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Title: Deciphering African tropical forest dynamics in the Anthropocene: how social and historical sciences can elucidate forest cover change and inform forest management

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Abstract: Forests bear the historical legacies of human activities over thousands of years, including agriculture, trade, disease and resource extraction. Many of these activities may represent indices of the proposed geological epoch of the Anthropocene. Modifications to soil, topography and vegetation evidence anthropogenic influences. Yet studies of vegetation change throughout the humid tropics tend to occlude these by focussing on forest dynamics, timber, and biodiversity through permanent sample plots or forestry inventory plots. We highlight how history and social science can be combined with ecology to help better understand human signatures in forest dynamics. We (1) critically review ecological methods in the light of the environmental and social history of the Afrotropics; (2) map current plot networks for West and Central Africa in relation to the Human Footprint Index; (3) using two casestudies, demonstrate how history and social science bring new insights and inferences to plot-based studies; all leading to (4) novel forms of interdisciplinary collaboration for sustainable forest conservation, management and restoration.

Dear Dr. Chin,

We are delighted to submit a revised version of our paper, entitled, "Deciphering African tropical forest dynamics in the Anthropocene: how social and historical sciences can elucidate forest cover change and inform forest management".

Through careful editing, we have reduced the number of words to under 4,000, as noted in your email. We have also addressed all the comments of the reviewer, as noted in the table.

We look forward to finalising this manuscript for publication.

Best wishes,

Gretchen Walters

Response to reviewers

Reviewer comment	Authors response
Editor's comments Therefore, we would like to invite you to	This has been done. Please see the tracked
address these minor issues while also conducting a required thorough round of copy-editing.	changed version.
In this regard, attached in EES, please see detailed copy edits of your manuscript through the Introduction as an illustration of what is required. You will see substantial changes in the Abstract. You will also see that the changes economize the word count substantially, as well as turn most sentences in passive form into active tenses. We ask that you continue this type of detailed line-by-line copy-editing, or alternatively seek the assistance of an experienced or professional copy-editor.	
We would like to see a revised and copy-edited version under 4000 words (text plus abstract).	The article (text including abstract) now stands at 3,995 words.
Editing of Word version of document by editorial team	
Please remove reference to "Capitalocene" Not only does this paper not need it, it is not equipped to address this complex issue.	We removed reference to the "Capitalocene", but maintained the reference to Moore 2015. Line 46, "all markup view". We hope we interpreted this comment correctly.
Associate Editor	
Associate Editor Many thanks for this interesting paper. A relevant paper that is not cited is Aleman, J. C., Jarzyna, M. A., & Staver, A. C. (2018). Forest extent and deforestation in tropical Africa since 1900. Nature ecology & evolution, 2(1), 26.	This reference has been added, lines 154, 184, 434-435, in the "all markup view".
Reviewer #1	
List of keywords: Do you think there is any validity in including the word 'deforestation' in your list of keywords?	The paper does not focus enough on deforestation to merit a key word. It does not appear once in the text (and only once in the references).
Line 35 Remove one of the 'argues for' in the sentence.	This has been changed in Line 45, "all markup view"
Line 66 Perhaps you wish to consider adding the word 'to' in the sentence so as to read: "to understand and quantify human influence on the environment in the recent past and to inform forest management."	This has been changed in line 80, "all markup view".

Line 73 I suspect you meant to write "accessible" and not "assessable". Perhaps I am wrong but you might want to think about this suggestion anyway.	This has been changed line 88, "all markup view".
Line 82 It is not altogether clear that the word 'methods' in this sentence is referring to 'historical methods'. Perhaps you would want to consider writing: "it increasingly benefits from historical data, historical methods (e.g. Hunter and Sluyter 2015) and ecological collaboration" Alternatively you could write: "historical data and methods"	This has been changed in line 98, "all markup view".
Line 111 Change 'HPF' to 'HFP" to read: "The HFP measures the cumulative impact"	This has been changed in Line 131, "all markup view".
Finally, you might want to go over the references again just to make sure that you are using the correct journal abbreviations and that the appropriate bits of the reference are italicised as requited by the Journal.	The references have been re checked for consistency, according to the journal's guidelines. In papers which have over 10 co- authors, we used "et al."

