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Putting the pieces together: Integration for forest landscape restoration implementation

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Abstract

The concept of forest landscape restoration (FLR) is being widely adopted around the globe by governmental, non-governmental agencies, and the private sector, all of whom see FLR as an approach that contributes to multiple global sustainability goals. Originally, FLR was designed with a clearly integrative dimension across sectors, stakeholders, space and time, and in particular across the natural and social sciences. Yet, in practice, this integration remains a challenge in many FLR efforts. Reflecting this lack of integration are the continued narrow sectoral and disciplinary approaches taken by forest restoration projects, often leading to marginalisation of the most vulnerable populations, including through land dispossession. This article aims to assess what lessons can be learned from other associated fields of practice for FLR

implementation. To do this, 35 scientists came together to review the key literature on these concepts to suggest relevant lessons and guidance for FLR. We explored the following large-scale land use frameworks or approaches: land sparing/land sharing, the landscape approach, agroecology, and socio-ecological systems. Also, to explore enabling conditions to promote integrated decision making, we reviewed the literature on understanding stakeholders and their motivations, tenure and property rights, polycentric governance, and integration of traditional and Western knowledge. We propose lessons and guidance for practitioners and policymakers on ways to improve integration in FLR planning and implementation. Our findings highlight the need for a change in decision-making processes for FLR, better understanding of stakeholder motivations and objectives for FLR, and balancing planning with flexibility to enhance social-ecological resilience.

KEYWORDS

drivers of deforestation, forest landscape restoration, integration of natural resource management, multi-functional landscapes, traditional knowledge

1 | INTRODUCTION

Globally, many forest landscapes remain central to the cultures and economies of indigenous and local communities, and their loss, degradation, and transformation can have deleterious impacts on livelihoods. Despite growing recognition of the importance of forests and forested landscapes for multiple goods and services, we continue to lose forests, with up to 230 million ha of forest lost over the 2000–2012 period (Hansen et al., 2013). Equally alarming, forest degradation (i.e., reduction in forests' capacity to deliver ecosystem services as a result of anthropogenic and environmental changes) remains pervasive in many parts of the world (Hosonuma et al., 2012; IPBES, 2018; Kissinger, Herold, & De Sy, 2012). Diverse tree-planting programmes have transformed 80 million ha of land (of various condition and land use) between 2000 and 2012 (Hansen et al., 2013). Figures from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) suggest that between 2010 and 2015, annual forest cover increased 4.3 million ha in some regions (FAO, 2016), much of it occurring in China through its large-scale (and often controversial) afforestation and reforestation programmes. Despite these gains in forest cover in some regions, the quality of these forests and the programme objectives are not always aligned to the needs of those most dependent on forests or to long-term landscape resilience and sustainability (Adams, Rodrigues, Calmon, & Kumar, 2016; Mansourian, Stanturf, Derkyi, & Engel, 2017).

Forest landscape restoration (FLR) has emerged as an approach to address forest loss and degradation in the last two decades (Maginnis & Jackson, 2005; Mansourian, Vallauri, & Dudley, 2005; Rietbergen-McCracken, Maginnis, & Sarre, 2007). The 2011 Bonn Challenge on FLR epitomises the global restoration movement with its target to "bring into restoration" 150 million ha by 2020 and 350 million ha by 2030 (Aronson & Alexander, 2013). Programmes with similar objectives exist at all scales: the United Nations' "Billion Trees Campaign"

launched in 2006; the African restoration initiative AFR 100 aims to bring 100 million ha of land in Africa into restoration by 2030; and Brazil's Atlantic Forest Restoration Pact aims to enable the recovery of 15 million ha by the year 2050. Laudable as these commitments are, restoration of landscapes capable of delivering multiple benefits for diverse stakeholders and addressing the full range of ecological, human, political, and economic dimensions that underlie deforestation and forest degradation requires more than just planting trees (Aronson et al., 2010; Mansourian et al., 2005).

