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3 Perception and Decisions in Modeling Coupled Human and Natural Systems: A Case Study from
4 Fanjingshan National Nature Reserve, China

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22 **Abstract**

23 Examining environmental perception is vital for a more integrated understanding of complex
24 coupled human and natural systems (CHANS). Modeling complex systems with human
25 dominance or influence presents many challenges, including incorporating structure and agency
26 and addressing uncertainty in CHANS components and their relationships. Making assumptions is
27 a way to deal with such uncertainty, particularly that in relation to human decisions or
28 behaviors. However, model assumptions may be biased or false without including perceptions
29 behind such decisions or behaviors. Exploring perceptions not only gives us insight into
30 decision-making (agency) but also reveals structural constraints influencing those decisions
31 (including perceived constraints). This study focuses on the human-nature dynamics of
32 Fanjingshan National Nature Reserve (FNNR) in China, a biodiversity hotspot and the only
33 habitat for the Guizhou golden monkey (*Rhinopithecus brelichi*). The monkey is endangered and
34 increasingly threatened by growing human activity and development but also affected by
35 changing habitat through reforestation programs. This research aims to understand how
36 demographics, a recent reforestation program (Grain-to-Green), land use, livelihood, and
37 conservation perception may affect local people's perception of human impact on the
38 environment. This basic concept underlies many land use decisions yet remains incompletely
39 shared among FNNR inhabitants. Using logistic regression, the data from a 263-household
40 survey conducted in the spring of 2010 were analyzed. The results indicate Grain-to-
41 Green Program participation is insignificantly related to environmental perception of human
42 environmental impact. Rather, personal observation of the golden monkey is vital to locals
43 reporting an enhanced appreciation for potential human environmental impacts. Other significant
44 factors predicting sensitivity to human environmental impacts include having heard of climate
45 change, interest in tourism entrepreneurship, current worries of food security, viewing FNNR
46 regulations as restrictive, income source, and fuelwood consumption. Results suggest the
47 importance of integrating human perceptions to better understand decision-making in coupled
48 human and natural systems.

49
50 **Keywords:** Guizhou golden monkey; environmental perception; modeling decision-making in
51 coupled human and natural systems; endangered species conservation; human-environment;
52 protected areas management

53
54 **Abbreviations**

55	<i>FNNR</i>	<i>Fanjingshan National Nature Reserve</i>
56	<i>CHANS</i>	<i>Coupled human and natural systems</i>
57	<i>LULCC</i>	<i>Land use land cover change</i>
58	<i>GLM</i>	<i>Generalized linear model</i>
59	<i>VIF</i>	<i>Variance inflation factor</i>
60	GTGP	Grain-to-Green Program
61	NFCP	Natural Forest Conservation Program

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68 **1. Introduction**

69 Modeling changing human-environment dynamics remains a pressing concern today in
70 order to address challenges of sustainability in the face of major environmental issues. Research
71 on coupled human and natural systems (CHANS) is emerging as a cutting edge in science.
72 CHANS integrates a broad range of techniques and approaches to better understand, quantify,
73 and project these dynamics. Complexities are rife in CHANS modeling when attempting to
74 incorporate decision-making, structure and agency, nonlinear responses, thresholds, and
75 emergence (Liu et al., 2007). One way to approach CHANS is through looking at land use and
76 land cover change (LULCC). Considering the myriad of far-reaching land use consequences
77 (Foley et al., 2005), understanding LULCC remains vitally important to CHANS research as well
78 as to sustainability.

79 Modeling LULCC is an important research frontier (Lambin and Geist, 2006). In
80 addressing the uncertainty present in modeling LULCC, researchers often employ assumptions to
81 link different system components or decisions. Without exploring the knowledge and perceptions
82 behind individual land use decisions, our understanding of LULCC may remain incomplete or
83 based upon false assumptions. Incorporating perceptions can lend insight to the structure and
84 agency behind many LULCC observations as well as previously unobserved underlying
85 relationships. Such insight could account for some ‘surprises’ in system outcomes (Liu et al.,
86 2007).

87 This project explores the complex interaction among policy, human socioeconomics, and
88 environmental perception of human impacts in Fanjingshan National Nature Reserve (FNNR).
89 As a subtropical area subject to rapidly changing land use and land cover (Defries et al., 2006) as
90 well as growing activity and development in the future (Li and Han, 2001), FNNR is important
91 not only to golden monkey survival but also to understanding many CHANS-related processes,
92 especially local land use decision-making and its interplay with sensitive habitat. Without
93 understanding how local inhabitants perceive their surrounding environment, the formulation of
94 protected area policy may have unintended consequences or limited efficacy. This investigation
95 thus holds implications both for modeling CHANS and for conservation policy and
96 management. We begin by providing background on the study area, then move on to the
97 theoretical framework. Lastly, we describe the methods and discuss the results. We conclude
98 with implications for conservation and rural livelihoods in the FNNR and for future CHANS
99 modeling.

100

101 ***1.1 Background: FNNR and Forest Change***

102 ***Study Area:*** Fanjingshan National Nature Reserve (FNNR), approximately 160 square
103 miles in area (Bleisch et al., 1993), is located in Guizhou province, southwestern China (see
104 Appendix A: Figure A.1). FNNR is within one of the 25 global biodiversity hotspots identified
105 by Myers et al. (2000), with over 3,000 animal, plant, and insect species (Yang et al., 2002).
106 FNNR has a local population of 21,000 residents living within or near the boundary of the
107 reserve, many of which live in villages over a hundred years old. It was established in 1978 as a
108 protected area for the Guizhou golden monkey, although conservation within FNNR borders
109 extends to other animal and plant species within the management zone. FNNR remains the sole
110 habitat for the endangered monkey (Bleisch et al., 1993). Rumors about the existence of the
111 Guizhou golden monkeys remained unjustified until they were “rediscovered in the early 1960s
112 by Chinese researchers” (Bleisch et al., 1993).

113 Called ‘golden’ for their coloring or alternatively ‘snub-nosed’ for their appearance, the
114 snub-nosed monkeys ranged much farther 400 years ago(Li et al., 2002). The snub-nosed
115 monkeys are currently limited to 5 species in 3 countries: the Guizhou, Sichuan, and Yunnan
116 snub-nosed monkeys in China, the Tonkin snub-nosed monkey in Vietnam, and the Burmese
117 snub-nosed monkey in Myanmar (Geissmann et al., 2011). Focused research on the Sichuan
118 snub-nosed monkey (*Rhinopithecusroxellana*) has brought much knowledge to the field (Tan et
119 al., 2007). Still, the Guizhou golden monkey has yet to be subject to extensive research, which is
120 especially an issue considering the major threat to the Guizhou golden monkey—direct and
121 indirect effects from human activity (Xiang et al., 2009). Human activities (some regulated or
122 forbidden) are widespread in FNNR, not limited to areas outside the reserve boundaries. With
123 human activities (such as tourism) growing in China’s nature reserves (Li & Han, 2001; Liu,
124 2003) like FNNR, research on the monkey and impacts of activity is vital in order to better
125 protect biodiversity in the reserve.