Deciphering African tropical forest dynamics in the Anthropocene: how social and historical sciences can elucidate forest research and management

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1 2	Deciphering Anthropocene African tropical forest dynamics <u> in the Anthropocene</u> : how social and historical sciences can elucidate forest <u>reserachcover change and</u>
3 4	inform forest management
5 6	Abstract Forests have been greatly impacted by anthropogenic activities for thousands of years and bear the
7	historical legacies of human activities over thousands of years, including agriculture, trade, disease and
8	resource extraction, amongst others. Many of these activities may represent indices of the proposed
9	geological epoch of the Anthropocene. Depending on where one places the start of the current geological
10	epoch, where people are the primary driver of global environmental change, many of these activities can be
11	understood as indices of the Anthropocene. These influences can be discerned through mModifications to
12	soil, topography and vegetation evidence record anthropogenic their influencesYet r studies of vegetation
13	<u>change</u> throughout the humid tropics , when vegetation change, especially in forests, has been studied
14	havetend to occlude these by focussinged on forest dynamics, timber, and biodiversity through permanent
15	sample plots or forestry inventory plots., the focus has been on forest dynamics, timber, and biodiversity,
16	which misses these wider historical legacies. We focus We This paper on the highlights how contribution
17	that the historyical and social sciences can be combined with ecology to can contribute to make to reading
18	the Anthropocene <u>more fully</u> help better understand ing the human signatures in through ecological studies
19	of forest dynamics.
20	We The novel contribution of this paper is that it associates different disciplines and proposes how their
21	methods and reflections can be coordinated to address common questions of forest legacies in the
22	Anthropocene. In this viewpoint article, we The paper (1) critically reviews ecological methods in the light of
23	the sub Saharan, tropical African environmental and social history of the Afrotropics;, (2) maps current plot
24	networks for West and Central Africa in light of<u>relation to</u> the Index of the Human Footprint Index;, (3)
25	provide using two casestudies, <u>(Liberia and Gabon) to</u> demonstrates how history and anthropology social
26	science bring new can enrich the insights and inferences tofrom plot-based studies, and all leading to (4)

27	suggests novel forms of specific ways that interdisciplinary collaboration for can contribute to ecological
28	studies and sustainable forest conservation, management and restoration.
29 30 31	Keywords Forest ecology, Africa, historical sciences, social sciences, forest management, interdisciplinarity
32 33	1. Progress in linking past anthropogenic activity to present-day forest structure
34	The ways that wethat tropical forests are studied and conceptualized <u>of conceiveing and</u>
35	stud <u>ingstudyingy tropical forests</u> haves changed greatly in recent decades in part thanks to <u>The</u>
36	pioneering work <u>s</u> of geographers and anthropologists in the Amazon (e.g. Balée and Erickson 2006)
37	and in Africa (e.g. Fairhead and Leach 1996) have partly spearheaded helped bring about these
38	changes, which challenginged researchers to consider the influences of humans on forest structure
39	and biodiversity. In the early 2000s, although ecologists believed that the peopleast (Foster et al.
40	2003) had ve not affected current ecosystem dynamics to a large extent-were largely unaffected by
41	the past (Foster et al. 2003);; however, it is <u>scholars</u> now increasingly recognised it is now widely
42	accepted that past human impacts have not only-shaped ecosystems, but also have become a
43	geological force – captured in the concept of the <u>"Anthropocene" (e.g.,</u> Ellis <i>et al.</i> 2013). While
44	those who proposed the term_some argue for a 1950s start to the proposed geologic epoach
45	(e.g. Zalasiewicz et al. 2010), others -argues for (Lewis and Maslin 2015) argue for an earlier ca 1500
46	start, which coincides with the beginning of global capitalism <u>(Moore 2015) , <mark>chiming with Moore's</mark></u>
47	(2015) idea of the Capitalocene . In Africa, these 'Anthropocene' impacts include the slave trade,
48	colonisation, Atlantic trade, disease epidemics and lifestyles of prehistoric societies (Maddox 2006;
49	Kay and Kaplan 2015), often leaving their mark on forest structure and biodiversity hundreds of
50	years later.

Comment [A1]: Please remove reference to "Capitalocene" Not only does this paper not need it, it is not equipped t address this complex issue.

52	Ecologist P.W. Richards (1952) warned that no ecologists working in the African rain forest should
53	not ignore the possibility that their study area might have been significantly modification of their
54	study areas ed_by recent human activity in the recent past (1952). Foresters were aware of the
55	relationship between cultivation and pioneer forest species (Letouzey 1957); others noted the
56	importance of understanding forest change in relation to the life span of trees (White and Oates
57	1999). For example, t<u>T</u>he forests of Oban, Nigeria, <u>for example,</u> now construed as 'Old Growth',
58	were previously inhabited (Rosevear 1979: 78) based on the evidence of trees that were left by
59	farmers when the land was depopulated hundreds of years earlier. This <u>example</u> suggests that the
60	l lifespan of a tree, and what occurred during that period, could be important for understanding
61	forest dynamics (Bourland et al. 2015). In some cases, current forest cover, with species of
62	economic importance to the timber trade, have their origins in the past African societies (Aubréville
63	1948).
64	
65	Throughout the humid tropics, ecologists have studied forest ecosystems have been studied by
66	ecologists-through permanent sample plots (PSPs) (Lopez-Gonzalez et al. 2011)-, <u>(sometimes-often</u>
67	brought together in <u>through</u> -network <u>ed)</u> s, -that-usinge common research questions, methodology or
68	databases (Anderson-Teixeira et al. 2015). A few decades ago, PSP research was principally
69	co <u>mprised</u> ncerned with community ecology, species diversity, and management (Condit 1995).
70	
	Increasingly, <u>researchers use</u> these plots are used to understand changes in carbon and forest
71	Increasingly, <u>researchers use</u> these plots are used to understand changes in carbon and forest response to climate change (Talbot <i>et al.</i> 2014), indicating <u>alternative uses of that</u> these datasets
71 72	
	response to climate change (Talbot <i>et al.</i> 2014), indicating <u>alternative uses of that</u> these datasets