The term FLR was defined in 2000 as 'a planned process that aims to regain ecological integrity and enhance human wellbeing in deforested or degraded landscapes' (Mansourian et al., 2005; WWF and IUCN, 2000). Integration and interdisciplinarity are implicit through the two objectives of FLR: regaining ecological integrity and enhancing human well-being. We interpret 'interdisciplinarity' as a means of bringing together diverse perspectives from various fields of study and different knowledge systems and management practices in order to solve a common problem (adapted from McNeill, Garcia Godos, & Gjerdaaker, 2001) and 'integration' as the broader umbrella term that covers different forms of collaboration across disciplines or sectors (adapted from Tress, Tress, & Fry, 2005).

The challenge of integrating the human and ecological dimensions of FLR remains significant and presents an obstacle to widescale application. However, limited research exists to date on these aspects. To address some of these integration challenges, it is useful to understand how related knowledge and research beyond the FLR community can be applied to FLR (Mansourian & Parrotta, 2018).

Our hypothesis is that through their experience of integrative and interdisciplinary approaches, other fields of practice and analysis related to land use may offer lessons for FLR in terms of improving diagnosis of restoration challenges, definition of objectives and targets, planning, and implementation. This contribution explores

frameworks, approaches, and conceptual frames (hereafter referred to as “approaches” for short) in related fields of practice through an FLR lens to identify useful lessons related to integration that could improve FLR implementation.

2 | METHODOLOGY

Between 2016 and 2018, 35 scientists working in a variety of disciplines from around the world joined forces to produce an edited volume on integration for FLR. The justification for the volume was twofold: Our premise was that drivers of forest loss and degradation are predominantly anthropogenic, often crossing scales (e.g., contradictions between livelihood needs at the local level and economic, financial, and political forces operating at national or international scales) and sectors (e.g., infrastructure construction contributing to forest loss and degradation; IPBES, 2018). Additionally, FLR implementation is often criticised as being too unidimensional and that more could be done to promote integration and interdisciplinarity in FLR implementation (Caughlin, Graves, Asner, Tarbox, & Bohlman, 2019; Reinecke & Blum, 2018). To begin to respond to these challenges, we sought to explore and bring together integration lessons from other related and topical land use challenges that could be applied to FLR.

A review of the literature and prevalent discourses in international science/policy forums related to land management allowed us to identify four approaches related to the people–nature nexus, which can be used to explore integration in FLR implementation:

1. Social–ecological systems (SES; defined by Anderies, Janssen, and Ostrom (2004) as an ecological system intricately linked with and affected by one or more social systems),
2. Integrated landscape approaches (with landscapes defined by Boedhihartono and Sayer (2012) as “a mosaic of different land-cover types that have properties that differ from the simple sum of the properties of the individual cells of the mosaic.”),
3. Land sparing–sharing (with land sharing defined by Phalan, Onial, Balmford, and Green (2011) as integrating “both objectives on the same land” and land sparing defined by them as combining “high-yield farming (...) with protecting natural habitats from conversion to agriculture.”), and
4. Food security through agroecology (defined “as the science of ecology applied to the design, development, and management of agriculture” Van Dexter & Visseren-Hamakers, 2018).

In addition, to explore enabling conditions to promote integrated decision making, we reviewed the literature on understanding stakeholders and their motivations, tenure and property rights, polycentric governance (presenting multiple centres of authority—Ostrom, 1999), and integration of traditional and Western knowledge.

Chapter teams explored their topic through an FLR lens to identify relevant integration lessons to support FLR implementation. The book's coeditors identified emerging trends across the chapters. The following

three questions were specifically explored across the entire body of work:

1. What are some of the integration challenges for FLR?
2. What can we learn from other large scale land use initiatives, frameworks, or approaches?
3. How can integrated approaches improve FLR decision-making processes?

Our collaborative research highlighted several areas that can be useful for FLR decision makers, policymakers, resource managers, and practitioners. The next section distils the main findings from this work responding to the above three questions.

