



Article (refereed) - postprint

Young, Juliette Claire; Marzano, Mariella; Quine, Christopher P.; Ambrose-Oji, Bianca. 2018. Working with decision-makers for resilient forests: a case study from the UK.

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Abstract

Improving resilience in forests relies on an understanding of the values, knowledge and practices associated with forests. In this paper, based on a case study from the UK, we present qualitative data on how the concept of resilience is understood by decision-makers, the effectiveness of existing policy tools to promote resilient forests and the current boundaries and social acceptability of different management options. Our research reveals that the articulation of actual, possible and needed policy responses reflects the challenge that resilience is a multifaceted concept with an array of potential implications, connected with a diverse set of forest ecosystems. Our research suggests that the collaborative development and promotion of an overarching vision for resilience, which recognises the needs and contexts of different owners and managers in the sector, might begin to overcome the current challenge of fragmented policy and lack of policy tools. This will necessarily involve discussion and coordination across different areas of government and involve those agencies and organisations responsible for the science behind resilience approaches and applications. In particular, there is a need to contextualise and communicate resilience in line with stakeholder needs, and to articulate the uncertainty associated with resilience measures in a range of situations so public agencies, forest owners and managers can make informed choices.

Introduction

During the past few decades the paradigmatic underpinnings of forest policy around the globe has been that of sustainability and how to manage the changing ecological, social and economic dimensions of sustainable forest management - SFM (MacDicken et al., 2015). Over the same period the concept of "resilience" has been developed in international science and policy associated with many different sectors and systems, including: community development and poverty reduction (Bahadur et al., 2013, Béné et al., 2014); economics (Briguglio et al., 2009); health, medicine and environmental change (Almedom 2008); and the management of natural disasters and civil

contingency planning (Bahadur, 2010). Across these perspectives, resilience is described as a state, and as a set of characteristics and processes which confer resistance or adaptability: change, uncertainty and surprise are common elements too, with change often characterised by thresholds (Brown, 2011). Forestry as a science and as praxis operates at the interface of social and natural sciences, consequently, common agreement around the definition of resilience in a forestry context has presented significant challenges. In response to the IPPC 2007, the most salient definition was propagated by the Secretariat for the Convention on Biological Diversity, defining a resilient forest as one, when viewed over an appropriate time span, where the forest ecosystem is able to maintain its 'identity' in terms of taxonomic composition, structure, ecological functions, and process rates (Thompson et al., 2009). However, articulation of the concept in terms of the diverse spatial scale (e.g. site, stand, landscape, region) and relevant temporal dimensions remains particularly challenging (Ghazoul and Chazdon, 2017, Johnstone et al., 2016). The interaction between forest ecological systems and social systems is also poorly theorised (Pramova et al., 2012). This is particularly significant if, as Almedon and Tumwine (2008) point out, resilience is also about individuals and institutions engaging with catastrophic events and experiences in a way that builds meaning around the goal of maintaining their function without a fundamental loss of their identity. In other words, it is the understanding and perspectives of individuals and organisations impacted by significant changes, e.g. forest owners and managers, policy makers within policy bodies, that is needed to facilitate the change in social institutions e.g. the strategic plans, policy measures and propagated knowledge, norms and beliefs, that can accommodate changes experienced in the natural world. What is the policy making process and how it actually works is a topic of some academic debate (e.g. Sarkkio et al., 2015; Michon et al., 2013; Konijnendijk, 2004). However, there is general agreement that policy-making involves the goals, perceptions, problem prioritisation and solution finding of stakeholders and policy actors. Underpinning decision-making around these aspects are their beliefs, values and discourses, i.e. the scientific paradigms, evidence, knowledge and language to which they

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subscribe, as well as assessment of the political costs of particular policy approaches (Coleman et al., 1997, Keeley and Scoones, 2000, Keeley and Scoones, 2001).

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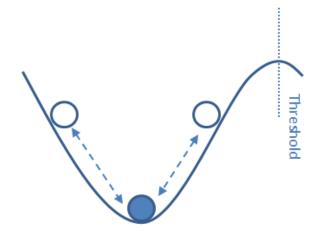
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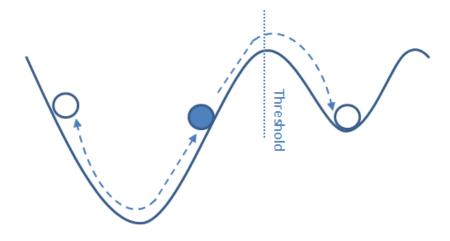
There are three distinguishable discourses in resilience science of forest systems that researchers and academics have debated with different policy and decision-makers and forest sector stakeholders in an attempt to evolve practice and action (see Figure 1, and DeRose and Long, 2014, Dymond et al., 2015; Fuller and Quine, 2016). Models fit under the broad definition of forest resilience but have quite different theoretical underpinnings. The first applies an engineering resilience perspective around steady-states, stability and resistance to change, which seeks to minimise the effects of the disturbance such that it continues along a particular pathway post-disturbance. The second model applies an ecological resilience approach and assumes that more than one stable forest system is possible, and that different states may recover to provide similar functions even though certain characteristics (e.g. species composition) may have changed. The third model is propagated by socioecological systems science: It suggests that forest systems are subjected to stochastic change and dynamic processes that can adapt or transform forest ecosystems from one functional form, to another, qualitatively different form. It also recognises that the interaction between the natural and social system can shift thresholds in unexpected ways. However, studies in the United States (Bone et al., 2016, DeRose and Long, 2014), New Zealand (Roche, 2017), and Germany (Sotirov et al., 2016) illustrate that while policy makers may use these broad concepts to focus policy statements and strategies around resilience, there is rarely an understanding and articulation of the concept that is both clear and detailed enough to translate into mechanisms that support silvicultural operations and forest management. Fuller and Quine (2016) discuss this in greater detail and show that the complexity of multifunctional, multi-species, multi-scale and the long term nature of forestry makes it difficult, and unrealistic, for a single or consistent definition of resilience in the forestry sector.