126 **Forest Change in FNNR:** With a history of settlement and farming by Han and several
127 ethnic minorities (i.e. Tujia, Miao), and rapidly changing economic and demographic patterns,
128 there is a multitude of land change dynamics at play in FNNR. Transition in FNNR forest cover
129 is distinguished by the general dynamics of deforestation and reforestation. Activities towards
130 deforestation include fuelwood gathering, construction, timber harvesting, quarrying,
131 development (i.e. for roads, parking, and tourism), forest fire, and small-scale forest disturbances
132 with potentialcumulative effects (e.g., illegal mining, mushroom and herb gathering, and
133 poaching). Forest fires in FNNR can be started by people burning tributes to the dead at tombs or
134 also by the practice of burning grass on the fields to clear and fertilize them, both of which can
135 cause serious damage through fires. Local regulations in place include fire and mining
136 prohibition, designated location and amount for wood and plant harvesting, and development
137 (Guizhou FNNR Administration Bureau, 2004). All of these activities have the potential to affect
138 golden monkey habitat, both of which are important to species viability.

139 The framework for reforestation includes the regulations mentioned above, migration
140 effects, and national reforestation policy. Temporary migration plays a part in reforestation and
141 revegetation through reducing local labor availability(Liu et al., 1999; An et al., 2006). In many
142 families, young adults are absent from FNNR for much of the year either attending school or
143 working. This labor force reduction sometimes results in temporary abandonment of less
144 productive fields or entering land into reforestation and development programs. However the
145 implications of temporary migration for local land use change could be complex because, along
146 with other factors such as education, temporary migration may also change consumption habits
147 and thus bring forward new land use patterns (Davis and Lopez-Carr, 2010).

148 Major land changes in FNNR include reforestation programs, such as the Natural Forest
149 Conservation Program (NFCP) and the Grain-to-Green program (GTGP). Restricting logging to
150 allow for forest growth (Liu et al., 2008), the NFCP is geared towards preserving forests, water,
151 and soil for higher plantation productivity and forest use diversity (Li, 2004). The GTGP
152 arranges planting of trees in place of farmland on steep slopes, and the farmers are compensated
153 through cash, rice, or corn (Feng et al., 2005). Since FNNR is already a high priority
154 conservation area, implementation of the programswithin the reserve takes precedence over outer
155 areas, meriting more government support (Li, 2004). We chose the GTGP as a focus for the
156 study due to the widespread participation of locals and the direct interaction locals have with the
157 program while they enroll land and receive compensation.

158 Reminiscent of the U.S. Conservation Reserve Program, the GTGP was intended to
159 address erosion but has broader effects than its original focus (Liu et al., 2008; Ribaud et al.,
160 2001). Also of note, the GTGP is not designed to return forests to heterogeneous, native states
161 but rather to provide participants with construction timber or economic cash crops after a certain
162 amount of growth (interviews in the spring of 2010). Hence it involves monocropping as well as
163 pine and fir plantations. One unintended effect of conservation and reforestation within FNNR
164 may be an increased boar population (Wang et al., 2006), which poses challenges for local
165 farmers because of the crop damage in boars' acquisition of food.

166 Regarding conservation policies such as GTGP in the context of our investigation, it is
167 reasonable to hypothesize that GTGP program participation would increase environmental
168 awareness and knowledge of human impacts on the environment. This is based on the
169 understanding that the GTGP, as a payment for environmental services (PES) program, places an
170 economic value on reforestation, compensating participants for their land and for their caretaking
171 of the new reforestation areas. As PES was created to offer a monetary meaning for conservation
172 value, participation in a PES program may increase understanding of the value of conservation.
173 Furthermore, positive attitudes towards the program could translate to behavior in other areas of
174 environmental conservation (Horsley, 1977).

175

176 ***1.2 Theory: Perception in modeling***

177 In this investigation, our methodology approaches modeling through exploring the link
178 between environmental perception and land use decisions within CHANS. Incorporating
179 perception in addressing complexity in CHANS can contribute to a structure-agency approach
180 (Chowdhury and Turner II, 2006). Specifically we will examine how local agents perceive their
181 environment and livelihood options through the structures of policy and management. This not
182 only provides added depth to understanding decision-making, essential in modeling, but also
183 may lend insight into underlying processes and previously unobserved relationships that could
184 manifest themselves within the system in nonlinear responses or emergence. If agents are making
185 decisions under motivations and perceptions other than those supposed, modeling and analysis
186 could be based upon false assumptions. Incorporation of livelihood, through understanding local
187 capacities, economic opportunities and perceptions, could thereof provide more complete
188 understanding towards the system of interest.

189 ***LULCC, decision-making, and perception:*** The importance of decision-making in
190 understanding land use dynamics is intrinsic but not often explicitly acknowledged (Defries et al.,
191 2006). Incorporating this dimension holds potential for formulating effective
192 conservation strategies (Salafsky and Wollenberg, 2000), better understanding complex human-
193 nature systems, and developing useful techniques to address CHANS-related complexities. Land
194 change science incorporates complexity theory and structural function of systems in analyzing
195 land use and land cover change (Turner II and Robbins, 2008). A major application of
196 complexity theory has challenged the equilibrium paradigm (Manson, 2001), which considers
197 systems as developing towards stability (O'Sullivan, 2004). This application has led to the
198 rejection of many assumptions within the field and brought about an approach that considers
199 instead 'coupled human and natural systems'. These systems "vary across space, time, and
200 organizational units. They also exhibit nonlinear dynamics with thresholds, reciprocal feedback
201 loops, time lags, resilience, heterogeneity, and surprises" (Liu et al., 2007). Studies of these
202 systems often share commonalities such as interdisciplinary study teams, integrative methods,
203 and longitudinal, context-specific analyses (Liu et al., 2007). This new conceptualization is a

204 major change in many disciplines and has been increasingly adopted by the scientific community,
205 raising support for innovative study design.