3 | INTEGRATION CHALLENGES FOR FLR

Analysing, understanding, addressing, and reversing drivers of forest loss are the first steps to any successful, long-term, and sustainable restoration programme (IPBES, 2018; Mansourian et al., 2017). Drivers of forest loss can nearly always be traced back to human pressures, notably population growth, land scarcity, urbanisation, and market forces, including rising global demand for specific products such as palm oil (Kissinger et al., 2012; Lambin & Meyfroidt, 2011). In turn, these are associated with governance challenges, inadequate policies, poor or inadequate cross-sectoral coordination, perverse incentives, and illegal activities (Kissinger et al., 2012; Riggs et al., 2018). Despite the complexity of factors that contribute to forest loss and degradation, narrow sectoral or disciplinary approaches to address this issue continue to abound in restoration interventions (Caughlin et al., 2019; Perring, Erickson, & Brancalion, 2018). Such “silo-based” approaches often create negative externalities and cannot adequately address the diversity of issues that contribute to deforestation and land degradation (IPBES, 2018). For instance, an emphasis on carbon sequestration in afforestation/reforestation fails to acknowledge the multiple benefits (e.g., food, soil stabilisation, and biodiversity.) that a more integrated approach to reverse land degradation could achieve.

An understanding of what comprises land and forest degradation, and preferences for management scenarios, can depend on individuals' backgrounds and value systems; a social scientist may perceive the landscape differently than an ecologist, or an industrial business person's view may differ from that of a small-scale subsistence farmer (Carmenta, Zabala, Daeli, & Phelps, 2017; Mansourian, 2018). The multiplicity of interests in forests—as an object of exploitation, a basis for local livelihoods, as biodiversity-rich ecosystems, as places for climate change mitigation and adaptation, and a global resource to protect, manage, and restore—spans many disciplines, sectors, and actors (Baker, Eckerberg, & Zachrisson, 2014; Mansourian, 2018b). For example, forest scientists and ecologists have sought to understand the dynamics of forest ecosystems to restore ecosystem functions on degraded forest lands and improve habitat quality for key species (Higgs, 1997; Hobbs & Norton, 1996; Lamb, Erskine, & Parrotta, 2005; Palmer, Falk, & Zedler, 2006), whereas development organisations have seen restoration as a tool to

reverse land degradation, enhance rural livelihoods, supply communities with fuelwood and other forest products, improve water and soil quality, and protect agricultural fields and coastlines (MEA, 2005). Forest transition theorists have made significant progress in understanding the factors that drive forest decline and a subsequent return of tree cover in landscapes. SES theorists have suggested that resilience—a concept developed in ecosystem theory and defined as the ability to withstand or maintain integrity in the face of a shock and a switch to another state (Folke et al., 2002)—can apply to forest landscapes.

Yet, there is surprisingly little collaboration among scientists, FLR planners, practitioners, and policymakers (Mansourian, 2018b; Riggs et al., 2018). There is also little cross-disciplinary use of knowledge from relevant forestry and non-forestry disciplines. More generally, there is limited knowledge sharing and awareness of different values, and collaboration has rarely transcended disciplines, sectors, or even geographical scales in efforts related to FLR (Caughlin et al., 2019; Mansourian, 2018b; Reinecke & Blum, 2018). Such collaboration is important to ensure that multiple environmental, economic, and social objectives encompassing a range of values for forest restoration can be fulfilled, reconciled, and mainstreamed through policies (Reinecke & Blum, 2018).

To date, expertise in restoration ecology has been applied to the restoration of relatively small-scale sites, focusing on reproducing ecological processes with limited attention to the social dimensions of restoration (e.g., McDonald, Gann, Jonson, & Dixon, 2016). Restoration ecologists have emphasised recreating systems that are similar to those prior to the degradation event, focusing exclusively on biophysical criteria, that is, authenticity, naturalness, structure, composition, function, and dynamics (Chazdon, 2008; McDonald et al., 2016; Palmer et al., 2006; Stanturf, Palik, Williams, Dumroese, & Madsen, 2014). Scale mismatches occur between the social and ecological systems considered in FLR (Cumming, Cumming, & Redman, 2006). Further, the emphasis has been on Western scientific knowledge and associated priorities, with limited attention paid to integrating the knowledge, experience, and aspirations of indigenous peoples and local communities into restoration efforts (Berkes & Davidson-Hunt, 2006; Egan, Hjerpe, & Abrams, 2011; Hill et al., 2013; Lake et al., 2017).