75 are used by foresters to assess the timber stock with FIPs, ecologists also use PSPs are used by

76	ecologists to study forest ecology and biodiversity. However, tThese plots have the potentially can
77	to answer questions beyond their ecological or forestry remit, however, and so canthey address the
78	historical and political contexts in which the forests have grown (Robbins 2012). Both types of plots
79	can be used for <u>facilitate</u> " Anthropocene <u>"</u> studies to understand and quantify human influence on
80	the environment in the recent past and to inform forest management.
81	
82	Forest ecologists increasingly collaborate with paleo-biologists (Lovejoy and Heinz 2007) to explore
83	the legacy of anthropogenic activities on forests from past millennia (Willis et al. 2004; Hayashida
84	2005). <u>Collaborative research</u> Increased collaborations with archaeologists (Iles 2016) suggest
85	methodological flaws when that inferences of forest history drawn from plots that do not consider
86	the legacies of human history are methodologically flawed . Furthermore, PSPs were largely
87	established in types of f orest <u>s that were considered</u> 'intact', 'pristine', and 'old growth', or <u>in</u>
88	accessible locations , clumped around assessableaccessible areas (e.g. such as research stations)
89	(Pitman <i>et al.</i> 2011). This first bias enticed <u>led</u> forest e cologists to examine such plots as if they
90	were 'undisturbed'- <u>, to the neglect<mark>ing of</mark> anthropogenic legacies. , and tThe second <u>bias calls into</u></u>
91	question<u>s</u>led them to attempts to g eneralis ationse e from plot <u>-based</u> results to the wider landscape
92	(Hecht and Saatchi 2007).
93	
94	Given the transformation of the African environment by events-in the last 500 years, such as by the
95	Atlantic trade, <u>new collaborations with the social-historical sciencesarchaeology</u> can-be combined
96	with support other methods to understand elucidate how human activities transformed the forest,
97	eliciting new collaborations. Taking the case fromL-land-use research, <u>-for example,</u> although it was
98	originally dominated by remote sensing, it-increasingly benefits from historical data, historical

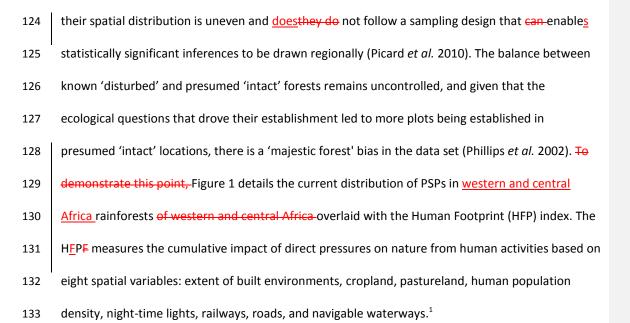
99 methods (e.g. -Hunter and Sluyter 2015) and ecological collaboration (Watson *et al.* 2014) to

100	reconstruct land-use, forest change and carbon cycling. Such methods are also apply icable to the
101	study of research on forest dynamics, forest management and plots, but require new collaborations
102	with social scientists and historians to discern legacies that archaeology is less able to detect, such
103	as the p olitical drivers shaping how landscapes were used. Although some research drawing on
104	plots, paleobiological methods and aerial photography does discern the legacy of recent
105	disturbances in the present-day forest structure (e.g Delègue et al. 2001; van Gemerden et al.
106	2003), this <u>often</u> remains minimised or unexplained.
107	
108	In this viewpoint article, we argue. This article highlights howthat elucidating forest legacies across
109	plot networks requires new interdisciplinary collaborations amongst ecologists, foresters,
110	anthropologists and historians, are required to study forest legacies across plot networks and while
111	discern <u>ing</u> lessons for sustainable management and forest recovery. The novel contribution of this
112	paper is that it associates different disciplines and proposes <u>shows</u> how <u>different disciplines studies</u>
113	can coordinatee their methods and reflections of different disciplines can be coordinated to
114	address common questions of forest legacies in the <u>'</u> Anthropocene <u>'</u> . <u>Below, Ww</u> e <u>(1) considerassess</u>
115	the coverage and methods of PSPs and FIPs in tropical Africa in the light of sub-Saharan, tropical
116	African forest history <u>; 7(2) provide using</u> two case studies <u>, to</u> demonstrate how history and
117	anthropology can enrich plot-based studies and inform sustainable forest management; $_{ au au}$ and then
118	(2) suggest how <u>future research can facilitate</u> this <u>type of</u> interdisciplinary collaboration- can occur .
110	2. Current ecological and forest inventory plot methods
119 120	Ecological studies <u>of</u> or forest dynamics in tropical Africa mostly rely on PSPs, <u>by monitoringg where</u>
121	individual trees are monitored over time (Picard <i>et al.</i> 2010). The size of PSPs varies from 100 m ² to

