

# 1 Games as tools to address conservation conflicts

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## 24 **Keywords**

25 Conservation; conflicts; game theory; experimental games; constructivist games;  
26 role-playing.

## 28 **Highlights** (two to four)

29 See conflict games highlights.doc

## 31 **Abstract** (100 - 120 words)

32 Conservation conflicts represent complex multi-layered problems which are  
33 challenging to study. We explore the utility of theoretical, experimental and  
34 constructivist approaches to games to help understand and manage these  
35 challenges. We show how these approaches can help develop theory, understand  
36 patterns in conflict and highlight potentially effective management solutions. The  
37 choice of approach should be guided by the research question and whether the  
38 focus is on testing hypotheses, predicting behaviour or engaging stakeholders.  
39 Games provide an exciting opportunity to help unravel the complexity in conflicts,  
40 whilst researchers need an awareness of the limitations and ethical constraints  
41 involved. Given the opportunities, this field will benefit from greater investment and  
42 development.

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## 49 **The conflict challenge**

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51 Conflicts are widespread within conservation and are damaging to both conservation  
52 interests and to the livelihoods and well-being of people involved [1,2]. Such  
53 conflicts are often complex, seemingly intractable and open-ended “wicked”  
54 problems [3–5]. Whilst superficially they may appear to be about lions attacking  
55 livestock, or the impact of superabundant geese in an agricultural landscape, in  
56 reality they involve complex layers of multiple stakeholders with different interests,  
57 values, goals, and life experiences in different political, cultural and historical  
58 settings [2,6–9]. The complexity of conflicts challenges our ability to tease out critical  
59 elements, understand the dynamics of conflict and stakeholder behaviour, design  
60 effective interventions, understand how to promote engagement and build possible  
61 solutions. Traditional ecological approaches to studying such issues have often failed  
62 to meet this challenge and in some cases have led to ineffective interventions which  
63 at worst can exacerbate existing problems [10].

64

65 Games offer a potentially powerful means to disentangle this complexity and help  
66 understand conflicts and their management. In everyday usage, a game is a  
67 competitive activity defined by its rules, and is generally played for fun. However, a  
68 more formal definition is offered by game theory, which regards a game as a model  
69 of a strategic situation in which the outcome of an individual’s action also depends  
70 on the actions chosen by others[11,12]. Viewed in this way, games provide both a  
71 framework for formal analysis of conflicts and form the basis of a set of powerful  
72 research tools which can be used to clarify the key elements of a conflict, investigate

73 the beliefs and behaviour of the participants, examine the effects of changes to the  
74 system and engage stakeholders in productive discussion.

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76 Various approaches to studying conflict and co-operation based on games have been  
77 developed in fields related to conservation (e.g. natural resource management [13,  
78 15,1617]; cooperation over the provision of public goods [14]), but the games  
79 literature can seem a bit overwhelming: the characteristics, strengths and weakness  
80 of alternative approaches are not always clearly understood; they have different  
81 philosophical underpinnings; and the terminology used to describe them can be  
82 confusing for non-specialists. As a result, they have not yet been widely applied to  
83 the study of conservation conflicts.

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85 We cannot hope to be comprehensive in reviewing the diversity of games here, so  
86 instead we focus on describing and differentiating between theoretical,  
87 experimental and constructivist approaches to using games that are relevant to  
88 those working in conservation. We explore how each one may contribute to our  
89 understanding and management of conflict. We start by briefly describing and  
90 illustrating the approaches with examples. We then consider the types of problems  
91 that emerge in conflict situations and how they may be addressed by the different  
92 approaches to games. We then examine an on-going conflict to illustrate how games  
93 may help to understand and manage it. Lastly, we consider some of the general  
94 limitations and ethical issues involved in using games in conflicts and propose  
95 promising directions for future work.

