

Coupled Human and Natural Systems

Humans have continuously interacted with natural systems, resulting in the formation and development of coupled human and natural systems (CHANS). Recent studies reveal the complexity of organizational, spatial, and temporal couplings of CHANS. These couplings have evolved from direct to more indirect interactions, from adjacent to more distant linkages, from local to global scales, and from simple to complex patterns and processes. Untangling complexities, such as reciprocal effects and emergent properties, can lead to novel scientific discoveries and is essential to developing effective policies for ecological and socioeconomic sustainability. Opportunities for truly integrating various disciplines are emerging to address fundamental questions about CHANS and meet society's unprecedented challenges.

INTRODUCTION

Coupled human and natural systems (CHANS) are systems in which human and natural components interact. Although humans have interacted with the biophysical environment since the beginning of human history, the scope and intensity of these interactions have increased dramatically since the Industrial Revolution. Historically, most human-nature interactions took place at the local scale, although there were some large-scale human migrations and other broad activities, such as trade and wars. Today, interactions between human and natural systems at the regional, continental, and global scales have emerged as special concerns because human activities are globally connected.

Although human-nature interactions have long been recognized (1–9), the complex patterns and processes involved in such interactions have not been well characterized, let alone fully understood (10, 11). Traditional research in the social and natural sciences informs the current interest in CHANS. However, social scientists have often focused on human interactions, minimizing the role of environmental context or perceiving environmental influences to be constant, whereas ecologists have traditionally focused on pristine environments in which humans are external and rarely dominant agents. Although disciplinary research continues to be important to advance disciplinary inquiries into many aspects of human and natural systems, it is not effective to study human and natural systems separately when addressing social-ecological and human-environment interactions (12–16).

The importance of developing a new integrated framework to study CHANS is recognized in a growing set of interdisciplinary research programs (see examples in Table 1). These projects go well beyond what was commonplace in ecological and social sciences research just a decade or two ago. The human and natural domains are no longer viewed as separate but rather as connected and embedded entities in webs of interactions. For instance, the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (17) explicitly integrated social and ecological systems by analyzing the global status, trends, and future scenarios of 24 selected ecosystem services and more than 70 policy instruments for addressing them. Results from CHANS research have been

published in various outlets, and a few interdisciplinary journals, such as *Ambio*, have been unusually receptive to such findings (18–21).

The science of CHANS builds on but moves beyond previous work (e.g., human ecology, ecological anthropology, environmental geography). First, CHANS research focuses on the patterns and processes that *link* human and natural systems. Second, CHANS research, such as integrated assessment of climate change (22), emphasizes reciprocal interactions and feedbacks—both the effects of humans on the environment and the effects of the environment on humans. Third, understanding within-scale and cross-scale interactions between human and natural components (e.g., how large-scale phenomena emerge from local interactions of multiple agents and in turn influence local systems) is a major challenge for the science of CHANS. Although each of these three aspects has been addressed in some studies on human-environment interactions (23, 24), the science of CHANS promotes the integration of all these aspects. Such integration is needed to tackle the increased complexity and to help prevent the dreadful consequences that may occur due to the fundamentally new and rapid changes, because the magnitude, extent, and rate of changes in human-natural couplings have been unprecedented in the past several decades, and the accelerating human impacts on natural systems may lead to degradation and collapse of natural systems which in turn compromise the adaptive capacity of human systems. Constructing approaches that emphasize an integrative framework and comprehensive methods for understanding complexities of human-nature interactions is an urgent and growing priority (10, 24–28) (Table 1).

In this article, we synthesize major characteristics of complex organizational couplings (among organizational levels), spatial couplings (across space), and temporal couplings (over time) of CHANS. To demonstrate practical values of studying these complex characteristics, we discuss their implications for sustainable environmental/natural resource management and governance. To guide future research efforts, this article illustrates several main opportunities and challenges in studying CHANS. Although some discussion in this article is brief due to space limitation and some issues in this article have been discussed in other contexts, integrating all relevant important topics in one article provides a holistic view of the relationships among CHANS complexities, implications, and prospects.

ORGANIZATIONAL COUPLINGS

Reciprocal Effects and Feedbacks

Coupled human and natural systems can be conceptualized as entities with nested hierarchies (15, 29). In CHANS, people and nature interact reciprocally across diverse organizational levels (30). They form complex webs of interaction that are embedded in each other.

Humans depend on nature for a wide array of ecosystem services (31, 32), including potable water, clean air, nutritious food, raw materials, and medicine. Many aspects and processes of nature upon which humans depend, however, are threatened or have disappeared due to human action or inaction (17). For example, humans have significantly altered between one-third

Table 1. Representative programs on studies of coupled human and natural systems.*

Program Name	Dynamics of Coupled Natural and Human Systems	Beijer International Institute for Ecological Economics	Resilience Alliance	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change	Millennium Ecosystem Assessment
Focus	Complex interactions among human and natural systems at diverse spatial, temporal, and organizational scales	Ecological economics	Research on the dynamics of complex adaptive systems in order to discover foundations for sustainability	Assessment of scientific, technical, and socioeconomic information to understand climate change, its impacts and choices for adaptation, and mitigation	An international program assessing conditions and consequences of ecosystem change for human well-being and options for responding to those changes
Major funding source	U.S. National Science Foundation	Kjell and Märta Beijer Foundation	Diverse grants from private foundations	World Meteorological Organization and United Nations Environment Programme	Multiple sources
Duration	2000–present	1991–present	1999–present	1988–present	2001–2005
Source of information	http://www.nsf.gov/ge/ere/ereweb/fund-biocomplex.cfm	http://www.beijer.kva.se/	http://www.resalliance.org	http://www.ipcc.ch/	http://www.MAweb.org

* This list omits an enormous number of local, regional, national, and global projects (e.g., ozone hole, melting Greenland, shutting off Gulf Stream, worldwide shifts in phenology of rivers, ice, and plants and animals) that are making significant contributions to the understanding of coupled human and natural systems.

and one-half of the land surface (5). More than half of all accessible surface freshwater is used by humans (33), and groundwater supplies are increasingly scarce. Fishing has had a substantial impact on populations of large marine fishes (34). Invasive species have been increasing numerically and spatially via intentional and unintentional human introduction. Human activities, such as use of land, oceans, and fresh-water, have markedly changed land cover, biogeochemical and hydrological cycles, and even the climate system (5, 22, 35, 36). Human influence is now so pervasive that it dramatically alters the evolutionary trajectories of many other species (37). Even areas explicitly buffered from human impacts, such as protected areas (e.g., nature reserves), are the outcome of human decisions and are influenced by global responses to human disturbances, such as climate change. Development has generated enormous benefits for humanity and improved human well-being (17), but gains through inappropriate practices (e.g., undervaluation and overexploitation of ecosystem services) have also increased risks and impaired numerous ecosystem services essential for human survival and development (31, 32). To offset the loss of some ecosystem services, humans have attempted to replace them with engineered solutions (e.g., aquaculture or levees for

wetlands) and restore them (e.g., tree planting to retain nutrients and water, increasing native cover to resist invasion by exotic species (38)). However, restoration may be much more costly than preventing the loss of the services in the first place.

Natural processes can devastate human systems through environmental degradation and disasters, such as earthquakes, floods, volcanoes, heat waves, droughts, hurricanes, tornadoes, landslides, and diseases (39) (Fig. 1). At the global level, environmental deterioration now forces more people to cross national borders than wars, and environmental refugees may reach 50 million within the next 5 y (40). The impacts of disasters range from interruption of people's work and life routines, through social conflicts, economic losses, destruction of such infrastructure as roads and buildings, to the spread of disease and death. The 2005 Hurricane Katrina in the US Gulf region that was responsible for more than 1200 deaths and estimated damages of more than \$200 thousand million (41) and the 1998 flood in China that killed at least 2000 people and affected more than 240 million are just two recent examples (42). Furthermore, human-nature interactions often vary across social groups: the elderly, the poor, and the young tend to be more vulnerable to natural disasters.

Feedback loops in which humans both influence and are affected by natural patterns and processes are typical of CHANS (28, 43). These loops can be positive or negative (44) and can lead to acceleration or deceleration in rates of change of both human and natural components as well as their interactions (10). For example, many human activities, such as greenhouse gas emission, have increased notably since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, often growing exponentially (45). In return, the impacts of these activities on human well-being (e.g., greenhouse effects) have also increased remarkably.

Indirect Effects

Many human-nature interactions occur indirectly due to the production and use of human-made (manufactured and synthesized) products, such as electronic appliances, furniture, plastics, airplanes, and automobiles. These products insulate humans from the natural environment, leading them to perceive less dependence on natural systems than is the case, but all manufactured products ultimately come from natural systems. Estimation of embodied energy (energy used by all processes

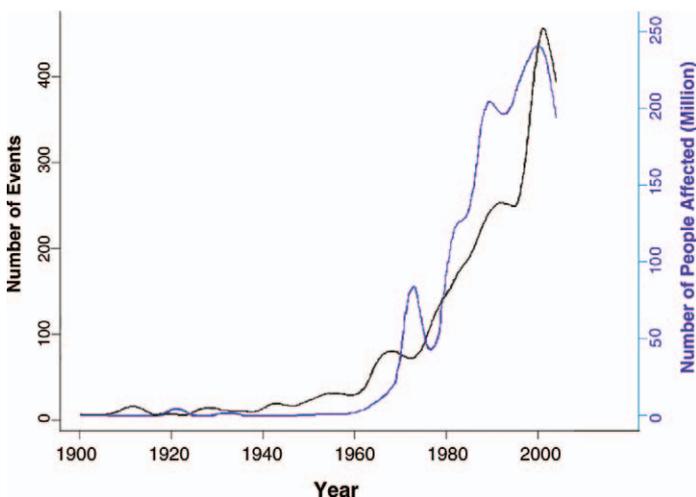


Figure 1. Changes in the numbers of natural disasters and people affected (modified from Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (91)).