206 Land change researchers are increasingly using a diversity of modeling approaches such
207 as multi-level modeling and agent-based modeling (ABM) in a growing number of applications
208 in land use studies(Verburg et al., 2004; An et al., 2005, 2006; Rindfuss et al., 2008; An and Liu,
209 2010). Both approaches have potential for applications in understanding complex CHANS
210 questions such as land use decisions and livelihood strategies. Multi-level modeling is
211 appropriate for incorporating hierarchy, which is especially important in areas like FNNR with
212 strong influences from community and governmental structure. Complementary to multi-level
213 modeling, ABM can spatially capture the cumulative effects of small-scale agent decisions (e.g.,
214 on resource use) and the interactions of system components. However, danger lies in certain
215 usage that “may lead to the impression that bottom-up models include so many parameters that
216 they can be fitted to data whether or not their structure and processes are valid” (Grimm et al.,
217 2005). The inclusion of perception in modeling decision-making can contribute to more
218 robustness in modeling CHANS dynamics because it provides added depth to addressing the
219 issue of model uncertainty(Grimm et al., 2005; for more on modeling human decision-making
220 see An, this issue).

221 Examining perception (of the environment, of policy, or of livelihood) offers a way to
222 better understand many CHANS-related complexities, such as feedback and nonlinearity.
223 Previous such research has bordered on the topic of CHANS but has not addressed CHANS
224 explicitly. Similarly, work to incorporate perception in modeling and decision-making has been
225 pursued in several fields, including behavioral economics (e.g., maximization of different
226 benefits; Simon, 1959).In addition,efforts have been devoted to addresslimitations on decision-
227 making, such as bounded rationality, which allows for imperfectinformation acquisition and
228 processing during the decision-making process (Simon, 1972). Research within economics has
229 focused on perception as a way to understandeconomic behaviors such as water consumption
230 (Nieswiadomy and Molina, 1991) and technology adoption (Kuan and Chau, 2001). Agricultural
231 research also examines adoption (an economic decision), with applications related to CHANS
232 not only through exploration of human and natural interaction but also through incorporating
233 feedbacks between perception and adoption (Negatu and Parikh, 1999).

234 Previous work has also endeavored to understand perception in decision-making through
235 investigating conceptualization of risk(Johnson and Tversky, 1983; Slovic, 1987; Sjöberg, 2000;
236 Wester-Herber, 2004), social psychology (e.g. reasoned action and planned behavior; Fishbein
237 and Ajzen, 1975; Ajzen, 1991), andconservation policies and programsin the context of
238 livelihoods (e.g. in Nepal;Müller-Böker and Kollmair, 2000). Risk perception, psychology, and
239 conservation have all given attention to learning and the construction of knowledge, including
240 but not limited to experiential learning (Epstein, 1985; Finger, 1994; d’Agincourt-Canning, 2005;
241 Fazey et al., 2006),and depletion crisis and ecological understanding models(Berkes and Turner,
242 2006; Turner and Berkes, 2006). Drawing on this prior work in perception from economics, risk
243 analysis and management,social psychology, and livelihood literature could be instrumental in
244 increasing the capacity of CHANS research to explore the agency dimensions of perception in
245 land use decisions and take into account the mediation of political and social structures. Such
246 incorporation would allow us to integrate agency and structure more comprehensively in
247 modelingsystems and to delve into deeper understanding towards decision-making processes in
248 complex CHANS.

249 **Structure and agency:** The relationship between population and agriculture has been
250 described through different approaches by Malthus (reprint 1996) and Boserup (1965). Recent
251 work has added to this literature by incorporating multiphasic demographic change (Davis,
252 1963) in linking Malthusian and Boserupian approaches (Bilsborrow, 1992) to address issues of
253 land use and cover change (Ghimire and Hoelter, 2007; Carr et al., 2009; Massey et al., 2010;
254 Davis and Lopez-Carr, 2010). Application of multiphasic response theory adds to understanding
255 human-environmental interaction through describing the avenues of population reactions and
256 strategies in the face of growth (Davis, 1963). The resource-population discussion approaches
257 human-environment relationships. A related approach is structure and agency.

258 Structuralist and humanistic debates on human action focus on structure versus agency.
259 Proponents of structural explanations such as Durkheim and Harvey (Johnston et al., 2000)
260 conceive of action through the underlying bindings (i.e. policies, regulations) that control activity.
261 On the other hand, agency proponents such as Febvre (Johnston et al., 2000) maintain the
262 importance of humans acting as autonomous agents that deserves more attention. Efforts to
263 reconcile the two lines include structuration theory from Giddens (Livingstone, 1993), which is
264 also subject to criticisms including its relative exclusion of culture and subjectivity. In proposing
265 actor-network theory in 1995, Serres and Latour took this debate further by including the
266 possibility of non-human agents (Aitken and Valentine, 2006). Another way of understanding
267 this dichotomy is through the push and pull between the focus on agency in cultural ecology and
268 that on structure in political ecology (Chowdhury and Turner II, 2006). In understanding
269 CHANS and building upon the legacy leading to land change science, it is important to find
270 ways to balance the effects of both structure and agency (Chowdhury and Turner II, 2006).

271 Integrative approaches are increasingly utilized in the pursuit of understanding human-
272 nature systems (Parker et al., 2003), and researchers and policymakers are gaining appreciation
273 for the contribution that land change science can make in understanding patterns of drivers and
274 consequences of environmental change. Manson discusses the applications of emergence in
275 addressing agency and structure and the lack of research on the “effect of macro-structure on the
276 micro-scale” (Manson, 2001). Incorporating perception in decision-making can add useful
277 insight to human-environmental interaction, especially related to LULCC drivers, but also
278 deepen analysis by calling for the inclusion of actual and perceived structural constraints within
279 systems. This investigation contributes to research on complexity and land use by addressing
280 perception in deepening our understanding of agency, structure and ecological knowledge in
281 understanding complex human-environment interactions.

