

Revealing salient aquatic ecosystem services bundles in the Olifants River Catchment, South Africa

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Abstract

Preserving water quality, which has at least four of the ten characteristics of a “wicked problem”, is fundamental for economic development, ecosystems function, and human wellbeing. Consequently, identifying suitable public policies or technological solutions that can maintain or restore affected ecosystems, especially in river catchments, is a huge challenge. Understanding diverse stakeholder perspectives on important aquatic ecosystem services is critical to improving water governance and quality. This study uses the Q-methodology to identify and analyze perspectives about aquatic ecosystem services in the Olifants River catchment, one of the most important and polluted in South Africa, across six diverse stakeholder groups competing for its limited water resources. The Q methodology is a semi-qualitative methodology that can systematically recover detailed views of the subjective perceptions diverse stakeholder groups hold on a given topic. Our results suggest existence of three significant and conflicting perspectives. The “conservationists” prioritize regulation and supporting services, the “water users” give highest priority to water for domestic and other private uses, while the “planners” rank mastering the environment for societal benefits highest. Equally importantly, our results suggest the possibility of solutions that can deliver services ranked highly by some stakeholders without compromising the welfare of others who hold neutral perspectives towards them.

Key words

Ecosystem services, Water quality management, Wicked problem, Complex systems, Q methodology

Declarations

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1 Introduction

Preserving water quality in river catchments is fundamental for economic development, ecosystems functions, and human wellbeing. In particular, low water quality can negatively impact aquatic ecosystems and biodiversity, and ultimately their ability to provide ecosystem services (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005). However, managing environmental resources is complex (Game, et al., 2014). This is because water-related ecosystems, with humans as a component, are inherently complex, and managers are often unable to predict all consequences of their interventions at different spatial, temporal and administrative scales (DeFries and Nagendra, 2017). This observation probably explains why water quality management remains a major concern in many watersheds around the world (UN-Water, 2016), despite efforts to implement modern water management paradigms including more stringent water laws, Integrated Water Resources Management, and Sustainable Sanitation and Water Management.

Water quality management has at least four of the ten characteristics of a “wicked problem” (Rittel and Webber, 1973, Head and Xiang, 2016). First, changes in water quality could potentially affect everyone in society with different degrees of severity, although individuals have different mitigation options. As a result, such problems involve a large set of stakeholders who have different interests in aquatic ecosystems services, who often hold different views about the definition of the problems, and their potential solutions. Second, there exists a wide range of causes and effects of poor water quality, and a multitude of ways in which aquatic ecosystem services may be affected. Due to the multiplicity of pollution sources and the long lag times in system responses, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to identify and attribute the causes of pollution to a particular type of stakeholder or activity (Schroeder, 1981). Besides, the same amount of pollutants released in different environments may have different final impacts. Third, there is often a separation in space and time between the creation and consequences of pollution. Hence, polluters often do not have to bear the consequences of their own pollution, which reduces the likelihood of self-regulating feedbacks that would force them to change their management practices in the event of negative impacts. Finally, although we can learn how to manage water pollution and its effects on ecosystems by trial and error, the consequences of each trial are not only very large given the number of persons affected, but they are also not immediate. This limits the opportunities to experiment with different governance options.

Given these characteristics, identifying suitable public policies or technological solutions capable of rapidly reducing pollution and restoring affected ecosystems is a huge challenge, although this does not mean that we can do nothing about wicked problems. Several approaches to managing “wicked problems” have been proposed in the literature (Conklin, 2006, DeFries and Nagendra, 2017, Kumlien and Coughlan, 2018, Mason et al., 2018, Carter, 2019), two of which seem particularly relevant to water pollution issues. Firstly, stakeholder involvement is considered critically important (Camillus, 2008). In particular, a better understanding of the diverse stakeholder perspectives on the problem contributes to reducing the wickedness of ecosystem management (Head, 2008, Rissman and Carpenter, 2015, Head and Xiang, 2016). Camillus (2008) also suggested that “*The aim should be to create a shared understanding of the problem and foster a joint commitment to possible ways of resolving it. Not everyone will agree on what the problem is, but stakeholders should be able to understand one another’s positions well enough to discuss different interpretations of the problem and work together to tackle it*”. Second, the ecosystem services affected by pollution are often public and non-marketed goods and changes in them are not factored into individual and governmental decisions. There is thus a need to make progress in the valuation of aquatic ecosystem services, and a first step in that direction will be to identify which, among the different services provided by water ecosystems, are perceived as most important (Armatas, et al., 2014, Jensen, 2019).