96

97 **Approaches to games**

98 *Theoretical games* are characterised by a formal mathematical analysis or simulation  
99 of players, behaviours, outcomes and rules (see Box 1). They are useful for  
100 understanding the nature of conflicts and identifying novel solutions to real-world  
101 situations of strategic conflict. For example, a typical situation concerns the joint  
102 goals of wildlife conservation and food production where protected animals have a  
103 negative impact on farmers. Such a scenario could be simplified to consider two  
104 possible strategies - for parties to cooperate, or to defect as when farmers illegally  
105 hunt or conservationists exclude local people from the benefits of tourism income.  
106 Game-theoretic analyses of such simple scenarios often seek analytic solutions [13].  
107 For example, in the “tragedy of the commons” scenario [14], individuals seek to  
108 maximise their own payoffs, leading to long term reductions in benefits for everyone  
109 (all wild animals killed and no income from tourism). Because this problem is defined  
110 by strategic interactions among rational players, a game-theoretic perspective can  
111 be used to better understand such conflicts and potentially offer novel solutions for  
112 promoting cooperation and sustainability [15,16], such as having an agreed level of  
113 wild animals, agriculture and income from tourism.

114

115 In the related fields of common pool resources, land and water management and  
116 fisheries, theoretical games have included more complex dynamic simulations, the  
117 coupling of social-ecological systems and the uncertainty that is inherent in these  
118 systems. The inclusion of both natural resource dynamics and human behaviour has  
119 improved our conceptual understanding of conflict situations [17–19], broken down  
120 the complexity of decision-making for individual stakeholder objectives [20], allowed

121 us to make qualitative or quantitative predictions of behaviour or other system  
122 outcomes [21] and unified case studies through common theory [15,22]. Theoretical  
123 games typically assume that simulated players follow a particular set of behaviour  
124 patterns, such as being rational decision-makers, providing a baseline for comparison  
125 with real-world behaviour [12]. However, behaviours deviating from classical  
126 economic theory are also possible [23,24]. For a detailed discussion of the use of  
127 game-theoretic approaches in conservation see [18].

128 **Strengths:** *Useful to probe theoretical understanding of a situation, examine the*  
129 *logical conclusions of assumptions about a conflict, and make predictions about the*  
130 *effects of changing aspects of a system.*

131 **Weaknesses:** *Necessarily simplified; they cut humans out of the loop, so the*  
132 *complexity of real people in the process is lost.*

133

134 *Experimental* games are used to investigate participant behaviour in controlled  
135 strategic situations, in either the laboratory or the field [25]. Experiments based on  
136 games provide powerful tools for testing theoretical predictions about individual and  
137 group behaviour [26] and for quantifying behavioural traits, such as levels of trust  
138 and trustworthiness [27] and preferences for risk or fairness [28]. In this way,  
139 experimental games enable the investigation of responses to conservation  
140 interventions within the context of complex social dilemmas without the need to  
141 rely on theoretical assumptions, or expensive full implementation studies. They are  
142 well suited to investigations of possible conflict management strategies, enabling  
143 researchers to study their relative effectiveness in a controlled setting prior to  
144 implementation (See Box 2). This approach is particularly useful when participants in

145 a game are themselves stakeholders in the conflict the game seeks to model since  
146 behaviour has been shown to vary with factors such as cultural and educational  
147 background and familiarity with the situation being represented [29]. The application  
148 of experimental game approaches with real stakeholders thus increases the  
149 likelihood that results of experiments are applicable to real world resources,  
150 institutions, and people [26].