123 interpretation limitations (Sheil 1995). They were established as part of disconnected studies, so

122

500 ha (,- with-one ha isbeing the most common size). These plots have some methodological and



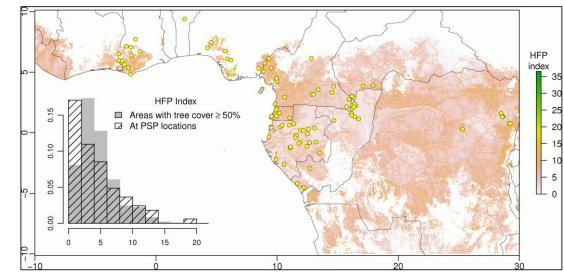




Fig. 1. Locations of Permanent Sample Plots (PSP) with the Human Footprint (HFP) index in the background.
 Dots = PSPs. and t The HFPuman Footprint in the background is based on the NASA index. White indicates

137 areas with tree cover < 50%. X-axis of the inset plot <u>= reflects the</u> HFP while y-axis <u>= reflects its</u> density of distribution.

¹ This index was developed by WCS, CIESIN and Columbia University, with a publicly-accessible data set (http://dx.doi.org/10.7927/H4M61H5F).

139	In Figure 1, the HFP index of PSPs is significantly smaller than the average HFP at the regional level,
140	suggesting that PSPs are not representative of forests at that level, due to their placement in
141	forests with less human impact, and therefore, should not be used alone to draw conclusions about
142	forest history. However, <u>forest researcher if FIPs are additionally used <u>FIPs in forest studies</u>, this</u>
143	bias may be reduced due to t heir more extensive cover <u>may reduce this bias</u> .
144	
145	FIPs, although more extensive, have other problems. These are uU sed to estimate the timber
146	resource <u>s</u> at the scale of a forest concession (ranging 5 0,000-500,000 ha) <u>, they-and</u> follow sampling
147	designs. Although <u>some <mark>these-</mark>plots have long been considered tomay lack rigour, <u>others</u>some can</u>
148	be validly s tudied- <u>using statistics</u> (Réjou-Méchain <i>et al.</i> 2011) and <u>could</u> may be used to infer forest
149	dynamics at larger scales. For example, they can be used to probe globally important questions
150	concerning forest dynamics in the context of historical social change and land-use, with a view to
151	learn about social history, ecosystem recovery and historic global carbon cycle fluctuations in global
152	carbon cycles . Such questions become increasingly important to understand ing and quantify ing
153	human influence on the environment in the recent past and <u>to</u> informing sustainable forest use
154	<u>(Aleman et al. 2018)</u> .
155	
156	Comparing estimates of changes in aboveground biomass for forests based on PSPs and FIPs reveals
157	<mark>∓t</mark> he significance of these methodological flaws -is revealed when comparing estimates of changes
158	in aboveground biomass for forests based on these PSPs and FIPs. Using 260 PSPs in African
159	rainforests, the mean aboveground dry biomass was reported as 395.7 Mg ha ⁻¹ (95% CI: 14.3)
160	(Lewis <i>et al.</i> 2013) whereas others using the same allometric equation as Lewis et al. but drawing
161	on data from FIPs found much lower levels ː , ranging from 3 24 Mg ha ⁻¹ (in Gabon) (Maniatis <i>et al.</i>
162	2011) <mark>, and-</mark> 241.7-303.7 Mg ha ⁻¹ (in southern C entral African Republic), <u>and</u> to 225.3-235.3 Mg ha ⁻¹

163	(in the Republic of Congo) (Gourlet-Fleury et al. 2011). Lewis et al. (2013) cautiously specified that
164	they reported biomass for intact closed-canopy forests, but the scale of such-differences suggests
165	the significance of non-intact (i.e. disturbed) forests at the landscape level and difficulties in
166	interpreting how plot data should be interpreted, especially when plots come from different forest
167	types and histories.

