
Gender	2.146	1	0.143	Ns
Age	4.247	4	0.374	Ns
Marital Status	9.902	3	0.019	*
Education	11.423	3	0.010	*

Occupation	13.829	7	0.054	*
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Level of participation in ecotourism activities versus

Gender	0.363	2	0.834	Ns
Age	10.580	8	0.227	Ns
Marital Status	3.814	6	0.702	Ns
Education	13.809	6	0.032	*
Occupation	15.474	14	0.347	Ns

SZC Perception of ecotourism activities versus

Gender	3.65	1	0.056	Ns
Age	0.036	1	0.55	Ns
Marital Status	1.43	1	0.23	Ns
Education	2.22	1	0.14	Ns
Occupation	0.18	1	0.67	Ns

* Significant at 0.05 level of significant (Ns Not significant at 0.05 level of significant)

Table 6. Correlation Test of Association between awareness of ecotourism and SZC Participation

Variable	R	Decision
Awareness	0.20**	S

** significant at 0.01 level of significant

3.6. Discussion of the results

3.6.1. Demographic characteristics of the respondents in the sampled communities

The study revealed that male (95.70% and 87.78%) were more across the sampled communities in Oban and Okwango divisions of the park respectively since it is often not common for a household to be headed by female. This is in agreement with NPC (1991) that majority of rural households in Nigeria are headed by males. Age composition shows that majority were between 21-40 years followed by 41- 60 years while age group greater than 60 years were few (11.50% and 8.70%) in Oban and Okwango divisions respectively. The fair large incidences of the age bracket are mature enough to provide the needed information about the park. Highest percentage of the respondents were married and have large families dominated by household size range of between 6 and 10 people to cater for in both division. This implies that there is a tendency for a heavy dependence on park resources. This agrees with the findings of Development Research Bureau (2004b) that without adequate family planning programme, there is tendency of high birth rates in neighbourhood of protected areas, and this will pose a serious problem to sustainable management of forest and wildlife resources. Educational attainment among respondents was high which is an indication that people living in the rural communities of Cross River National Park do value education.

Edet (2004) reported similar high level of education among local people in the enclaves of Cross River National Park which made it possible for indigenous people to appreciate ecotourism activities and the Support Zone Development Programme adopted by the management of Cross River National Park. Stoian (2003) study also affirms that education is one of the important human capitals, which plays important role in determining household status in the society. It is the main factor of socio-cultural and economic change in a society. Without education people's attitude and knowledge cannot be developed in the society. Education helps in the adoption of new technologies that relate to ecotourism development. Occupation structure reflects the nature of local economy and various commercial employment opportunities of the people.

Very high percentages of the household heads in Oban and Okwango divisions were involved in crop farming as their major livelihood option. Others livelihood strategies include trading, hunting, artisans, government servants or retired persons earning monthly pensions, fishing, clergy and hired labour. Since the major occupation of respondents was crop farming, it could be attributed to the fact that Cross River state is an agrarian state and farming has long been the occupation of rural dwellers. This is an indication that farmers are likely to need some parts of the park for farming as majority of the respondents requested that park boundary should be shifted backward to enable them have adequate land for farming which implies greater pressure on the park resources. This agrees with Bode (2006) observation in the relationship between occupation and resource conservation in the neighbouring communities of Kainji Lake National Park.

3.6.2. Support zone communities' awareness of ecotourism activities in CRNP

The greater percentage of the respondents is aware of ecotourism activities in CRNP. Awareness in Oban and Okwango divisions were not significantly different. The probable reason could be as a result of increasing number of tourists "pouring in" in recent times and the statues of animals that are sculptured in the communities representing wild animals that are found in the park. Park management efforts in the form of

conservation education programme and awareness campaign, provision of billboards in strategic locations within the communities contribute to communities' awareness. These have heightened community awareness of the value of local indigenous culture and natural environment as reported by Wearing and Neil (1999) in order to maximize the benefit of ecotourism. Marital status, education and occupation were found to significantly influence respondents' awareness of ecotourism activities in the park. The married populations are likely to be aware of ecotourism activities because they have attained a status of responsibility in the community and for their quest to provide for their family member, they are able to discuss with each other about issues that can affect their livelihood.

Education often gives individuals the opportunity to access information about benefits of new projects (Brander et al., 2006; Baral and Heinen, 2007). Respondents that are educated are highly inquisitive about what goes on around them and education increase the consciousness of benefits from ecotourism activities. Occupational influence on awareness could be because respondents who engage in traditional employment such as farming, gathering of non-timber forest products are of the opinion that the conservation effort by the park management has denied them access to forest resources and farmland within the park as majority of them requested that the park should increase the buffer zone and shift their boundary to enable them have more land to farm. This finding corroborates that of Eugene et al. (2010) in Okwango division of Cross River National park. Moreover, 32% of the respondents are not aware of ecotourism activities in CRNP which agrees with Felix et al. (2013) who requested that further education on ecotourism for the Support zone communities is obviously needed. When community awareness and knowledge of ecotourism is limited, the lack of knowledge will hinder efforts to promote ecotourism within the community (Weaver, 2001).