151 **Strengths:** *Useful for testing theories and practical interventions that are*  
152 *difficult/expensive to test at 'reality scale' and to quantify behavioural traits.*

153 **Weaknesses:** *Necessarily simplified, although not as much as theoretical games;*  
154 *Design and implementation requires attention to detail so that a truly fair*  
155 *comparison is made among treatments. Outcomes can be sensitive to small changes*  
156 *in the experimental design.*

157

158 *The constructivist approach requires games to be designed and used in iterative*  
159 *processes to understand conflict situations and to help stakeholders come up with*  
160 *solutions [30]. These games can be card games, board games or role-playing games,*  
161 *and they are used to foster dialogue and build trust among stakeholders [31]. As for*  
162 *experimental games, constructivism integrates players inside the game – bringing in*  
163 *their needs, desires, beliefs and intentions, allowing their behaviour in the game to*  
164 *represent differences in knowledge and values. The difference from other*  
165 *approaches, however, is that here the players are given freedom to explore a range*  
166 *of possible outcomes in strategic situations, so they can reframe the problem and*  
167 *the game, and create new options not initially contemplated by the research team*  
168 *[30](Box 3). As a result the capacity to learn and anticipate are integral to the*

169 behaviour observed within a game [32]. In conservation conflict contexts, these  
170 games often have a multi-agent system structure, with a landscape, resources, and  
171 stakeholders, interactions within and among these components, and explicit  
172 representation given to the cognitive capacities of the agents [33]. This approach is  
173 exemplified by the work of the Companion Modelling community  
174 ([www.commod.org](http://www.commod.org)).

175 **Strengths:** *Flexible enough to allow for a wide range of human behaviour; useful to*  
176 *establish dialogue, help people understand different viewpoints and agree a shared*  
177 *understanding of a conflict.*

178 **Weaknesses:** *Documentation, analysis, replication and synthesis are all challenging.*

179

## 180 **How can games be used to address questions about conflicts?**

181 A number of issues that emerge from research on conflicts are pertinent to games

182 [2] (Table 1). First, there is a need to find generalities from the numerous case

183 studies and build relevant theory. For example, we might want to develop

184 hypotheses for how cooperation can develop in dynamic ecosystems that typically

185 have a high degree of uncertainty and significant fluctuations in resources [34].

186 When mapping conflicts, there is a need to explore the underlying patterns and

187 behaviour of conflicts – how they emerge and how they change over time, and when

188 they switch from conflict to cooperation [35,36]. In addition, understanding conflict

189 relies on mapping the underlying stakeholder values, emotions, interests and

190 positions and how these aspects affect behaviour in conflicts [37–41]. Moving into

191 conflict management, a widespread issue lies in understanding the impact of

192 different types of interventions on stakeholder behaviour and on the level of

193 conflict. Such interventions can include both specific technical measures such as  
 194 compensation schemes or lethal control, or interventions focused on trust and  
 195 relationships, dialogue processes, governance and institutions [42–50]. Lastly, a  
 196 critical issue lies in the importance of dialogue and engagement in promoting  
 197 listening, understanding and the development of solutions among stakeholders.

198

199 All three approaches to using games can provide useful insight into each of these  
 200 areas of conflict research (Table 1), and the choice between them should be guided  
 201 by the specific research question and context in which they will be applied. However,  
 202 some approaches tend to suit certain objectives. For example, experimental  
 203 approaches are well suited to exploring how an intervention might alter stakeholder  
 204 behaviour in a conflict, whilst constructivist approaches are useful when exploring  
 205 solutions with stakeholders. It is also worth pointing out that synergies may arise by  
 206 using combinations of games, such as experimental and constructivist approaches  
 207 [76].

208 **Table 1:** Suggestions about how different approaches to games could be used to  
 209 address objectives relevant to understanding and managing conservation conflicts.  
 210 These suggestions are illustrative in nature and are not intended to be exhaustive or  
 211 mutually exclusive. Each suggestion is accompanied by a reference to a study where  
 212 this type of approach to games was used to address comparable objectives in a  
 213 related field.