282 283 **1.3 Objectives:**

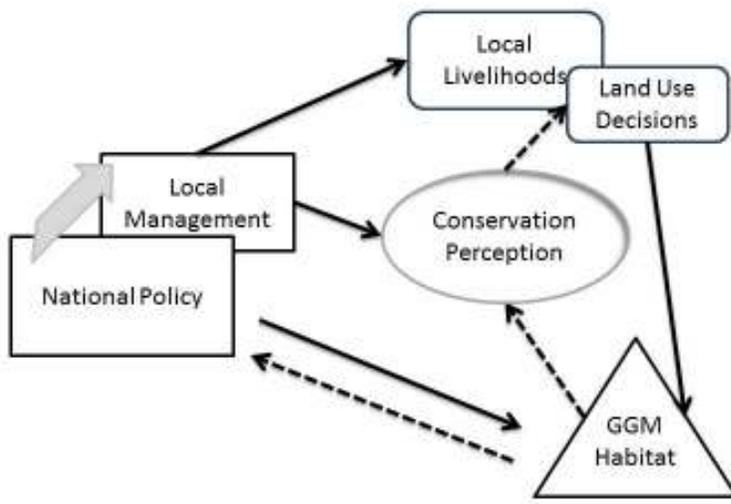
284 The overarching goal for this project is to contribute to improved understanding of
285 human-nature interactions by incorporating perceptions into modeling approaches. Underlying
286 this main goal, several related aims follow. First, we will analyze current FNNR conservation
287 policy and offer potential areas of policy improvement, within the overall bounds of national and
288 provincial policy, in order to enhance golden monkey conservation. Furthermore, modeling of
289 coupled human-nature systems requires integrated approaches (Liu et al., 2007), which has been
290 evidenced by modeling approaches moving towards uniting top-down tools with a focus on
291 structure and bottom-up tools with a focus on agency. The challenge of integrating the structural
292 constraints (i.e. policy) on decision-making with the cumulative effects of decision-making
293 processes (i.e. changing land or resource use) is a major one in modeling human-environment
294 interactions in systems like CHANS. Thus we secondly seek to improve our understanding of

295 CHANS through including perception to approach combining aspects of structure and agency in
 296 our CHANS modeling efforts. This integration can lend insight to relationships that would
 297 otherwise remain uncaptured (Chowdhury and Turner II, 2006). Last, our investigation will
 298 analyze trade-offs among land use choices (Defries et al., 2006) in the context of local and
 299 individual ecological and structural perceptions in FNNR.

300 Without understanding the trade-offs people consider in their decisions, CHANS
 301 modelers often capture their choices and the ensuing land use changes in a snapshot manner.
 302 Using such snapshot data alone may overlook decision-making in the context of the full process
 303 and de-emphasize the impacts of historical perceptions and cultural values. In viewing decisions
 304 in the context of perception, it is not just the action of agency that CHANS modelers should
 305 consider, but the motivation to that action as well. In the modeling arena, we strive to
 306 acknowledge the local context and influencing factors in the process we are modeling. To fully
 307 capture these processes, we urge caution in choosing the variables to which we attribute
 308 observations or data collection. Further investigation of underlying relationships (such as those
 309 behind perceptions leading to actions) could potentially explain some of what is perceived as
 310 nonlinearity and emergence, elucidating complex linkages between decision-making factors.
 311 Through this investigation, including our analysis and modeling through generalized linear
 312 models (GLMs), we explore what factors may affect local people's environmental
 313 perceptions related to impacts of human activity. Shedding light upon the influencing factors and
 314 their interplays in FNNR, our research may facilitate improved modeling of CHANS and better
 315 policy formation and implementation.

316 **1.4 Conceptual Model & Hypotheses:**

317 The conceptual model (Figure A.2) presents the framework:



318 ADD EXPLANATION
 & HYPOTHESIS: (program
 participation would increase
 environmental awareness)

333 those within the reserve, as those were the only ones able to participate in the GTGP. We then
 334 selected households randomly from lists of reforestation participants within the chosen villages.
 335 We based sampling and survey design on earlier CHANS work in Guatemala (Carr, D.L. et al.,
 336 2008), Nepal (Yabiku, 2006; Ghimire and Hoelter, 2007), and China (An et al., 2002, 2005,
 337 2006). The interviewees included GTGP (see Section 1.1) participants and non-participants. For
 338 villages partially within and outside FNNR, we adopted a 'trimmed village' approach, involving
 339 only those groups within FNNR, since those outside did not have the option to participate. We
 340 chose non-participants within the 'trimmed villages' based upon strategic sampling of every 4th

341 house within the groups, as the sampling proportion averaged at 23% for the ‘trimmed villages’
342 sampled. Questions probed quantitative and qualitative data, focusing on demographics,
343 livelihood status and concerns, reforestation participation, crop damage from pest species, land
344 and resource use, and perception of conservation and regulation. Complementing the mixed
345 methods survey, we also selected 16 village leaders and reserve personnel to participate in
346 individual qualitative interviews, the results of which supplemented the household survey in
347 providing the status of broader community livelihood factors.

348

349 **2.2 Logit regression:**

350 **Model fitting and comparison:** The investigation employed the generalized linear model
351 (GLM) technique in analyzing the survey data, using the logit link function in a binomial GLM.
352 Falling under the term logit regression (Guisan and Zimmermann, 2000), we chose this
353 technique for its flexibility and applications in predicting probabilities. First we coded survey
354 data and reviewed it for data completeness and accuracy, resulting in a final sample of 257
355 household responses. Due to incomplete answers, we removed eleven. Any further missing
356 values, we excluded from each single predictor logistic regression and omitted in the multiple
357 logit regression models. We complete the analysis using the R statistical program. We performed
358 binomial logit regressions separately with each of the independent variables as a single predictor,
359 which may signal the relevance and importance of each independent variable in explaining local
360 people’s environmental perceptions.

361 The next step was to conduct stepwise multiple logit regression with and without control
362 variables (age, gender, ethnicity, education). The multiple logit regression stage of modeling
363 provided a more complete characterization of influential and related factors in local perceptions
364 of human impact. Multicollinearity diagnostics included the variance inflation factor (VIF)
365 within the regressions (VIF value not exceeding 2 suggests the associated variable is relatively
366 exempt from the multicollinearity problem), Pearson’s r, biserial and point biserial correlation
367 testing, and Chi-squared testing for categorical data. We analyzed model fits based on indicators
368 such as model deviance and Akaike Information Criterion (AIC). To estimate uncertainty within
369 models, we completed simulation graphically within R using the code and technique (the arm
370 package) developed by Gelman et al. (Gelman and Hill, 2006; Gelman, 2007). We also
371 calculated confidence intervals in R using the MASS package (Venables and Ripley, 2002).

372

373 **Dependent variable:** We explored the following models using the answer to the question
374 related to whether the interviewee thinks human activity would affect the environment as the
375 dependent variable. Thinking human activity may affect the environment may seem self-evident,
376 however prior work in the area indicated that the local relationship between humans and the
377 environment is complex. In 40 interviews (preliminary fieldwork, Spring 2009) during which we
378 asked respondents whether they think some human activities in FNNR are harmful to golden
379 monkeys, everyone said “No”. Questions formulated for the Spring 2010 household survey
380 further explored the perceived human-environment relationship in FNNR, focusing on human
381 activity impact on the environment instead of only on golden monkeys. Since indirect effects
382 from human activities are indeed a main threat to the species (Xiang et al., 2009), it is important
383 to investigate local understanding of human-environmental interactions.

