

Navigating the Perfect Storm: Research Strategies for Socioecological Systems in a Rapidly Evolving World

John A. Dearing · Seth Bullock · Robert Costanza ·
Terry P. Dawson · Mary E. Edwards ·
Guy M. Poppy · Graham M. Smith

Received: 9 August 2011 / Accepted: 19 February 2012 / Published online: 15 March 2012
© Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2012

Abstract The ‘Perfect Storm’ metaphor describes a combination of events that causes a surprising or dramatic impact. It lends an evolutionary perspective to how social-ecological interactions change. Thus, we argue that an improved understanding of how social-ecological systems have evolved up to the present is necessary for the modelling, understanding and anticipation of current and future social-ecological systems. Here we consider the implications of an evolutionary perspective for designing research approaches. One desirable approach is the creation of multi-decadal records produced by integrating palaeoenvironmental, instrument and documentary sources at multiple spatial scales. We also consider the potential for improved analytical and modelling approaches by developing system dynamical, cellular and agent-based models,

observing complex behaviour in social-ecological systems against which to test systems dynamical theory, and drawing better lessons from history. Alongside these is the need to find more appropriate ways to communicate complex systems, risk and uncertainty to the public and to policy-makers.

Keywords Social-ecological system · Evolutionary perspectives · Management strategy · Ecosystem service · Multi-decadal · Palaeoenvironmental records · Dynamic modeling

Introduction

No matter how the political deliberations at recent global summits (UN Climate Change Conference 2009; UN Convention on Biodiversity 2010; UN Conference on Sustainable Development 2010) play out, the sustainable management of the world’s social-ecological systems will continue to remain a standing item on the global change agenda. While it is generally accepted that all nations implement appropriate environmental management strategies (e.g., UNEP Medium Term Strategy 2010–2013) their formulation for specific nations and regions poses a significant challenge to scientists and policy-makers alike. At their heart exist frameworks that bring together the concepts of ecosystem services and social wellbeing via a flow of benefit (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005; UK National Ecosystem Assessment 2010). While there is evidence of the interdependent roles played by frameworks, scenario generation, heuristics, qualitative relationships and computational models in the policy process (Carpenter and others 2009), the last two years have seen a rise in publications in sustainability and adaptation science

J. A. Dearing (✉) · M. E. Edwards
Department of Geography and Environment, University of
Southampton, Highfield Campus, Southampton SO17 1BJ, UK
e-mail: j.dearing@soton.ac.uk

S. Bullock
Department of Electronics and Computer Science, University of
Southampton, Southampton, UK

R. Costanza
Institute for Sustainable Solutions, Portland State University,
Portland, Oregon, USA

T. P. Dawson
Department of Geography, University of Dundee, Dundee, UK

G. M. Poppy
Department of Biological Sciences, University of Southampton,
Southampton, UK

G. M. Smith
Department of Social Sciences, University of Southampton,
Southampton, UK

arguing that in many cases these tools fail to capture relevant complexities of the real world. In this paper, we consider the background to this perceived failure before assessing alternative approaches to observing, modelling, and communicating the complexities of the real world.

Two sets of arguments define the background to this problem. First, a greater level of understanding of interactions between social and ecological systems can be achieved by using complex systems theory (Nicholson and others 2009), a view strengthened by the empirical evidence for the rapidity of global environmental change (Steffen and others 2004). Boundary conditions may be changing so quickly as to negate the usefulness of equilibrium models, for example, with regards to water resources (Milly and others 2008), even though such models were previously considered fit for purpose. The problem is vividly expressed in John Beddington's (2009) use of a Perfect Storm image to describe the multi-decadal interactions of several drivers culminating in dramatic, and often unanticipated, responses. As more information about past global trends (Steffen and others 2004) and future projections (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005; Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change 2007) become available for an array of social, economic and environmental phenomena it is clear that management policies have to recognize and incorporate the impacts on ecosystem services of multiple interacting drivers and pressures (Fig. 1). Beddington (2009) drew on projections of population growth, food security and water demands, in addition to the direct impacts of climate change, to speculate about abrupt change in the future. But it is a metaphor that can just as well be applied to crises that we have already observed in quite different domains: from regional fire risk to global financial collapse (Fig. 1). Building on earlier arguments for an evolutionary understanding of people and nature (Costanza and others 1993), the metaphor emphasizes the need for new approaches that can *explicitly* handle emergent behaviour, 'fast' and 'slow' processes, feedback loops, critical transitions, thresholds and tipping points, and network interactions—in the real world.

Second, the management of ecosystem services demands place-based and comparative research, with the emphasis on constructing modelling tools that address policy-making at local and regional scales (e.g., Grimm and others 2008; Carpenter and others 2009). At regional scales, impact assessment models (IAMs) are the main tools for agencies to engage with impacts, vulnerability, adaptation and sustainable management. Abundant computing power enables modeling that is cheap and fast (by comparison with empirical studies), but the question remains: will these models deliver what is required? Underlining the connection with complex systems, the argument has been made (e.g., Tallis and Kareiva 2006)