Linkages across the science–practice–policy interface remain limited for restoration (Suding, 2011), and although FLR has significant political leverage, policies in support of FLR remain insufficient and often disconnected from both science and practice (Baker et al., 2014). This is reflected, for example, in the ambitious targets set by governments for restoration forest landscapes that go beyond the available scientific and technical capacity required to meet them (Aronson et al., 2010).

4 | INTEGRATION LESSONS FOR FLR FROM RELATED APPROACHES

In this section, we review some of the key lessons from the four approaches investigated as well as related enabling conditions that can support FLR planning and implementation (also see Table 1).

4.1 | Lessons from SES

From the SES literature, we learned that understanding the roles of multiple stakeholders at different spatial scales is essential (Ostrom, 2009; Yang, Bellwood-Howard, & Lippe, 2018). Within the landscape to be restored, multiple stakeholders interact and are influenced by others within a series of social and ecological nested scales (Holling, 2001). Influences are exerted from above (e.g., national level) and below (e.g., village level), and feedback loops exist that transform the system. Seeking to integrate these influences into FLR implementation requires mechanisms that can bring different stakeholders together in a nonthreatening, participatory, and transparent decision-making process (Ananda, 2007). For example, in the Crown of the Continent landscape in North America, Canadian and American NGOs and government agencies connect through social networks in a roundtable process that results in a net gain in accountability (Jedd & Bixler, 2015). In northern California, the Western Klamath Restoration Partnership brings together tribal, federal, and non-governmental stakeholders to define priority restoration actions on different parts of the landscape using multiple cultural values associated with the landscape and its use (Lake, Parrotta, Giardina, Hunt-Davidson, & Upreti, 2018). Polycentric governance further enables objectives to be tailored to and responsive to local landscape dynamics while still contributing to broader landscape scale objectives (Bixler, Jedd, & Wyborn, 2018).

Recognising and understanding these linkages and interactions can help to map the whole network of stakeholders and their relationships (Buckingham et al., 2018) and identify the ways in which they impact on or are affected by the restoration process. It will also help to identify the ways in which resilience and adaptive capacity of both social and ecological systems can be enhanced through FLR projects.

Embracing complexity, as exemplified in SES approaches, shines a light on trade-offs between ecological integrity and people's livelihoods and well-being (Erbaugh & Oldekop, 2018). Acknowledging that addressing trade-offs in land use is necessary in order to accommodate both the demand for food and the essential biodiversity conservation priorities to maintain our life-support system (Lewis, Wheeler, Mitchard, & Koch, 2019), what such trade-offs entail will depend on the context and the needs and interests of stakeholders, particularly those that live in the landscape (Yang et al., 2018). FLR inherently transcends both social and ecological systems; if it is to be successful in the long term, it must take both into account to maximise opportunities and resilience. The SES literature can inform resource users and other stakeholders on appropriate restoration strategies by increasing their awareness of the balance between risk, resilience, and benefits associated with different interventions. Informing and preparing stakeholders for the potential outcomes of FLR interventions will be key to achieving success.

Resilience, which is relevant to both social and ecological systems, will be affected by restoration, which modifies both the social and the ecological "landscape." A balance must be sought between the resilience of human and ecological system components (Yang et al., 2018). Although the desired relationship is a positive one for both