Stakeholder perceptions about important aquatic ecosystem services are critical to improving water governance and quality, if they are to generate behavioral changes over the medium term (Game, et al., 2014, Carmenta, et al., 2017). Perceptions, which are composed of personal beliefs, perspectives, and meanings, are viewpoints about a particular topic of interest (Meissner et al., 2018). Yazar and Orth (2018) define perceptions as “lay theories” or the structured beliefs of laypeople to distinguish them from scientific theories, which are factual and based on scientific evidence. Lay theories are subjective, influenced by societal norms and individual experiences, and may even be ambiguous due to their subjective nature. Barry and Proops (1999) and Cross (2005) refer to perceptions as ‘worldviews’ or ‘discourses’ or ‘attitudes’. They are usually diverse and subjective in nature, since they are based on an individual’s personal, social, cultural and economic experiences (Pereira, Fairweather, Woodford, and Nuthall, 2016). From the standpoint of sustainable ecosystems management, points of stakeholder consensus and controversy across such diverse perceptions must be identified in order to help negotiate and address trade-offs among different ecosystem services.

This study investigates the management of water pollution and other aquatic ecosystem services in the South African section of the Olifants River catchment, one of the most important and most polluted in South Africa, with multiple stakeholders competing for its water resources. Despite South Africa having one of the most progressive

legislations formulated to ensure sustainable water use, maintaining water quality in this catchment is proving to be a major policy challenge. Decreasing water quality is negatively impacting its ability to deliver aquatic ecosystem services. Given the diversity of stakeholders benefiting directly or indirectly from these ecosystem services, water pollution in this catchment has many of the characteristics of a wicked problem. The Government mainly coordinates water quantity and quality issues: national and provincial governments articulate laws and regulations to mitigate water pollution. While some hard data on water flows and water ecosystem services in the catchment exist (Nel and Driver, 2015, Hein, et al., 2020), there is a dearth of information about stakeholder perceptions. In particular, we could find no information about the ecosystem services that stakeholders find most important, their perceptions on the current state and levels of ecosystem services, and their perceptions on how the ecosystem service levels relate to water quality.

Inspired to remedy this gap, we developed an application of the Q methodology (subsequently referred to as Q) to identify and analyze diverse perspectives about aquatic ecosystem services in the Olifants catchment across six broad stakeholder groups (regulators, water users i.e. farmers and households, water suppliers, water boards, conservationists, and private sector). The Q is a semi-qualitative methodology used to systematically identify a detailed view of the subjective perceptions that a diverse group of people hold on a given topic (Watts and Stenner, 2012). It is a highly useful tool to analyze individually held perspectives within stakeholder groups (e.g., Cuppen, et al., 2010), and it has been used in a range of “wicked problems” applications associated with environmental issues (e.g., Curry, et al., 2013, Bredin, et al., 2015, Lehrer and Sneegas, 2018). For example, it has been used in health economics to elicit preferences and economic behavior (Baker et al., 2006), and more recently in environmental economics to rank ecosystem services (e.g., Armatas, et al., 2014, Jensen, 2019). It is based on individual interviews during which respondents are asked to sort a set of items, here the aquatic ecosystem services, into a predefined distribution. A by-person factor analysis is then used to identify groups of individuals sharing distinct latent factors (Webler, et al., 2009, Watts and Stenner, 2012). In this study, these factors correspond to ranking of aquatic ecosystem services from an extensive pre-defined list. Stated otherwise, we elicited perceptions and identified groups of individuals sharing distinct perspectives about important ecosystem services provided by the Olifants River catchment.

The rest of the article is presented as follows. Section 2 discusses the water quality and aquatic ecosystem services provided by the Olifants catchment. Section 3 is on the methodology, wherein we present the study area, data collection, and data analysis. The results are presented in Section 4, and the conclusions and recommendations in Section 5.

2 Water quality and aquatic ecosystem services in the Olifants River catchment

South Africa is a water scarce country, and the South African government acknowledges that water is a critical ingredient for growth and development (Funke, et al., 2007). The National Water Act – NWA (Act 36 of 1998) regulates all water uses in the country and its main goal is the sustainable management of the water resources. It states that water should be protected, used, developed, conserved, managed and controlled in a sustainable and equitable manner for the benefit of all. In addition, the National Water Resource Strategy (NWRS) serves as the primary framework to guide the sustainable management of water across all sectors, by focusing on the role of water in supporting economic growth (Maharaj and Pietersen, 2004). These regulatory efforts are aimed at protecting water resources and improving the state of the country's water quality.