384 In the spring of 2010 household survey, 30% of the respondents answered questions of
385 general human activity damage to the environment affirmatively, listing impacts such as garbage,
386 pollution, cutting wood, development, pesticides, industry, and fire; 70% of respondents

387 answered no/do not know/do not understand. For the purposes of our analysis we grouped the
388 negative responses together, as we were interested in what distinguishes the people responding in
389 the affirmative from the rest that were surveyed. This perception addresses the basic question of
390 whether humans can noticeably impact the environment in their area at all. This is a premise
391 inherent in ecological implications of land use decisions, and as such remains an important basic
392 question when examining human-environment dynamics. If humans do not perceive their actions
393 as affecting the environment, the trade-off in their decisions may be more unconscious and
394 incompletely informed. In addition, if we do not understand the trade-offs that are taking place in
395 people's decision-making, how can we completely understand resultant land uses? There is a
396 drastic distinction between unknowingly harming the environment and intentionally causing
397 environmental degradation. If modelers approach decision-making under a pre-existing base that
398 humans are considered to impact the environment, then we need to make sure that base exists
399 and what it is.

400 ***Independent variables:*** We chose independent variables based on the aforementioned
401 theoretical background and empirical observations from preliminary field work. We chose
402 temporary work variables to address the growing trend of temporary work and potential ensuing
403 changes in income, consumption (Grumbine, 2007), and knowledge that could arise from
404 movement to and from cities and living (even part time) in urban areas. Several variables
405 addressed the multi-faceted aspect of temporary work, including years worked, number of people
406 in the household doing temporary work, and receiving remittances from family in the city (Table
407 A.1). We included county and village information as dummy variables. The 2 counties have
408 different levels of local autonomy, which we considered as a possible structural factor
409 influencing people's experiences with environmental regulations.

410 We included household factors in our survey and the subsequent models. Ethnicity could
411 reflect differences in cultural values and history, while education level and number of children or
412 adults in the household could indicate exposure of adults to newer ideas of environmentalism
413 shared by children in school. We further incorporated interviewee variables (age, gender,
414 education) since education achievement and access are different for younger generations and
415 gender has been shown to be a factor in previous work on perception of conservation (Müller-
416 Böker and Kollmair, 2000). Several of the household and interviewee variables thus became
417 control variables in the stepwise logistic regression modeling.

418 Two major conservation foci in FNNR are the GTGP, in which a high percentage of local
419 inhabitants take part (77% of our household survey population), and the protection of the golden
420 monkey. We included reforestation variables in the models, and seeing the monkey was
421 considered a potential factor impacting local environmental perception because of the high
422 visibility of the monkey conservation program in FNNR. Since almost everyone interviewed in
423 Spring 2009 and 2010 (98%) supported protecting the golden monkey, having seen the golden
424 monkey was chosen as an independent variable for its connection to golden monkey
425 conservation.

426 Other perception variables included livelihood concerns, lottery use, opinion of neighbor
427 and personal activities damaging the environment, and attitude towards FNNR regulation
428 impacts (Table A.1), since these variables potentially connect with the weighing of land use
429 trade-offs in making decisions. Current and future concerns included responses such as food or
430 fields, jobs and money, health, infrastructure, and education (Table A.1). Lottery use centered on
431 the question of how people would apply money if they won 30,000 yuan in a lottery, with
432 responses such as starting a business, using for medicine, investing for the future, and building

433 roads. We included environmental damage in the single predictor regressions to determine
434 relationships among the perception of human impact on the environment on a general,
435 community, and personal level. Participants perceived regulation impacts on their lives in several
436 ways: as being minimal, as preventing people from harvesting wood, as protecting the
437 environment, as protecting people from forest fire, and/or as preventing people from killing wild
438 pigs (to stop the crop damage they cause).

439 We further added variables describing livelihood measures to the regressions, since they
440 may play a part in approaching trade-offs in land use choices (Defries et al., 2006). Measures of
441 livelihood were frequency of meals, meat, egg, alcohol, crop, and fuelwood consumption,
442 income, cropland, and crop damage (from animals such as wild pigs, rabbits, and rats). The crop
443 consumption variable identifies the amount of surplus crops sold (a potential income source).
444 Since underreporting of income is a possible challenge, we used several income measures. The
445 income source variable (a dummy variable) captures the amount of income that comes from
446 agriculture (i.e. rice, bamboo, potato, raising pigs, or tea cultivation) versus other sources (i.e.
447 temporary work, restaurant, store, or hotel). The income source of ‘none’ merits explanation, as
448 this may seem misleading. That response may include people who had recently given up their
449 cropland and had no explicit occupation but were living off of compensation from the
450 government for entering their land into the reforestation, road, or tourism development programs.
451 People may also have described themselves as having no income if they only engaged in
452 subsistence farming (i.e., growing crops only for their own consumption), having no outside
453 income. The income variables thus complemented food consumption variables in describing
454 relative livelihood levels in FNNR.

455

456 **3. Results**

457 ***3.1 Descriptive Statistics of Households:***

458 Several factors characterize the surveyed households (Appendix A: Table A.9), including
459 education, age, size, ethnicity, employment, and land use. Interviewees were predominantly male,
460 with approximately 24% of interviews conducted mainly with female household members. We
461 interviewed females less often for several potential reasons, including male heads of household
462 being on the lists of participants, shyness, variation in survey experience among field workers
463 and households, and different perceptions of women’s roles (Aitken et al., 2011). Maximum
464 household education levels varied, however half the households contained members who had
465 reached a maximum of middle school education level at the time of the survey. For the overall
466 sample of households, average age within households was 35.4, and the average household size
467 was 4.55 (often parents, a grandparent, and a child). The majority of households sampled were of
468 Han ethnicity (62%) followed by Miao (19%) and Tujia (17%). As for work and land use, an
469 average of 42% of adults within households have engaged in or currently do temporary work in
470 the city. This can mean construction work in the closest city or also work in urban, coastal areas
471 of China (far from the central mountains). The average amount of cropland per household was
472 0.27 ha, and reforestation level (as calculated by dividing the amount of land in the GTGP by
473 overall land in crops and in reforestation) was about 47% in the surveyed households.