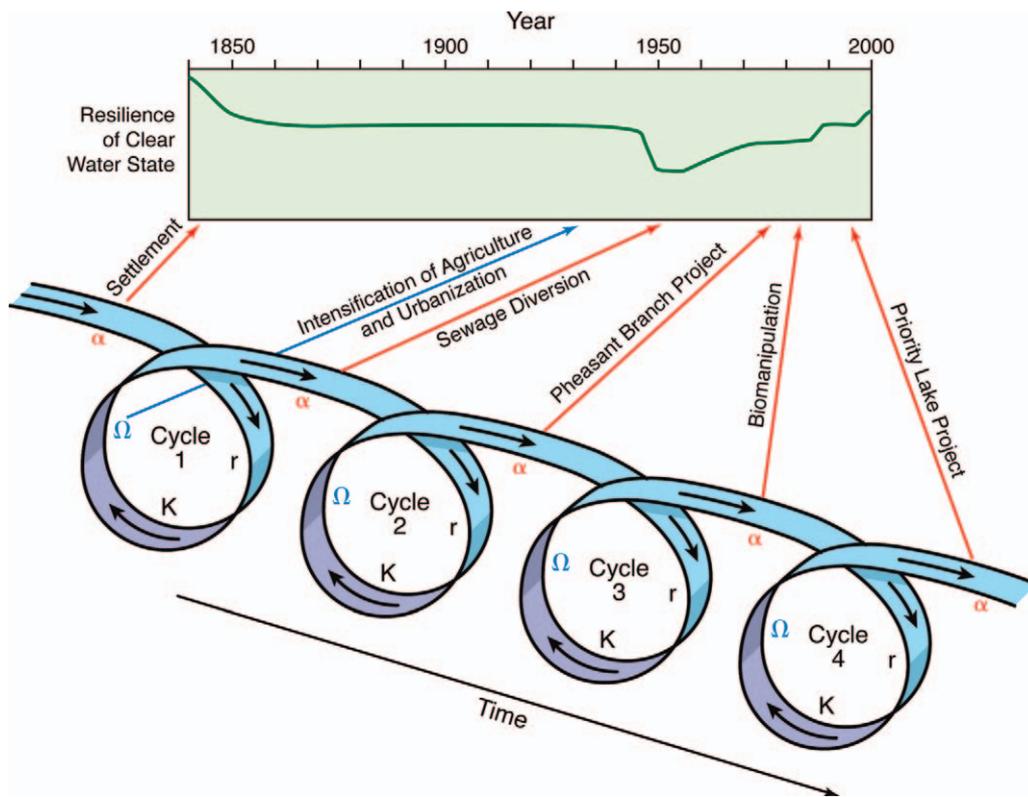


Figure 2. Resilience of clear water state showing four cycles under management and human influences on Lake Mendota, Wisconsin, US. Each cycle goes through four phases: rapid growth and exploitation (r), conservation (K), collapse or release (Ω), and renewal or reorganization (α). (Source: Carpenter et al. (160)).

related to the production of a good) permits assessment of some otherwise unrecognized or underestimated human links to the natural world (46). Generally, there is a direct relationship between the number of steps required to make a product and the amount of embodied energy of that product. For example, among 107 building materials surveyed (47), differences in embodied energy coefficients varied by as much as 10 000-fold per unit mass, ranging from <0.1 MJ/kg in natural materials, such as virgin rock and sand, to approximately 200 MJ/kg in human-made aluminum.

A different category of indirect effects is caused by alteration of ecosystem dynamics and services after human use or modification of a few species. For example, the extermination of sea otters (a keystone predator) in Alaska triggered reorganization of coastal marine ecosystems, including decreases of most species dependent upon kelp forest habitats (48, 49).

Emergent Properties

Coupled human and natural systems exhibit many emergent properties, unique properties not belonging to human or natural



Figure 3. World total merchandise trade (US dollars at current price, based on data from the World Trade Organization (161)).

systems separately but emerging from the interactions between them. For instance, spatial distribution and quality of panda habitat result from human activities (e.g., timber harvesting, fuel wood consumption) and natural processes (e.g., forest succession) (50). Coupled climate-economy models have shown that the discount rate emerges as the key to the sustainability of human development scenarios, a property that would not emerge so clearly in stand-alone models (51).

Vulnerability

Vulnerability is the degree to which CHANS are likely to experience harm due to changes in internal and external variables (52), including local and regional factors, as well as global forces (e.g., climate change, globalization of trade, mobility of people [e.g., tourists] and their spread of infectious diseases) (53). It may result from the human (e.g., infectious diseases) and natural components (e.g., the rise of water level due to a flood) and/or the interplays between human and natural systems (e.g., overfishing coupled with disease and a hurricane triggering the collapse of a diverse coral reef ecosystem (54)). Eventually entire CHANS can become vulnerable to disturbances and feedbacks between human and natural systems (55).

Thresholds and Resilience

Thresholds are transition points between alternate states or regimes (56, 57). When ecosystems are degrading, effects on human well-being may not be apparent until ecological changes reach thresholds (17). Resilience is the ability of CHANS to retain similar structures and functioning after disturbances for continuous development (58–60) (Fig. 2). Subtle losses of resilience can set the stage for sudden, surprising, and large changes in ecosystems that are difficult or impossible to reverse (61–64). Among the 64 examples analyzed in a recent study, nearly 40% of the regime shifts were irreversible (59). Such shifts have had substantial impacts on CHANS, including water, fisheries, dry land agriculture, and pastoral systems around the

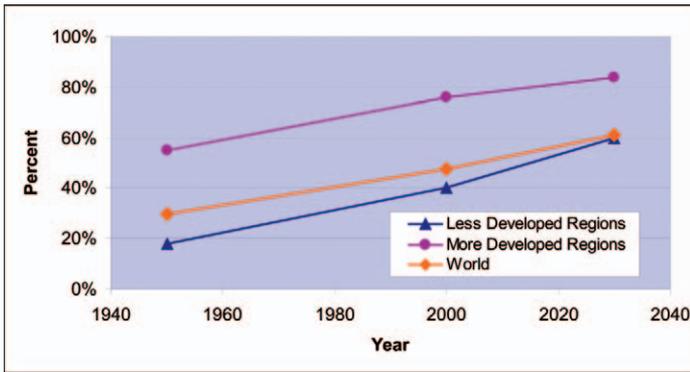


Figure 4. Percent urban population in more developed regions, less developed regions, and the entire world (based on data from Hodgson (162)).

world (17). Thresholds and resilience are also faced with more uncertainty due to the interactions among increasingly important but imperfectly understood drivers, such as governmental policies (65), climate change, and new technology (e.g., nanotechnology, biotechnology).

SPATIAL COUPLINGS

Couplings across Spatial Scales

Couplings within and among CHANS take place across nested multiple spatial scales, ranging from local to global. Local couplings are influenced by broad-scale processes that in turn act in the context of still larger-scale processes and ultimately global-scale processes. Global couplings are in part generated by the synergistic and cumulative effects of local processes (e.g., greenhouse gas emission, biodiversity loss, deforestation, overfishing of localized stocks), which repeat throughout much of the globe and contribute to stress on global or regional systems (e.g., emission of ozone-depleting substances into the atmosphere, discharge of heavy metal pollutants into the Great Lakes and the oceans). Global or regional couplings also occur due to human activities over long distances (e.g., international trade; Fig. 3) and large-scale natural processes (e.g., hurricanes, tsunamis, atmospheric movement of pollutants). Increasing globalization of human activities and rapid movements of people as well as their goods and services suggest that mankind is now in an era of novel coevolution of ecological and socioeconomic systems at regional and global scales (66).

Couplings beyond Boundaries

Human-nature interactions occur beyond political or ecosystem boundaries through such processes as trade and animal migration. Both markets and governance can cause decisions made in one place to influence people and ecosystems far distant. The global movement of people, goods, and information has transformed the context within which modern interactions occur. As goods and people move from continent to continent, so do invasive species, pests, and microbes. Thus, couplings at one location also spill over to other locations (42). People in cities receive food from rural areas at the expense of nutrient depletion and soil erosion in rural areas (67). Climate change driven by emissions from rich countries increases disease incidence and mortality in poor countries (68). In developing countries, exporting of raw materials and finished products to developed countries might increase vulnerability of humans to environmental stressors and cause social unrest and degradation of ecosystem services essential for the local population (21). Furthermore, the manufacture of many export products

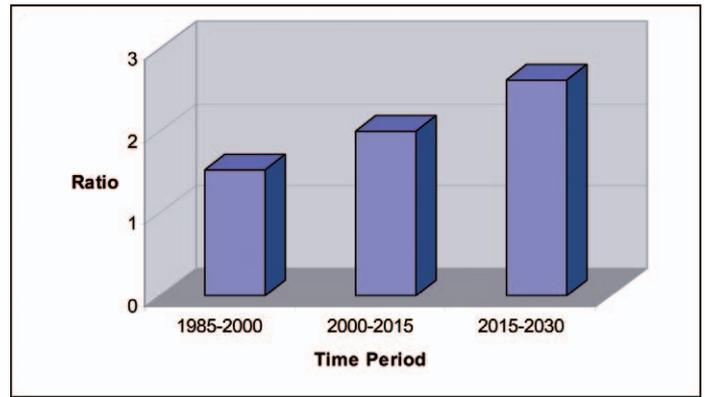


Figure 5. Ratio of growth rates of human population size and number of households (based on data from the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) (163)).

generates substantial pollution and high levels of risk to workers in developing countries (42). Because exports of raw materials often fetch low prices, the economic benefits may not match the costs in loss of ecosystem services in the long run. On the other hand, pollution (e.g., CO₂, other greenhouse gases) from developing countries affect developed countries as well, although the average per capita amount of CO₂ emission in developed countries is much higher than that in developing countries (42). Food production in one region may affect food production in another due to changes in the hydrological cycle (69). In short, effects of distant people on local natural systems and effects of distant natural systems on local people are common across the world.