The Olifants River catchment is one of the six major lowveld river systems of South Africa, occupying an area of about 54,000 km² (Gyamfi, et al., 2016). It has also been identified as the most polluted water management area in the country (Kyei and Hassan, 2019). About 3.5 million people live on the South African side of the catchment. Its waters must meet the competing demands for mining, commercial farm irrigation, residential development, industrial use, and the maintenance of ecological balance (Nieuwoudt, et al., 2004). The country is also experiencing a general decline in the operation and management of waste-water treatment infrastructure, especially sewage treatment (Department of Water Affairs, 2010). This pollution is reducing the Olifants River's capacity to provide important ecosystem services.

De Villiers and Mkwelo (2009) and Ashton (2010) described the Olifants River as one of the most threatened river systems in South Africa with a declining population of fish, crocodiles, and other aquatic life, which could be related to the increasing levels of pollution. Dabrowski and De Klerk (2013) found high nutrient concentrations, a condition likely to support dense plant populations leading to the death of aquatic animals by depriving them of oxygen. The nutrients were emanating from sewage discharge from wastewater treatment works and run-off fertilizers from irrigation farms. Nutrient-enriched water bodies are susceptible to mass growth of toxic aquatic vegetation, which is a health risk to humans and aquatic life alike, and reduces water resources available for drinking, irrigation and leisure activities (Codd, 2000). Acid mine drainage (AMD) also constitutes an important source of pollution in the Olifants. AMD has been described as the “single greatest threat to South Africa's water-scarce environment” (Sharife, 2011; Kinna, 2016):

Four types of stakeholders, most of whom live in the Olifants catchment, rely on the river and its natural biodiversity for their livelihoods – either directly or indirectly. First, rural households rely on its provisioning services like traditional medicine, grazing, fuel, food and housing materials. Riverside communities harvest reeds, draw water, and use it for recreational and spiritual practices. Second, large mining companies and associated industries mainly situated in the upper catchment use its water for their intensive mining activities. Third, large-scale agriculture also depends on Olifants waters to irrigate orchards and maize fields. The large-scale farms are also non-point pollution sources via their use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. Fourth, South Africa's diverse wildlife economy (nature reserves, national parks, etc.) also relies on the Olifants water and its healthy ecosystems.

3 Methodology

3.1 Study area

We drew stakeholders for this study from the Maruleng and Fetakgomo municipalities of Limpopo province, South Africa. Figure 1 shows the location of Limpopo province on the left, the distribution of local municipalities in the province on the right and the flow of the Olifants River through Maruleng and Fetakgomo municipalities. Maruleng Municipality, which is close to some of Limpopo's prime tourist attractions including the Kruger National Park, is the smallest municipality in Mopani District with a population of about 95 thousand people, 97% of which living in rural areas (StatsSA, 2019). Despite significant tourism-related activities, the dominant economic activity in Maruleng is commercial agriculture (Mbabvu, 2017; Shokane and Masoga, 2018) and commercial farms are a major source of employment in the municipality. Overall, the unemployment rate is around 40%. In terms of access to water, StatsSA reports that 33% of the population get their water from a local water scheme, 18.1% from boreholes, and 28.3% from a river or stream, while 11.3% get it from either a pool, dam, or stagnant water source.

Fetakgomo Municipality is located in the Greater Sekhukhune district of Limpopo Province. It is a rural municipality with an approximated population of 336 thousand people (StatsSA, 2019), with high poverty levels and an unemployment rate of 59%. Access to municipality services is low as more than 133 thousand households do not have access to water from the municipality (Sebei, 2014). Only 9.5% of the population have access to piped water inside their homes. According to StatsSA (2019), a good proportion of the population get their water from boreholes (16.5%) and rivers or streams (16.9%). The municipality is located close to the Olifants River; therefore, many households collect their water from the river and its tributaries (Radingoana et al., 2019).

The motivation behind purposively selecting these municipalities was three-fold. First, they lie in close proximity to the Olifants River, implying that stakeholders are exposed to its water pollution challenges and thus

knowledgeable about them. Second, both municipalities are classified as rural areas, with high dependency on the catchment's aquatic ecosystem services (AES) (Radingoana, et al., 2020). As active users of these AES, stakeholders of these municipalities were likely to express interesting, pivotal and possibly contrasted point of views. Finally, the two municipalities neighbor Mozambique, making the Olifants River an internationally shared resource, with its water resources not only governed under different jurisdictions and laws, but also stakeholders operating under differing economic, social and cultural incentives.

3.2 Data collection

Prior to the data collection exercise, approval to conduct this research was sought and granted from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Sciences at the University of Pretoria (Ethics Application NAS256/2019). Following Watts and Stenner (2012), the data collection process followed a typical Q-methodology four-step procedure that includes concourse development, selection of statements to be sorted (or construction of the Q-set), selection of respondents (or construction of the P-set) and finally interviews in which respondents sorted the Q-set into Q-sorts and completed exit interviews.