474

475 ***3.2 Single predictor results:***

476 Logistic regression results (Appendix A: Table A.3) of the independent variables as
477 single predictors (of the probability of thinking human activity impacts the environment) indicate
478 the importance of several expected variables but also display the lack of significance to

479 reforestation variables, contrary to hypothesized connections. We do not include all dummy
480 variables and their significance measures (p values) in the table. Instead, we chose categories of
481 the dummy variables for display based on significance.

482 **Significant of interest:** The independent variables exhibited varying levels of explanatory
483 power that characterize the population in FNNR. Fuelwood consumption was negatively related
484 to thinking humans impact the environment. The correlation between fuelwood and education is
485 positive (Kendall rank coefficient: 0.03) but not significant. Education itself we controlled for in
486 the multiple logistic regression models (Section 3.3). Other significant variables include source
487 of income, current and future livelihood concerns, being within certain villages (dummy), and
488 regulation impact. Income source includes the dummy variables of no income, >50% income
489 from agriculture, 50/50 agriculture/non-agriculture, and >50% income from non-agriculture.
490 Both ‘no income’ (+) and ‘>50% agriculture’ (-) were significant, although in opposing
491 directions. Two village dummy variables were significant as well, in opposing directions. Main
492 current and future concerns included the worry about jobs and money (-), with another important
493 current worry being that of food or fields (+). Having hypothetically won a lottery of 30,000
494 yuan, a significant positive relationship exists between their environmental perception (or
495 acknowledging human impact) and their aspiration to begin a business (often for tourism). The
496 impact of regulations is significant for none (-) and for seeing regulations as limiting options in
497 dealing with crop damage from wild pigs (+).

498 **Not significant of interest:** A noteworthy collection of variables are not significantly
499 related to the general perception (human activity damage to the environment). Reforestation
500 participation level and amount of land devoted to the GTGP was not significant, in opposition to
501 our hypothesis that program participation would increase environmental awareness. Other
502 variables of interest that are insignificant include those variables incorporated in the multiple
503 regression models as control variables: ethnicity (which could have differed based on cultural
504 values and history), age of interviewee, education levels, and gender. Further insignificant
505 variables of interest are number of children or adults in the household (which could have
506 indicated exposure of adults to newer ideas of environmentalism shared by children in school),
507 average household age, household size, household income, the level of autonomy (i.e. semi-
508 autonomous or not) for the county where the household lives, temporary work (including
509 interviewee or overall household members engaged in temporary work and the years they have
510 worked), and reception of remittances. Of particular interest is that crop damage is not significant
511 although viewing regulations as restricting one’s ability to kill wild pigs to prevent crop damage
512 is significant.

513

514 **3.3 Multiple Logistic Regression Models**

515 **Model 1(stepwise with control variables as final step):** We included several variables in
516 the multivariate logistic model based upon better model fit without incorporating the control
517 variables from the beginning (Appendix A: TableA.4). These variables exert significant
518 influences on the perception of human activity impact through: physically having seen the
519 golden monkey (+), having heard of climate change (+), being interested in starting a business if
520 winning 30,000 Yuan in a lottery (+), and currently being concerned about food security (+). All
521 the variables are significant at the 0.05 (most ~ 0.03) significance level. Adding control variables
522 (interviewee age, gender, age, and ethnicity) changes the significance (but not the sign) of 3
523 variables—seeing the monkey, hearing of climate change, and lottery winning business
524 investment.

525 Seeing the monkey is significant with control variables when the climate change variable
526 is not present, so we explored the correlation of climate change and lottery winning business
527 investment variables with the control variables through Chi-squared testing, point biserial
528 correlation, and biserial correlation testing. Neither climate change knowledge nor lottery
529 winnings application significantly correlates with ethnicity or gender. Both are significantly
530 correlated with interviewee age (point biserial correlation coefficient with climate change: -
531 0.1297, $p = 0.0189$; biserial correlation coefficient with business investment: -0.265, $p =$
532 0.000009).Hearing of climate change is further correlated with interviewee education level
533 (Fisher's exact test of Table A.5, $p = 4.945e-07$).From the test results, we determined that the
534 proportion of respondents hearing of climate change is not the same for all education levels.
535 Looking at Table A.5, we can see that the proportion of those who have not heard of climate
536 change decreases with higher education levels.

537 **Model 2 (stepwise with control variables from beginning):**Controlling for age, education,
538 gender, and ethnicity from the beginning, a somewhat different model emerges (Appendix A:
539 Table A.4) in characterizing associated factors in environmental perception. Seeing the monkey
540 is still significant, and indeed one of the basic components of both models. In addition, the
541 impacts of regulation play a part (+), as well as income source (+) and fuelwood (-). All variables
542 in the model are significant ($p < 0.05$), with regulation and no income variables highly significant
543 ($p < 0.01$). Seeing regulations as being restrictive overall (+) was significant, but this was
544 explored and attributed to the importance of restrictions on boar killing rather than on wood
545 gathering or on both combined. The income variables are dummy variables for no income source
546 and for even 50/50 agricultural/nonagricultural income source (>50% agricultural being
547 insignificant when combined with monkey sighting and restrictions). Having no income source
548 and fuelwood consumption are positively correlated (biserial correlation coefficient: 0.174, 0.003
549 significance), however fuelwood consumption is only significant when the 'no income source'
550 dummy is included in the model.

551 **Confidence and uncertainty:** Considering the inclusion of the 'having seen the golden
552 monkey' variable in both models, we undertook confidence interval calculation and uncertainty
553 simulation to investigate the coefficient estimate variation. Using seeing the golden monkey as a
554 single predictor of the probability of thinking human activities affect the environment, the
555 simulation of uncertainty is shown graphically (Appendix A: Figure A.3) using techniques by
556 Gelman et al. (2006). The concentrations of points in the four corners of the figure illustrate the
557 distribution of seeing the monkey (0 or 1) versus thinking human activity affects the environment
558 (0 or 1). The black line is the logistic regression curve, with the grey curves illustrating variation
559 within the 1000 simulations. There is a range of estimated coefficients and predicted
560 probabilities. The 95% confidence interval calculated in R for the coefficient estimate of seeing
561 the golden monkey is 0.296 to 1.397.

562

563 **4. Discussion**

564 **4.1 Single Predictors:**

565 The single predictor logistic regression revealed several important relationships. The
566 negative relationships between fuelwood consumption and thinking humans impact the
567 environment was contrary to our expectation. This expectation followed our reasoning that
568 higher consumption of fuelwood would get closer to fuelwood harvest limitations within FNNR
569 borders. One may expect interaction with these limitations to increase awareness of FNNR
570 conservation principles and human impacts on the environment. This negative relationship

571 between fuelwood consumption and environmental perception may be mediated through lifestyle
572 and education as follows. Higher consumption of fuelwood could possibly relate to more
573 traditional subsistence-oriented livelihoods, in which more family members with lower
574 education are more likely to stay in the area instead of going to the city for temporary work.
575 Alternatively, households with lower fuelwood consumption may be purposefully more frugal in
576 their fuelwood collection because they are aware of and follow harvesting limits in FNNR.