Heterogeneity

Couplings between human and natural systems vary across locations, as is evident in a comparison of rural and urban areas. Approximately half of the current global population lives in urban areas (Fig. 4). Cities consume 60% of the water tapped for use by people and emit 78% of the anthropogenic carbon (70). Although the average urban population density is higher than in rural areas, the average urban household size (number of people in a household) is lower and per capita efficiency of resource use in smaller households is lower than in larger households (71). Most food, energy, and other materials used by urban residents are brought in from distant places (20). For example, the inhabitants of Hong Kong need approximately 2000 times the city's built area to provide ecosystem goods and services to maintain their current quality of life (72).

Couplings are more indirect and global in developed countries than in developing countries. This is partially because a higher percentage of the human population lives in urban areas in developed countries (almost 80%) than in developing countries (approximately 40%) (Fig. 4). Furthermore, developed countries import a substantial fraction of raw materials from developing countries. For example, Japan is the world's largest importer of timber from tropical countries while maintaining its own forest cover (64% of the Japanese land mass remains in forests).

Although 37% of the world's population lives within 100 km of the coast (73) (twice the world's average density), humans have more direct couplings with terrestrial and freshwater systems than with marine systems because almost all people live in terrestrial ecosystems with embedded freshwater systems. However, human use of terrestrial and freshwater systems affects marine systems (e.g., discharge of pollutants to the marine systems). For instance, in 2003 alone, 20 of China's 867

main wastewater outlets discharged approximately 880 million tonnes of sewage water (containing 1.3 million tonnes of pollutants) from land into the sea (74), not to mention the pollutants that enter the waterways from nonpoint sources and land-use change.

TEMPORAL COUPLINGS

In recent years, scholars have suggested that humans have entered the anthropocene era, a term that emphasizes human dominance of biospheric processes (45). Key human drivers of environmental change became much stronger over the last half of the 20th century as the human population grew exponentially and the number of households (a basic socioeconomic unit) increased faster than the number of people (Fig. 5) (71, 75). Furthermore, the scale of human production and consumption has also grown much faster than the population, especially in rapidly growing countries, such as China and India (76).

Massive Increases in Human Impacts on Natural Systems

Over the past 50 y, humans have changed ecosystems more than in any other period of human history (17) and have rapidly increased ecological footprints (77, 78), and these impacts have been projected to grow by about 2% per year between 2001 and 2015 (79). Humans continue to “simplify and homogenize” landscapes and seascapes around the world. Although there are cases in which humans have made landscapes more heterogeneous and have increased biodiversity, the overwhelming trend has been in the opposite direction (80). For instance, overfishing with accompanying pollution and habitat destruction in coastal waters has simplified ecosystems and has made them respond to external influences in unpredictable manners as the buffering mechanisms and resilience in the earlier systems have been degraded (81). The global climate changes that are at least partially attributed to human activities have made many plants and animals “victims” (82, 83). Furthermore, there may be a declining baseline expectation with regard to diminishing ecosystem conditions as people habituate to ever-degrading ecosystems (84).

Although humans have always depended on natural systems, this reliance is increasingly at risk because there are more people, per capita use of resources has increased, and many ecosystem services critical to human well-being are now degraded (35). Furthermore, humans now use more artificial products (including at least 10 million compounds) than in the past (85). For example, such compounds as steroids, antibiotics, hormones, and other active ingredients in prescription and over-the-counter drugs are commonplace in US streams (86).

Rising Natural Impacts on Humans

Changes in natural systems also have increased human vulnerability in many places and constrained options for human livelihoods (87, 88). Since 1900, the total numbers of natural disasters and affected people have increased almost exponentially (Fig. 1), largely because of increased population density, especially in disaster-prone areas, such as lowlands and coastal communities. Hurricane intensity has increased in the past three decades in both the Atlantic and Pacific, coincident with warming of the sea surface significantly associated with human forces (89, 90). In northwestern China, dust storms increased from an average of once every 31 y between AD 300 and 1949 to once almost every year since 1990 (42). As natural disasters increase, the social and economic costs for emergency and humanitarian aid have skyrocketed (91).

Many gains in economic development come at the cost of degrading the capacity of ecosystems to provide services now

and in the future (10, 17, 92). For example, food production in dry land ecosystems that are home to about 2 thousand million people is threatened by declining water resources, deteriorating soils, and climate change (17). In the Argolid valley of Greece, there is not enough water to continue irrigating the citrus crops that were planted in the valley about 40 y ago. The water table in parts of the valley has dropped up to 7 m a year. Now water is pumped at the valley's edge from depths as great as 400 m. Throughout the world, the effects of ecosystem degradation on human well-being are a growing obstacle to achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (93), such as poverty reduction and human development (17), although it is not clear whether environmental impacts of increases in economic activity are surpassing the offsetting effects of improvements in resource efficiency.

Legacy Effects

Legacy effects are the cumulative and evolving impacts of past interactions in CHANS on current and future conditions. They vary in duration and intensity, depending on such factors as disturbances (94), physical and biological conditions (95, 96), and socioeconomic status. For instance, among the legacies of former land use that have been surprisingly influential in explaining the current condition of the landscape are the historical effects of humans on the age, size, and species structure of forests (97).

Time Lags

There are varying intervals of time between human-nature interactions and their ecological and socioeconomic effects. In some cases, the linkages between human and natural systems unfold slowly and the changes are not detectable. In other cases, there is simply a lack of research and monitoring necessary to learn that systems are changing, and in still other cases, humans may not have perceived the linkages. For example, the promulgation of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) as refrigerants, fire retardants, and cleaning agents led to depletion of stratospheric ozone and increased exposure of many ecosystems to UV-B radiation. However, for many years lack of knowledge of the adverse effects of CFCs precluded decisions limiting their manufacture and use; indeed, at the time of their introduction, CFCs were seen as a boon to public health, because they displaced dangerous ammonia-based refrigeration (98). Greenland ice sheet collapse could have been entrained by a changing climate a long time before it can be easily discerned (99). The time lags between human decisions and their environmental effects, or between environmental changes and consequences to humans, complicate attempts to understand and manage these interactions.

Increased Scales and Pace

Human-nature interactions in the past were usually at the local scale, with a few exceptions, such as long-distance human migrations. They now occur increasingly at the regional, continental, and global scales. Interactions between human and natural systems, such as urbanization, have also increased in pace. For instance, London increased from 1 million to 8 million inhabitants in 130 y (from 1801 to 1930) (100), but Mexico City achieved this growth in only 30 y (from 1940 to 1970) and doubled again to 16 million in only 26 y (from 1970 to 1995) (101, 102). In the meantime, environmental impacts on urban residents due to such factors as pollution and shortage of resources (e.g., water) also increased. Furthermore, the emergence of novel diseases and the re-emergence of old diseases (e.g., tuberculosis) have accelerated. Such diseases as SARS

have spread faster than in the past because the speed of transportation systems allows the virus to reach almost every corner of the globe within days, a process that would have taken weeks, months, or even years a century ago (103).

Escalating Indirect Effects

Indirect interactions between human and natural systems have become more common and more pronounced due to rapid urbanization, among other reasons. Over the last 5 decades, the proportion of people in urban areas has increased from 30% to 50% (Fig. 4). By 2030, the proportion of urban residents is projected to exceed 60% (Fig. 4). As a result, a smaller proportion of people are directly engaged with the ecosystems that provide critical resources while more people consume manufactured products made in and transported from distant places. With a more than 10-fold increase in population over the past century, urban regions are increasingly the primary drivers of natural resource consumption, atmospheric and water pollution, climate change, and threats to biodiversity. The impact of these urban areas as a point source environmental hazard is expected to grow because the expected net population growth in the next 30 y (approximately 2 thousand million people) will be concentrated in urban areas (104). However, it is not clear whether the total environmental impact would be less if the increased population were to spread across rural areas.

IMPLICATIONS OF COUPLED HUMAN AND NATURAL SYSTEMS FOR MANAGEMENT, GOVERNANCE, AND POLICY

Coupled human and natural systems challenge traditional planning and management assumptions and strategies for natural resources and the environment. By and large, most policies in place today will not lead to sustainable outcomes (93). Some emerging new policies, for example, ecosystem-based management in oceans and coupled land-sea ecosystems, seem to move in the direction of sustainability and need to be encouraged, implemented, monitored, and revised if necessary (105). The success or failure of many policies and management practices is based on their ability to take into account complexities of CHANS. For instance, without considering cross-boundary effects, forest harvests in the upper reaches of river basins often result in serious soil erosion and floods downstream (e.g., the 1998 huge flood in the Yangtze River Basin in China) (42). Assumptions regarding climate variability and extreme events that do not take into account the uncertainty often result in lack of preparedness and effective response (e.g., Hurricane Katrina). In contrast, the Montreal Protocol is a remarkable success story in part because it recognized the time lag in the effects of CFCs and thus had motivated global action to prevent deterioration of the ozone layer before significant impacts on human and natural systems were evident (106). These experiences suggest that characteristics of CHANS be considered in natural resource planning and management.