169	The forest signal of past anthropogenic activities lies in the size distribution of light-demanding
170	(disturbance-prone) tree species. With the exception of monodominant forests, a one-hectare plot
171	says little about the size distribution of any species. However, if these signals are analysed across a
172	larger area, it becomes easier to understand their origin and extent. However, using structural
173	changes alone to infer forest changes may turn into a circular reasoning. Historical knowledge is
174	also needed to disentangle-whether perturbations resultinged from human activities or other
175	influences, such as elephants, which can also have a large impact on forest structure (Blake et al.
176	2009).
177	3. African forest history
470	
178	African forest history comprises a complex interplay of climatic drivers and land-use changes at
178	African forest history comprises a complex interplay of climatic drivers and land-use changes at different timescales (McIntosh <i>et al.</i> 2015). Global models o <u>f</u> n historical land-use suggest that
179	different timescales (McIntosh <i>et al.</i> 2015). Global models of n historical land-use suggest that

- 183 the first millennium (Ellis *et al.* 2013), but with significant differences in forest loss and gain from
- 184 the 1900s to present (Aleman et al. 2018).-

186	Trade between Europe and <u>the Afrotropics</u> ica <u>historically</u> has long had an influence <mark>d on</mark> forest
187	dynamics. It b<u>B</u>eg<u>inning</u>an in the fifteenth century, <u>it gradually</u> extend <u>eding</u> along the Atlantic coast
188	and inland, where it encounter <u>inged</u> trade networks <u>and that</u> creatinged social upheavals in West
189	and Central Africa, changes in governance, and the restructuring of -polities and trade routes (e.g.
190	Coquery-Vidrovitch 1985)The introduction of new crops (e.g. manioc) droveresulted in economic
191	transformations, while slavery, warfare, and disease epidemics resulted in the depopulated
192	entireion of areas, that some and cast as which Ford (1971: 489) understood as "biological warfare
193	on a vast scale" (Ford 1971: 489).
194	
195	In Atlantic Central Africa, peak human population density potentially occurred <u>inaround</u> the 16 th
196	century, after which the population decreased until around the 19 th century (Oslisly et-al. 2013).
197	During this period, the Atlantic trade alone potentially resulted in a loss of 11 million people from
198	the continent <u>Africa</u> (Maddox 2006). Furthermore, in Africa, the worldwide Spanish influenza
199	epidemic likely lead to the death of at least 1.5 million people- <u>in Africa, in 1918-1919</u> (Spinage
200	2012: 1201–2). Th <u>is uneven</u> e demographic impact , though uneven, left vast tracts of land
201	depopulated in humid West Africa (Fairhead and Leach 1998) and Central Africa, the latter of which
202	was accentuated early in the 20th century <u>by</u>with forced, colonial resettlement along roads <u>in the</u>
203	20 th century (Gray 2002, Fig. 2). There is<u>A</u> ample e Evidence from <u>a variety of the observations of</u>
204	early foresters and other sources- <u>indicates</u> that <u>most</u> the majority, if not all, of the areas under
205	stud <u>iedy</u> by PSPs and FIPs in West and Central Africa may have been <u>were</u> shaped by these complex
206	factors, as described by two . The cases below describe such historical landscapes.

207 4. Evidence from Western and Central Africa

208 4.1 Liberia

209 West Africa's The-Upper Guinea Forest region of West Africa-is a 'hotspot' of global biodiversity (Poorter et al. 2004), threatened by land-use change by logging, rubber and industrial agriculture 210 (Fairhead and Leach 1998). Liberia comprises-holds the greatest area of Upper Guineathis forest, 211 212 with 41,238 km² or 37.7% of historic forest cover remaining (Poorter et al. 2004:6). However, 213 historical observations and a-recent researchsurvey reveal that much of this forest is can be described as 'anthropogenic' or 'domesticated' due to the effects of past and current settlement 214 215 and agro-forestry dynamics which have shaped the current forest species compositions of forests (Fairhead and Leach 1998). This history ishas been occluded by ecological studies that assume 216 217 forests are 'pristine' without evaluating theirplot history even when located in areas of known 218 anthropogenic influence. Bongers et -al. (1999), for example, represented plot species composition 219 as primarily an effect of climatic variation, even when these species distributions are known to 220 beoften influenced by anthropogenic processes. <u>(e.g.</u> Cotton [*Ceiba pentandra*], Kola [*Cola nitida*], 221 Terminalia ivorensis, Terminalia superbalare - Aall of these species); all of which are propagated 222 and managed as useful species by local people in this region (Fairhead and Leach 1996; Bongers et 223 al. 1999). 224 225

Muchany of Liberia's forests have beenare shaped by past, long-term swidden-fallow dynamics,
viz., -but are unmanaged and subject to felling. <u>t</u>They are embedded with the overgrown, -sites of
old settlements, which are considered 'sacred' by local peoples due to the presence of certain tree
species (e.g. Cotton, Kola), ancestors and spirits, and therefore often afforded protection from
felling. These 'old town spots' also feature fertile 'African Dark Earths' and are frequently cultivated

Formatted: English (United Kingdom) Formatted: Font: Not Italic as cacao agro-forests (Fraser *et-al.* 2016) meriting the termcalling them. Hence, the most accurate
 descriptor for these spaces <u>areis</u> 'sacred agroforest'.