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	<b>Approach</b>		
<b>Objective</b>	<b>Theoretical</b> e.g. game theoretic modelling on computer	<b>Experimental</b> e.g. common pool resource and public goods games in lab and field	<b>Constructivist</b> e.g. role playing games and companion modelling in lab and field
<b>Develop theory about conservation conflict in a changing environment</b>	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To explore the logical consequences of theories of conflict  <i>Comparable example:</i>	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To test assumptions about behaviour in conflicts and look for generalities  <i>Comparable example:</i>	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To elicit the insights of stakeholders about the nature of conflicts  <i>Comparable example:</i>



	Exploring whether social ostracism can promote cooperation and sustainability in fisheries harvesting, assuming rational agents [19] (Box 1).	Testing how environmental stochasticity and trust affect cooperation to mitigate climate-change [53].	Eliciting stakeholders' reported behavioural strategies in a natural resource management and conservation setting [31].
<b>Understand how conflicts emerge, evolve and resolve</b>	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To examine the conditions under which conflicts are likely and suggest how they might be changed to encourage cooperation.  <i>Comparable example:</i> Analysing the history of environmental conflict, identifying the structure and actions (e.g. enforcement) of the conflict and predicting possible solutions [54].	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To test the role of specific factors in promoting cooperation or conflict  <i>Comparable example:</i> Testing the effects of fear and environmental uncertainty on co-operation between nations with respect to climate change action [56].	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To support dialogue and shared learning to co-identify the roots of and solutions to conflict  <i>Comparable example:</i> Building a shared representation of farmers' interactions with a protected area to allow for the negotiation of uncertainties and risks [57].
<b>Understand how values, interests and positions affect stakeholder behaviour</b>	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To predict conflict from values and norms  <i>Comparable example:</i> Explaining outputs from different types of theoretic games in relation to how equity, reciprocity and competitive behaviour affect co-operation [58].	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To test how individual and institutional characteristics affect behaviour  <i>Comparable example:</i> Investigating how personal norms and other individual scale variable in the context of village-scale influence cooperative behaviour [61].	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To facilitate understanding of behaviour and social learning.  <i>Comparable example:</i> Revealing the processes leading to overgrazing. The game facilitated social learning and game facilitated instrumental and served as a platform for sharing views, knowledge, and perceptions [63]
<b>Identify how interventions affect stakeholder behaviour and conflict</b>	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To predict behavioural responses to different interventions  <i>Comparable example:</i> Investigating effects of payments and sanctions on poaching and importance of individual-level heterogeneity and strategic decision-making in design of interventions. [67].	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To test behavioural responses to different interventions  <i>Comparable example:</i> Assessing three alternative payment schemes for promoting sustainable forest resource use and the effect of communication, leadership, and external advice on their effectiveness [72].	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To explore behavioural responses to different interventions with stakeholders  <i>Comparable example:</i> Revealing the effect of policy change on stakeholder behaviour in coffee plantations (Box 3)
<b>Promote engagement amongst stakeholders to understand conflicts and develop solutions.</b>	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To co-construct theoretical models to explore solutions  <i>Comparable example:</i> Combining theoretical and role-playing games to simulate fishery management and explore effectiveness of management options [73].	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To promote dialogue and test solutions  <i>Comparable example:</i> Using experimental games as a development tool to teach communities about incentives and strategic interaction [74]	<i>Relevance of approach:</i> To promote and support co-management  <i>Comparable example:</i> Bringing local communities and protected area managers together to co-design role-playing game and collaborate to produce effective management plans.[57].

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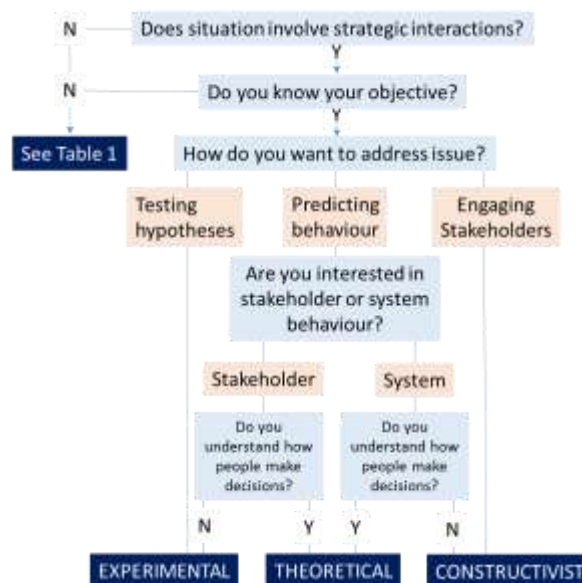
216 To further guide the choice of approaches, it is useful to ask whether the main aim of