Figure 1. "Cup and ball" schematic diagrams illustrating the common concepts of resilience currently used in forest systems sciences and recognised in policy discourse

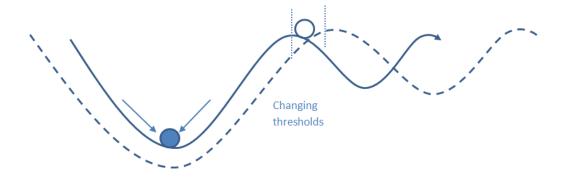
a. Engineering resilience after Gunderson (2000), assumption of only one stable forest system and the ability of the system to return to that state



b. Ecological resilience after Gunderson (2000) assumes that more than one stable forest system is possible, different states may provide similar functions even though species composition changes



c. Socio-ecological systems resilience after Artic Council (2013) assumes that changes in the social system and environmental system may work together to shift thresholds



This complexity presents challenges for policy makers to complete the policy-practice process, to understand and prioritise knowable threats facing forests, and to identify which approach to resilient forest management should be endorsed. A pertinent case is the rise in attention to pests and diseases and the associated political and economic risks which has led many forestry policy and decisionmakers to concentrate efforts in this area. The science is developing at pace, and for some key tree pests and diseases, much work has been done to define the parameters, some of the silvicultural responses, and the context for evaluation and manipulation of the organisms (Cavers, 2015, Cavers and Cottrell, 2015, DeRose and Long, 2014, Klapwijk et al., 2016). The social dimensions of tree health is a relatively new area for research, but work here is providing insights into the scope and scale of the stakeholder landscape (e.g. Dandy et al 2017); knowledge and awareness of pests and diseases amongst stakeholders and the public (e.g. Marzano et al 2015, 2016; Urquhart et al 2016); governance issues (e.g. MacLeod et al 2010; Potter 2013; Pettersson et al. 2016); and stakeholder responses to management options (e.g. Flint 2006; Chang et al 2009; Fuller et al 2016; Porth et al 2015; Sheremet et al., 2017). Sustainable forest management, forest resilience and protection of tree health are all stated policy objectives for the devolved administrations in Britain. Recognising the cross-border co-operation required to deal with tree and forest health, there is a GB wide strategy (DEFRA, 2014a,b,). In addition England, Wales and Scotland have developed national level policy statements that make explicit and implicit reference to forest resilience (Plant Health Service, 2015, DEFRA, 2014b, Welsh Government, 2013, DEFRA, 2014a). Alongside this, the Forestry Commission in England and Scotland, and Natural Resources Wales have outward facing "forest resilience" webpages that make statements describing policy positions and identify supporting resources for forest managers (Wales, 2016, Scotland, 2016, England, 2016). However, on these pages the links between resilience and tree health are often not explicit. Resilience is instead expressed in terms of forest stand structural diversity and tree species diversity – the discourse is "adaptation", for example to changing climates, and a focus on action with little reference to the spatial scale and temporal dimensions. This highlights how far the complexity

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of the stakeholder landscape also affects policy and decision makers. It is not only that each country's decision-makers wish to frame resilience to fit their own context, they are also involved in a process of identifying their priority audiences, i.e. those organisations and individuals along the length of the forest management and value chain they wish to target, each with their own levels of understanding, awareness and information and knowledge needs (Marzano et al., 2015, Marzano et al., 2016, Stenlid et al., 2011).

There is scant research exploring these dynamics in the policy-practice process. Very little has been uncovered about how policy and decision-makers come to understand resilience in a tree health context, and how they go on to identify and prioritise particular threats and the potential changes to practice that could meet specific risks and challenges. Even less is known about the barriers they experience to realising their values, beliefs and aspirations around resilience and tree health. This paper sets out to address some of these gaps by reporting research that aimed to better understand the definitions of resilience and key concepts used by policy-makers in the UK, their views on key policy tools and instruments that could or do promote tree health resilience (including their effectiveness and challenges linked to them), as well as potential collaborative processes.

Methods

The main methods used in this research were three focus groups carried out in December 2015 involving 21 policy actors with an interest in tree health; and semi-structured interviews (n=12) with key informants working in senior policy positions within UK Environmental bodies.

The focus group participants had been invited to a meeting to update relevant policy stakeholders on progress of the PROTREE project¹. PROTREE aimed to measure the variability and adaptability of trees to pests and diseases, and to find ways to get people involved in promoting healthier forests. A key

¹ PROTREE: https://wiki.ceh.ac.uk/display/THI/The+Project. Funded in the UK through the LWEC Tree Health and Plant Biosecurity Initiative (THAPBI).

part of the project was to ensure the research addressed the needs of stakeholders and produced results that could be used on the ground. Following a detailed stakeholder mapping, analysis and assessment, the project created a Science-Policy-Practitioner Interface for greater dialogue, knowledge exchange and validation of project activities and outputs. The aim of the three focus groups was to discuss the understanding of the term 'resilience'. Focus group discussions are a form of group interview using a relatively open, non-directive qualitative technique to explore topics as perceived by the participants (Fischer & Young, 2007). As well as understanding interactions between the members of the group, an important aspect of the focus group is to examine the joint construction of meaning. As such, this technique was well suited as an introductory methodology to explore the meaning of resilience from the participants' viewpoint. Each focus group discussion lasted 15-20 minutes, included seven people and was facilitated by two of the authors (MM and JY). Following on from the focus groups and building on the theoretical background on resilience highlighted in the introduction, the authors developed a semi-structured interview guide aimed at national level policy actors responsible for developing and/or implementing tree health resilience. A key informant sampling approach was adopted and twelve high-level policy actors in government organisations in England, Scotland and Wales (see Table 1) were identified and interviewed between March and August 2016. The interview guide (see Appendix 1) focussed on four key aspects regarding resilience:

• Definitions of resilience and key concepts used

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- Key policy tools and instruments that could/do promote tree health resilience (including their effectiveness and challenges linked to them)
- Opportunities and challenges in promoting resilience
- Collaborative processes and stakeholder engagement including the identification of any stakeholders currently missing from discussions and actions promoting resilience.

Key informants were selected based on the stakeholder mapping and the further identification of the most experienced or senior policy actors in the main UK government bodies with responsibility for forestry or who could provide insights on resilience in the environment sector.

INTERVIEWEE GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWEES	INTERVIEWEE CODES
ENGLAND	5	PE1-PE5
SCOTLAND	5	PS1-PS5
WALES	1	PW1
CROSS-BORDER	1	PCB1
TOTAL	12	

Table 1. Distribution of interviewees according to background. Three focus groups were also carried out (Codes: FG1, FG2, FG3) with cross-border participants.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out by two of the authors (JY and MM). All interviews, excepting one, were carried out over the telephone. Research suggests that there is little difference in the quality of data collected using telephone interviewing (Jäckle et al., 2006; Sturges and Hanrahan, 2004). Interviews took between 25-60 minutes and were transcribed verbatim in their entirety by a professional organisation. Results from the focus groups and interviews were coded using NVivo. We applied a grounded theory approach to organising the narratives following the general themes of the interview guide. This resulted in six main coding nodes identified (Resilience concept; Communication; Current or lack of knowledge about issues affecting trees; Policy tools related to resilience; Promoting resilience and Stakeholders involved in tree health), and 29 sub-nodes. See Table 2 below for the organisation of the coding, and results in terms of sources and number of references for each.

Node	Sub-node	Sources	References
Resilience	For what purpose(s)	12	53
concept	In what contexts the term is used	7	25
	Spatial scale	7	16
	Temporal scale	11	33
	Against what - pests, diseases etc	13	75
	Definition: engineering, ecological of socio-	12	47
	ecological		
	Values	3	5
Communication	Communication - general	8	22
	Communication between government	7	25

	departments		
	Communication or consultation with contractors	2	3
	Communication or consultation with the public	10	46
	Communication with industry	11	52
Current or lack	Current knowledge, and lack of, about issues	12	75
of knowledge,	affecting trees - general		
about issues	Complexity of resilience issues	9	21
affecting trees	Detecting pests and pathogens	5	22
	Sources of information and knowledge	13	49
	Uncertainty	6	26
	Understanding risk	4	10
Policy tools	Balancing different policy needs	12	50
related to	EU level policies and knowledge exchange	5	21
resilience	International level policies and knowledge	3	5
	exchange		
	Scottish level policy tools and initiatives	5	24
	UK level policy tools and initiatives	13	83
Promoting	Promoting resilience – general comments	4	9
resilience	Financial costs	8	44
	Solutions that are or should be in place	13	163
	Role of organisations in promoting resilience	13	64
Stakeholders	Stakeholders involved	10	37
involved in tree	Missing stakeholders	9	17
health			

Table 2. Overview of the six nodes and 29 sub-nodes of the interview analysis including number of sources and number of references for each.

Results

Definitions of resilience

Given the complexities involved in identifying what resilience might mean in a forestry and tree health context, we explored what policy actors from different organisations understood by the term.

A number of interviewees referenced resilience as the ability of forests and trees to "carry on providing benefits to society, despite threats such as climate change, pests and diseases" (PE2) or "to continue to be able to provide the various ecosystem services and other services of forestry" (PS3) and "providing the service that we provide sustainably and with contingency arrangements were things to change"

(PCB1). Interviewees highlighted resilience as "the ability of a forest to again cope with emergencies or cope with stresses that are put towards it and so on" (PS2) comparing resilience to "the health of a complete ecosystem and how robust it is to pressures" (PE5) and that "essentially, it's protecting the things that are important to us under changing circumstances" (PS1). Others provided definitions linked to components of resilience, namely "recovery, resistance and adaptation" (PE4) — in line with the frameworks and models of resilience described above (see Table 3).

	Engineering resilience – towards resistance	Ecological resilience – towards recovery	Socio-ecological resilience – towards
			adaptation
Number of total mentions	6	10	14
Interviews where only one form of resilience were mentioned	0	3	2
Interviews where two	2		
forms of resilience			
were mentioned			
Interviews where two		1	
forms of resilience			
were mentioned			
Interviews where two	2 (engineering and		
forms of resilience	socio-ecological)		
were mentioned			
Interviews where	2		
three forms of			
resilience mentioned			

Table 3. Types of definitions of resilience provided by interviewees.

Six interviewees referred to engineering resilience, seeing it as "the ability of a system to rebound after pressure, after stress, after some sort of shock, for its ability to rebound into the state where it was before, at least into a stable state again" (PE1). Definitions from eight sat within ecological resilience, whilst twelve interviewees and the two focus groups referred to socio-ecological resilience, described as "essentially, it's protecting the things that are important to us under changing circumstances" (PS4). Seven interviewees used two or more of the definitions of resilience in their

interviews. Within a tree health focus, interviewees highlighted the need to take a pro-active stance, "resilience [is] what you can do to prevent the entry and establishment of an organism" (PS2).