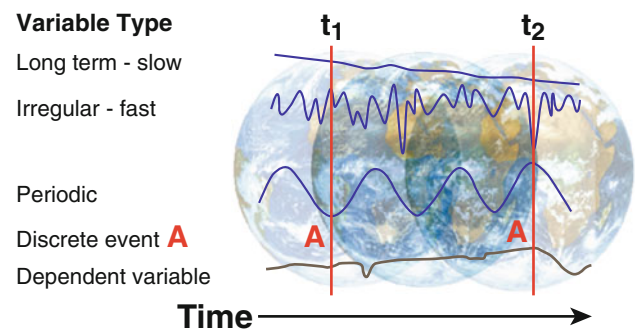


Fig. 1 The perfect storm. An evolutionary model of major social-ecological change, showing the complex interaction of multiple driver/pressure variables. The change in the dependent variable is the combined result of several types of influence: long-term-slow, irregular-fast, periodic and unpredictable discrete events. In this example two discrete events in the irregular series (A) occur at t_1 and t_2 with different responses in the dependent variable. At t_2 , a significant threshold change in the dependent variable follows the event because it is sensitive to a combination of other variable states that was not present at t_1 . The dependent variable may be exemplified by numerous environmental and social phenomena. Changes in forest biomass in California occur where long term, irregular, periodic and discrete signals correspond to the frequency of small fires (build-up of fuel), wind strength, seasonal climate and accidental ignition events respectively. The 2008 downturn in global economic growth occurred as a result of interacting long term, irregular, periodic and event variables corresponding to the growth of sub-prime debt, commodity prices, seasonal housing market, and the failure of major banks respectively. The challenge for designing adaptation strategies is to anticipate how these interactions, involving feedback in time and space, are likely to evolve in the future

that IAMs frequently lack key feedbacks, are unable to predict critical thresholds and tipping points, and may fail to couple ecosystems and their associated services to societal wellbeing. Nicholson and others (2009) take a stronger line, arguing that modeling approaches that do not consider feedbacks have the potential to produce *dangerous policy recommendations*: they should not be used to predict causality. IAMs may also be compromised as regards their spatial scale. For example, modeled future species distributions using bioclimatic envelopes often use the wrong spatial scale to define species niches (Trivedi and others 2008). Ignoring fine-scale environmental heterogeneity (Willis and Bhagwat 2009) and failing to account for adaptive phenotypic plasticity, IAMs may exaggerate the loss of ecological niches and extinction rates (Dawson and others 2011). Each ecosystem process or service operates over a specific range of spatial and temporal scales (Costanza 2008). Without knowing what these scales are and how the services interact within a social-ecological network the high likelihood of being misled by non-causative correlations make valid assessments difficult. This is because in complex unbounded systems, such as social-ecological systems, equifinality

results in a system state (or set of states) that can be reached through many different pathways, processes and initial conditions of individual system components (von Bertalanffy 1969). In this sense, Oldfield (2005) notes the lack of rigorous testing of IAM outputs against past data. Despite the problematic notions of validity and verification in complex domains (Oreskes and others 1994) the close correlation of past global and regional temperature simulations with long-term instrument records (IPCC 2007) has perhaps made the most compelling argument for the acceptance of future climate-model projections. Oldfield (2005) speculates that some modellers prefer not to attempt such model validation against the past because failure may constrain the development of *engaging scenarios* of the future, which allow for a wide variation in the set of coherent, internally consistent and plausible descriptions of a possible future state of the world.

Arguments for new and improved conceptual insights and associated modeling tools that capture complexity belie the difficulty in creating them, but some recent developments are promising. Improvements to conventional impact assessments, such as Driver-Pressure-Stress-Impact-Response frameworks (Spangenberg and others 2009), offer new means for dealing explicitly with resilience and other dynamic properties of social-ecological systems (Dawson and others 2010) by the incorporation of both autonomous and top-down (command-and-control) feedback processes (Rounsevell and others 2010). Press-Pulse Dynamic frameworks (Collins and others 2011) would seem to accommodate the interaction of slow and fast processes over the long term, and self-organizational processes are at the heart of Ostrom's (2009) framework for analyzing human-environment interactions in social-ecological systems. Stakeholder participation is an essential component in developing these frameworks and models (Walker and others 2009). Typically a risk-assessment is involved. While it has been argued that any risk determination—essentially a trade-off between costs and benefits—may be viewed as a non-scientific threshold decision (NRC 1983), Johnson and others (2007) argue that in regulatory decision-making the roles of scientists and of wider society are commonly confused. Their view is that scientists engaged in risk assessment should ensure they test well-defined hypotheses and that greater efforts are then made to integrate scientific risk assessment and risk analysis so that *non-scientific* questions, such as economic and social acceptance, can be considered within the decision-making process (Graham 1991; Sexton 1995). Thus, as the interactions between major drivers of global change create increasingly complex effects it is now becoming recognized (e.g. Beddoe and others 2009; Walker and others 2009) that co-evolving regulatory and institutional reform is a major international priority.

New methods that provide insight into how governance systems, users and resources interact will be increasingly useful to policy makers (McNie 2007). But inevitably, the extent to which impact assessments are able to inform policy-makers about future thresholds and extreme events, and the basis on whether we can judge them to be 'realistic' outcomes, are questions that society will ask more frequently. So what are the ways forward? Here we consider three areas of study that we believe can contribute to an improved understanding of complex social-ecological changes: observing long-term system dynamics, modeling complex systems, and testing complexity theory against historical reconstructions. The common thread is a greater utilisation of long, multi-decadal records.