TABLE 1 Relevant integration lessons for FLR from related approaches

SES approaches	• Interactions exist across multiple spatial and temporal scales which influence the FLR process • Recognising the non-linearity of the landscape signifies that feedback loops in FLR interventions should be considered for adaptive management • Complex interactions, feedbacks and holism between ecological and social aspects in landscapes to be restored require further research • Compromises between social and ecological objectives, and thus outcomes, in FLR, are inevitable. • Social and ecological resilience of the system can best be achieved through a mix of actual restoration approaches in the landscape
Landscape approaches	• Landscapes evolve continuously, which has an impact on any FLR planning process • The needs of a landscape's population change over time, and the FLR process should also adjust to this • With many different stakeholders and differing spatial scales influencing the landscape, governance is important • Power inequalities plague the landscape and require attention in any FLR process • Tenure conflict negatively impacts on FLR • The knowledge and interest of local actors (including through citizen science) represent an untapped opportunity for FLR • Monitoring FLR requires measuring process, outputs and outcome given the dynamic nature of landscapes • Adaptation to evolving biophysical and socioeconomic conditions and stakeholder priorities should characterise FLR • There is a need to reconcile the impacts of restoration measures on different stakeholders
Land sparing/land sharing approaches	• Landscape interventions such as FLR are expected to reconcile food production with biodiversity conservation • Recognising the multiple values of landscapes helps to design appropriate interventions • Quantifying biophysical, economic and social benefits of landscapes to be restored can help define suitable strategies
Agroecological approaches	• Policy coordination across agriculture, forestry and other natural resources sectors can be improved. • Understanding the history and power relations in landscapes helps to address land rights issues that may influence achievement of FLR objectives • Restoring landscapes should account for multiple objectives including biodiversity, cultural values, ecosystem services etc. • Agroecological approaches are rooted in local knowledge and history which represents the long term interest of rural populations but are often ignored or marginalised by powerful decision-makers • There is frequently a clash between national policies and local knowledge, values, land use practices, traditional institutions

Abbreviations: FLR, forest landscape restoration; SES, social–ecological system.

human and ecological components, restoration may also negatively affect social and/or ecological resilience. For example, returning trees to the landscape that are not valued by or useful to local communities may actually decrease overall resilience of the SES (Yang et al., 2018). Furthermore, a cascade of impacts on the resilience of these systems may be generated across spatial and temporal scales. This happens because processes occurring along smaller spatial and temporal scales can influence those happening over larger spatial and temporal scales and vice versa (Holling, 2001). Ultimately, the intention in an FLR process is to aim for resilience, adaptability, and sustainability of the entire SES.

4.2 | Lessons from the landscape approach

From the landscape approach, we have learned that landscapes evolve continuously, both socially and ecologically, necessitating a flexible approach to planning for the long term. Adaptive management (a structured, iterative process of robust decision-making informed by system monitoring with an aim to reduce uncertainty over time) is a key component of FLR implementation, allowing for periodic adjustments to meet longer term objectives and secure landscape resilience (Larson, Belote, Williamson, & Aplet, 2013; Sayer & Boedhihartono,

2018). Periodic re-appraisals of progress towards long-term restoration objectives—and any necessary modification of management actions—need to be informed by monitoring of appropriate biophysical and socioeconomic indicators.

Influences from other spatial scales signify that decision makers and practitioners must look beyond the landscape (Arts et al., 2017)—acknowledging that the “landscape” can be both a fuzzy spatial scale, as well as a means of integrating social and ecological dimensions). Although the landscape is the unit of interest, it is itself a contested space (Sgard, 2010) and is impacted by processes occurring at other spatial scales (Cumming et al., 2006). A narrow approach focusing on the landscape (even with all its inherent complexities) risks losing sight of important influences that may need to be incorporated for FLR to be successful (Bixler et al., 2018). At the same time, local priorities and uses also need to be addressed; many restoration projects have failed to consider locally valued species. For example, in Morocco's Béni Boufrah valley, residents opposed large-scale reforestation with pine species, whereas they embraced projects that used locally valued species such as barbary red cedar (*Tetraclinis articulata*) and mastic (*Pistacia lentiscus*), which resulted in higher success rates (Derak, Cortina, Taiqui, & Aledo, 2018). Thus, different stakeholders within and beyond the landscape will have different objectives for restoration, and these need to be negotiated

and reconciled as part of the FLR implementation plan if the effort is to be sustainable.

We found that tenure security and property rights associated with land, forest, trees, goods, and services from the trees are critical enabling factors for FLR that need to be considered. However, tenure relations in forest landscapes are more nuanced than the relationship between ownership, rights, and investments. Tenure security provides stakeholders with an incentive to invest in land management such as restoration (McLain, Lawry, Guariguata, & Reed, 2018). Formality and tenure security, however, are not equivalent. Although land tenure is important from a land rights perspective and often politically contentious, different property rights (e.g., the right to manage forests or the right to use them) may be secured in many instances without the formality of tenure (de Jong et al., 2018). Further, expecting legality of tenure to be a prerequisite for FLR may lead to numerous missed opportunities. Instead, in reality, there is a continuum of measures and rights that are not necessarily formal, which may be applicable given specific contexts and may serve to promote FLR. For example, in Changting County in China's western Fujian Province, a combination of tenure reforms that gave individuals or legal entities far-reaching land use rights and incentives under the Conversion of Cropland to Forest Programme has led to a 20% increase in forest cover and an increase in average annual farm income from USD 60 to USD 1,110 over a 30-year period (de Jong et al., 2018).