217 the game is to test specific hypotheses, predict behaviour or to engage stakeholders

218 (Figure 1). Experimental approaches best fit the aim of testing hypotheses, and  
 219 constructivist approaches are best suited if the aim is engagement. If the aim is to  
 220 predict future behaviour, then the most appropriate approach will depend on two  
 221 things: first, whether or not there is a reasonable model of the players' decision-  
 222 making process, and second, whether the main interest is in the system or the  
 223 stakeholders. If there is knowledge of how people choose between a small set of  
 224 actions then theoretical games will be most useful for predicting the behaviour of  
 225 both systems and stakeholders. However, if there is no reasonable model of  
 226 decision-making, then constructivist approaches are likely to be most helpful at  
 227 predicting system behaviour, and experimental games are likely to be most helpful  
 228 at predicting stakeholder behaviour.

229

230 Figure 1. Decision tree highlighting how different approaches to games (theoretical,  
 231 experimental and constructivist) fit the different objectives outlined in table 1, and  
 232 whether the aim of the research is focused on testing hypotheses, predicting future  
 233 behaviour or stakeholder engagement.  
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## 237 **Approaching a live conflict – geese in agricultural landscapes**

238 To illustrate the utility of alternative approaches, we consider how games could be  
239 used to illuminate different facets of the conflict over rapidly increasing geese  
240 populations (Box 4). Most populations of geese in Europe (14 of 17 populations of 7  
241 species) have grown from threatened to super-abundant over the last 60 years [77].  
242 These geese often graze in intensively managed agricultural fields leading to conflict  
243 with farming objectives [78,79]. Management strategies and policies have failed to  
244 adapt to this increasing problem, causing frustration among stakeholders, and  
245 reinforcing polarisation and conflicts [80]. Games can provide insight into the  
246 understanding and management of this conflict in several ways.

247

## 248 **General limitations & ethics**

249 Whilst games have enormous potential to provide insight, they are not a panacea.  
250 One of the main limitations of all the games is that, as for all models of reality, they  
251 require complex situations to be simplified. It is hard to choose which aspects of a  
252 situation can be safely ignored in order to develop an appropriate game. In addition,  
253 games may give the illusion of representing real-world outcomes, yet they cannot  
254 predict with certainty what will happen when the stakes are real. A particular  
255 concern about the external validity arises in situations where the payoffs used in a  
256 game are considerably lower than in real-life [26,81]. Similarly, there are issues of  
257 internal validity - are the decisions being made by game participants the same as  
258 those a researcher believes are being made? [81]. These questions need to be  
259 considered throughout the process of developing, implementing and interpreting a

260 game. Debriefing session after experimental/constructivist games with the  
261 participants are valuable in helping to provide insight into their behaviour.  
262

263 While a game can seem innocuous fun, games with stakeholders can raise serious  
264 ethical issues: from framing and game design through implementation and  
265 publishing the results. For example, at the design stage, it is easy for researchers to  
266 plan a game in such a way that their preferred solution is the winning strategy,  
267 turning the outcome of the game into a foregone conclusion. To avoid this pitfall, the  
268 community of Companion Modelling has drafted a charter of conduct [30]. In  
269 addition, early and thorough testing are essential to address questions such as, "are  
270 participants able to understand the game and participate meaningfully given their  
271 level of education and cultural background?", or "are we in a position to understand  
272 what participants take from the game?". Game designers need to consider how to  
273 capture and represent sensitive behaviours, such as corruption, poaching or  
274 reprisals. Designs and tools are available to avoid revealing individual information to  
275 other players, or even to the research team [71]. Stakeholders may also question  
276 whether games are serious enough to warrant the interest of busy professionals  
277 with a reputation to lose [32].