We initially developed several statements related to AES in the Olifants through a review of ecosystem services studies in the academic (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005, Boyd and Banzhaf, 2007, Haines-Young and Potschin, 2010, TEEB 2010) and gray literatures, and a stakeholder engagement process. The latter began with a stakeholder mapping exercise informed by literature reviews and expert opinions. We identified different groups of stakeholders who held different interests in the Olifants River. We categorized them as:

1. Regulators: people working within Government departments that provide oversight and enforce regulation in the use of water resources in the country.
2. Water users: people using water resources or dependent on some AES of the Olifants River for commercial or domestic purposes. For example, commercial farmers, individuals and households who were using the Olifants River as a direct source of water for their day-to-day activities.
3. Water suppliers: people working in water utility companies and municipalities who supply water to households. The source of the water that they supply is from the Olifants River.
4. Water boards: people in charge of operating dams, bulk water supply infrastructure, and wastewater systems. Their role is to provide bulk water and wastewater services to institutions such as municipalities.
5. Conservationists: people working within Non-governmental Organizations who were involved in biodiversity conservation works in the Olifants River basin.

6. Private sector: interested parties from the private sector with private interests in the Olifants River Catchment.

Once identified, we conducted informal interviews with representatives of each stakeholder group, in which all possible opinions about AES in the Olifants were collected, to assemble the concourse. From the initial statement set, we selected 27 statements corresponding to the AES identified as relevant by at least a stakeholder representative to create the Q-set (Table 1). It is important to note that a statement included in the Q-set does not have to be factual; it only has to represent a participant's subjective view to qualify for inclusion. It follows that AES that would be deemed irrelevant in the context of the Olifants were not screened-out. Finally, the statements included in the Q-set were pre-tested with 18 stakeholders and representatives, before final data collection.

Subsequent to developing the Q-set, we purposively selected sixteen participants representative of the six stakeholder groups (3 water users, 2 water suppliers, 2 member of water boards, 4 conservationists, 2 members of the private sector, and 3 regulators) to form the set of participants to be involved in the Q-sorting exercises (P-set). The selection of sixteen participants was informed by Watts and Stenner (2012), who recommend recruitment of a minimum of one participant for every two Q-set items, meaning we had to use half as many participants as there were Q-set statements.

The purposeful selection of the sixteen interview participants was informed by acknowledged limitations of the Q methodology (e.g., see Newman and Ramlo 2010). While a powerful tool to study perceptions, it is not the panacea of research methods in the study of subjectivity. Newman and Ramlo (2010) note that one of its major weaknesses is the criteria used for recruiting participants. It is incumbent upon the researcher to purposively sample participants in a way that makes logical and theoretical sense, and answers the research question as objectively as possible (Watts and Stenner, 2012). We thus conducted extensive literature reviews and used snowball sampling to identify stakeholders in an iterative process that continued until data saturation i.e., when additional interviewees yielded no new information. Careful consideration was made to ensure that there was proportional representation of the stakeholders in terms of gender and their roles in the institutions they represented. The roles of the interviewed stakeholders varied from top management, middle-level management, junior positions, and technical personnel depending on the level of detail required to meet the study objectives. The respondents were also sourced from different organizations and institutions to improve the internal validity of the study. The demographic composition of the P-set is presented in Table 2.

Each member of the P-set was interviewed during a one-on-one meeting in their own premises (home or office), without monetary compensation. In these meetings, the interviewee completed the Q-sorting exercises and an exit interview. For the Q-sorting exercises, they were required to rank the statements presented to them on a Q-board (Figure 2). For the ranking, they were initially instructed to carefully read all statements marked on the cards they received, and sort them into three stacks reflecting “importance”, “neutrality”, and “non-importance”. They were then asked to do a more fine-grained sorting by rank ordering the three stacks into the slots of an 11-point forced-choice quasi-normal distribution printed on a score sheet ranging from +5 (extremely important), through 0 (neutral), to -5 (not important at all). Figure 2 shows the pre-arranged distribution used during the survey. The Q-sorting exercises were followed by informal discussions, in which the interviewer sought to understand the interviewees’ rankings, and give them an opportunity to express views that were not captured in the Q-set. Notes taken during these interviews helped the authors interpret the factors revealed by the statistical analysis.

The Q-sorts were then recorded and coded with the help of the PQMethod software (Schmolck and Atkinson, 2014). Table A-1 of Annex A presents the data collected during the interviews. Rows correspond to statements and the columns correspond to respondents. Each cell corresponds to the rank given to the statement $ST\ x$ by the respondent r . Therefore, a line of the table corresponds to the scores given by the different respondents for a given statement.