577 Income source significance may also relate to FNNR regulations, as those with no
578 income could have given their land to reforestation or development and found their subsequent
579 economic options limited by FNNR regulations. A possible explanation for those significant
580 village dummy variables is that Village 4 (+) was located in a tourist area, while Village 5 (-)
581 was not. We expected the positive relationship between tourism and perception of human impact
582 on the environment because tourists or tourism campaigns/programs may bring in higher
583 environmental awareness. However, factors beyond tourism may be important, thus explaining
584 the lack of a significant relationship for other villages in tourist areas. For regulation impact,
585 views of regulation impacts as being minimal or connected with wild pig rules are significant.
586 This again indicates a trend of interaction with regulations as raising probability of
587 acknowledging human impact.

588 ***Not significant of interest:*** The refutation of our hypothesis (program participation would
589 increase environmental awareness) indicates that local farmers may be more concerned about the
590 economic benefits of the program than its conservation purpose. Previous work on livelihoods
591 and perception in conservation policy has indicated a similar disconnect between intended and
592 perceived policy goals (Müller-Böker and Kollmair, 2000). Some locals have already converted
593 reforestation land to other uses (i.e. from pine to tea), and if the program matures, locals may
594 reconvert their reforested land to farmland given strong influences from social norms (Chen, this
595 issue). In connection with farmland, the insignificance of crop damage may seem contradictory
596 when viewing regulations as restricting one's ability to kill wild pigs to prevent crop damage is a
597 significant variable. Since these are single predictor logistic regression results, correlation
598 between independent variables is not a concern, so perhaps the measure of crop damage does not
599 mirror the relationship between damage and perception. Alternatively, this may indicate the
600 influence of group opinions, a history of crop damage even if there was not damage in the past
601 year, or possibly the effect of having neighbors with crop damage.

602

603 ***4.2 Model without control variables (Model 1):***

604 Approximately 39% of interviewees have experienced seeing the monkey either in the
605 wild or at the rescue center, where sick or injured monkeys are rehabilitated and researched.
606 Pictures of the monkey are visible around villages and the reserve, and the reserve broadcasts
607 well that the monkey is a Class 1 Nationally Protected animal, potentially making identification
608 of the monkey easier. In addition, the reserve has an education program in effect (we have seen
609 the brochure at one of the management offices within FNNR). However, over half of the people
610 in FNNR have not seen the monkey. Without personal observation, people may think of it as a
611 distant creature that they do not affect.

612 Having heard of climate change and entrepreneurial lottery investment are both likely
613 linked to tourism. Many people have heard about climate change from the TV or from interaction
614 with tourists. It is possible that the tourism link also influences the perception of environmental
615 impacts of human activity through spreading the concepts of ecotourism. Locals interested in
616 starting a business for tourism may consider environmental quality and conservation linked to

617 economic gains. They may also view local ecotourism as an industry they should be able to
618 profit from. Since 55 of 69 local residents interviewed did not think they benefited directly from
619 ecotourism in FNNR between 2004 and 2009 (An et al., 2010), perhaps the younger generation is
620 interested in tapping into the economic gains from that sector. The final variable, that of a current
621 main concern for food or fields, suggests food insecurity. This indicates that local people's
622 concerns about food affect their environmental awareness. This could have a broad range of
623 explanations, including a history of agricultural dependence and loss of cropland with
624 accompanying loss of economic options within the FNNR protected area.

625 When incorporating control variables, collinearity causes dynamics within the model to
626 change. Those who have not heard of climate change have lower levels of education, primarily at
627 the elementary or middle school levels. In additions, interviewees who have heard of climate
628 change are generally younger and have higher education levels. This is logical in that public
629 education in FNNR over the past decade has been mandated and made more affordable, and
630 environmental concepts have been increasingly incorporated in educational materials. Like
631 climate change knowledge, entrepreneurial lottery investment connects to younger generations,
632 although the reasons may differ slightly, having more to do with risk taking. Younger
633 generations are more inclined to engage in risk taking activities (Pålsson, 1996), such as starting
634 a new business. This puts capital at risk that could be saved for use in case of eventualities. In
635 addition, history of the area must be considered. During the 1959-1961 famine, it is estimated
636 that 30 million people died prematurely (Ashton et al., 1984). The older generation may
637 remember that time and consider that in their planning for the future, making them less likely to
638 take risks, while the younger generation did not experience it directly.

639

640 ***4.3 Model with control variables (Model 2):***

641 Considering regulations as restrictive overall was significant, but we explored and
642 attributed this to the importance of restrictions on wild pig killing (which people wanted the
643 freedom to engage in to protect their crops from damage) rather than on wood gathering or on
644 both. This suggests that perceptions of regulation restriction relate to crop damage by wild pigs
645 and not to fuelwood limitations. As mentioned earlier, current household crop damage severity
646 was not a significant predictor, so the significance of perceiving regulations as restricting
647 prevention of crop damage may indicate a more complex connection between crop damage and
648 environmental perception. The understanding of FNNR regulations (wild pig protection in
649 particular) as restrictive and negatively affecting livelihoods through uncompensated and largely
650 unpreventable crop damage suggests that the perception that humans affect the environment is
651 tied to negative experiences with FNNR regulations and wildlife besides the golden monkey; this
652 holds serious implications for policy sustainability and efficacy.

653 We expected the correlation between fuelwood consumption and no income source since
654 people with no current earnings may not have the ability to pay for electricity or coal and must
655 use wood as their main energy source. It is possible that having no income source could lead to
656 more awareness of the FNNR restrictions on human activity when searching for livelihood
657 alternatives. However, high fuelwood consumers may be less informed or disregard regulations
658 on wood gathering, possibly considering it benign to the environment. Thus the positive
659 relationship between lacking an income source and the dependent variable could be lowered by
660 interaction with the fuelwood consumption variable. Through the multiplicity of economic
661 connections utilized by income-diverse households, household members may interact more with

662 a variety of regulations and people. This interaction may lead to more exchange of ideas,
663 including environmental concepts such as awareness of human activity impacts.