There were, however, some criticisms around the continuing debate on what resilience means, with some embracing the complexity of resilience as a concept, and others the opposite. One interviewee expressed that, "scientists and academics do ... overthink these things and whether there's actually a much simpler sort of thing that we can do, a much simpler definition and a much simpler view of it really" (PE1). This chimed with another interviewee who warned that "by the time we get down to the bottom of some of these words, it just becomes pseudo intellectual buffoonery" (PW1).

A number of interviewees highlighted the importance of context when talking about resilience. For example, one interviewee suggested that resilience was "a complex concept that can be quite context specific that can mean different things for different perspectives" (PE4). Others concurred commenting that: "resilience is a context dependent term, just like "strong" or "big" or any of those words, they don't make any sense unless you have component of context" (PS1), or that the understanding of resilience depends on "the policy context and what the landscape is trying to do or be or achieve or what the policy issues are" (PS2). Another key issue for interviewees related to who interprets the term and for what purposes. For example, one interviewee indicated that the term made them "uncomfortable because different people may interpret it in different ways... I'm not totally convinced that having a new word is going to make us act more!" (PE5) leading potentially to a situation in which we might be "confusing people by using the word "resilience", as though it's something new when actually it's just a series of different things" (PW1). For another interviewee, this multiple dimension was perceived as a positive: "we need a myriad of different definitions that work for different scenarios and also that they will be dealt with in different ways" (PE1).

Ultimately, all three interpretations of resilience were referred to by interviewees, with most participants reporting that they wanted to maintain a broad range of approaches that spanned multiple definitions and could be adapted to fit their own current policy contexts.

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Why do we need resilience?

Interviewees highlighted how resilience was part of a broader 'multi-objective' context in which there was a requirement to balance the needs of different goods and services. One interviewee commented: "we want carbon, we want recreation, we want conservation, we want timber and all the rest of it" (PS3). As such, the answer to why we need resilience depended on the perceived forest management objectives and end users. For one interviewee this had led to "thinking about how we can really use resilience in terms of thinking about it from kind of quite a broad perspective to help us protect and enhance the ecosystem services that are provided by trees" (PE4). This included looking at the wider resilience of the economy "focusing in on the timber industry, how the timber industry will manage if for example, we couldn't provide them with certain species like ash, for example" (PCB1), as well as resilience related to other public services. One interviewee highlighted resilience as being essential in a broader ecological sense: "as air, water and land are interconnected, a resilient terrestrial environment is required to protect the water and air environment" (PS4). However, embedding the concept of resilience in a wider environmental context also included a dimension of change, as one interviewee describes: "a huge wave of change is upon us. We're going to have to make some choices. So what is it we want to keep? What is it that we want to be resilient and against what? That's a huge question which absolutely has to be answered" (FG1). A number of interviewees pointed out that this above question required some initial thinking including

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Resilient against what?

understanding "what is enough resilience?" (FG1), at what point in time (with levels of uncertainty

increasing over time), and what resources might be available for creating resilient woodlands.

Interviewees commented that "resilience is a set of characteristics that is going to protect a thing from a threat. So the questions are, the resilience of what? Against what?" (FG1). When asked what forests could or should be resilient against, a large mix of external threats and inherent vulnerabilities were outlined in the focus groups and interviews. The most cited threat was climate change, with one interviewee highlighting in particular that "we see evidence of more extreme weather events, storms, floods, storms particularly that have a big impact on forestry" (PE2). Another interviewee argued that climate change concerns were influencing management in the long-term, "in terms of what would actually grow in the future climate" (PS3). Only one interviewee stated that they were "not sure to what extent climate change is yet impacting on trees" (PE5). Another stressed the increased concerns around adverse weather conditions, such as waterlogging and water stress. There was limited evidence, however, according to one interviewee regarding droughts: "drought is affecting woodlands I think, I don't feel that we've got very much handle on how much and how widespread that is but I think it's a problem" (PE5).

These stresses no doubt increase the vulnerability of individual trees, stands and forests to pest and disease threats. Indeed, the second most cited threat was the range of pests and diseases affecting forestry, including Dothistroma Needle Blight, ash dieback (*Hymenoscyphus fraxineus*), *Phytophthora ramorum*, pine tree lappet moth (*Dendrolimus pini*), Emerald ash borer (*Agrilus planipennis*), *Xylella fastidiosa* and Acute Oak Decline. Interviewees were particularly worried about "those new and emerging ones that always pose the biggest threat to our established woodlands" (PE1). One interviewee emphasised the potential and immediate impact of pests and diseases in the context of resilience: "you might have your plan to develop woodlands that are resilient to climate change with a 50-100 year time frame but if you get a new disease in, that starts wiping out your existing germplasm, then your whole plan's gone to pot" (PE1). Another noted their feelings of helplessness against pests and diseases: "because of the way these things are spreading now, airborne things etc., our inability to defend our borders if you like, to me that's one of the biggest worries I've got, [...] the Xylella type disease where it's cutting right across a whole range of species and we don't really have

anything, to prevent it's spread by insects" (PW1). Many interviewees mentioned the role of unregulated movement of plant material in the spread of pests and diseases and the lack of diversity of trees planted leading to more damaging impacts of pests and diseases. Interviewees also mentioned non-native tree species that were perceived to have invasive potential and act as vectors for disease.