3.3 Data analysis

The statistical procedure underlying Q is a factor analysis where the variables to be classified are the Q-sorts (i.e., the sorting of the persons who did the ranking). This by-person factor analysis identifies the Q sorts that are highly correlated, since they indicate respondents who share the same view on how the AES should be ranked. Therefore, each shared ranking group is represented by one factor, and Q helps finding groupings of similar AES rankings. Among the possible factor extraction methodologies, we chose the principal component analysis. The unrotated output maximizes the variance accounted for by the first and subsequent factors. However, this often results in having many items load substantially on more than one factor. In order to make the output more understandable, it is a common practice to conduct some rotation of the factors to obtain “clearer” loadings, that is a solution where each item loads strongly on only one of the factors, and much more weakly on the other factors. Factor analysis allows for different types of rotation. In our case, we opted for a varimax rotation.

To select the number of factors, we looked at two common criteria used in Q analyses: the minimum number of significant Q sorts and the Kaiser-Guttman criterion (Brown, 1980). Following the Brown rule, a Q-sort was considered significantly loaded on a factor at $p < 0.01$ if its loading on that factor was greater than $2.58/\sqrt{N} =$

0.496, where $N=27$ is the number of statements (Brown, 1980). The Kaiser-Guttman criterion retains factors with eigenvalue greater than one. In addition, factor solutions ranging from two to four factors were extracted and inspected for a final decision on the number of meaningful factors to extract.

Following the varimax rotation, we selected the Q-sorts representative of each factor. To associate a Q-sort with a factor, we relied on the concept of communality h^2 defined as the sum of squared loadings along each row. The PQMethod proposes a pre-flagging algorithm to flag the purest cases only. A Q-sort with a loading a on the factor is pre-flagged if its loading is significant at $p < .05$, and if $a^2 > h^2/2$, i.e., the factor explains more than half of the common variance. In addition, the PQMethod allows the researcher to manually flag or un-flag Q-sorts.

For purposes of interpreting Q sorts associated with one factor, it is a common practice to create factor arrays, which represent how a weighted average member of that group would have arranged their statements (Watts and Stenner, 2012, Yazar and Orth, 2018). Factor arrays are based on Z-scores of each statement for a particular array (See Brown, 1980 for a detailed explanation of the Z-score calculations). The Z-scores make possible direct comparisons with scores for the same statements in the different factors, since all factor arrays have identical means (zero) and standard deviations (one). Since statements were forced into a quasi-normal distribution during the interviews, it is possible to select the item with the highest Z-score and assign it the value of +5, the next-highest item the value of +4, etc. in order to reproduce the initial format of the Q-sorts. These rounded scores introduce a small amount of error due to the arbitrary grouping involved, but they are usually preferred for interpretation, since they conform to the format in which the data were originally collected. Qualitative interpretation will then be based on the analysis of these factor arrays.

In order to discuss the relative importance of different types of ecosystem services, we classified the different services into three categories: provisioning, regulatory and supporting services, and cultural & recreational services (Table 1). This classification was inspired by the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005). Then, we estimated the salience ascribed by the factors to the three categories of ecosystem services in which statements were grouped. Salience was calculated by adding the absolute value of Z scores of the statements in each categories and normalizing that sum to the number of statements in that category. We also obtained a mean absolute Z-score per category. Normalization allows for comparisons across categories. It is also a way of validating the inclusion of each type of ecosystem services in the study, since themes with low salience are less relevant for the stakeholders interviewed.

4 Results

The results of the principal component analysis without rotation are presented in Annex B. The first three factors had at least two significantly loading Q-sorts at the 1% threshold, whilst the Humphrey's rule suggested two factors. We consequently used qmethod to initially run 3,000 bootstraps with the two factors and varimax rotation to obtain indicators of internal validity such as standard deviation of factor loadings and flagging frequency (Zabala and Pascual, 2016), and also checked interpretability of the results. We repeated this process with the three factors. This procedure enabled us to retain the solution with three factors, which together explained 57.9% of the variance. We present the factor loadings and the Q-sorts flagged to define the factors in Annex C.

One regulator and one commercial user were not flagged on any factor because they had high loadings on at least two factors. The first factor included six Q-sorts, and was composed mainly of conservationists and regulators, although it also included a water supplier and a domestic user. The latter however had the lowest loading and a higher standard deviation to loading ratio, meaning s/he carried a relatively smaller weight in factor definition. The second factor included five Q-sorts by stakeholders from treated water supply, domestic use, bulk water supply (water board) and conservation. The third factor included three Q-sorts, two of them being representative of the private sector.