278

279 Payments involving cash or other tangible goods are sometimes used in games  
280 [71,82]. These approaches need to be thought through before implementation.  
281 Payments linked to individual performance within games are supposed to give  
282 players an incentive to focus harder, but also incentivise acting more selfishly,  
283 potentially undermining the basis of collaboration [83]. In certain contexts, this

284 would improve understanding of the system. In others, it could be detrimental,  
285 particularly if the incentives are trivial compared to the costs that stakeholders incur  
286 in real life.

287

288 During certain games, the role of the participants will evolve, and researchers need  
289 to reflect on how much power they are willing to give to participants and how to  
290 deal with the power asymmetries among stakeholders and between stakeholders  
291 and the research team [84]. In fact, even playing a game may affect the system, so  
292 researchers need to exercise reflexivity to be aware of any potential unintended  
293 outcomes of such interventions [85]. It is worth noting that although games with  
294 participants can spark conflicts or add fuel to existing ones, conflicts are rarely  
295 created by the interactions in the games but are inherent to the situation being  
296 explored. Games simply bring these processes to light so that the conflict can be  
297 managed instead of being suppressed by the power structure of the status quo [86].  
298 Nevertheless, they require careful facilitation to manage expectations and deal with  
299 emerging issues.

300

301 The ethical considerations of publishing games that involve stakeholders are also  
302 important. Participants should be informed how data will be used, who will have  
303 access to it, and in what form, particularly if it is identifiable to a particular player. As  
304 with other empirical approaches to investigating sensitive behaviour, anonymising  
305 individual behaviour may not, in itself, be sufficient to ensure that game participants  
306 are protected from harm [87].

307

## 308 **Future Directions**

309 Games offer exciting opportunities to help guide the understanding and  
310 management of conflicts over biodiversity and conservation. This field of conflict  
311 research is focused on case studies with limited efforts to draw out the generalities  
312 [88]. Games have the potential to help find and explore the generalities, such as the  
313 consistent findings in ultimatum games of concern for others – as opposed to the  
314 pure self-interest that is often assumed [11], and consider how they might fit in  
315 different contexts. We consider a number of outstanding questions in Table 2.

316

## 317 **Concluding remarks**

318 Conflicts are ubiquitous, persistent and damaging. Their complexity and critical  
319 human dimensions mean that they are challenging to study and manage. Games  
320 have the potential to address these problems and provide genuine insight into a  
321 wide range of issues around how we understand and manage conflicts. Moreover,  
322 games also have the potential to be fun. There are different types of games available  
323 to address different questions and situations – from theoretical games to ones  
324 involving the active participation of stakeholders. Given their potential to help  
325 develop theory, understand patterns in conflict and highlight potentially effective  
326 management solutions, we suggest this field is ripe for development, given proper  
327 awareness of the limitations and ethical constraints.

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330 **Box 1** An example of a theoretical game developed to address a fisheries conflict and  
331 the role of cooperation.

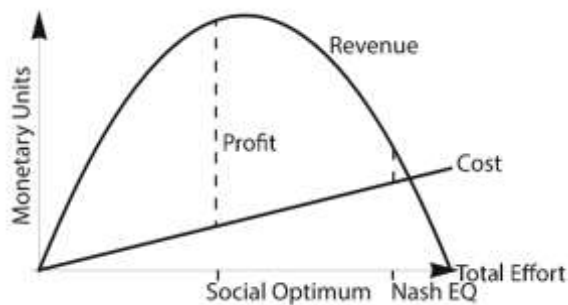


Figure 1 from [19] showing that cooperation and ultimately sustainability is best promoted at a higher total effort of harvest (Nash EQ) than would be optimal (Social Optimum) for maximising long-term profit (dashed lines). Figure reproduced with permission from the journal.