In addition to climate change and tree pests and diseases, other threats were identified. One interviewee raised the problem of deer, stressing that pressures from deer browsing were "getting higher and higher, that's a real difficulty" (PE5). Other interviewees mentioned the threats from air pollution emissions including nitrogen oxides, and impacts of contaminants from diffuse pollution from agriculture and contaminated sites on forests. Lack of active forest management was also mentioned by interviewees. One interviewee highlighted that "around 40% of England's woods are currently not managed, they don't have a management plan, they're neglected, actually that's probably where the biggest risks are" (PE2).

highlighting that "if new pests and diseases do get introduced, if climate's changing, the climate could become more suitable to these pests and diseases becoming established as well or conversely, it could predispose some of our existing trees, whether they're native or plantation trees, to adapt" (PCB1). Another noted that "it's always about interaction so I'm most worried about the interaction between climate change, pests and diseases and industry which is still highly reliant on government intervention and a resource which is still, [...] small, isolated and lots of it is neglected" (PE2).

Interviewees mentioned the complex mix of threats acting synergistically, with one interviewee

Resilience at what scale?

Interviews revealed concerns about resilience across both spatial and temporal scales. Resilience was seen by one interviewee as requiring an approach spanning multiple scales: "so you can have

resilience at the gross level, the very large scale level, right down to resilience at a tree level" (PS1), emphasising that different issues relating to resilience would need to be adapted to the most appropriate scale. For example, in terms of climate change, one interviewee advocated that "more integrated land-use management and diversification at all levels is required and also to make the landscape more resilient to climate change" (PS4). On the specific issue of wind throw (i.e. when trees are toppled by strong winds), focus group interviewees highlighted action again at the landscape scale: "one of the things that FES is currently focusing on a lot is resilience to wind throw in the landscape issue. So we've been designing a lot of our coupes to be more wind resilient" (FG1).

Interviewees also discussed the issue of resilience with regards to the long temporal frames in forestry, acknowledging the difficulties of dealing with threats in this context. Managing for the long-term was seen as challenging: "it's quite easy for them to think of it locally as being a five year thing but thinking of it going forward for 50/100/200 years when the climate is going to not be as it is today, it's very difficult for people to picture in terms of sustainable natural resource management" (PW1). Again, the issue of timescales was linked to overall policy context, priorities and objectives: "the question of how resilient we need to be depends on what point in time and what set of circumstances you have in mind. So if you're saying we're going into a future where there are increasing levels of uncertainty, then what we've got to be going for is the most resilient landscape we can possibly engineer" (FG1).

Current policy tools promoting resilience

To understand which formal and informal mechanisms may help facilitate actions for resilience, we explored with interviewees what policy tools and guidance were currently available. One interviewee argued that "there isn't something that I'm aware of that I would obviously say "that's a policy", formal or informal, that relates to resilience. I'm not sure I can obviously point to something and say, "That's a policy that's directly linked to resilience" (PE1). This may be expected for an emerging system property, where it would be more likely to be integrated into other measures. As such, interviewees

highlighted existing policies and instruments that could facilitate resilience- focused actions, and reflected on whether these existing policies and instruments were sufficient to express and communicate their understanding of resilience to others.

At the national scale, statutory action was identified as "the primary [tool] trying to reduce the pressures" (PS3). Added to that, interviewees mentioned grant aid mechanisms (e.g. specific grant aid packages to support *Phytophthora* removal, for instance). A number of policy tools were also mentioned by interviewees, including the Plant Biosecurity Strategy for Great Britain (Defra, 2014a) and the Tree Health Management Plan (Defra, 2014b). The UK Forestry Standard (FC 2011) was, however, identified as "the UK Government's, including the devolved administrations, [...] line on sustainable forest management" (PS3). This statement, and the focus for many interviewees on the UK Forestry Standard (UKFS), reflected their understanding of resilience as closely linked to sustainability, and the belief that if you implement sustainable forest management, resilience will follow.

Interviewees did, however, mention that the UKFS was difficult for forest managers to follow in its entirety, which may lead to foresters choosing certain aspects of the UKFS that 'fitted' with their needs. In addition, the UKFS was seen as only part of the solution: "UK Forestry Standard gives you the basic building blocks, you have to be cleverer than the UK Forestry Standard I suspect, in order to get resilient woodlands" (PW1). The suitability of the UKFS as an instrument for promoting SFM amongst the majority of the UK woodland owners was raised, in particular for those with small landholdings. Perceived largely as a regulatory guide and a practice standard for the grant application process, the relevance of UKFS as a source of advice was questioned if not accompanied by further translation and contextualisation to different types of woodland owners. As one interviewee observed for smaller landowners, "it's very hard for them to engage, there's so much regulation on woodlands and I know that landowners complain a lot about that" (PE5). This could lead to a situation in which "people could walk into owning a woodland pretty blind and not be aware of any of the

regulations that they're supposed to be undertaking" (PE5) – and in turn the negative impact of 'overregulation' on building resilience. There was little explicit recognition of either the UKFS or related
regulations as tools to manage and communicate resilient forest practice. However, it was interesting
to note that a chain of custody certification i linked to the UKFS such as Grown in Britain was seen as
having the potential to impact on resilience by improving awareness of provenance (where
plants/timber come from). This again reflects the loose definition of resilience by interviewees, which
allowed a large number of initiatives to be linked to resilience. Other advice sources mentioned by
interviewees included guidance notes and practice guides produced by the Forest Research and the
UK Plant Health Risk Register². A number of advisory boards were also mentioned including the UK
Plant Health Advisory Forum which includes industry, non-government organisations and government
that "try to get together, to look at issues and look at new plant health legislation that's coming on
board and try to get messages over as well" (PS2).