A recent survey of 83 localities in four counties (Gbarpolu, Bong, Lofa, Nimba<u>counties)</u> near 232 forestry concessions, where plots are likely used for management, found at least one sacred 233 234 agroforest at 51 locations, 94 in total (Appendix 1, Fraser et-al. 2016). At the local scaleresolution, 235 mapping and transects within a 3km radius (ca. 2,827 ha) of a settlement founddemonstrated 18.6 236 ha of showed that sacred agroforests cover 18.6 ha of the landscape, with the majority of adjacent 237 areasmost of the rest of the vicinity covered in variously ageds greed of fallow vegetation -of 238 various ages (Diabate pers. comm.). In comparing transects in sacred agroforests and secondary 239 forest, it found that sacred agroforest increases biodiversity at the landscape level due to differing 240 species composition, in particular in both mature canopy species and seedlings. This study failed to 241 findstudy tried and failed to find old growth forest areas within and beyondin this area (see Fraser 242 et al 2016: "Baema", Figure 1, Appendix 2). This Observations during fieldwork indicate this pattern 243 appears to be is-typical of NW Liberia with --Mmajor historical disturbance is-also occurred 244 attested in neighbouring settlements. by tThe diaries of two African American explorers, George L. 245 Seymour and Benjamin J. K. Anderson, who passed throughtraversed the study area in 1858, . They 246 reported, 'it is common to see a hundred-acre farm in one cutting' (Fairhead et al. 2003). A-and, 247 that-'Standing upon an elevation, it seemed to me that the people had attempted to cover the 248 whole country with their rice fields...Only here and there could be seen patches of large forest trees.' 249 (Fairhead et al. 2003:190-191).

250

Early foresters recognised t^The anthropogenic landscapes that emerged from through such
 processes over time were recognized by early foresters. In the 1940's, forester Karl Meyer walked
 2,300 km through Liberia's forests observing that 'abandoned villages are, in some sections, very

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common₂' and characterised Liberia as an 'over-used worn out country of great antiquity' wherein
and areas 'with no signs of occupancy 'during recent centuries are few and scattered' (Mayer
1951:25).- Hence, today's- 'natural' forest is composed of secondary forest, historically disturbed
through shifting cultivation₂-but with largely unmanaged succession (Fairhead and Leach 1998),
dotted with sacred agroforests (Fraser et al. 2016, Appendix 1).

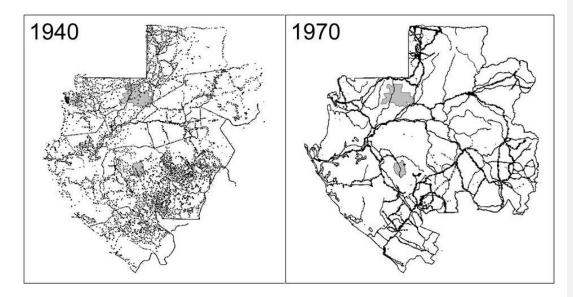
259

260	In 2006, Liberia revised its national forestry law <u>, to</u> promot <u>inge</u> sustainable forest management. In
261	2009, the Community Rights Law was enacted <u>, empowering , seeking to "empower communities to</u>
262	engage in sustainable forest management on their lands ²⁴ . That -same year <u>, industrial logging</u>
263	<u>companies were granted</u> -25% of Liberia's forests <u>, yet</u> were granted to industrial logging
264	companies, with although the implementation of the forestry laws remainingss difficult (Altman et
265	al. 2012; O'Mahoney 2019). Liberia's forests have a dynamic history, and settlement patterns have
266	led to the formation of African Dark Earths, which are associated with different canopy tree species
267	to background soils, aggregating agrobiodiversity at the landscape scale (Fraser et al. 2016).
268	Based on this case, <u>T</u> the followingWe make the following management recommendations:-are
269	made. First, the <u>-government largely does not recognise the environmental history of Liberian</u>
270	forests -is largely unrecognised by the government . This encourages view <u>ings of the</u> -forest <u>s</u> as a
271	resource stock of resources rather than a cultural artefact. So i <u>l</u> t is important that the linkages
272	between extant forest peoples, such as the Loma and their ancestors who created these forests
273	(Fraser et al 2015), are grounded-recognised in representations of forests by how the government,
274	media, and in school curricula-the representation of forests by the government, media, and
275	curricula, and internationally . Second,- <u>if</u> the two <u>abovementioned</u> new laws <u>are not need to be</u>
276	implemented If not enforced, then the descendants of the peoples who created these forests will
277	lose their tenuriale rights over the agrobiodiversity created by their ancestors. An awareness