First, hubris in human attitudes toward natural systems is an impediment to progress. A shift from the idea that "humans can conquer nature" to "humans coevolve with nature" would help facilitate improved management (107, 108). So too would more attention paid not only to immediate outcomes but also to resilience that is essential to maintain functioning systems over time. Emergent properties, reciprocal effects, nonlinearity, and surprises should be routinely taken into account in planning and management practices (109, 110). The inherent limitations of humans' predictive ability dictate that uncertainty must be incorporated into decision making (110–112). Scenario building

provides a strategy to explicitly consider plausible futures when irreducible uncertainties are present (113). Changes in response to various exogenous stressors and internal dynamics of CHANS are inevitable, so strategies that enhance the adaptive capacity of CHANS while preserving key aspects of their structures and functioning are essential (114). More effective technologies could be used to enhance resilience, reduce vulnerability, and minimize human impacts on natural systems below critical thresholds to prevent harmful feedbacks to human systems. The increasing prevalence of indirect interactions between people and nature (e.g., global trade) makes environmental management increasingly complex. The roles of government are critical: well-designed regulations, policies, incentives, and governance structures can stimulate involvement of diverse populations in the understanding and management of CHANS.

Managing CHANS effectively requires not only consideration of all major natural components but also coordination of human components as well as their interactions. Although development-as-usual has initial economic benefits, traditional development strategies need to be altered, and transforming them into sustainable practices is urgent, because the magnitude and scale of human disturbances are too vast and have led to irreversible unsustainability in many circumstances. In the transition to sustainability, those not yet enjoying the fruits of development need help (in the forms of resources, information, technology, etc.) from those who have benefited from development so that overall efficiency of resource use and socioeconomic equity can be enhanced. A lack of coordination of human activities can result in "tragedies of the commons" (115), such as a crash in the Chinook salmon population in Lake Michigan due to communication breakdown among managers and fishermen and disjointed efforts to control fishing (116). Fortunately, after the collapse, management agencies adjusted their mode of independent operation to an integrated loop of involvement, consensus building, and decision making, involving managers and stakeholders in states bordering the lake (116). Ecosystem measures (e.g., the forage base) that assisted in guiding salmonid stocking rates were also considered (117, 118). This new approach appears to have been highly successful in that both the number and the health of fish caught have been improved.

Second, as human action is more tightly linked across the globe, local economic decisions are increasingly shaped by conditions and processes half a world away (e.g., soybean production in Brazil for export to China and Chinese products sold in Europe and North America). Globalization, the connectivity and synchrony of many interactions, is changing the roles and responsibilities of governments at all levels through both decentralization of decision making and tighter linkages through international accords. Financial deregulation and free trade may weaken the power of nation states (119, 120) and strengthen the power of international corporations, international policy bodies (e.g., the World Trade Organization), and, in some cases, local governments and enterprises. That 51 of the largest 100 economic entities in the world are corporations, not nations (121), has profound effects on regulation and management of CHANS. Localization of policy design is important because CHANS are very context specific and strategies that work well in one place may fail in another. However, they must also take into account global and regional dynamics that shape the responses of local CHANS. In areas in which hazards are common and the human population is at risk (e.g., many coastal regions), previously unthinkable strategies (e.g., retreating from the coast and returning some areas of New Orleans to natural systems, abandoning agriculture in areas where it is unsustainable) must be explored and new develop-

ment models implemented (e.g., eliminating subsidies for coastal development).

Third, the ever-changing nature of CHANS implies that management systems should be dynamic, but inertia tends to dominate the social, political, and economic structures involved in many aspects of natural resource management (109). In many countries, natural resource policies and laws (e.g., mining law and subsidies, water law, public lands leasing) currently in effect have their origins in a paradigm of exploration and exploitation of natural resources (122). Special interest groups are often able to maintain the status quo even when it leads to environmental degradation and socioeconomic costs to others. Cultural inertia may make it hard to perceive needed changes, whereas sometimes cultural change can be quite rapid. A balancing act is required to ensure that institutions and decision-making processes retain their flexibility without becoming faddish (110, 123, 124). Time lags and legacy effects dictate that both patience and foresight are necessary for environmental restoration and to avert future problems. Overcoming years of environmental insults in CHANS, such as the Everglades of the US, will not happen overnight. The anticipation of future effects, as was evident in the Montreal Protocol, also is essential.

Despite the obvious importance of using information from CHANS studies for policy making, governance, and management of natural resources, recognizing the incompleteness of knowledge about CHANS and the inevitability of surprises is vital. The negative consequence of inherent uncertainty and the increasing likelihood of surprises can be minimized by 3 approaches: *i*) maintaining margins of safety to account for uncertainties (e.g., in calculating fisheries quotas), *ii*) factoring in insurance as a hedge against disasters (e.g., adding in a buffer of additional area in calculating the size of marine reserves (125)), and *iii*) ensuring adaptive mechanisms. These approaches are all essential elements of a strategy to effectively manage CHANS (126), including the commons (124, 127–129). The greatest likelihood of success will entail developing strategies of policy analysis and implementation that approach decisions with humility and emphasize the need to learn through time (15, 130).

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

The need for research and management that treat all human-environment and social-ecological systems as CHANS or parts of CHANS is increasingly recognized. This recognition comes with a number of challenges and opportunities. Although humans are integral components of ecosystems (4), they are still not fully represented in ecological science (131–133). Although theoretical frameworks that integrate humans into ecological studies exist, they are not sufficiently quantified and applied (44, 134, 135). Thus, it is crucial to re-examine (and revise if necessary) current ecological theory to address ecosystems coupled with humans that shape ecological patterns and processes. Likewise, it is also essential to reconsider (and alter if necessary) existing socioeconomic theory to recognize the increasing roles of natural systems in socioeconomic patterns and processes. Making such revisions and meeting the challenges below are critical for better understanding CHANS and for implementing government policies and management programs that ensure socioeconomic and ecological well being in the future.

Linking Coupled Human and Natural Systems across Scales

Studying CHANS requires a new paradigm that emphasizes hierarchical couplings of natural and human systems across organizational, spatial, and temporal scales. The approach is not simply larger-scale analysis, as with previous global

modeling efforts (e.g., World Dynamics (136), Limits to Growth (137)). Rather it stresses the nesting of local systems in regional and global systems, the cumulative effects of local processes on global processes, the differential coupling of human and natural systems at each scale, the embedding of smaller-scale processes in larger scale processes, and the influences of larger-scale processes on smaller-scale processes. In particular, the new approach to studying CHANS integrates methods at multiple scales and continually evaluates how small-scale phenomena are embedded in broad-scale processes and how broad-scale phenomena emerge from and influence the small-scale structure and functioning of CHANS (15, 138). Understanding even the most local human-nature interactions requires “progressive contextualization” in which local actions are understood in terms of landscape, regional, and national factors, which in turn depend on global forces (139, 140). For example, the vulnerability of a community to natural hazards depends not only on local topography and subsistence activities but also on the state of the regional economy, the ability of relief to reach distressed localities, and ultimately global climate changes. This embedding requires studies of couplings between human and natural systems at multiple organizational and spatial scales simultaneously. The same problem occurs with regard to time scales as well; it is essential to understand not only the daily interactions between humans and their environments but also the dynamics and interplay of the slower processes at the scales of decades to centuries.

Integrated Tools

Tools, from mathematical and statistical models to computer simulation models, geographic information systems, and remote sensing, are useful in understanding the structure, functioning, and dynamics of CHANS. Models capable of integrating various multidisciplinary techniques and data show particular promise for understanding CHANS, such as integrated assessment of climate change (141–145). One interesting example of such an integrated approach to modeling is the agent-based models of land-use change (146, 147), which utilize a collection of agents to represent human decision making, combined with other tools (e.g., geographic information systems) that capture socioeconomic and biophysical processes across a landscape (146). These integrated tools, including integrated assessment of climate change, agent-based models, and other bottom-up models, such as pattern-oriented models that use observed patterns to optimize model structure (148), should be further developed to better understand changes in CHANS across multiple spatial, temporal, and organizational scales; make predictions or evaluate short- and long-term consequences of various management and policy scenarios; and develop hypotheses regarding complexities of CHANS that can be tested empirically.

Long-term data are of particular importance for CHANS work because understanding reciprocal causation between human and natural systems cannot be done with cross-sectional data alone. Support for collection of data to develop time series was not available until recently, and most data still are collected and analyzed for either human or natural systems at local scales, not for the articulation of both simultaneously at multiple scales. Satellite imagery plays a key role in identifying land-cover and land-use changes, as well as many human features, such as household locations on the landscape (149–151). With an ongoing large international effort (The Global Earth Observation System of Systems), existing and new satellite resources including hardware and software are being assembled to make them compatible. This effort will help ensure that long-term, reliable, and high-quality data will be open and

freely available to answer many CHANS questions, such as those regarding climate change and pulse of Earth. However, relevant social and economic observations should also be made so that the remote sensing data can be used to achieve the overarching goal of understanding CHANS from a truly interdisciplinary perspective.

Comparative Studies and Portfolios

To date, much CHANS research has been site specific or at best compares a handful of sites. Such work is necessary but insufficient for understanding how CHANS work. A single site or even a small set of sites cannot adequately capture regional and global variations in types of ecosystems, climatic regimes, political and economic contexts, or culture. Coupled human and natural systems programs must include not only site-specific studies but also planned comparisons across sites and macrolevel analysis with existing and emergent data. It is also essential to go beyond existing CHANS programs, such as the Dynamics of Coupled Natural and Human Systems at the US National Science Foundation (Table 1), develop bigger and more comprehensive portfolios with larger funding and coordinated comparative projects, and establish a global collaboratory for CHANS research across local, regional, national, and international levels.

Collaborations among All Fields Relevant to Coupled Human and Natural Systems

Understanding of CHANS requires effective nurturing of interdisciplinary research. Coupled human and natural systems scientists face formidable tasks and have several needs: *i*) both disciplinary and integrative data collected across multiple scales, *ii*) new analytical approaches to connect constantly moving dots, and *iii*) strong communication skills for the team approach essential to CHANS research. Gone are the days of the solo scientist: researchers must learn the languages of multiple disciplines. Such programs as the Integrative Graduate Education and Research Traineeship Program of the US National Science Foundation should be further developed and expanded to train young and midcareer scholars in team building; leadership; and appreciating the multiple mindsets, paradigms, and different assumptions of disciplinary backgrounds, especially between the social and natural sciences.