The statements Z- and factor-scores are presented in Annex D, and the correlation between factors are presented in Table 3. The correlation between factors one and two was high but still below the threshold of 0.496 used to determine significant correlations at $p < 0.01$ (Brown, 1980). We concluded that the three factors represented sufficiently distinct views to be analyzed, but with possible convergence of views on some aspects especially between the first two factors. We present a summary table of the factor arrays for the three factors in Table 4 and the average Z-scores and the salience (per factor and per ecosystem services type) in Table 5. In what follows, information between brackets in the descriptions of the factors include the statement number (from 1 to 27) and the normalized value assigned to the statement (from -5 to +5).

4.1 Description of the factors

4.1.1 Factor 1: The conservationists (n=6)

Stakeholders holding this perspective gave priority to the regulation and support services. They highly ranked conservation of ecosystems (#4: +5) and dilution of pollutants (#1: +4) as important AES. Other supporting services were ranked slightly lower including support plant growth (#26: +3), recycling nutrients (#22: +3), habitat for fish and wildlife (#6: +2) and to a lesser extent an environment for rare species (#24: +1).

While the regulation and support types of services were clearly seen as most important, this group also recognized the importance of supplying water for human consumption, as showed by the ranking of water for domestic uses (#8:+3), and to a lesser extent by the water for municipalities (#13: +1). However, the bootstrap scores of these provisioning services were variable indicating that although they were ranked as meaningful, the relative position given by the different members was more variable. As a result, these provisioning services are less representative of this group.

This group ranked the cultural and recreational services as least important: they all received factor scores lower than zero. This was especially the case of aesthetic values (#20: -3), recreational fishing (#18: -3), and boat cruises (#15: -4). Finally, water transport that we classified as a provisioning service was ranked lowest (#10: -5). Overall, this group is strongly pro-regulatory services associated with water-related ecosystems, consistent with its composition: largely conservationists and regulators.

4.1.2 Factor 2: The water users: water for domestic and other private uses (n= 5)

Stakeholders holding this perspective gave priority to major provisioning services, with the highest priority given to domestic uses. The highest importance was given to potable water supply (#13: +5) and water directly abstracted for domestic use (#8: +4). This was followed by water for irrigation (#7: +3). Two regulation services were ranked relatively high: the maintenance of raw water quality by diluting pollutants (#1: +3), and the provision of a habitat for fish and wildlife (#6: +2). The purification service can be linked to support the provision of water for domestic and other private uses, since stakeholders expect the water related ecosystems to purify water for private use. This group also placed importance on the Olifants River provision of plants, herbs and natural products for use in different activities (#12: +2). Overall, we see that this group bundled a mix of provisioning and regulatory services that are all related directly or indirectly to a final private use of the catchment natural resources. Water for industrial uses received a high rank (#14: +2), however, the variability of this ranking was also higher indicating a less consensual view about this service within the group.

This group also did not see the cultural and recreational services as important. The least important AES for stakeholders holding this perspective was sport fishing (#18: -5). These stakeholders were also of the view that the Olifants River could not contribute to make the landscape more beautiful (#25: -2). Among the provisioning services, water for power generation was also ranked very low (#9: -4).

A general characteristic of this group was the low rank given to regulation services, especially the protection of rare species (#24:-3), the control of soil erosion (#3:-3), and the recycling of nutrients (#22: -2) mainly because

they did not see how these services benefit people. Prevention of floods (via dams or wetlands) (#2: -1) were not considered important services.

Overall, this group gave high priority to domestic and private uses of natural resources, which is not surprising since it was mainly composed of water suppliers, water end-users, and a board member in charge of delivering bulk water. Regulation and provisioning services with no direct influence on the capacity to generate private benefits are not seen as important.

4.1.3 Factor 3: The planners: an environment to be mastered for societal benefits (n=3)

This factor included three stakeholders, two from the private sector and a regulator. The factor's uniqueness derives from the importance it gives to power generation (#9: +5), water storage (#5:+4) and regulatory functions associated with erosion (#3:+3) and flood control (#2: +2). The use of water for industries was given a low rank (#14:+1) and was not variable within the group. All these services relate to water flows regulation, probably via dam construction. These services also relate more to the production of public goods (power generation, water for households, prevention of floods, and prevention of erosion). However, the provision of public goods associated with the maintenance of natural ecosystems were not given the priority. All regulatory services related to the conservation of natural habitats and species were consistently ranked low (#24: -1, #22:-1, #6:-2, #4:-2). Most of the cultural and recreational services were given a low rank, except the generation of national pride of owning a clean river (#21:+2).