Observing Long-Term System Dynamics

Carpenter and others (2009) contend that management of ecosystem services demands not only place-based but long-term research. Monitored records from instruments and repeat surveys can provide long ecological and social-ecological perspectives (e.g., ILTEN 1993; Singh and others 2010) but, unlike climate records, datasets are sparse and often cover a relatively short period of a few years. Increasingly, short records are supplemented with environmental reconstructions from historical (e.g., Stafford Smith and others 2007) and paleoecological investigations (e.g., Dearing and others 2006a). Indeed, there is growing evidence that multi-decadal perspectives are not only useful in providing context. Rather, they may actually represent the true timescales within which a contemporary system operates (Dearing and others 2010) helping to observe the nature of legacies and contingencies: the changing pattern of magnitude-frequency relationships; 'slow' and 'fast' processes; the existence of thresholds; and the convergence and divergence of system and variable trajectories over these timescales (cf. Fig. 1). As such, these system properties all give crucial insight into the functioning of contemporary social-ecological systems (Foster and others 2003; Costanza and others 2007a; Dearing and others 2008; Froyd and Willis 2008) and their resilience properties (Walker and others 2002; Dearing 2008). Without knowing the paths and drivers of social and ecological processes, and their interactions, across all relevant timescales it is doubtful whether 'predictive' simulation models (including agent-based, impact analysis, reduced complexity, and numerical process models) can be accurately created.

Recent studies show that there is a real prospect of reconstructing multi-decadal trends in regions for many ecological services, environmental drivers and impacts (Dearing and others 2011; Dearing and others in review).

This means that evolutionary perspectives for many real world social-ecological systems are plausible. Whether the current trajectories for social and ecological states are diverging, converging or in coincidental states determines to a large extent the likelihood of abrupt system change in the future. Similar arguments have recently been put forward in explaining the development of modern urban and regional economies (Martin and Sunley 2006; Simmie and Martin 2010). For sustainable management of landscapes and resources over annual-decadal timescales it is desirable to identify the range of potential paths that push the system towards relative stability, threshold-dependent responses, gradual but irreversible changes, lower levels of resilience, or path-dependent ‘poverty’ traps characterised by low efficiency (e.g., Stafford Smith and others 2007).

Thus, temporally extended databases of social-ecological systems will make it easier to answer pragmatic questions about regional conditions, for example:

- How rapidly is the whole landscape changing and which social and ecological processes are changing most rapidly? Answers to this question allow policy-makers to prioritize action across the range of ecosystem services and to create simple aggregated, indices of change for communication (cf. IGBP Climate Change Index 2009).
- What are the appropriate pre-impact target conditions for management or restoration of key ecological processes and services that would give long-term sustainable use? In some policy arenas (e.g., EU Water Framework Directive 2002) target conditions for restoration are already based on analyses of past conditions. For other ecosystem processes/services, like soil erosion and biodiversity, policy now lags behind the knowledge base in many regions (Willis and others 2010).
- How have the various parts of the social-ecological system interacted through time? Long records of ecological services and their drivers allow partial reconstruction of energy, material and information networks through time. (e.g., Dai and others 2009). Conceptualising how these interactions have changed up to the present enhances our study of the evolutionary processes at work within the system: the mechanisms that drive conditions towards or away from Perfect Storm scenarios; the important feedbacks; the presence of thresholds. But such conceptual models also represent an essential preliminary stage in developing simulation models.
- Which parts of the landscape are particularly resilient to current social and biophysical (e.g., climate) drivers, and which are particularly sensitive? Here, there is the scope to analyse the long-term records in terms of evolutionary conceptual models of change, like the

adaptive cycle (Gunderson and Holling 2002; Dearing 2008). For example, knowing where the system lies on the adaptive cycle may give insight into its resilience (Holling 2001). But long-term records might also allow a critical reappraisal of the conditions under which we do and do not see the dynamics described by such conceptual models. Recent suggestions that abrupt changes in climate and ecological systems can be anticipated by observing early warning signals is an exciting development (Biggs and others 2009; Scheffer and others 2009). But detection of these signals in real world social-ecological systems is difficult with limited observations, underlining the need for multi-decadal records.

Modeling Complex Systems

Macro-scale dynamical modeling of global social-ecological system started in the 1970 s with the Limits to Growth programme, using World3 (Meadows and others 1972; 2005). More recent integrated global models, like IMAGE, IFS, DICE, TARGETS and GUMBO (see review in Costanza and others 2007b) attempt to capture complex behaviour that arise through the interaction of social and biophysical processes. In systems’ modeling, success is measured by an improved ability to understand the fundamental organisation of a system’s dynamical behaviour (e.g., Costanza and Voinov 2003; Low and others 1999), rather than an apparent ability to predict one particular outcome at one particular time in the future. Turner’s (2008) comparison of the Limits to Growth outputs from the 1970s with data sets for key variables measured over the past 30 years shows striking similarities, especially with the ‘business-as-usual’ scenario. Not only do the findings suggest that World3 captures realistic interaction of feedback mechanisms, but that the modelled trends and interactions into the 21st century resonate with the perceived effects of multiple stressors (Turner 2008 p. 409) as visualised in the Perfect Storm image. Indeed, both World3 and GUMBO (Boumans and others 2002) indicate declining trends in ‘food per capita’ before 2050 using ‘business-as-usual’ scenarios. Given these insights at aggregated, global scales, it is surprising that there have not been more attempts to develop integrated regional dynamic models. One major obstacle may be the perceived lack of data needed for model calibration and testing. World3 and GUMBO outputs were calibrated against global datasets for key variables (e.g., total population) available from 1900 onwards, but multi-decadal data sets (especially for ecological services) are often perceived as unavailable at sub-global scales.