Despite some notable achievements in interdisciplinary research, the promise of working across disciplines has not been uniformly realized and the barriers (e.g., reward system, institutional structure) to sustained successful collaboration remain very high (26, 152–154). Fortunately, there are some “real world” practitioners who clearly recognize the need for interdisciplinary perspectives on challenges in the business, civic, and other arenas. Many funding agencies also recognize the value of interdisciplinary approaches and are allocating significant research dollars for cross-program initiatives and multiagency cooperative programs (Table 1). Top-level administrators at many universities are strongly urging interdisciplinarity, but many midlevel administrators, such as department chairs, remain discipline oriented for various reasons (e.g., budgetary structure, self-identity within the university system, ranking within their fields). Importantly, although university programs are ranked according to individual disciplines, there is no equivalent ranking of interdisciplinary programs, such as CHANS, or even environmental science. However, the pursuit of interdisciplinarity will continue to grow and will be a major factor in differentiating individual researchers, departments, and even universities from one another. Although this structural change for interdisciplinary research is a larger phenomenon

and requires institutional and cultural changes, each CHANS researcher can move the field forward not only through individual and small team research projects but also by supporting efforts in universities and in funding agencies to advance interdisciplinary work.

Beyond the Ivory Tower

Coupled human and natural systems researchers should be responsive to the needs of society by integrating basic understanding of CHANS with practical solutions to societal problems (e.g., poverty reduction specified in the UN Millennium Goals). Many research questions must be reformulated and answered to produce more “usable” knowledge for sustainable ecological and socioeconomic benefits and to assess complex characteristics, such as how human interactions with the environment generate emergent behaviors and feedback loops (28, 110). In urbanizing regions, for example, it is necessary to ask how social and ecological patterns and processes arise, how they are maintained, how they evolve (44), and how they can be sustainably managed.

Coupled human and natural systems scientists should also do a better job of communicating knowledge about CHANS more directly and effectively with a variety of audiences, such as the private sector, politicians, managers, media, and the general public (155, 156). Most midcareer and even senior CHANS researchers do not have such communication skills but can benefit from training programs, such as the Aldo Leopold Leadership Program (157). Furthermore, emerging literature (158, 159) provides a model for interaction between scientists and other stakeholders.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Coupled human and natural systems are experiencing unprecedented rapid changes and progressively tighter couplings at multiple scales. Tackling the escalating complexity of CHANS not only will be an unparalleled interdisciplinary challenge for scientists but also is critical for shaping the future of Earth upon which humans ultimately depend. Better understanding and quantifying CHANS across various scales require much more integrated efforts by researchers from all relevant disciplines simultaneously. Putting the knowledge gained from such integrated studies into socioeconomic and environmental decision-making processes is essential for achieving productive and sustainable CHANS.

References and Notes

1. Marsh, G.P. 1864. *Man and Nature*. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 472 pp.
2. Thomas, W.L. Jr. 1956. *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 193 pp.
3. Turner, B.L. II, Clark, W., Kates, R., Richards, J., Mathews, J. and Meyer, W. 1990. *The Earth as Transformed by Human Action: Global and Regional Changes in the Biosphere over the Past 300 Years*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom, 713 pp.
4. McDonnell, M.J. and Pickett, S.T.A. 1993. *Humans as Components of Ecosystems: The Ecology of Subtle Human Effects and Populated Areas*. Springer-Verlag, New York, 364 pp.
5. Vitousek, P.M., Mooney, H.A., Lubchenco, J. and Melillo, J.M. 1997. Human domination of earth's ecosystems. *Science* 277, 494–499.
6. Diamond, J.M. 1997. *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*. Norton, New York, 480 pp.
7. National Research Council. 1999. *Our Common Journey*. National Academy Press, Washington, D.C., 384 pp.
8. Odum, H.T. 1971. *Environment, Power and Society*. Wiley Interscience, New York, 344 pp.
9. Ma, S. and Wang, R. 1984. Social-economic-natural complex ecosystems. *Acta Ecologica Sinica* 4, 1–9.
10. Liu, J.G., Dietz, T., Carpenter, S.R., Alberti, M., Folke, C., Moran, E., Pell, A.N., Deadman, P., et al. 2007. Complexity of coupled human and natural systems. *Science* 317, 1513–1516.
11. Schneider, S.H. and Londer, R. 1984. *The Coevolution of Climate and Life*. Sierra Club Books, San Francisco, 563 pp.
12. Low, B., Costanza, R., Ostrom, E., Wilson, J. and Simon, C.P. 1999. Human ecosystem interactions: a dynamic integrated model. *Ecol. Econ.* 31, 227–242.
13. Redman, C.L. 1999. Human dimensions of ecosystem studies. *Ecosystems* 2, 296–298.