4.2 Consensus and divergence of views

4.2.1 Consensual ecosystem services

Ten out of the 27 services were consensual, i.e., they had Z-scores that were not significantly different across factors at $p < 0.05$ (Annex D). Out of these ten services, water for industrial uses was the only consensual provisioning service. In contrast, most cultural and recreational services were consensual (5 out of eight services in that category); they were seen by all factors as less important than the other services. Finally, only four of the eleven regulation and maintenance services were consensual.

Overall, the consensus was more about services that were not deemed important (mostly cultural services) or of moderate importance (mainly selected supporting services), but there was less consensus on what were the most important services. None of the cultural and recreational services were ranked higher than one by any group, suggesting consensus that these services are not important. While this result appears surprising given proximity to the Kruger National Park, a highly touristic place for its wildlife within the Olifants catchment, we attribute it to location of the municipalities where we collected data (Maruleng and Fetakgomo), where agriculture is the

predominant economic activity. Consequently, the difference in points of view between the groups will be about the mix of provisioning and support services.

4.2.2 A simple classification of the ecosystem services

To better understand the viewpoints diversity towards these AES, we calculated the mean and the standard deviation of the scores obtained on the three factors. The scatterplot of the statements along these two dimensions is shown in Figure 4. We separated the mean score into three classes: highly negative, close to zero, highly positive, and the standard deviation into small and large. This delineated six classes of statements identified in the different quadrants of the Figure 4.

The lower part of the graph identified more consensual AES because the standard deviation is small. In the lower-right quadrant (highly positive mean score and small standard deviation), there is a consensus among factors to consider these services as very important. The services found in this category are water for municipal uses, water for irrigation and to a lesser extent water for industrial uses. We also find two regulation services, i.e. maintenance of water quality and support of plant growth processes. The upper-right quadrant (highly positive mean score and large standard deviation) includes the direct extraction of water for household consumption. The standard deviation is high because one factor had a score close to zero, while the other two gave high scores. While not completely consensual, this also suggests that this service will not be highly controversial as two groups are highly in favor of this ecosystem service while the remaining group is neutral towards it. Therefore, the observation of these two quadrant suggests that provisioning services related to the use of water by households (either directly or through municipal delivery), by agriculture and by industries are consensual or at least not controversial. For example, this is the case of water for agriculture that is seen as important by one group (factor 2), but is given highly negative ranks by others. This leaves room for obtaining solutions that can potentially satisfy the different types of stakeholders.

In the lower-middle quadrant (low mean score and low standard deviation), there is a consensus to consider these ecosystem services as neither important nor unimportant services. They include the prevention of damage to the environment and water cycle. These two services were probably not sufficiently defined to be easily evaluated, explaining a relative consensus to rank them in the middle part of the distribution. Research and education purpose falls also in that category. In this case, the lack of direct or immediate benefits might explain this lack of interest for this service. Finally, the tourism for wildlife also falls in that category. This general lack of recognition for this service is surprising given the importance of tourism for this catchment as attested with the presence of the Kruger National Park, one of the largest national parks in South Africa. However as earlier observed, it is our view that

this has more to do with where the study sites were located rather than the lack of importance of cultural ecosystem services.

In the lower-left quadrant of the graph (highly negative mean value and small standard deviation) there is a consensus for considering AES of very low importance. This quadrant includes only cultural and recreational services (recreational fishing, aesthetic value, and religious values). The upper-left quadrant (highly negative mean value and large standard deviation) includes services that with highly negative scores for some groups, and better scores by other group. This quadrant only contains two services related to the use of boats either for transport or for tourism. However, for both these services, the scores were highly negative for two groups and close to zero for the last group. Considering this, we can conclude that the upper- and lower-left quadrants contain services that will not be prioritized by any of the stakeholders. Again, this provide useful information for the management of the ecosystems.

In the upper-middle quadrant (small mean score, large standard deviation), we will find the controversial services. They are controversial because the combination of the high standard deviation and low mean can only be obtained if scores are negative for some groups and positive for other groups. This is particularly the case of the water for power generation and the two regulation services (control of soil erosion and conservation of ecosystems). Power generation was seen by some stakeholders as not realistic given the water flows and the configuration of the basin. However, one group considered it as an important service, in this case potential service. This difference of views may originate from a different level of information about the real potential of this service. The “conservation of ecosystems” particularly opposed the conservationist views (factor 1) with the planners (factor 3). On the other hand, the planners saw the “control of erosion” as an important service while the conservationist did not see them as important. These opposing views underline a different approach of the services potentially obtained from water-related ecosystems in the catchment. The first ones see them as an opportunity to conserve important ecosystems and species. The other ones highlight the services that have a direct or indirect impact on the production of tangible services.