International efforts to compile regional data from documentary, instrumental, remote sensing, environmental

history, palaeoenvironmental and archaeological sources show that this perception may be misguided for many regions (Past Global Changes 2010; Dearing and others 2011). Analytical developments in the paleoenvironmental sciences means that proxy records for regional fire, flooding, soil erosion, carbon flux, nutrient export, water quality, atmospheric pollution, sediment transport, algal levels, fish stocks, terrestrial biodiversity, land cover, land use, climate variables and other variables linked explicitly to ecosystem services can now be routinely obtained from sedimentary archives (Dearing 2006; Dearing and others in review). There are caveats to note, especially with regards the calibration of paleoecological proxies, their dating and the geographical coverage (Dearing and others in review). But for many regions, quantitative and high resolution reconstructed time-series, which can replace instrument and document records where none exists and extend the timescale of existing time-series, now provide the means for testing model skill (Anderson and others 2006; Dearing and others 2006b).

Top-down, aggregated, macroscale system dynamical models may capture feedback mechanisms among major system components and processes, but as generally constituted do not simulate changes in the spatial distribution of phenomena: essentially giving a 2D rather than a 4D representation of change. In contrast, so-called ‘bottom-up’ approaches simulate autonomous change through continuous interaction and feedback within space as well as time, and include reduced complexity cellular automata and agent-based models based on local rules and behaviour (Costanza and others 1990; Costanza and Voinov 2003; Anderson and others 2006). Application of ‘bottom-up’ models to social-ecological systems so far has included testing hypotheses about past cultural shifts (e.g., Dean and others 2000), simulating land use change and urbanisation (e.g., Fontaine and Rounsevell 2009), and experimenting with the effects of different weightings of climate and land use on landscape processes (Coulthard and Macklin 2001). A major challenge for these new modelling tools is the creation of frameworks that are able to accommodate both social and physical processes with their very different levels of fundamental laws (Dearing 2007), though recent attempts to do this look promising (Wainwright 2008). Validation against past records is key, and possible (e.g., Welsh and others 2009), indicating that full compilations of historical data should be central to the design of forward modelling programmes (e.g., Butler and others 2007).

Testing Complexity Theory Against Historical Reconstructions

We usually learn from history by drawing generalizations from historical events that represent credible analogues

with the present (Dearing and others 2010). For example, it seems that monetary policy for handling the recent global financial crisis drew as much on analyses of the socio-economic interactions in the early 1930s as from contemporary economic models. The literature is replete with historical case studies of social-ecological change that potentially provide lessons for the future (see Dearing 2006). But criticisms of an analogue approach are longstanding and many. They include the difficulty of matching modern political and technological conditions with those in the past, and the possible bias towards the examination of disasters and social collapses, as in the history of Easter Island. However, new, imaginative developments suggest that far from being simplistic analogues for the present, historical case studies can provide important heuristic typologies of social-ecological system behaviour (Costanza and others 2007a; Tainter and Crumley 2007; Dearing and others 2010) and decision-making (Diamond 2005). For example, historical reconstructions of repeated drought-led agricultural collapse in Australia show that the phenomenon was characterized by a distinct set of social and ecological interactions that varied in local detail but had a common pattern (Stafford Smith and others 2007). Other global zones vulnerable to drought may also have their own unique properties that, through the historical record, are amenable to description and analysis at a level of general system behavior. Such a typological approach that compresses system complexity into an easily understood narrative of system behaviour adds important qualitative details to classifications of modern social-ecological systems (Lüdeke and others 2004) and provides an attractive option for communicating findings to policy makers.

However, typologies of social-ecological change are not the same as theories of change. It can be argued that a major barrier to designing adaptation strategies for complex systems is the lack of a formal theoretical basis. Over the past six decades many theories have been advanced that are relevant to explaining social-ecological changes, for example: ecological theory for complexity and stability (MacArthur 1955; May 1974); the ‘tragedy of the commons’ (Hardin 1968; Ostrom 2001); self-organised critical states (Bak 1996); network theory (Barabási and Albert 1999; Janssen and others 2006); heterarchical versus hierarchical structures (Crumley 1995); resilience theory and panarchy (Gunderson and Holling 2002); and early warning signals of critical transitions (e.g., Scheffer and others 2009). But there is incomplete rationalization of theory and principles, and insufficient comparisons between mathematical and real world systems. As a result, there are apparent contradictions: common theoretical elements seem to exist in apparently unconnected fields, and the potential value of linking across theories has yet to be realized. One of the latest developments in complex

systems science uses information theory. Ulanowicz and others' (2009) mathematical studies of ecological food webs allow quantification of the size, efficiency and resilience of networks. Their results show that natural ecosystems have a small space of stability, a *window of vitality*, which they extend to a general model for the sustainability of all networks in terms of diversity and connectivity. Networks that are too efficient, with too little diversity become 'brittle' and lack resilience, whereas those with insufficient efficiency create stagnation. These findings not only resonate strongly with current resilience theory and the adaptive cycle (Gunderson and Holling 2002), but also with observations of modern socio-economic systems (Goerner and others 2009) and cascading social and ecological crises (e.g., Adger and others 2009; Galaz and others 2010), and the detailed analysis of past societal collapses, such as the Roman Empire (Tainter and Crumley 2007). But systematic analysis of these potential connections between mathematical theory, heuristics and observations remains undone.