14. Kinzig, A.P. 2001. Bridging disciplinary divides to address environmental and intellectual challenges. *Ecosystems* 4, 709–715.
15. Gunderson, L.H. and Holling, C.S. (eds). 2001. *Panarchy: Understanding Transformation in Human and Natural Systems*. Island Press, Washington, D.C., 508 pp.
16. Rosa, E.A. and Dietz, T. 1998. Climate change and society: speculation, construction and scientific investigation. *Int. Sociol.* 13, 421–455.
17. Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. 2005. *Ecosystems and Human Well-Being: Synthesis*. Island Press, Washington, DC, 160 pp.
18. Chapin, F.S. III, Hoel, M., Carpenter, S.R., Lubchenco, J., Walker, B., Callaghan, T.V., Folke, C., Levin, S. A., et al. 2006. Building resilience and adaptation to manage Arctic change. *Ambio* 35, 198–202.
19. Folke, C., Carpenter, S.R., Elmquist, T., Gunderson, L., Holling, C.S. and Walker, B. 2002. Resilience and sustainable development: building adaptive capacity in a world of transformations. *Ambio* 31, 437–440.
20. Folke, C., Jansson, A., Larsson, J. and Costanza, R. 1997. Ecosystem appropriation by cities. *Ambio* 26, 167–172.
21. Lebel, L. 2002. Industrial transformation and shrimp aquaculture in Thailand and Vietnam: pathways to ecological, social, and economic sustainability? *Ambio* 31, 311–323.
22. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. 2006. (<http://www.ipcc.ch/>)
23. Stern, P.C. 1993. A second environmental science: human-environment interactions. *Science* 260, 1897–1899.
24. Stern, P.C., Young, O.R. and Druckman, D. 1992. *Global Environmental Change: Understanding the Human Dimensions*. National Academy Press, Washington, DC, 308 pp.
25. Michener, K.W., Baerwald, J.T., Firth, P., Palmer, A.M., Rosenberger, J.L., Sandlin, E.A. and Zimmerman, H. 2001. Defining and unraveling biocomplexity. *BioScience* 51, 1018–1023.
26. van der Leeuw, S.E. and Redman, C.L. 2002. Placing archaeology at the center of socio-natural studies. *Am. Antiquity* 67, 597–605.
27. Costanza, R., Waigner, L., Folke, C. and Mäler, K.-G. 1993. Modeling complex ecological economic systems: towards an evolutionary dynamic understanding of people and nature. *BioScience* 43, 545–555.
28. Berkes, F. and Folke, C. 1998. *Linking Social and Ecological Systems: Management Practices and Social Mechanisms for Building Resilience*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom, 476 pp.
29. Allen, T.F.H. and Starr, T.B. 1982. *Hierarchy: Perspectives for Ecological Complexity*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 328 pp.
30. Pickett, S., Cadenasso, M. and Grove, J. 2005. Biocomplexity in coupled natural-human systems: a multidimensional framework. *Ecosystems* 8, 225–232.
31. Daily, G.C. (ed). 1997. *Nature's Services: Social Dependence on Natural Ecosystems*. Island Press, Washington, DC, 392 pp.
32. Odum, E.P. 1989. *Ecology and Our Endangered Life-Support Systems*. Sinauer Associates, Sunderland, Massachusetts, 301 pp.
33. Postel, S.L., Daily, G.C. and Ehrlich, P.R. 1996. Human appropriation of renewable fresh water. *Science* 271, 785–788.
34. Myers, R. and Worm, B. 2003. *Rapid worldwide depletion of predatory fish communities*. *Nature* 423, 280–283.
35. Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. 2005. *Ecosystems and Human Well-Being: Current State and Trends*. Island Press, Washington DC, 948 pp.
36. Foley, J.A., DeFries, R., Asner, G.P., Barford, C., Bonan, G., Carpenter, S.R., Chapin, F.S., Coe, M.T., et al. 2005. Global consequences of land use. *Science* 309, 570–574.
37. Palumbi, S.R. 2001. Humans as the world's greatest evolutionary force. *Science* 293, 1786–1790.
38. Prober, S., Thiele, K., Lunt, I. and Koen, T. 2005. Restoring ecological function in temperate grassy woodlands: manipulating soil nutrients, exotic annuals and native perennial grasses through carbon supplements and spring burns. *J. Appl. Ecol.* 42, 1073–1085.
39. Dille, M., Chen, S.R., Deichmann, U., Lerner-Lam, L.A. and Arnold, M. 2005. *Natural Disaster Hotspots: A Global Risk Analysis (Disaster Risk Management)*. World Bank, Washington, DC, 132 pp.
40. United Nations University. 2005. As ranks of “environmental refugees” swell worldwide, calls grow for better definition, recognition, support. (<http://www.ehs.unu.edu/article:130?menu=20>)
41. Congleton, R.D. 2006. The story of Katrina: New Orleans and the political economy of catastrophe. *Public Choice* 127, 5–30.
42. Liu, J. and Diamond, J. 2005. China's environment in a globalizing world. *Nature* 435, 1179–1186.
43. Cumming, G., Cumming, D. and Redman, C. 2006. Scale mismatches in social-ecological systems: causes, consequences, and solutions. *Ecol. Soc.* 11, 14.
44. Alberti, M., Marzluff, J., Shulenberg, E., Bradley, G., Ryan, C. and Zumbunnen, C. 2003. Integrating humans into ecology: opportunities and challenges for urban ecology. *BioScience* 53, 1169–1179.
45. Steffen, W., Sanderson, A., Jäger, J., Tyson, P., Moore, B. III, Oldfield, F., Richardson, K., Schellnhuber, H.-J., et al. 2004. *Global Change and the Earth System: A Planet Under Pressure*. Springer Verlag, Heidelberg, Germany, 332 pp.
46. Hall, C., Cleveland, C.J. and Kaufman, R. 1986. *Energy and Resource Quality: The Ecology of the Economic Process*. Wiley, New York, 602 pp.
47. Victoria University of Wellington Centre for Building Performance Research. 2005. Embodied energy coefficients. (<http://www.vuw.ac.nz/cbpr/documents/pdfs/ee-coefficients.pdf>)
48. Estes, J.A. and Palmisano, J.F. 1974. Sea otters: their role in structuring nearshore communities. *Science* 185, 1058–1060.
49. Power, M.E., Tilman, D., Estes, J.A., Menge, B.A., Bond, W.J., Mills, L.S., Daily, G., Castilla, J.C., et al. 1996. Challenges in the quest for keystones. *BioScience* 46, 609–620.
50. Liu, J., Linderman, M., Ouyang, Z., An, L., Yang, J. and Zhang, H. 2001. Ecological degradation in protected areas: the case of Wolong Nature Reserve for giant pandas. *Science* 292, 98–101.
51. Mastrandrea, M.D. and Schneider, S.H. 2001. Integrated assessment of abrupt climatic changes. *Climate Policy* 1, 433–449.
52. Chapin, F.S. III, Matson, P.A., McCarthy, J., Corell, W.R., Christensen, L., Eckley, N., Hovelsrud-Broda, K.G., Kasperson, X.J., et al. 2003. Science and technology for sustainable development special feature: illustrating the coupled human-environment system for vulnerability analysis: three case studies. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A.* 100, 8080–8085.
53. Janssen, M. and Ostrom, E. 2006. Special issue on resilience, vulnerability, and adaptation: a cross-cutting theme of the human dimensions of global environmental change program. *Global Environmental Change* 16, 237–239.
54. Jackson, J.B.C. and Sheldon, P.R. 1994. Constancy and change of life in the sea. *Phil. Trans. R. Soc. London B Biol. Sci.* 344, 55–60.
55. Walker, B.H., Abel, N., Stafford-Smith, D.M. and Langridge, J.L. 2002. A framework for the determinants of degradation in arid ecosystems. In: *Global Desertification: Do Humans Cause Deserts?* Reynolds, J.F. and Stafford-Smith, D.M. (eds). Dahlem University Press, Berlin, pp. 75–94.
56. Brock, W.A. 2006. Tipping points, a abrupt opinion changes, and punctuated policy changes. In: *Punctuated Equilibrium and the Dynamics of U.S. Environmental Policy*. Abrupt Opinion Changes, and Punctuated Policy Change. Repetto, R. (ed). Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, pp. 47–77.
57. Brock, W.A., Carpenter, S.R. and Scheffer, M. 2005. Regime shifts, environmental signals, uncertainty and policy choice. In: *A Theoretical Framework for Analyzing Social-Ecological Systems*. Norberg, J. and Cumming, G. (eds). Columbia University Press, New York, in press.
58. Holling, C.S. 1973. Resilience and stability of ecological systems. *Annu. Rev. Ecol. System.* 4, 1–23.
59. Walker, B. and Meyers, A.J. 2004. Thresholds in ecological and social-ecological systems: a developing database. *Ecol. Soc.* 9, 3.
60. Walker, B.H., Anderies, J.M., Kinzig, A.P. and Ryan, P. 2006. Exploring resilience in social-ecological systems through comparative studies and theory development: introduction to the special issue. *Ecol. Soc.* 11, 12.
61. Carpenter, S.R. 2003. *Regime Shifts in Lake Ecosystems: Pattern and Variation*. Ecology Institute, Oldendorf/Luhe, Germany, 199 pp.
62. Scheffer, M., Carpenter, S., Foley, J., Folke, C. and Walker, B. 2001. Catastrophic shifts in ecosystems. *Nature* 413, 591–596.
63. Folke, C., Carpenter, S., Walker, B., Scheffer, M., Elmquist, T., Gunderson, L. and Holling, C.S. 2004. Regime shifts, resilience and biodiversity in ecosystem management. *Annu. Rev. Ecol. System.* 35, 557–581.
64. Schneider, S.H. 2004. Abrupt non-linear climate change, irreversibility and surprise. *Global Environmental Change* 14, 245–258.
65. Lambin, E.F., Turner, B.L. II, Geist, H.J., Agbola, S.B., Angelsen, A., Bruce, J.W., Coomes, O.T., Dirzo, R., et al. 2001. The causes of land-use and land-cover change: moving beyond the myths. *Global Environmental Change* 11, 261–269.
66. Holling, C.S. 1994. An ecologist's view of the Malthusian conflict. In: *Population, Economic Development, and the Environment*. Lindahl-Kiessling, K. and Landberg, H. (eds). Oxford University Press, Oxford, United Kingdom, pp. 79–103.
67. Foster, J.B. 1999. Marx's theory of metabolic rift: classical foundations for environmental sociology. *Am. J. Sociol.* 105, 366–405.
68. Patz, J., Campbell-Lendrum, D., Holloway, T. and Foley, J. 2005. Impact of regional climate change on human health. *Nature* 438, 303–310.
69. Gordon, L., Steffen, W., Jönsson, B., Folke, C., Falkenmark, M. and Johannessen, A. 2005. Human modification of global water vapor flows from the land surface. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A.* 102, 7612–7617.
70. O'Meara, M. 1999. *Reinventing Cities for People and the Planet*. Worldwatch Paper No. 147. Worldwatch Institute, Washington, DC, 94 pp.
71. Liu, J., Daily, G., Ehrlich, P. and Luck, G. 2003. Effects of household dynamics on resource consumption and biodiversity. *Nature* 421, 530–533.
72. Warren-Rhodes, K. and Koenig, A. 2001. Ecosystem appropriation by Hong Kong and its implications for sustainable development. *Ecol. Econ.* 39, 347–359.
73. Cohen, J., Small, C., Mellinger, A., Gallup, J. and Sachs, J. 1997. Estimates of coastal populations. *Science* 278, 1211–1212.
74. State Oceanic Administration of China. 2004. (www.soa.gov.cn/chichao)
75. Entwisle, B. and Stern, P. (eds). 2005. *Population, Land Use, and Environment: Research Directions*. The National Academies Press, Washington, DC, 344 pp.
76. Arrow, K.G., Dasgupta, P. and Mäler, K.G. 2003. Evaluating projects and assessing sustainable development in imperfect economies. *Environ. Resource Econ.* 26, 647–685.
77. Global Footprint Network. 2005. (<http://www.footprintnetwork.org/>)
78. York, R., Rosa, E.A. and Dietz, T. 2003. Footprints on the earth: the environmental consequences of modernity. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 68, 279–300.
79. Dietz, T., Rosa, E.A. and York, R. 2007. Driving the human ecological footprint. *Frontiers Ecol. Environ.* 5, 13–18.
80. Chapin, F.S., Zaveleta, E.S., Eviner, V.T., Naylor, R.L., Vitousek, P.M., Reynolds, H.L., Hooper, D.U., Lavorel, S., et al. 2000. Consequences of changing biodiversity. *Nature* 405, 234–242.
81. Jackson, J.B.C., Kirby, X.M., Berger, H.W., Bjorndal, A.K., Botsford, W.L., Bourque, J.B., Bradbury, H.R., Cooke, R., et al. 2001. Historical overfishing and the recent collapse of coastal ecosystems. *Science* 293, 629–637.
82. Root, T., Price, J., Hall, K., Schneider, S., Rosenzweig, C. and Pounds, J. 2003. Fingerprints of global warming on wild animals and plants. *Nature* 421, 57–60.
83. Root, T., MacMynowski, D., Mastrandrea, M., et al. 2005. Human-modified temperatures induce species changes: joint attribution. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A.* 102, 7465–7469.
84. Pauly, D. 1995. Anecdotes and the shifting baseline syndrome of fisheries. *Trends Ecol. Evol.* 10, 430.
85. Kent, A. and Williams, G.J. 1994. *Encyclopedia of Computer Science and Technology*. Marcel Dekker, New York, 400 pp.
86. Kolpin, D.W., Furlong, E.T., Meyer, M.T., Thurman, E.M., Zaugg, S.D., Barber, L.B. and Buxton, H.T. 2002. Pharmaceuticals, hormones and other organic wastewater contaminants in U.S. streams 1999–2000: a national reconnaissance. *Environ. Sci. Tech.* 36, 1202–1211.
87. Kasperson, J.X., Kasperson, R. and Turner, B. II 1995. *Regions at Risk: Comparisons of Threatened Environments*. United Nations University Press, New York, 588 pp.
88. Allison, H.E. and Hobbs, R.J. 2004. Resilience, adaptive capacity, and the “lock-in trap” of the Western Australian agricultural region. *Ecol. Soc.* 9, 3.
89. Webster, P.J., Holland, G.J., Curry, J.A. and Chang, H.-R. 2005. Changes in tropical cyclone number, duration, and intensity in a warming environment. *Science* 309, 1844–1846.
90. Emanuel, K. 2005. Increasing destructiveness of tropical cyclones over the past 30 years. *Nature* 436, 686–688.
91. Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters. 2005. Emergency disasters data base. (<http://www.em-dat.net/>)
92. van der Leeuw, S.E. (ed). 2000. *Land Degradation as a Socionatural Process*. Columbia University Press, New York, 21 pp.
93. Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. 2005. *Ecosystems and Human Well-Being: Policy Responses*. Island Press, Washington, DC, 654 pp.
94. Thompson, L., Mosley-Thompson, E., Davis, M.E., Henderson, K.A., Bretcher, H.H., Zagarobnov, V.S., Mashiotta, T.A., Lin, P.-N., et al. 2002. Paleoclimatic: Kilimanjaro ice core records: evidence of Holocene climate change in tropical Africa. *Science* 298, 589.
95. Richter, B.D. and Richter, H.E. 2000. Prescribing flood regimes to sustain riparian ecosystems along meandering rivers. *Conserv. Biol.* 14, 1467–1478.
96. Francis, D.R. and Foster, D.R. 2001. Response of small lake systems to changing land-use history in New England. *The Holocene* 11, 301–312.
97. Goodale, C. and Aber, J. 2001. The long-term effects of land-use history on nitrogen cycling in northern hardwood forests. *Ecol. Appl.* 11, 253–267.
98. Parson, E.A. 2003. *Protecting the Ozone Layer: Science and Strategy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 377 pp.
99. Rignot, E. and Kanagaratnam, P. 2006. Changes in the velocity structure of the Greenland ice sheet. *Science* 311, 986–990.
100. Demographia. 2006. Greater London, inner London and outer London population and density history. (<http://www.demographia.com/dm-lon31.htm>)
101. United Nations Cyberschoolbus. 2006. Mexico City, Mexico. (<http://www.un.org/cyberschoolbus/habitat/profiles/mexico.asp>)