4.3 Discussion: implications for the management of ecosystems in the Olifants

Ecosystem management is often difficult because of uncertainties and conflicting stakeholder views. Although the Q method cannot address the uncertainties about the consequences of another policy or governance structure on ecosystems, it has proven useful in identifying the views of different stakeholders. We have identified three contrasting views on the important ecosystem services derived from water-related ecosystems in the Olifants River basin.

An initial description of the three factors suggested conflicting and irreconcilable views on the hierarchy of services. In particular, we did not find any consensus about the most important provisioning services, indicating conflicts regarding the possible direct benefits society should extract from these ecosystems. It highlighted a divide between “conservationists” who give priority to ecosystems and ranked low the provisioning services, “water users” who give priority to private extractive uses of the resource and the services that would help keep it clean, and “managers of the environment” who are ready to transform natural ecosystems if it provides more public goods.

However, a more careful observation of the rankings by the different groups also suggests that some trade-offs and win-win solutions could be discussed. More specifically, the Q method allowed for the identification of services very important for at least two groups and considered more neutrally by the remaining group. For example, we saw from section 4.1 that the contribution of ecosystems to the dilution of pollutants and the maintenance of water quality was seen by conservationists and water users as important, while the developers did not rank it low. In the same way, direct extractions from the river for domestic uses showed the same pattern, where conservationists and water users recognized these direct extraction services as important for the population well-being as some households do not have access to treated water delivered in the villages or in their homes. The water extracted by municipalities to supply tap water follow a symmetrical pattern, the water users and the developers seeing municipal water uses as more important.

This leaves room for the implementation of solutions that would contribute to the delivery of services important for some stakeholders, while not affecting the others, since they have a more neutral attitude towards them. One possible candidate is the development of ecological infrastructures (EI). EI refers to nature-based equivalents of built infrastructure designed to deliver valuable ecosystem services like water and climate regulation, soil formation, and disaster risk reduction (Von Bormann and Gulati, 2014). Protection, restoration, or maintenance of targeted wetlands would serve the double purpose of ecosystem preservation and water quality maintenance (via the filtering of pollutants) so that households extracting water directly from rivers would be less affected by pollution. In fact, this would also supplement built infrastructure for water such as water treatment plants or dams (SANBI, 2014, United Nations Environment Programme, 2014, Palmer, et al., 2015, UNESCO, 2018). Indeed, these ecological infrastructures would need to be crafted so they deliver the expected services; this requires that their efficiency in delivering these services are validated by science-based evidence, and the local trade-offs are accepted by the different local stakeholders. While this exploratory study was deliberately made at a large scale to explore the different views, similar methodology could be employed when evaluating a specific change such as an

investment into ecological infrastructures. A particularly interesting research track will be to combine mapping tools with the Q-methodology to map stakeholder perceptions and preferences regarding the possible outcomes of such investments (Forrester, et al., 2015, Elbakidze, et al., 2017, Sigwela, et al., 2017, Sy, et al., 2018).

5 Conclusion

We used Q methodology to understand stakeholder perceptions about AES in the Olifants River. Our results led us to identify three perspectives, each with a unique take on the research question. The first perspective was held by a group of stakeholders that we classified as conservationists based on their prioritization of the use of AES to conserve the environment. The second perspective revealed a focus on AES for domestic use. The third perspective revealed a focus on using AES to maximize societal welfare. This study demonstrates that in the multi-stakeholder governance and use of a resource, there are converging and competing priorities. Such information can serve as a useful starting point for the design of strategies for effective management of trade-offs. In the field of ES management, as Jacobs et al., 2016 pointed out, it is critical to achieve the inclusion of all stakeholders in ES research design and evaluation. If care is taken to select a group of participants with a large spectrum of views and that includes those who may have less power in the decision-making arena, the Q methodology provides a first step for their expression. In particular, it allows for the identification and ranking of ES according to levels of consensus. For less consensual ES, it allows the construction of broad categories of stakeholder views. Therefore, the Q methodology is an important first step towards consensus building and can contribute to the resolution of complex management problems. A particular trait, and we will argue a particular advantage, of the Q methodology is that the assessments are done individually, allowing the variety of opinions to be freely expressed and explicitly inventoried (Sy et al., 2018). This is in contrast to more deliberative approaches that are based on open discussions during which the power dynamics and the charisma of some of the participants may influence the outcome of the research. It is our view, that both types of methods could provide complementary information, and be used towards solving complex ecosystem management problems. Finally, it is also our view that a similar study on the Mozambique side of the Olifants River could generate complementary information that could inform transboundary strategies for the management of this shared resource.

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