Thus, there is the exciting possibility that historical case studies can play a key role in testing current complexity theory in order to help develop new social-ecological theory. The approach would be to compare mathematical system behaviour drawn from ecology and complexity science against historical, empirical records from the real world. Past records not only provide longer timescales than are conventionally available for modern observations but provide a larger array of social-ecological systems than currently exist. A strong theoretical basis would help sharpen the design focus for adaptation strategies and give an enhanced level of confidence in their deployment.

Navigating the Storm

There is then reason to be optimistic about our ability to improve our understanding of social-ecological systems. However, this in itself does not ensure better policy making. Here we confine discussion to the way in which scientists communicate their findings to policy-makers and the general public, and the expectations of scientists on the part of policy-makers and the public. As scientists develop a more refined approach to dealing with complex systems, how should they communicate complex and alternative views of the future? Scientists are under pressure to *predict*, but at some stage the semantics need to change. Policy-makers need to know that large-scale simulations, 'in silico' science, 'virtual labs' and synthetic experiments are not sources of facts about the world that can be acted upon but must be viewed as ways of exploring system sensitivities and the ramifications of theories (Peck 2004;

Di Paolo and others 2000). Policy-makers need to accept and accommodate the fact that the best available scientific understanding may not enable us *to reduce uncertainty* or even *to define uncertainty* but only to define *what we may never know* (Costanza and Cornwell 1992; Makridakis and Taleb 2009), and to reach consensus on what we currently understand. Easily communicated results may be attractive but have little value to policy makers and society in the long run if they are based on methods that do not adhere to the new complexity paradigm. Scenarios seldom account for emergent properties and behaviours arising from complex system dynamics, which are largely unpredictable. At some point, scenario-driven models alone will be unable to provide the essential depth of understanding or range of realistic options needed to support effective policy-making.

Successful policy decision-making to address the multilevel and multiscale character of today's complex social, political and environmental challenges requires both access to clear accurate scientific information and an effective adaptive governance context to navigate the research-policy linkages effectively (Court and Cotterell 2004). Whilst the arrangement of the appropriate institutional factors for governing complex systems remain poorly understood (Folke and others 2007; Termeer and others 2010), the scientific knowledge needs to be communicated through multiple pathways and scales depending on needs of the various stakeholders: government, non-governmental organizations, lobby-groups, epistemic communities, international organizations and others. A major research challenge is to know when to discard simplistic explanations in favour of complex realism, and how this should be communicated. We have to recognize that the credibility of models derives from two distinct sources: (1) the ability of the model to simulate complex reality and (2) the degree of consensus about the model and its assumptions among the stakeholders who might use the model (van den Belt 2004). This 'social capital' component is often overlooked but is essential for creating models that are actually used in policy-making (Brondizio and others 2009).

In conclusion, we strongly support explanations, narratives and visualisations (cf. Rosling 2009) of how society and the environment have co-evolved and are likely to co-evolve, based on all available empirical evidence and modeling exercises. As we have shown, new approaches are available: validated top down regional dynamical and bottom-up complexity models that incorporate feedback; extended perspectives to observe multi-decadal system behaviour, and learning more effectively about social-ecological dynamics from historical case-studies. These essentially qualitative assessments may be more useful for anticipating change and developing policy than are choices made between equally uncertain futures derived from the current generation of predictive models alone. We are

approaching a time when untested IAM assessments of future *impacts* may have less influence on discussions about policy than hitherto because the realism of projections are unacceptably low given the *insights* from complexity science. However, the expectations of science on the part of society and policy makers are still not yet compatible with the existing modeling abilities of the scientific community to capture and relay the complexity of future worlds. Concerted efforts in these methodologies therefore need to develop in parallel with debate and education about the real meanings of complex systems, risk and uncertainty. In addition, new forms of multi-level, polycentric, adaptive, participatory governance institutions will need to be developed that can better incorporate complexity modeling into decision-making.

Model development for adaptation policies and sustainable management is at a crossroads. We are seeing the birth of evolutionary approaches that have the potential to lift us out of an outmoded over-commitment to impact assessment models at the expense of nuanced understanding of system complexity. If we fail to embrace this potential, the prospects for designing meaningful and effective adaptation strategies are low.

Acknowledgments This paper represents the outcome of discussions held within the Sustainability Science research group at Southampton (previously Living with Environmental Change) during 2009. Figure 1 was produced following a workshop held at the National Center for Ecological Analysis and Synthesis (NCEAS), Santa Barbara, within the IHDP-IGBP initiative ‘Integrating the History and Future of People on Earth’ in November 2008. The IHOPE initiative (<http://www.aimes.ucar.edu/ihope/>) aims to better understand the social-ecological dynamics of human history by testing human-environment system models against historical changes.