The diversity of stakeholders engaged in FLR leads to an equally diverse set of perceptions and understandings concerning the causes of forest loss and degradation (Mansourian, 2018). Progress is hampered by a lack of common understanding among stakeholders concerning causes and importance of forest loss and degradation, objectives for FLR, and priority implementation actions (Buckingham et al., 2018). These divergent understandings reduce the likelihood of agreement on a common vision and plan of action for restoring the landscape (Erbaugh & Oldekop, 2018). Also, divergent economic impacts of forest conversion and degradation on stakeholders lead to competing priorities for forest restoration and different views of the benefits and costs of forests, as well as different aspirations for the landscape. Priorities may be shaped by politically powerful actors with particular interests in trajectories of land use change, rather than representing a common understanding of what should be done (Baker et al., 2014). As a result, existing power dynamics may be reinforced, and FLR, like other large-scale land use interventions, may exacerbate inequalities through exaggerating the position of both 'winners' and 'losers' (Rai, Bhasme, & Balaji, 2018).

The landscape approach acknowledges that landscape level solutions should recognise the value of diversity (Sayer & Boedihartono, 2018). There is no one-size-fits-all solution for FLR. Socio-political and economic circumstances vary greatly across and within landscapes dictating the viable and acceptable options for FLR. Furthermore, over the timescales necessary for FLR, landscapes will change, stakeholders may change, and their needs may evolve or have to adapt to changing environmental and socio-political conditions. This calls for a regular re-appraisal of the context, priorities, objectives, and management actions based on sound monitoring data.

4.3 | Lessons from land sparing/sharing

From the land sparing/land sharing literature, we learned that broad priorities for the landscape can integrate multiple objectives (Latawiec et al., 2018). It can be argued that land sparing/land sharing has contributed to a false dichotomy between ecological and human well-being objectives (e.g., Bennett, 2017), whereas in reality, in most circumstances, a mix of approaches will be needed (Latawiec et al., 2018). Quantifying the various benefits provided by restored forest landscapes for different stakeholders can help to define suitable restoration strategies.

Choices about land use are made in the landscape by different stakeholders with divergent priorities and facing different constraints (McLain et al., 2018). Landscape interventions need to take these choices into consideration and understand the diverse motivations driving them (Mansourian, 2018), which may help to reconcile trade-offs for FLR by working across stakeholder groups to reach common agreement. For example, in Madagascar's Fandriana-Marolambo landscape, communities were initially wary of the State Forest Service who historically had encouraged them to plant exotic species, only to later punish them for doing so, and as a result, engaging both parties in FLR required an understanding of these divergent starting points, concerns, and motivations (Mansourian, Razafimahatratra, Ranjatson, & Rambeloarisoa, 2016).

Adaptive management is a core lesson emerging from the land sparing/land sharing debate, recognising that a mixture of both might provide the optimal solutions to deliver on 'nature's contributions to people'. Tensions between planning at the 'landscape' scale and implementing flexible local actions need to be acknowledged and addressed. FLR seeks to achieve a wider, landscape-level plan, vision or overarching series of long-term objectives, through local or site-based interventions that are frequently associated with short-term imperatives. However, as landscapes evolve, so will approaches and objectives. Restoration itself modifies feedback loops, for example, potentially influencing natural evolution (e.g., Raimundo, Guimarães, & Evans, 2018) or transforming indigenous knowledge on restoration (e.g., Hartman, Cleveland, & Chadwick, 2016) within the SES, thereby also necessitating adaptive management (Larson et al., 2013). Provisions need to be made for this flexibility while also acknowledging the need for planning and measuring progress that provides lessons to better inform future phases (Evans, Guariguata, & Brancalion, 2018). Gross and Hoffmann-Riem (2005), referring to a participatory restoration project in Montrose Point (USA), call this 'recursive design' whereby the long-term restoration project has repeatedly had to change in response to changing ecological and social realities.