342  
343 Tilman et al. [19] recently investigated conflict within a social-ecological fishery  
344 system by constructing a mathematical model of the fishery as a common-pool  
345 resource system. Fishers can increase their own profits by maximising their catch,  
346 but the individual gain achieved by doing so contributes to long-term depletion of  
347 total fisheries stock. The authors looked at this case study using game theory,  
348 defining a 'socially-optimal' fishing strategy that could be enforced by allowing  
349 fishers to ostracise one another when over-harvesting occurs. In the mathematical  
350 model, fishers could either join a cooperative or they could harvest independently  
351 which increased profit, but came at the cost of being ostracised by the cooperative.  
352 Further, the punitive power of the cooperative increased with its size, and  
353 ostracising independent harvesters also incurred a cost to the fishers in the  
354 cooperative.

355  
356 Tilman et al. [19] modelled the dynamics of fish biomass and the fraction of fishers  
357 that joined the cooperative. Fishers were assumed to be rational agents who joined  
358 or not based on whichever choice maximised their profit. They demonstrated the  
359 conceptually general, counter-intuitive result that social ostracism can promote  
360 cooperation and ultimately sustainability when individuals within a cooperative  
361 harvest at a rate that is higher than what would otherwise be optimal for maximising  
362 the long-term rate of resource harvest overall. This is because a higher harvest rate  
363 for individuals within a cooperative can discourage independent harvesters from  
364 invading, and ultimately leads to more sustainable long-term harvests. Hence, this  
365 theoretical approach suggested a novel, generally applicable, way to address  
366 conservation conflict.

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**Box 2.** An example of an experimental game developed to predict the outcomes of incentive-based interventions on illegal resource use in Cambodia.

Photos by H. Travers



In Cambodia, illegal resource use inside protected areas is common, with high rates of hunting and land clearance in particular leading to conflict between local people and conservation authorities. One solution that has been developed to mitigate this conflict is the introduction of incentive-based interventions to promote compliance with land use and resource access zones. To evaluate the potential behavioural impact of these interventions, Travers *et al.* [70] used an experimental game adapted from the common-pool resource game developed by Ostrom *et al.* [15]. To aid understanding, the game was framed around the harvesting of fish from a pond within the protected area. Each participant was given the option of harvesting fish from this pond or choosing to leave fish unharvested for future use. Payoffs were set such that harvested fish were worth considerably more to the individual harvesting than if they had been left in the pond. However, the collective value of fish left in the pond was greater than the payoff an individual received from harvesting. This set up a social dilemma in which the optimum strategy for players who wanted to maximise their own payoff was to harvest as many fish as they could, whereas the social optimum was to leave all fish in the pond.

A number of alternative management strategies were investigated, including fines if participants were caught harvesting too many fish and individual or collective rewards for keeping harvests within predefined thresholds. The most effective interventions at reducing fish harvest were those that encouraged participants to self-organise, through the use of incentives that were conditional on group behaviour or allocated to individuals by the group. Although the treatments considered in the game were stylised versions of those applied in reality, the findings provided valuable insight into the features of incentive initiatives predicted to have the greatest impact on encouraging sustainable use of resources and mitigating conflict between local people and conservation authorities. This has led to increased efforts to promote the development of local institutions and the provision of collective incentives to local communities.