References

- Adger WN, Eakin H, Winkels A (2009) Nested and teleconnected vulnerabilities to environmental change. *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* 7:150–157
- Anderson NJH, Bugmann H, Dearing JA, Gaillard-Lemdl M-J (2006) Linking palaeoenvironmental data and models to understand the past and to predict the future. *Trends in Ecology & Evolution* 21:696–704
- Bak P (1996) *How nature works: the science of self-organized criticality*. Copernicus, New York
- Barabási AB, Albert R (1999) Emergence of scaling in random networks. *Science* 286:509–512
- Beddington J (2009) Presentation given to the Sustainable Development UK Annual Conference, London, 19 March 2009 http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.dius.gov.uk/news_and_speeches/speeches/john_beddington/perfect-storm. Accessed 30 January 2012
- Beddoe R, Costanza R, Farley J, Garza E, Kent J, Kubiszewski I, Martinez J, McCowen T, Murphy K, Myers N, Ogden Z, Stapleton K, Woodward J (2009) Overcoming systemic roadblocks to sustainability: the evolutionary redesign of worldviews, institutions and technologies. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106:2483–2489
- Biggs R, Carpenter SR, Brock WA (2009) Turning back from the brink: detecting an impending regime shift in time to avert it. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. doi: [10.1073/pnas.0811729106](https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0811729106)
- Boumans R, Costanza R, Farley J et al (2002) Modeling the dynamics of the integrated earth system and the value of global ecosystem services using the GUMBO model. *Ecological Economics* 41:529–560
- Brondizio ES, Ostrom E, Young OR (2009) Connectivity and the governance of multilevel social-ecological systems: the role of social capital. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 34:253–278
- Butler SJ, Vickery JA, Norris K (2007) Farmland biodiversity and the footprint of agriculture. *Science* 315:381–384
- Carpenter SR, Mooney HA, Agard J et al (2009) Science for managing ecosystem services: beyond the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106:1305–1312
- Collins SL, Carpenter SR, Swinton SM et al (2011) An integrated conceptual framework for long-term social-ecological research. *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* 9:351–357
- Costanza R (2008) Ecosystem Services: multiple classification systems are needed. *Biological Conservation* 141:350–352
- Costanza R, Cornwell L (1992) The 4P approach to dealing with scientific uncertainty. *Environment* 34:12–20
- Costanza R, Voinov A (eds) (2003) *Landscape simulation modeling: a spatially explicit, dynamic approach*. Springer, New York
- Costanza R, Sklar FH, White ML (1990) Modeling coastal landscape dynamics. *Bioscience* 40:91–107
- Costanza R, Wainger RL, Folke C, Maler K-G (1993) Modeling complex ecological economic systems: toward an evolutionary, dynamic understanding of people and nature. *Bioscience* 43:545–555
- Costanza R, Graumlich LJ, Steffen W et al (2007a) Sustainability or collapse: what can we learn from integrating the history of humans and the rest of nature. *Ambio* 36:522–527
- Costanza R, Leemans R, Boumans, Gaddis E (2007b) Integrated global models. In: Costanza R, Graumlich L, Steffen W (eds), *Integrated history and future of people on earth*. Dahlem Workshop Report 96. The MIT Press, Cambridge
- Coulthard TJ, Macklin MG (2001) How sensitive are river systems to climate and land-use changes? A model-based evaluation. *Journal of Quaternary Science* 16:347–351
- Court J, Cotterrell L (2004) What political and institutional context issues matter for bridging research and policy? A literature review and discussion of data collection approaches. Overseas Development Institute, London
- Crumley CL (1995) Heterarchy and the analysis of complex societies. *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 6:1–5
- Dai X, Yu L, Dearing JA et al (2009) The recent history of hydrogeomorphic processes in the upper Hangbu river system, Anhui Province, China. *Geomorphology* 106:363–375
- Dawson TP, Rounsevell MDA, Kluvánková-Oravská T, Chobotová V, Stirling A (2010) Dynamic properties of complex adaptive ecosystems: implications for the sustainability of service provision. *Biodiversity and Conservation* 19:2843–2853
- Dawson TP, Jackson ST, House JJ, Prentice IC, Mace GM (2011) Beyond predictions: biodiversity conservation in a changing climate. *Science* 332:53–58
- Dean JS, Gummerman GJ, Epstein JM et al (2000) Understanding Anasazi culture change through agent-based modelling. In: Kohler T, Gummerman GJ (eds) *Dynamics in human and primate societies*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp 179–206
- Dearing JA (2006) Climate-human-environment interactions: resolving our past. *Climate in the Past* 2:187–203