At the European level, the main policy tool mentioned by one interviewee was the European Plant
Health Directive (Directive 2000/29/EC). A comment on this Directive from the interviewee was that
"you're not really supposed to intervene with national measures, national legislation against pest or

Health Directive (Directive 2000/29/EC). A comment on this Directive from the interviewee was that "you're not really supposed to intervene with national measures, national legislation against pest or disease until you know that there is a real threat of that pest or disease coming in" (PCB1). This resulted in a situation where responsiveness was key, however "by the time [...] we found that there was ash dieback within the plant trade, the disease had probably been here for a decade before then and that is the problem with that regime" (PCB1). The European level was mainly mentioned by policy interviewees in relation to sources of information on forest pests and diseases and their management, either from EU sources such as the European & Mediterranean Plant Protection Organisation (EPPO), or learning "what's happened in other member states, either through the approaches that they've used

² https://secure.fera.defra.gov.uk/phiw/riskRegister/

to control an organism or where they've had problems" (PS2) and the EU level monthly meetings of the Chief Plant Health Officers³ to discuss emerging issues.

At the International level, interviewees highlighted the International Plant Protection Convention (IPPC), described as a forum "where countries get together once a year to discuss the development of international standards, to try to prevent the entry of pests and diseases but also to facilitate trade" (PS2), and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) that sets the standard for free trade between countries. In terms of advice, one interviewee pointed to the USDA website which has up to date maps showing the locations of pest and disease occurrence and outbreaks as worth monitoring in the United States.

Suggestions and challenges to promoting resilience

The emphasis was very much to have a number of options at hand to facilitate resilience and adapt strategies based on woodland owner and manager needs and priorities: "one of the issues here is getting this basic tenet of don't put all your eggs in one basket" (CB1). Again, the broad definition of resilience adopted by interviewees allowed for a wide range of ecological, policy and social options to be suggested.

Although one interviewee noted they were "not sure that anybody has necessarily any solutions at the moment" (PS2), others highlighted a range of mechanisms to support or advise forest managers on promoting resilience. These included practical actions (e.g. thinning, sanitation felling, chemical spraying applications); grant systems (to support tree removal in response to Statutory Plant Health Notices or remove potential vectors such as *Rhododendron ponticum*); advice and guidance promoting diversity in terms of tree species and genetic variability; and greater coordination amongst and

³ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/preparatory-bodies/working-party-chief-plant-health-officers/

between relevant stakeholder groups. Each is explored in turn, including suggestions and challenges highlighted by interviewees and participants of the focus groups.

Interviewees looked to other sectors and internationally for practical management actions to deal with pests and diseases "thinking about other forms of resilience-building, so using technology, some of the evolving technologies in terms of crop protection may be required, like aerial spraying [for Dothistroma Needle Blight]" (PS3). Interviewees also thought about landscape resilience generally, suggesting actions such as expansion of native woodland core areas and corridors, expansion of riparian and wet woodlands in appropriate locations and with appropriate design, strategically placed trees, shelterbelts, and woodlands for mitigation of diffuse pollution (air and land). For farmers, there were calls for integration of trees within the agricultural setting and collaboration on catchment-wide initiatives for multi-benefits as well as economic gain including incentives to utilise grant schemes.

There was a focus on the benefits of grants: "grants do help and certainly, I think landowners like pretending that they don't use grants, they're just a pain but I think they definitely do help oil the workings" (PE5). Another interviewee felt that "if someone is in for a financial return and you want them to change behaviour, compensating them for that change of behaviour is an obvious mechanism" (PE1). However, other responses to the grants approach was that it might make woodlands less resilient "what that results in is lots of woods which have a form of management which will only carry on if they carry on getting a grant and that is a very unresilient system" (PE2).

Promoting diversity in terms of tree species and genetic variability was a key theme amongst policy respondents: "one of the key things that I always seem to come back to is just variation, [...] part of the fact that we have a lack of resilience is probably because we are growing monocultures and I think you could argue the same in forestry or anything, if you have a lack of variation, certainly from a pests and pathogens point of view, it's an instant, easy target" (PE1). According to some interviewees, increasing diversity (e.g. in the face of climate change and to protect forests against pest and disease) might require non-native provenances better suited to future site conditions and climate in the UK;

but introducing non-traditional species was also seen as requiring shifts in the timber market and changes to saw mills and other industry components and with potential risks of introducing new pests and diseases. Another suggestion was enriching genetic diversity as "... especially in light of very cataclysmic diseases that might be knocking out 80% or more of the trees, if we have resilient genotypes that we know of then I don't think it would be remiss to help spread them" (PE5).

A very strong theme through all the evidence sources was the need for more advice and guidance at a practical level about how to respond to the threats posed by climate change as well as pests and disease. As one person expressed it, "it's very difficult to find advice, there's not one single place where I can go and say, "this is what I need to do", I'm coming up with my own definition of what resilience might be but I'm not getting it from any formal advice from anyone" (PE1).

More integrated land-use management and diversification at all levels was highlighted as needed to encourage resilience at the landscape scale, particularly in response to climate change and associated threats of more flooding, diffuse pollution, pests and diseases. Respondents felt there was a lack of integration between forestry and other government policies, especially relating to land use due to "a legacy of being seen as of only marginal relevance to other land uses and woodland expansion is sometimes seen as a threat to farming. A process of addressing the flaws in the relationships between different land use sectors needs to be developed" (PS4).