102. Brown, L.R., Gardner, G. and Halweil, B. 1998. *Beyond Malthus: Sixteen Dimensions of the Population Problem*. Worldwatch Institute, Washington, DC, 89 pp.
103. McMichael, A., Bolin, B., Costanza, R., Daily, G., Folke, C., Lindahl-Kiessling, K., Lindgren, E. and Niklasson, B. 1999. Globalization and the sustainability of human health: an ecological perspective. *BioScience* 49, 205–210.
104. UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Division 2004. *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2003 Revision*. United Nations, New York, 335 pp.
105. U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy. 2004. An ocean blueprint for the 21st century. (http://oceancommission.gov/documents/full_color_rpt/000_ocean_full_report.pdf)
106. Schiermeier, Q. 2005. Poles lose out as ozone levels begin to recover. *Nature* 437, 179.
107. Catton, W.R.J. and Dunlap, R.E. 1980. A new ecological paradigm for post-exuberant sociology. *Am. Behav. Scientist* 24, 15–47.
108. Norgaard, R.B. 1994. *Development Betrayed: The End of Progress and a Coevolutionary Revisioning of the Future*. Routledge, New York, 296 pp.
109. Gunderson, L.H., Holling, C.S. and Light, S.S. 1995. *Barriers and Bridges to the Renewal of Ecosystems and Institutions*. Columbia University Press, New York, 593 pp.
110. Berkes, F., Colding, J. and Folke, C. 2003. *Navigating Social-Ecological Systems: Building Resilience for Complexity and Change*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 393 pp.
111. Morgan, G.M. and Henrion, M. 1990. *Uncertainty: A Guide to Dealing with Uncertainty in Quantitative Risk and Policy Analysis*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 344 pp.
112. Kinzig, A.P., Starrett, D., Arrow, K., Bolin, B., Dasgupta, P., Ehrlich, P., Folke, C., Hanemann, M., et al. 2003. Coping with uncertainty: a call for a new science-policy forum. *Ambio* 32, 330–335.
113. Peterson, G.D., Cumming, G. and Carpenter, S. 2003. Scenario planning: a tool for conservation in an uncertain world. *Conserv. Biol.* 17, 358–367.
114. Adger, W.N., Hughes, P.T., Folke, C., Carpenter, R.S. and Rockström, J. 2005. Social-ecological resilience to coastal disasters. *Science* 309, 1036–1039.
115. Ostrom, E. 1990. *Governing the Commons*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 298 pp.
116. Dochoda, M.R. and Jones, M.L. 2002. Managing Great Lakes fisheries under multiple and diverse authorities. In: *Sustaining North American Salmon: Perspectives Across Regions and Disciplines*. Lynch, K.D., et al. (eds). American Fisheries Society, Bethesda, Maryland, pp. 221–242.
117. Knuth, B.A. 2002. The many faces of salmon: implications of stakeholder diversity in the Great Lakes. In: *Sustaining North American Salmon: Perspectives Across Regions and Disciplines*. Lynch, K.D., et al. (eds). American Fisheries Society, Bethesda, Maryland, pp. 243–260.
118. Goddard, C.I. 2002. The future of Pacific salmon in the Great Lakes. In: *Sustaining North American Salmon: Perspectives Across Regions and Disciplines*. Lynch, K. D., et al. (eds). American Fisheries Society, Bethesda, Maryland, pp. 181–194.
119. Cohen, B. 2004. Urban growth in developing countries: a review of current trends and a caution regarding existing forecasts. *World Dev.* 32, 23–51.
120. Sassen, S. 1996. *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization*. Columbia University Press, New York, 128 pp.
121. Anderson, S. and Cavanagh, J. 2000. *Top 200: The Rise of Corporate Global Power*. Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, DC, 13 pp. (<http://www.ips-dc.org/reports/top200text.htm>)
122. Andrews, R.N.L. 1999. *Managing the Environment, Managing Ourselves: A History of American Environmental Policy*. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 480 pp.
123. Ostrom, E. 2005. *Understanding Institutional Diversity*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 376 pp.
124. Dietz, T., Ostrom, E. and Stern, P.C. 2003. The struggle to govern the commons. *Science* 302, 1907–1912.
125. Allison, G.W., Gaines, S.D., Lubchenco, J. and Possingham, H.P. 2003. Ensuring persistence of marine reserves: catastrophes require adopting an insurance factor. *Ecol. Appl.* 13, S8–S24.
126. Holling, C.S. 1995. What barriers? What bridges? In: *Barriers and Bridges to the Renewal of Ecosystems and Institutions*. Gunderson, L.H., et al. (eds). Columbia University Press, New York, pp. 3–34.
127. Folke, C., Hahn, T., Olsson, P. and Norberg, J. 2005. Adaptive governance of social-ecological systems. *Annu. Rev. Environ. Resour.* 30, 441–473.
128. Daly, H.E. and Cobb, J.B. Jr. 1989. *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy Toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future*. Beacon Press, Boston, 492 pp.
129. Clark, W.C. and Munn, R.E. (eds). 1986. *Sustainable Development of the Biosphere*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 491 pp.
130. Campbell, D.T. 1969. Reforms as experiments. *Am. Psychol.* 24, 409–429.
131. Hixon, M.A., Pacala, S.W. and Sandin, S.A. 2002. Population regulation: historical context and contemporary challenges of open vs. closed systems. *Ecology* 83, 1490–1508.
132. Reznick, D., Bryant, M. and Bashey, F. 2002. R- and K-selection revisited: the role of population regulation in life-history evolution. *Ecology* 83, 1509–1520.
133. Robles, C. and Desharnais, D. 2002. History and current development of a paradigm of predation in rocky intertidal communities. *Ecology* 83, 1521–1536.
134. Richerson, P.J. 1977. Ecology and human ecology: a comparison of theories in the biological and social sciences. *Am. Ethnologist* 4, 1–26.
135. Moran, E.F. 2006. *People and Nature: An Introduction to Human Ecological Relations*. Blackwell, Boston, 218 pp.
136. Forrester, J.W. 1971. *World Dynamics*. Wright-Allen, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 114 pp.
137. Meadows, D.H., Meadows, D.L., Randers, J. and Behrens, W. III 1972. *The Limits to Growth*. Potomac Associates, New York, 86 pp.
138. Costanza, R., Low, B.S., Ostrom, E. and Wilson, J. 2001. *Institutions, Ecosystems, and Sustainability*. Lewis Publishers, Boca Raton, Florida, 270 pp.
139. Vayda, A.P. 1988. Actions and consequences as objects of explanation in human ecology. In: *Human Ecology: Research and Applications*. Borden, R.J., et al. (eds). Society for Human Ecology, College Park, Maryland pp. 9–18.
140. Dietz, T. and Rosa, E.A. 2002. Human dimensions of global environmental change. In: *Handbook of Environmental Sociology*. Dunlap, E. R. and Michelson, W. (eds). Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, pp. 370–406.
141. Sokolov, A.P., Schlosser, C.A., Dutkiewicz, S., Paltsev, S., Kicklighter, D.W.J., Henry, D., Prinn, R.G., Forest, C.E., Reilly, J., et al. 2005. MIT integrated global system model (IGSM) version 2: model description and baseline evaluation. (http://web.mit.edu/globalchange/www/MITJSPSGC_Rpt124.pdf)
142. Schneider, S.H. 1997. Integrated assessment modeling of global climate change: transparent rational tool for policy making or opaque screen hiding value-laden assumptions? *Environ. Model. Assess.* 2, 229–248.
143. Parson, E.A. and Fisher-Vanden, K. 1997. Integrated assessment models of global climate change. *Annu. Rev. Energy Environ.* 22, 589–628.
144. Rotmans, J. 1990. *IMAGE: An Integrated Model to Assess the Greenhouse Effect*. Kluwer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands, 289 pp.
145. Morgan, M.G. and Dowlatabadi, H. 1996. Learning from integrated assessment of climate change. *Clim. Change* 34, 337–368.
146. Parker, D.C., Manson, S.M., Janssen, M.A., Hoffmann, M.J. and Deadman, P. 2003. Multi-agent systems for the simulation of land-use and land-cover change: a review. *Ann. Assoc. Am. Geographers* 93, 314–337.
147. An, L., Linderman, M., Shorridge, A., Qi, J. and Liu, J. 2005. An agent-based spatial model for cross-discipline and cross-scale integration: a case study of households, forests, and panda habitats. *Ann. Assoc. Am. Geographers* 95, 54–79.
148. Grimm, V., Revilla, E., Berger, U., Jeltsch, F., Mooij, W.M., Railsback, S.F., Thulke, H.-H., Weiner, J., et al. 2005. Pattern-oriented modeling of agent-based complex systems: lessons from ecology. *Science* 310, 987–991.
149. Liu, J., An, L., Batie, S., Groop, R., Liang, Z., Linderman, M., Mertig, A., Ouyang, Z., et al. 2003. Human impacts on land cover and panda habitat in Wolong Nature Reserve: linking ecological, socioeconomic, demographic, and behavioral data. In: *People and the Environment: Approaches for Linking Household and Community Surveys to Remote Sensing and GIS*. Fox, J., et al. (eds). Kluwer Academic Publishers, Boston, pp. 241–263.
150. Fox, J., Mishra, V., Rindfuss, R. and Walsh, S. (eds). 2003. *People and the Environment: Approaches for Linking Household and Community Surveys to Remote Sensing and GIS*. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Boston, 344 pp.
151. Moran, E.F. and Ostrom, E. 2005. *Seeing the Forest and the Trees. Human-Environment Interactions in Forest Ecosystems*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 456 pp.
152. Redman, C.L., Grove, M. and Kuby, L. 2004. Integrating social science into the long-term ecological research (Iter) network: social dimensions of ecological change and ecological dimensions of social change. *Ecosystems* 7, 161–171.
153. McMichael, A.J., Butler, C.D. and Folke, C. 2003. New visions for addressing sustainability. *Science* 302, 1919–1920.
154. Committee on Facilitating Interdisciplinary Research of National Academies. 2004. *Facilitating Interdisciplinary Research*. The National Academies Press, Washington, DC, 332 pp.
155. Lubchenco, J. 1998. Entering the century of the environment: a new social contract for science. *Science* 279, 491–497.
156. Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. 2005. *Ecosystems and Human Well-Being: Opportunities and Challenges for Business and Industry*. Island Press, Washington, DC, 36 pp.
157. Aldo Leopold Leadership Program. (<http://www.leopoldleadership.org/>)
158. Stern, P.C. and Fineberg, H. (eds). 1996. *Understanding Risk: Informing Decisions in a Democratic Society*. National Academy Press, Washington, DC, 264 pp.
159. Dietz, T. and Stern, P.C. 1998. Science, values and biodiversity. *BioScience* 48, 441–444.
160. Carpenter, S., Walker, B., Anderies, J.M. and Abel, N. 2001. From metaphor to measurement: resilience of what to what? *Ecosystems* 4, 765–781.
161. World Trade Organization. 2006. World total merchandise trade. (<http://stat.wto.org/StatisticalProgram/WSDStatProgramSeries.aspx?Language=E>)
162. Hodgson, D. 2005. The urbanization of the world. (<http://www.faculty.fairfield.edu/faculty/hodgson/Courses/so11/population/urbanization.htm>)
163. United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat). 2001. *Cities in a Globalizing World: Global Report on Human Settlements 2001*. Earthscan, London, 344 pp.
164. We are very grateful to Thomas Baerwald for his exceptional support of the initiative on Dynamics of Coupled Human and Natural Systems under the Biocomplexity Program of the National Science Foundation, which inspired us to write this paper. We also thank Robert May and two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments and suggestions; Rebecca Bergart, Eduardo Brondizio, Sara Hughes, Ann Krause, Nancy Leonard, Emilio Moran, Nick Reo, Leah VanWey, and Kerry Waco for their helpful input; and Shuxin Li and Brent Wheat for their diligent search for data and literature as well as editorial assistance. Financial support was provided by National Science Foundation (Dynamics of Coupled Natural and Human Systems, and North Temperate Lakes Long Term Ecological Research site), National Institutes of Health, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, National Natural Science Foundation of China, Michigan State University (Michigan Agricultural Research Station, Rachel Carson Chair in Sustainability, University Distinguished Professorship, and Environmental Research Initiative), Swedish Research Council for the Environment, Agricultural Sciences and Spatial Planning, and Swedish Foundation for Strategic Environmental Research.
165. First submitted 19 December 2006. Accepted for publication 25 April 2007.