To date, many large-scale land use interventions, such as land sparing or land sharing, are hampered by a lack of reliable evidence on their impact (Latawiec et al., 2018; Rasmussen et al., 2018). FLR, as many other large-scale interventions (e.g., REDD+¹—Duchelle, Simonet, Sunderlin, & Wunder, 2018) and conservation more broadly (Ferraro & Pattanayak, 2006), has suffered from a lack of effective and useful monitoring systems to evaluate attainment of management objectives and inform further action. The results of regular monitoring,

if effectively fed back into decision-making processes, can inform these and influence changes in approaches (Larson et al., 2013). Decisions about what to monitor and who should monitor are also important, because setting targets and indicators dictates the direction of change, enhancing some views while potentially marginalising others (Jacobs et al., 2018).

4.4 | Lessons from agroecological approaches

Agroecological and agroforestry science and methods combine indigenous and local knowledge with the intention to restore the productive, ecological, social, and political fabric of landscapes to provide a range of services and valued resources (Van Dexter & Visseren-Hamakers, 2018). Such approaches can provide an alternative pathway to FLR based on local needs and values and may be a means of reconciling multiple objectives such as water security, food production, and biodiversity conservation. FLR interventions that promoted agroforestry systems, with mixtures of native and exotic species, have also been acknowledged via the lens of SES, as providing both moderate to high ecological and social resilience and also offering higher socio-economic opportunities for land managers (Yang et al., 2018).

The historical trajectory of a landscape and its inhabitants provides valuable insights into suitable FLR strategies (Davidson-Hunt & O'Flaherty, 2007; Lake et al., 2018). Locally rooted strategies are more likely to persist over time and reflect both local knowledge and practices. Yet frequently, there is a disconnect between national policies and local practices, which generate land use conflict and contribute to failed restoration projects (Pistorius & Freiberg, 2014).

More generally, Boedhihartono and Sayer (2012) have raised the question of 'restoring what and for whom,' yet many restoration efforts proceed without giving serious consideration to this question. For example, many project brokers (e.g., ReforestAction, EcoTrees or Plantons pour l'Avenir) sell tree planting projects—often for carbon offsetting—with limited information on who benefits from these projects, who is involved, and whether those involved have had any say in the choice and location of tree planting.

There is evidence that local-level organisations may not have the technical capacity, political power, or financial resources to achieve results and objectives frequently defined by remote stakeholders via mechanisms such as REDD+ or the Bonn Challenge (Phelps, Webb, & Agrawal, 2010). For example, lessons emerging from related land use interventions, such as REDD+, have raised concerns that they could lead to more centralised forest management to the detriment of local communities (Phelps et al., 2010; Sandbrook, Nelson, Adams, & Agrawal, 2010). Informal and traditional mechanisms or institutions, and those that depend on them, stand to lose the most as recentralization could erase decades of progress in community empowerment and polycentric governance. Forest restoration can become a tool to wrest power from local stakeholders who are most dependent on the landscape. For example, through the 2016 Compensatory

Afforestation and Planning Authority Management and Planning Authority Act in India, the state forest department defined the species and chose the land on which to replant, at the expense of local practices and preferences (Rai et al., 2018). Similar evidence has been found in Vietnam (McElwee, 2009).

5 | INTEGRATION FOR IMPROVED FLR DECISION MAKING

Polycentric governance analysis and pursuit can improve legitimacy and outcomes in FLR planning and implementation (Bixler et al., 2018). Recognising the multiple biophysical, climatic, political, and socio-economic influences on FLR over space and time, polycentric governance can bring different actors together in loose modes of collaboration across spatial scales and sectors (Bixler et al., 2018). An example of this type of governance that allowed for more flexible and integrative forms of funding allocations in line with the rapidly evolving dynamics of landscapes is the U.S. Collaborative Forest Landscape Restoration Program (Schultz, Jedd, & Beam, 2012). Polycentric governance enables the inclusion of broader societal goals, leading to more sustainable approaches to landscape interventions such as FLR.