A more general aspiration amongst interviewees was to work "collaboratively with a range of stakeholder organisations, environmental NGOs" (PE4) towards collective solutions to shared problems. In terms of key partners to include in this collaborative approach, interviewees mentioned the nursery sector, saw mills, private forest owners, government and statutory organisations, advisers and professional bodies. Interviewees highlighted a range of stakeholders who were currently missing from discussions and should be more effectively engaged, including nurseries (referred to by one person as "the forgotten child at the bus-stop" (PS3)), other policy linkages such as those working on the Chemicals Regulations Directive, woodland owners who do not engage with public agencies

through grants and regulations (estimated to be two thirds of all woodland owners according to one interviewee), small woodland managers and owners, agents, community woodland groups, local authorities who own woodlands, major institutional investors, and individuals and groups that design and make financial predictions for forestry products. According to one interviewee, identification of stakeholders should be followed as a first step as "early engagement with them in understanding what their challenges are and how they operate is essential if you're going to... to redesign your woodlands to make them more resilient" (PE1).

Discussion

Understanding what resilience in forests means in practice has been the focus of several recent studies (Rist and Moen 2013; DeRose and Long 2014; Bone et al 2016; Fuller and Quine 2016). Bone et al (2016) documented the extent to which resilience had been incorporated into US Forest Service communication while in the UK, Fuller and Quine (2016) suggest that policy makers need a greater understanding of what resilience encompasses and how it relates to the principles of sustainable forest management in order to develop appropriate policies. Resilience is becoming an increasingly popular concept to use when discussing how natural, social and economic environments can withstand or respond to current and future threats (Adger et al 2011; Cavers and Cottrell 2014). In forestry, growing pressures and uncertainties surrounding the potential implications of climate change and increasing threats from introduced pests and diseases appear to make resilience an attractive concept (Cavers and Cottrell 2014; Fuller and Quine 2016). Nevertheless, there is general agreement that the complexities inherent in forestry and other environmental contexts presents challenges to policy makers in the context of providing a clear definition and associated recommended actions (Fuller and Quine 2016).

There is little to suggest that resilience is an entirely new idea with Bone et al. (2016) describing it as the "latest in a string of similar terms" (p437) while others highlight ambiguities around current use

of the term (Brand and Jax 2007; DeRose and Long 2014; Hodgson et al 2015). Our interviews with policy-makers from different UK agencies with environmental responsibilities, highlighted that most knew about the range of definitions of resilience in the scientific domain, but were choosing to adopt broader concepts around resilience, depending on their diverse policy interests, objectives and perceived threats. However, there was some concern over the breadth and complexity of what resilience might encompass in terms of scale, time, forest management objectives and the other elements. Bearing in mind the strong message about the need for advice that can be understood and implemented by a range of forest owners, increasingly complex definitions are unlikely to promote practical actions and are more likely to add to confusion. Consequently the usefulness of the term and whether it actually meant anything new, or different to "sustainability" was questioned by many participants. In contrast, others were more comfortable with resilience as a concept that was more flexible and fluid, with the possibility of many potential definitions tailored to the different audiences and their objectives.

A number of authors have already acknowledged the difficulties of providing a single definition and that resilience in forests is likely to be complex and context specific (Rist and Moen 2013; Fuller and Quine 2016). The continuing debate around the definition of resilience is not simply a theoretical and paradigmatic one though; the implications and impacts are practical, influencing individuals' belief in versions of resilience, the potential advice given and acted upon, and the policy direction and instruments to flow from that definition. However, the variety of opinions generated by scientists of different traditions, different forestry sector interest groups, public agencies and government policy makers is not likely to readily result in a settled agreement at a strategic, issue-based or site-based level. Without intervention, any certainty, consistency or clarity, in the messages about types of resilient management actions to be applied in different contexts will remain elusive. Unsurprisingly, policy respondents tended to take a broader viewpoint looking at protection of the ecosystem services provided by forests. However, there was a strong agreement that context is important and that there was a need, as Carpenter (2001) suggests, to identify resilience in terms 'of what, to what' (see also

Fuller and Quine 2016), coupled with additional concerns over resources needed to build resilience and what was sufficient. It was very clear from interviews and focus groups in this study that policy makers did not put forward a clear resilience-specific agenda or set of actions but rather a wide range of measures of control and/or management of threats and diseases.

The two key pressures on forests of most concern to our respondents were climate change (Allen et al. 2010; Nelson et al. 2016; Keskitalo et al., 2016), including extreme weather events, drought, waterlogging and species choice; and tree pests and diseases (Boyd et al 2013; Freer-Smith and Webber 2015). These two issues can be interlinked, as climate change can lead to greater physiological stresses for trees, create opportunities for new pest and diseases, and change population dymanics of predators and prey. Several tree species which have been widely used over the years in UK forestry are becoming temporarily less favoured due to susceptibility to pests and diseases or changing climatic conditions (Marzano et al 2016). Under-management of forests was considered negatively by some respondents but some research suggests that 'neglect' could contribute to resilience (Dandy 2016). There is a need to better understand at which stage neglect becomes a hindrance to resilience, and what proportion of 'neglected' woodland is helpful.

We found that policy-makers were unaware of a single policy tool either regulatory, incentive, or communications or campaign based, that was specifically focussed on resilience. Whilst this may not necessarily be a barrier to increasing resilience, it does suggest that interested stakeholders may need to make additional efforts to learn about issues and potential solutions, and face the challenge of navigating a complex array of multiple and often contradictory information sources. What interviewees did highlight was the array of available policy tools with the potential to act on some aspect of improved resilience. However, none were considered to be fully effective, because they focussed on specific threats rather than synergistic effects i.e. emergent resilient properties of forest ecosystems, or they were not rapid and responsive enough to address the immediate and often sudden impacts from threats such as pests and diseases. In addition there were comments about

barriers related to awareness and understanding, such as regulatory tools being too complex for certain audiences (highlighting the challenge of trying to communicate the vastly more complex issues surrounding resilience), or many owners and stakeholders simply being unaware of their very existence. This highlights a very real concern about knowledge exchange breakdown between policy and societal actors (Young et al., 2014). It may be that the understanding of resilience as a flexible concept, with many potential definitions tailored to specific target audiences, requires a nuanced and dynamic policy approach. In other words, policy needs to develop and support a range of tools with some relevance to resilience from which audiences can select depending on their management needs and forestry context (DeRose and Long 2014; Fuller and Quine 2016). The challenge for policy makers then is to contextualise resilience in line with stakeholder needs (Fuller and Quine, 2016), and, importantly, propagate awareness of this through communications channels and platforms trusted by those stakeholders.