664

665 **5. Conclusions**

666 **5.1 Policy implications:**

667 Perception modeling results reflect concerns for current policy and directions for future
668 improvement. Results indicate that environmental awareness is strongly linked to physically
669 seeing the golden monkey, which is made more difficult by the characteristics of the species (e.g.,
670 shy and endangered) and long travel times from most areas to the rescue center. This link
671 supports research in experiential knowledge and environmental behavior that illustrates the
672 importance of direct environmental experiences in decisions (Finger, 1994; Fazey et al., 2006)
673 while emphasizing the need for balanced approaches (Fazey et al., 2006). In FNNR, efforts could
674 be made to increase visibility of the species, while still protecting it, perhaps through increasing
675 access to viewing at the rescue center. Furthermore, conservation and educational efforts could
676 be focused to emphasize the link between human actions and the golden monkey itself, showing
677 how indirect effects from human activity can impact the monkey population. Otherwise, people
678 who have not seen the monkey may think of it as a distant animal safely removed from human
679 action. This lesson offers bitter irony for future policy prescriptions: monkey observation is
680 negatively correlated with human impact so how do we promote sustainable land use policies in
681 FNNR and environments with similarly charismatic fauna?

682 Awareness of impacts is further linked with viewing environmental regulations as
683 restrictive in prohibiting locals from killing wild boars that damage their crops. The issue of wild
684 pig damage to crops is neither limited to FNNR (People's Daily Online, 2010), nor is the
685 perception of policy colored by animal damage to crops only in China (Müller-Böker and
686 Kollmair, 2000). However, in FNNR wild pig crop damage is locally associated with awareness
687 of human environmental impacts, though not directly through personal crop damage. This
688 indicates not only an indirect relationship but also highlights a potential problem for
689 management. Support for conservation may be limited or unsustainable if environmental and
690 conservation programs are linked to negative experiences of regulations. For instance, local
691 people may be aware of human impact on the environment but feel regulations (e.g., for forest
692 conservation) are limiting their ability to stop a livelihood threat. In this case, the regulations may
693 be unsustainable for local people.

694 For policy to successfully address negative attitudes towards regulation and the lack of
695 golden monkey visibility, emphasis may usefully be on providing environmental and economic
696 benefits to the local population. The use of critical environmental assessment education, with a
697 focus on improved local understanding of and involvement in environmental principles and
698 regulation, has potential applications for conservation and sustainable development in complex
699 human and natural systems (Diduck, 1999). However, applications in FNNR towards increasing
700 local participation in resource use management would face challenges in balancing
701 administration and involvement in the local government structure. Improved understanding may
702 reduce local people's negative feelings related to simply imposing many limits and restrictions
703 on them to protect a 'distant' and shy, albeit beautiful, endangered species. It is important to
704 illustrate the role of regulations as a solution (Kotchen and Young, 2007) and to make efforts
705 towards highlighting win-win situations in conservation and land use programs (DeFries et al.,
706 2004).

707 Ecotourism, when carefully planned and managed in consideration of several sensitive
708 issues (e.g., economic equity among different groups as well as potential harms to local
709 environment), holds potential to be a win-win option for FNNR. Ecotourism has been shown to
710 have links to conservation attitudes through experiential learning (Tisdell and Wilson, 2005). In
711 FNNR, it may increase monkey visibility. Furthermore, it may emphasize local conservation
712 benefits and environmental impacts of human activity, leading towards a better understanding of
713 trade-offs in land use decisions. The efficacy of these practices in FNNR remains to be seen but
714 could improve the long-term sustainability of conservation programs and endangered species in
715 other CHANS.

716

717 ***5.2 Implications for modeling and theory:***

718 The above insights and implications not only have much to offer policy formation in
719 protected areas, but also hold potential for modeling human decision-making in CHANS. Rather
720 than taking many perception-decision relationships for granted, more efforts could be invested in
721 understanding decisions contextually, identifying conscious and unconscious trade-offs behind
722 land use decisions, and incorporating such relationships in models. Incorporation of perception in
723 modeling can assist in better understanding system relationships and developing mechanistic and
724 process-based models. Such models can lend insight that increases our understanding of CHANS
725 (An, this issue). With these efforts, the effects of underlying or subtle relationships can be
726 uncovered, leading to more robust results. In the context of this investigation, an underlying
727 relationship is that between environmental awareness and negative perceptions of regulation
728 impact.

729 Although a better understanding of the impacts of human activity is commonly
730 considered to be a positive quality when advocating conservation, such understanding is linked
731 to negative experiences with regulations in FNNR. If people perceive regulations as limiting
732 their ability to protect their livelihoods against damage, they may act to secure more resources,
733 most of which may be essential for protected species. This could lead to a feedback loop of
734 increased environmentally-damaging activity that requires further conservation regulations,
735 potentially leading to further perceptions of livelihood-damaging restrictions and so on.
736 Alternatively, pressure from perceived restrictions could build up until unexpected
737 environmentally-deleterious actions result as a threshold of tolerance is reached. Results from the
738 investigation demonstrate that even basic environmental perceptions may not have solely
739 positive linkages, despite commonly positive connotations. Without addressing perceptions in
740 modeling human decisions-making, complex linkages may be ignored that could be part of
741 underlying feedbacks or lead to unexpected nonlinear responses.

742

743 In this investigation, we have illustrated the strengths of our novel approach to modeling
744 human decision-making in CHANS. Incorporation of perception in modeling CHANS has yet to
745 be made explicit, although its usefulness has been illustrated in other contexts. Considering the
746 interdisciplinary nature of CHANS research, it is important to draw on knowledge advanced in
747 the fields of behavioral economics, social psychology, livelihood studies, and risk analysis in
748 formulating a theoretical base for modeling human perceptions in CHANS. We have shown that
749 modeling perception can contribute to this base through integrating structure and agency in
750 understanding multiphasic land use decisions. This approach not only elucidates the complexities
751 of agent actions and trade-offs in decision-making but also lends insight into perceived structural
752 factors that affect system function. Agent perception of structures is critical to identifying

753 underlying relationships in modeling processes in CHANS. Further strengths of the approach
754 include highlighting previously unobserved or counterintuitive relationships critical to reducing
755 untenable assumptions in CHANS modeling.

756 The modeling approach not only allowed us to demonstrate the importance of close
757 examination of driving forces (particularly perception) behind land use decisions but also to
758 display its practical usefulness in assessing environmental programs (e.g., GTGP) and
759 regulations. Future work will further investigate the relationships between income, livelihood
760 variables, crop damage, and policies. The approach of incorporating perception can ultimately
761 improve models of coupled human-nature systems by providing added insight into system
762 complexity.

763

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772

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774

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