Broadening the knowledge base can support increased equity in FLR, but this requires a greater openness to diverse knowledge systems than is currently the case. FLR has tended to rely heavily on Western science and related priorities, often at the expense of the traditional knowledge, aspirations, and values of indigenous and local communities (Lake et al., 2018). Yet, in many landscapes, these ancient (yet dynamic) knowledge systems are of direct relevance to land use and to FLR and may therefore be instrumental in determining the course of an FLR intervention. For example, the Western Klamath Restoration Partnership established in California between tribal, federal, and non-governmental organisations builds on the fire management strategies refined over countless generations by the Karuk Tribe to maximise forest landscape diversity, resiliency, and resource production (Lake et al., 2018). Ignoring such traditional knowledge is not only detrimental to restoration interventions but also further disempowers and disenfranchises many key stakeholders in the landscape. The integration of diverse knowledge systems seeks more holistic methods to achieve sustainability of resource use through shared stewardship and offers the opportunity to enhance equity through the use of locally relevant and legitimate approaches while incorporating other (i.e., Western) scientific methods.

Spatial planning approaches involving diverse stakeholders can facilitate local level integration. Tools such as participatory historical recordings or three-dimensional papier-maché models (Hardcastle, Rambaldi, Long, Van Lanh, & Son, 2004) can help bring stakeholders together around FLR planning. Rather than emphasising restoration techniques per se, spatial planning tools that are participatory are about visualisation of different alternatives, agreement, negotiation, consensus, and recognising trade-offs across landscape-level stakeholders (Carmen & Vira, 2018; Sayer & Boedhihartono, 2018). They can serve as an integrative tool to bring stakeholders together in

¹Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation and the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests, and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries.

dialogue around a common problem and to determine acceptable, sustainable, and lasting solutions.

Thus, three important lessons emerge: active and equitable collaboration across geographic, administrative, and generational scales can lead to improved FLR implementation. As actions taken at difference scales by different stakeholders affect the landscape, decision-making processes for FLR need to be broader, more flexible, and inclusive and require innovative governance structures that can resolve differences. Second, stakeholder motivations and objectives vary and evolve over time. Although planning is necessary, regular re-appraisals are also necessary over the course of FLR interventions to take into account new stakeholders, as well as changes in stakeholder interests and priorities. Third, operating in a complex SES, FLR interventions must negotiate a fine line between long-term planning and flexible short-term actions if they are to achieve resilience of both human and ecological systems.

6 | CONCLUSIONS

FLR is a relatively young field. Although integration of sectors and interests is at its core, this integration has proved difficult to achieve in practice. Yet integrating multiple disciplines, sectors, and visions and considering diverse interests, priorities, and preferences can support the adoption of the diverse and complex strategies necessary to achieve the multiple objectives implicit in FLR. Any landscape to be restored is by definition a SES, and integration takes place across disciplines, sectors, knowledge systems, governance contexts, and spatial and temporal scales.

Decision makers and practitioners have many urgent priorities as they seek to significantly scale up restoration efforts in order to respond to our planetary challenges and contribute to the Sustainable Development Goals, Land Degradation Neutrality targets, and other international commitments such as the Aichi Biodiversity Targets and the Paris Agreement on climate change. Without effective and durable consideration of local needs and external pressures on forest landscapes, such interventions are likely to be unsustainable as evidenced by comparable forest/natural resource management challenges that we have considered in our analysis.

Yet integrating multiple disciplines, sectors, and visions and considering diverse interests, priorities, and preferences can support the adoption of the diverse and complex strategies necessary to achieve the multiple objectives implicit in FLR. Stakeholder motivations and objectives vary and evolve over time, and FLR interventions must take this fact into account. Operating in a complex SES, FLR interventions must negotiate a fine line between long-term planning and flexible short-term actions if they are to achieve resilience; adaptive management approaches informed by appropriate monitoring can greatly facilitate this. Decision-making processes for FLR need to be broader and more flexible and require innovative governance structures that can help to resolve differences. In the end, improving integration across sectors, disciplines, space, and time can support the development and implementation of a more sustainable and equitable FLR implementation

and contribute to achieving the ambitious restoration targets committed by governments, private donor organisations, corporation sustainability campaigns, NGOs, and the global community at large.

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