Moving away from policy tools, it was apparent that certain general approaches were seen as beneficial to improving resilience. Promoting resilience was seen as a joint challenge requiring collaborative action between all stakeholders: from government departments to forest managers, owners and other relevant actors. Whilst interviewees outlined a number of existing collaborative fora and processes, it was acknowledged there were stakeholders currently missing from existing processes. In the UK forestry sector, public agencies regard the uptake of grants by private forest owners as a key route to engagement with policy, either by directly changing the behaviour and practice of forest and woodland owners and managers, or by using engagement as a route for communication. However, research suggests that many owners, particularly small woodland owners, do not engage with the grant system (Lawrence and Dandy 2014), and engagement may have limited influence on other parts of the sector. Communicating with such stakeholders and identifying factors that will motivate them to act appears to be an important priority for the future (Marzano et al 2015).

Currently, the lack of specific resilience tools means it is difficult to clearly identify what is being adopted, and to what extent these approaches are proving effective in terms of achieving 'enough resilience', whatever that may mean to different actors. Whilst improving resilience may be a policy goal, we are still some way from knowing whether and how this is being achieved. For example, a focus on resistance involves actions that try to prevent the impacts of change whereas adaptation accepts that disturbance will likely happen and develops strategies to cope with or respond to that disturbance. There are potentially differences in approach that could result if one pursues resistance (e.g. development of resistant/tolerant trees) as opposed to adaptation (e.g. changing tree species composition) at different spatial scales and landscape types. Temporal actions also make a difference when identifying implications of resilience thinking on forest planning with pre-emptive actions signalling a desire to avoid or defer significant impacts while post-disturbance actions embrace or adapt to change (Fuller and Quine 2016:15).

Our research revealed that different types of owners, managers and businesses in the forestry sector not only have different needs and work in different contexts, but also their understanding, acceptance and application of resilience concepts may vary from stated policy positions. Actions promoted for example to adapt to climate change, may not be suitable or convincing to them. Our evidence suggested the need for greater articulation of responses more closely aligned with transformation (e.g. grants for phytosanitary felling, "redesigning British woodlands", accepting alternative land uses to forestry), resistance (e.g. tree breeding, dealing with pest outbreaks using chemicals) and recovery. This presents part of the challenge for decision makers and those involved in policy responses, as resilience is a multifaceted concept with an array of potential responses, connected with an equally diverse set of forest ecosystems. The collaborative development and promotion of an overarching vision that recognises the needs and contexts of different owners and managers in the sector might begin to overcome the challenge of fragmented and uncoordinated policy and policy tools for resilience. This will need to involve many - including different areas of government, agencies and organisations responsible for the science behind resilience approaches and practical responses, and

sector representatives; it will need to address ways to articulate the uncertainty associated with measures, and the contexts in which they might be applied so public agencies, forest owners and managers can make informed choices.

Acknowledgements

The research carried out in this paper was carried out as part of the PROTREE project, supported by a grant funded jointly by the Biotechnology and Biological Sciences Research Council, the Department for Environment, Food and Rural affairs, the Economic and Social Research Council, the Forestry Commission, the Natural Environment Research Council and the Scottish Government, under the Tree Health and Plant Biosecurity Initiative (THAPBI). CPQ's contribution was funded by Defra as part of the Future Proofing Plant Health (FPPH) programme. The authors wish to thank all the interviewees and focus group members for their time, insight and knowledge – without which this paper would not have been possible.

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699	another. Biodiversity and Conservation 23(2): 387-404.

700	Annex 1
701	PROTREE – Policy questions:
702	Informant details
703	Background e.g. country, discipline, training
704	Organisation
705	➢ Role
706	Length of time in role
707	> Location
708	Definitions of resilience and key concepts used:
709	What/when do you use the term resilience and what do you mean?
710	In a forestry context what do we want to be resilient against and why?
711	Key policy tools and instruments that promote tree health resilience:
712	What do you think of role of formal or informal mechanisms (grants, regulation, social
713	peer networks, membership of bodies, campaigns such as Grown in Britain, toolkits
714	PES, guidelines UKFS or other etc) might be in promoting or encouraging resilience
715	whether as policy tools/instruments or something else?
716	Will policy documents such as the UKFS help deliver resilience?
717	What are the other key tools/instruments that impact on resilience at country, UK and
718	EU scales?
719	Do they help/hinder tree health resilience?
720	Are there trade-offs/conflicts between these policy tools/instruments?
721	Any examples of benefits/successes of policies?
722	What are the barriers/challenges to implementation of policies at the country/UK/EL
723	scale?

724	•	Promoting	resilience
725		>	What do you think managers should be doing to promote resilience?
726		>	Is the forest sector following policy guidelines (UKFS) for adaptive management (and
727			therefore) resilience? How do they know this?
728		>	What changes/additions to policies are needed to promote resilience?
729		>	Who should be involved in resilience planning and decision-making (or who/which
730			stakeholders missing)?
731	•	Communica	ation
732		>	To what extent do you draw on different types of information and advice? Where
733			from?
734			