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278	campaign shouldmustis necessary to ensure that people know their tenure rights. Together these
279	two-interventions-, the first about raising historical awareness and , the second about raising legal
280	awareness, - couldcould empower citizens to conserve the landscapes that are also their cultural
281	heritage.
282	
283	4.2 Gabon
284	In Gabon, like in the rest of the Congo Basin, archaeology, palynology, diatoms, phytoliths, and tree
285	population genetics have partially reconstructed trends in partial forest history have been
286	reconstructed from archaeology, palynology, diatoms zand phytoliths, and tree population genetics
287	(Brncic <i>et al.</i> 2007; Piñeiro et al. 2017). However, history and linguisticsical disciplines also explain
288	the interactions of how people and forests have interacted over time (Vansina 1990), including how
289	<u>societal</u> change s in societies impact <u>ings</u> vegetation structure (Walters 2012). <u>AOne of the</u>
290	dominant <u>, sub-endemic</u> timber <u>speciestrees to</u> , and a sub-endemic species to Gabon, Okoume
291	(Aucoumea klaineana), colonizes slash-and-burn openings, a phenomenon which forester
292	Aubréville described as "Okoume being the son of manioc" (Aubréville 1948). Once mature, large
293	stands indicate the presence of past villages (Biraud 1959). However, disease, brought by trade and
294	<u>colonial rule severely impactedaffected</u> village placement and human demography was severely
295	impacted by disease, brought by trade and colonial rule (Headrick 1990, Chamberlin 1977, Gray
296	2002), resulting in changes to forest composition.
297	
298	<u>Oral histories</u> Work in from the Parc National de Waka (PNW) area in Ccentral Gabon near PSPs
299	(Balinga et al. 2006), using oral histories from the Parc National de Waka (PNW) area (Hymas 2016)
300	found that the current stands of Okoume originated are due to from colonial concession plantation
301	agriculture bistoric, concessionary agriculture plantations that supplied the workers of historic

302	concessions-during from the late-1800s to mid-1900s. These forests are a result of complex				
303	eventsthe outcome of complex historical trajectories. I-nter-ethnic conflict over natural resources				
304	that led to the depopulated ion of the area in the early 1800s-; due to inter-ethnic conflict over				
305	natural resources. This area was r_it was repopulated in the late 1800s throughdue to trade				
306	concessions <u>, and -but was once again<mark>then again</mark> depopulated in the 1920s bydue to trade-induced</u>				
307	disease, and further depopulated in 1960 <u>bydue to the the g</u> overnment al resettlement policy (Fig.				
308	2). in the 1960s, logging companies were attracted to the large-Okoume stands, which resulted in				
309	This area was againa repopulation by workersed as people migrated to work with logging				
310	companies who were attracted to the large Okoume stands in the 1960s. In 2003, Tthe PNW was				
311	later created to protect elephant populations (WCS, 2007), which are attracted to abandoned				
312	village sites, typically r ich in planted fruit trees (Barnes <i>et al.</i> 1991).				
313	In another case, using the FIPs of a forestry concession in the Haut-Abanga, Engone Obiang et al.				
314	(2014) diagnosed <u>'</u> old, naturally-declining' populations of Okoume through a <u>tree diametern</u>				
315	analysis of tree diameters . The modal diameter of Okoume <u>waisofwas</u> 50-60 cm <u>, -and</u>				
316	correspond <u>inged_to 60-70 year old70-year-old</u> trees -aged 60-70 years . <u>This age</u>The recent history				
317	of the Haut-Abanga coincide <u>d</u> s with this structure. <u>The In collaboration with an anthropologist</u>				
318	researching and in consulting the historical literature , it was found that <u>found</u>showeds th <u>at the e</u>				
319	area was <u>found to be</u>was a former <u>n old_once a</u> communication corridor<u>corridor that</u>. The corridor				
320	lost <u>itsthis role w<u>ith</u>hen the <u>establishment of the</u>modern road network was established. The</u>				
321	area, river bankswas_ere-populated until the 1940s, but by the 1950s,became almost empty-due				
322	in the 1950s due to the resettlement policy (Peyrot 2008), Fig. 2.				
222					