- Dearing JA (2007) Integration of world and earth systems: heritage and foresight. In: Hornborg A, Crumley CL (eds) *The world system and the earth system*. Left Coast Press, Santa Barbara, pp 38–57
- Dearing JA (2008) Landscape change and resilience theory: a palaeoenvironmental assessment from Yunnan, SW China. *The Holocene* 18:117–127
- Dearing JA, Battarbee RW, Dikau R, Larocque I, Oldfield F (2006a) Human-environment interactions: learning from the past. *Regional Environmental Change* 6:1–16
- Dearing JA, Battarbee RW, Dikau R, Larocque I, Oldfield F (2006b) Human-environment interactions: towards synthesis and simulation. *Regional Environmental Change* 6:115–123
- Dearing JA, Jones RT, Shen J et al (2008) Using multiple archives to understand past and present climate–human–environment interactions: the lake Erhai catchment, Yunnan Province, China. *Journal of Paleolimnology* 40:3–31
- Dearing JA, Braimoh AK, Reenberg A, Turner BL II, van der Leeuw SE (2010) Complex land systems: the need for long time perspectives in order to assess their future. *Ecology and Society* 15:21
- Dearing JA, Dotterweich M, Foster T, Newman L, von Gunten L (2011) Integrative Paleoscience for Sustainable Management. *PAGES News* 19 (2) <http://www.pages.unibe.ch/products/2011-03-28-16-23-06/370-pages-news-vol-19-no2>. Accessed 30 January 2012
- Dearing JA, Yang X, Dong X et al (in review) Extending the timescale and range of ecosystem services through paleoenvironmental analyses: the example of the lower Yangtze basin. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*
- Di Paolo EA, Noble J, Bullock S (2000) Simulation models as opaque thought experiments. In: Bedau MA, McCaskill JS, Packard N, Rasmussen S (eds) *Proceedings of the seventh international conference on artificial life*. MIT Press, Cambridge, pp 497–506
- Diamond J (2005) *Collapse: how societies choose to fall or succeed*. Viking, New York
- European Union Water Framework Directive (2002) http://ec.europa.eu/environment/water/water-framework/info/intro_en.htm. Accessed 30 January 2012
- Folke C, Pritchard L, Berkes F, Colding J, Svedin U (2007) The problem of fit between ecosystems and institutions: ten years later. *Ecology and Society* 12:30. <http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol12/iss1/art30/>
- Fontaine CM, Rounsevell MDA (2009) An agent-based approach to model future residential pressure on a regional landscape. *Landscape ecology* 24:1237–1254
- Foster DRF, Swanson J, Aber I et al (2003) The importance of land-use legacies to ecology and conservation. *Bioscience* 53:77–88
- Froyd CA, Willis KJ (2008) Emerging issues in biodiversity and conservation management: the need for a palaeoecological perspective. *Quaternary Science Reviews* 27:1723–1732
- Galaz V, Moberg F, Olsson E-K, Paglia E, Parker C (2010) Institutional and political leadership dimensions of cascading ecological crises. *Public Administration* 89:361–380
- Goerner SJ, Lietaer B, Ulanowicz RE (2009) Quantifying economic sustainability: implications for free-enterprise theory, policy and practice. *Ecological Economics* 69:76–81
- Graham JD (1991) Science and environmental regulation. In: Graham JD (ed) *Harnessing science for environmental regulation*. Praeger Publishers, New York, pp 1–9
- Grimm NB, Faeth SH, Golubiewski NE et al (2008) Global change and the ecology of cities. *Science* 319:756–760
- Gunderson LH, Holling CS (eds) (2002) *Panarchy: understanding transformations in systems of humans and nature*. Island Press, Washington
- Hardin G (1968) The tragedy of the commons. *Science* 162: 1243–1248
- Holling CS (2001) Understanding the complexity of economic, ecological and social systems. *Ecosystems* 4:390–405
- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2007) 4th Assessment Report. Synthesis Report Summary for Policymakers and Working Group II Report Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability Summary for Policymakers <http://www.ipcc.ch/>. Accessed 30 January 2012
- International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme Climate Change Index (2009) <http://www.igbp.net/5.1b8ae20512db692f2a680008616.html>. Accessed 30 January 2012
- International Long Term Ecological Network (1993) <http://www.iltner.net/>. Accessed 30 January 2012
- Janssen MA, Bodin Ö, Anderies JM et al (2006) A network perspective on the resilience of social-ecological systems. *Ecology and Society* 11:15. <http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol11/iss1/art15/>
- Johnson KL, Raybould AF, Hudson MD, Poppy GM (2007) How does scientific risk assessment of GM crops fit within the wider risk analysis? *Trends in Plant Science* 12:1–5
- Low B, Costanza R, Ostrom E, Wilson J (1999) Human: ecosystem interactions: a dynamic integrated model. *Ecological Economics* 31:227–242
- Lüdeke MKB, Petschel-Held G, Schellnhuber H-J (2004) Syndromes of global change: the first panoramic view. *Gaia* 13:42–49
- MacArthur R (1955) Fluctuations of animal populations and a measure of community stability. *Ecology* 36:533–536
- Makridakis S, Taleb NN (2009) Living in a world of low levels of predictability. *International Journal of Forecasting* 25:840–844
- Martin R, Sunley P (2006) Path dependence and regional economic evolution. *Journal of Economic Geography* 6:395–437
- May RM (1974) *Stability and complexity in model ecosystems*, 2nd edn. Princeton University Press, Princeton
- McNie EC (2007) Reconciling the supply of scientific information with user demands: an analysis of the problem and review of the literature. *Environmental Science and Policy* 10:17–38
- Meadows DH, Meadows DL, Randers J, Behrens WW (1972) *The limits to growth*. Universe, New York
- Meadows DH, Randers J, Meadows DL (2005) *Limits to growth: the 30-year update*. Earthscan, London
- Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005) *Ecosystems and human well-being: synthesis*. Island Press, Washington. <http://www.millenniumassessment.org/en/synthesis.aspx>. Accessed 30 January 2012
- Milly PCD, Betancourt J, Falkenmark M et al (2008) Stationarity is dead: whether water management? *Science* 319:573–574
- National Research Council (1983) *Risk assessment in the federal government: managing the process*. The National Academy Press, Washington
- Nicholson E, Mace GM, Armsworth PR et al (2009) Priority research areas for ecosystem services in a changing world. *Journal of Applied Ecology*. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2664.2009.01716.x
- Oldfield F (2005) *Environmental change*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Oreskes N, Shrader-Frechette K, Belitz N (1994) Verification, validation, and confirmation of numerical models in the Earth Sciences. *Science* 263:641–646
- Ostrom E (2001) Reformulating the commons. In: Burger J, Ostrom E, Norgaard RB et al (eds) *Protecting the commons: a framework for resource management in the Americas*. Island Press, Washington, pp 17–41
- Ostrom E (2009) A general framework for analyzing sustainability of social-ecological systems. *Science* 325:419–422
- Past Global Changes (2010) Focus 4 regional integration <http://www.pages-igbp.org/workinggroups/regional-integration>. Accessed 30 January 2012