Jianguo Liu is Rachel Carson Chair in Ecological Sustainability; University Distinguished Professor; Director of the Center for Systems Integration and Sustainability at Michigan State University. His research interests include sustainability and systems integration (integration of ecology with social sciences and advanced technologies). His address: Center for Systems Integration and Sustainability, Department of Fisheries and Wildlife, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824, USA.

E-mail: jliu@panda.msu.edu

Thomas Dietz is Professor of Sociology and Crop and Social Science; Director of the Environmental Science and Policy Program and Assistant Vice President for Environmental Research at Michigan State University. His research interests include anthropogenic drivers of environmental change; environmental values; and the integration of science and democratic deliberation in environmental policy. His address: Environmental Science and Policy Program, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824, USA.

E-mail: tdietzvt@gmail.com

Stephen R. Carpenter is Stephen Alfred Forbes Professor of Zoology at the University of Wisconsin. His research interests include ecosystem science and social-ecological systems. His address: Center for Limnology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI 53706, USA.

E-mail: srcarpent@wisc.edu

Carl Folke is Professor and Director of the Beijer Institute at the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Science Director of the Stockholm Resilience Centre and affiliated with the Department of Systems Ecology at Stockholm University. His research interests include the role that living systems play in social and economic development and how to govern and manage for resilience in integrated social-ecological systems. His address: Beijer Institute, Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, PO Box 50005, SE-104 05 Stockholm or Stockholm Resilience Centre, Stockholm University, Stockholm, SE-106 91, Sweden.

E-mail: carl.folke@beijer.kva.se

Marina Alberti is Associate Professor of Urban Design and Planning; Adjunct Associate Professor of Landscape Architecture at the University of Washington. Her research interests include the impacts of alternative urban development patterns on ecosystem dynamics. Her address: Department of Urban Design and Planning, University of Washington Seattle, WA 98195, USA.

E-mail: malberti@u.washington.edu

Charles L. Redman is Director, School of Sustainability; Virginia M. Ullman Professor of Natural History and Environment at Arizona State University. His research interests include urban ecology, sustainable cities, historical ecology, rise of civilization, and public education. His address: Global Institute for Sustainability, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-3211, USA.

E-mail: Charles.Redman@asu.edu

Stephen H. Schneider is Melvin and Joan Lane Professor for Interdisciplinary Environmental Studies, Professor of Biological Sciences; Professor (by courtesy) of Civil and Environmental Engineering; Senior Fellow in the Woods Institute for the Environment at Stanford University. His research interests include ecological and economic implications of human-induced climate change, integrated assessment of global change, climate modeling of paleoclimates and of human impacts on climate, dangerous anthropogenic interference (DAI) with the climate system, abrupt climate change, and identifying viable climate policies and technological solutions. His address: Department of Biological Sciences, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-5020 USA.

E-mail: shs@stanford.edu

Elinor Ostrom is Co-Director, Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis at Indiana University and Founding Director, Center for the Study of Institutional Diversity at Arizona State University. Her research interests include resource policies, social ecological systems, and institutions. Her address: Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47408-3895, USA.

E-mail: ostrom@indiana.edu

Alice N. Pell is Professor of Animal Sciences and Director of the Cornell International Institute for Food, Agriculture, and Development at Cornell University. Her research interests include African farming systems, including their environmental and economic impacts. Her address: Cornell International Institute for Food, Agriculture and Development, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853, USA.

E-mail: ap19@cornell.edu

Jane Lubchenco is Wayne and Gladys Valley Professor of Marine Biology; Distinguished Professor of Zoology at Oregon State University. Her research interests include sustainability science, marine conservation biology, ecosystem services, ecological causes and consequences of global change, biodiversity, and marine reserves. Her address: Department of Zoology, Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR 97331, USA.

E-mail: lubchenco@oregonstate.edu

William W. Taylor is University Distinguished Professor and Chair of the Department of Fisheries and Wildlife at Michigan State University. His research interests include Great lakes fishery ecology population dynamics and management, US-Canada fishery resource policy and management, integration of environmental policy and management from a local to global perspective. His address: Center for Systems Integration and Sustainability, Department of Fisheries and Wildlife, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824, USA.

E-mail: taylorlw@msu.edu

Zhiyun Ouyang is Professor and Director, State Key Lab of Urban and Regional Ecology, Research Center for Eco-environmental Sciences at the Chinese Academy of Sciences. His research interests include ecosystem service, ecosystem assessment and ecological planning, biodiversity conservation, and GIS application in ecology and environmental research. His address: Research Center for Eco-environmental Sciences, Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing, 100085, China.

E-mail: zyouyang@mail.rcees.ac.cn

Peter Deadman is Associate Professor, Department of Geography at the University of Waterloo. His research interests include modeling and simulation, land use change, and geographic information systems. His address: Department of Geography, University of Waterloo, Waterloo ON N2L 3G1, Canada.

E-mail: pjdeadma@fesmail.uwaterloo.ca

Timothy Kratz is Senior Scientist and Director of the University of Wisconsin Trout Lake Station at the University of Wisconsin. His research interests include long-term regional ecology of north-temperate lakes, carbon dynamics of lakes, and land-water interactions. His address: Trout Lake Station, University of Wisconsin, Boulder Junction, WI 54512, USA.

E-mail: tkkratz@wisc.edu

William Provencher is Professor at the University of Wisconsin. His research interests include environmental and resource economics. His address: Department of Agricultural and Applied Economics, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI 53706, USA.

E-mail: rwproven@wisc.edu