3.6.3. Perception of support zone communities on the potential of ecotourism development in Cross River National Park.

Majority of the respondents in the support zone communities had positive perception toward the development of ecotourism in Cross River National Park as majority of the respondents opined that ecotourism will bring about increase income and quality of life, community development, employment opportunities, business opportunities, means of raising conservation awareness and increase demand for local arts and crafts. This implies that ecotourism highly recognizes the need to promote both the quality of life of people and the conservation of resources as reported by Sindiga, (1995). Respondents with positive perception are of the opinion that ecotourism has the potential to improve their livelihood economically and as an opportunity for livelihood enhancement which confirms the assertion of Epler-Wood (2002) that ecotourism must bring economic benefits to local communities and direct revenue to local people living adjacent national parks. The implication for the positive perception is due to the possibility that the respondents can partake in economic activities that can generate increasing or additional income that will contribute to a better quality of life. Ecotourism will open up employment opportunities for operators of eco-lodges, restaurants, food stalls, handicraft cum souvenir shops and tour or park guide. Ecotourists will not only visit the ecological sites but will also buy local handicrafts as souvenirs for themselves or their loved ones and friends. These respondents also see themselves as part of the supply-chain to the ecotourism operators in terms of food supplies like vegetables and fruits. They see the potential of home stay

programme being developed which corroborate the findings of Er et al. (2012) in Malaysia. Ecotourism activities using natural resource attractions in remote rural areas can be important sources of economic diversification and livelihood opportunity (Ashley et al., 2001; United Nation World Tourism Organization, 2002).

Negative perception had a minority response. The respondents are with the opinion that ecotourism development in the park will create problem for local communities which was seen as tourist intrusion on their traditional way of life, increased prices of goods and services, and more poachers may be attracted to the communities thereby over exploiting the resources on which ecotourism is based. This finding is not in agreement with Kuuder et al. (2013) report that no noticeable negative effects of ecotourism activities was observed by residence of Mognori Ecovillage near Mole National Park, Damongo, Ghana. However, demographic factors were not good predictors of SZC perception of ecotourism potentials of CRNP.

3.6.4. Support zone communities' participation in ecotourism activities of CRNP

As regards participation in ecotourism activities, some of the respondents are participating in activities such as tour guide, production of arts and crafts (souvenirs), member of conservation club, informants to park management on park issues, cultural display and local committee member (meeting with park management). As a way of involving the communities, the park management as a matter of commitment employs members of the support zone communities to the lower cadre into the park (cooks, drivers, rangers, guides etc) and this has created employment for the local people which agrees with Wearing and Neil (1999) that ecotourism creates employment for local people and the assertion made by Diamantis (2004), that ecotourism should involve the local residents from the beginning by promoting public dialogue, decision making process as well as profit sharing. Education is a predictor of support zone communities' participation as variation in respondents' educational attainment has significant influence on their participation. Reason may be that the educated helps to comprehend the news about future benefits of an improvement in quality of services in ecotourism. The implication for this is that education has a high possibility for a positive impact to be made for any advocacy programme aimed at improving park management community relation. This agrees with Njoku (2000) that formal education has the potential for making up for some of the deficiency in non-formal education and positively influences the adoption of innovation.

Although, 46% of the respondents are not participating in CRNP ecotourism activities and the significant association between awareness of ecotourism and SZC participation could be because as awareness level increases they see ecotourism as being beneficial to them and are willing to participate This result corroborate the findings of Manu and Kuuder (2012) that people do not receive sufficient benefits as a result of non- participation and they are prone to develop negative attitude towards ecotourism development. Supporting the significant association between awareness of ecotourism and support zone communities participation in ecotourism activities of the Cross River National Park is Tosun (1999) who reported that low level of awareness, apathy, lack of information have been identified as factors that affects communal participation.

4. Conclusion

The study has shown that local communities within the Support of Cross River National Park are aware of ecotourism development in the park, their perspectives of its development and impact is positive and considerable number are involved in its management. Exploitation of biological resources requires planned intervention; this emphasizes the need to involve the local communities in the planning and management of natural resources upon which their life depend in order to take advantage of the conservation programme meant for the improvement of their welfare. Involvement of community residents could be in the form of local advisory committee in decision making, production of indigenous arts and crafts as souvenir for tourists, employment as park staff (guides, caterers, drivers, labourers, rangers etc), members of conservation advocacy groups and park informant. Sustainable ecotourism will be compromised when nature is considered without recognizing the link with people.

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