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**Box 3. An example of a role-playing game to explore the likely influence of policy change on an agro-forestry system in India**

Photos by C.A.Garcia



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The landscape of Kodagu, in India's Western Ghats is a mosaic of rice fields, forest fragments and coffee farms. Coffee is produced under complex, multi-storied agroforestry systems, but farmers are replacing a diverse, native canopy cover with the fast growing, introduced Silver Oak *Grevillea robusta* [89,90]. Whereas the harvesting of native species is controlled, silver oak can be logged and traded [91]. For years, coffee farmers and their representatives have been demanding full ownership rights over trees on their land [89]. These demands have been opposed by the Forest Department for fear of the environmental impact. Farmer representatives have denied that the granting of rights would result in a loss of tree cover or conversion [92]. This polarized debate has led to a long-lasting standoff.

A role-playing game was developed with academics, representatives of the Central Coffee Board of India, local conservation organisations, private coffee trading companies, and community leaders in eight separate workshops across the district. Through workshops and interviews, the game was co-constructed and explored two scenarios. The business as usual scenario had rules for selling native trees mimicking the restrictions in place. The tree rights scenario saw these restrictions lifted. These game sessions were recorded and used as a basis for discussion.

The results suggested that farmers would increase their income were they to receive full rights. But we also observed that in such situations they decided to hasten, rather than reverse, the conversion to Silver Oak. This strategy was contrary to expectations that farmers would retain native forest, but instead, the faster rotation of Silver Oak trumped the multiple values of the native trees.

The lessons from this role-play game were bittersweet. The game revealed system components and processes that had been identified in none of the policy narratives of the concerned parties. These represented hidden pitfalls that would have plunged the system into a non-desired state had the current policy change been implemented as initially designed. However, these lessons could not be transferred to the policy process, in part because the findings undermined the initial position of our main partners, the coffee farmers themselves.

464 **BOX 4. Examples of how three approaches to games could be used in a current**  
465 **conflict over geese impacts on agricultural systems in Sweden.**

466  
467 **Background.** Increasing numbers of  
468 protected geese in Europe are causing  
469 impacts on agricultural production [77]. In  
470 Sweden, the government pays  
471 compensation and supports the scaring of  
472 most goose species, but as populations  
473 increase, farmers are asking for more  
474 lethal control.



Photo by Johan Månsson

475  
476  
477 **Theoretical game example.** Objective – *predict the impact of management*  
478 *strategies on collaborations and goose populations.* First, map the time series of  
479 goose numbers, management actions and players' interactions over time, to develop  
480 a modelling framework within which game theory can be applied. Then simulate the  
481 actions and players' interactions using mathematical or computational techniques to  
482 find actions that reduce conflict. Such a game could enable predictions as to which  
483 actions will lead to collaboration and a sustainable goose population under changing  
484 conditions of governmental budget changes.

485  
486 **Experimental game example.** Objective – *test a hypothesis that farmers are more*  
487 *likely to cooperate in a goose management scheme, which uses a lethal rather than*  
488 *non-lethal control method.* The game setting would be an idealised landscape in  
489 which geese move among farms and damage crops. Players would be farmers who  
490 choose between lethal or non-lethal measures using a cash endowment they receive  
491 in each round. These measures would only be effective if the sum of investments  
492 reached a predetermined threshold. If too few invest, no protection would be  
493 achieved. Such an approach would allow researchers to test players' willingness to  
494 participate in different measures and examine the effect of collective discussions on  
495 individual decision-making. Post-game debriefing sessions would provide a greater  
496 understanding of the factors influencing farmer behaviour.

497  
498 **Constructivist games example.** Objective – *engage stakeholders to explore lethal vs.*  
499 *non-lethal interventions under changing economic resources.* This game would be  
500 played over a co-developed idealised landscape. Stakeholders would build and play  
501 the game to explore the strategies they would employ under lethal and non-lethal  
502 action scenarios, interacting with each other and the resources in the landscape. The  
503 game would allow the compatibility and sustainability of actions over space and time  
504 to be assessed. The design and gaming process and post-game reflections  
505 would facilitate a shared understanding of the conflict among participants, enabling  
506 an explorations of the outcomes and stakeholder acceptance for measures and  
507 the development of innovative interventions.

508  
509  
510

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515

516

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