- Peck SL (2004) Simulation as experiment: a philosophical reassessment for biological modeling. *Trends in Ecology & Evolution* 19:530–534
- Rosling H (2009) Asia's rise: how and when. http://www.ted.com/talks/hans_rosling_asia_s_rise_how_and_when.html. Accessed 30 January 2012
- Rounsevell MDA, Dawson TP, Harrison PA (2010) A conceptual framework to assess the effects of environmental change on ecosystem services. *Biodiversity and Conservation* 19:2823–2842
- Scheffer M, Bascompte J, Brock WA et al (2009) Early-warning signals for critical transitions. *Nature* 461:53–59
- Sexton K (1995) Science and policy in regulatory decision making: getting the facts right about hazardous air pollutants. *Environmental Health Perspectives* 103(Suppl 6):213–222
- Simmie J, Martin R (2010) The economic resilience of regions: towards an evolutionary approach. *Cambridge Journal of Regional Studies* 3:27–43
- Singh SJ, Haberl H, Gaube V et al (2010) Conceptualising long-term social-ecological research (LTSER): Integrating socioeconomic dimensions into long-term ecological research. In: Müller, F. et al. (eds) *Long-term ecological research, between theory and application*. Springer, Berlin
- Spangenberg JH, Martinez-Alier J, Omann I, Monterroso I, Binimelis R (2009) The DPSIR scheme for analysing biodiversity loss and developing preservation strategies. *Ecological Economics* 69:9–11
- Stafford Smith DM, McKeon GM, Watson IW et al (2007) Learning from episodes of degradation and recovery in variable Australian rangelands. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 104:20690–20695
- Steffen W, Sanderson A, Tyson P et al (2004) *Global change and the earth system: a planet under pressure*. Springer, Berlin
- Tainter JA, Crumley C.L. (2007) Climate, complexity, and problem solving in the Roman Empire. In: Costanza R, Graumlich LJ, Steffen W (eds) *Sustainability or collapse? An integrated history and future of people on earth*. Dahlem Workshop Report 96. The MIT Press, Cambridge
- Tallis HM, Kareiva P (2006) Shaping global environmental decisions using social-ecological models. *Trends in Ecology & Evolution* 21:562–568
- Termeer CJAM, Dewulf A, van Lieshout M (2010) Disentangling scale approaches in governance research: comparing monocentric, multilevel, and adaptive governance. *Ecology and Society* 15: 29. <http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol15/iss4/art29/>
- Trivedi MR, Berry PM, Morecroft MD, Dawson TP (2008) Spatial scale affects bioclimate model projections of climate change impacts on mountain plants. *Global Change Biology* 14:1089–1103
- Turner GM (2008) A comparison of the limits to growth with 30 years of reality. *Global Environmental Change* 18:397–411
- Ulanowicz RE, Goerner SJ, Lietaer B, Gomez R (2009) Quantifying sustainability: resilience, efficiency and the return of information theory. *Ecological Complexity* 6:27–36
- United Kingdom National Ecosystem Assessment (2010) <http://uknea.unep-wcmc.org/>. Accessed 30 January 2012
- United Nations Climate Change Conference (2009) http://unfccc.int/meetings/copenhagen_dec_2009/meeting/6295.php. Accessed 30 January 2012
- United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (2010) <http://www.uncsd2012.org/rio20/>. Accessed 30 January 2012
- United Nations Convention on Biodiversity (2010) <http://www.cbd.int/cop10/>. Accessed 30 January 2012
- United Nations Environment Program, Medium Term Strategy 2010–2013 www.unep.org/pdf/finalmtsgcss-x-8.pdf. Accessed 30 January 2012
- van den Belt M (2004) *Mediated modeling: a system dynamics approach to environmental consensus building*. Island Press, Washington
- von Bertalanffy L (1969) *General system theory: foundations, development, applications* (Revised Edition). George Braziller Inc., New York
- Wainwright J (2008) Can modelling enable us to understand the role of humans in landscape evolution? *Geoforum* 39:659–674
- Walker B, Carpenter SR, Anderies J et al (2002) Resilience management in social-ecological systems: a working hypothesis for a participatory approach. *Conservation Ecology* 6: 14. <http://www.consecol.org/vol6/iss1/art14>
- Walker B, Barrett S, Polasky S et al (2009) Looming global-scale failures and missing institutions coevolving set of collaborative, global institutions. *Science* 325:1345–1346
- Welsh KE, Dearing JA, Chiverrell RC, Coulthard TJ (2009) Testing a cellular modelling approach to simulating late Holocene sediment and water transfer from catchment to lake in the French Alps since 1826. *The Holocene* 19:785–798
- Willis KJ, Bhagwat SA (2009) Biodiversity and climate change. *Science* 326:806–807
- Willis KJ, Bailey RM, Bhagwat SA, Birks HJB (2010) Biodiversity baselines, thresholds and resilience: testing predictions and assumptions using palaeoecological data. *Trends in Ecology & Evolution* 25:583–591