328Okoume is <u>Gabon'sthe</u> most important timber species in <u>Gabon</u> but other commercial species are329fast-growing and light-demanding, species-too. For such species, the current stocks are often is the330legacy of past disturbances, such as slash-and-burn cultivation-around villages, that once created331favourable conditions. Hence, forest history plays a role in determining their distribution.332Nonetheless, the current scheme for sustainable forest management implicitly relies on the333hypothesis of demography at equilibrium, where young trees continuously replace large ones.334Sustainability is assessed through the recovery rate of the species at the end of the felling cycle.335When the recovery rate becomes too low, forest managers a common management action is336teoften increase the minimum size of felled trees. Although this measure may have short-term337success in maintaining species stock, it does not acknowledge the role of history in determining338shaping it. As a result, these stocks may decline, withhaving, This decline has both environmental339and economic consequences, bringing and so, thus questioning the concept of 'sustainable forest340management' into question (Karsenty 2018a).	325 326 327	Figure 2. Population distribution of Gabon in 1940 prior to the resettlement policy and in 1970, afterwards (adapted from Sautter 1966), showing the Haut Abanga Concession in the north, and PNW in the center.
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339 and economic consequences <u>, bringing-and-so</u> , thus questioning the concept of <u>'</u> sustainable forest	337	success in maintaining species stock, it does not acknowledge the role of history in determining
	338	shaping it. As a result, these stocks may decline, with having . This decline has both environmental
340 management' into question (Karsenty 2018a).	339	and economic consequences, bringing and so, thus questioning the concept of <u>'</u> sustainable forest
	340	management' into question (Karsenty 2018a).

342	To address unsustainable forest management, in 2018, Gabon announced that all forest					
343	concessions must become certified by the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) standard by 2022.					
344	Requiring <u>T</u> the standard goes beyond the issue of sustainable stocks (Karsenty 2018b), but its					
345	implementation has often been problematic (Nepomuceno et al 2019). However, lit is unlikely that					
346	<u>"sustainable stocks</u> " that this latter issue will be solved can be achieved without considering the <u>ir</u>					
347	historical origin of the stocks . <u>Forest management plans must factor in This</u> historical dimension <u>s of</u>					
348	stocks should be diagnosed in forest management plans, which is currently not the case, and when					
349	natural recovery is no longer possible, silvicultural techniques, including planting, should be					
350	proposed-when natural recovery is no longer possible.					
351						
352	5. Interdisciplinary collaboration to understand tropical African tropical forests in the					
353	Anthropocene					
354	Today's West and Central Africa forests in West and Central Africa provide an archive of the slave					
355	trade, its-conflicts, diseases and depopulations that left farm and village lands abandoned.					
356	Attempts to read forest their composition and dynamics only through the lens of 'natural history'					
357	and 'climate change' overlooks this history and the associated meaning for those who live there,					
358	and reduces the ability to manage these legacy forests.					
359						
360	PSPs and FIPs in <u>the</u> Afr <u>otropicsica</u> <u>can</u> provide a research lens not only into <u>both</u> 'forest ecology'					
361	and but also into how past the environmental has <u>responded to past</u> change. This requires that we					
362	asking a wider range of questions of these plots, ; questions that must be collaboratively					
363	researched using ecologically and socio-historically focused inquiry. To ask such questions, these					
364	require new formsways of research are required ing them, but in association combining with					

365	different disciplines disciplines that use that have different diverse lexicons, timeframes,					
366	epistemologies and methodologies is one of, some of the biggest challenges of achieving					
367	interdisciplinary research (Lele and Kurian 2011). In our case, L-interdisciplinary research programs					
368	mustneed to be developed whereby an with an integrated methodology can bring					
369	togethercombining -relevant-data from archaeology and history ((working with artefacts and texts)					
370	anthropology <u>and</u> , political <u>and historical</u> ecology, <u>with</u> and ecology to <u>understand</u> interpret forest					
371	diversity patterns. These interdisciplinary initiatives, require researchers to "share the conceptual					
372	world of their colleagues",_ and openly discussing how to approaching the research beyond					
373	disciplinary boundaries (Darbellay 2015:-167).					
374						
375	In achieving To do this, it is imperative to a recognisetion that the ecology of the people have					
376	recently impacted shape forests has ve been recently impacted by people is necessary, as					
377	demonstrated in the Gabon case. Thinking in terms of social-ecological and biocultural systems					
378	Employing framings such as a systems approach (c.f. Fischer 2018), including social ecological and					
379	biocultural systems, will-can demonstrate societyenvironment interconnections, between society					
380	and the environment. This then can leading to discussions on how to collaboratively study these					
381	impacts collaboratively-can be collaboratively studied. As set out by pPolitical ecologist Paul					
382	Robbins (2012) <u>proposes that</u> , links between these-soci <u>o-al and political forces</u> and can be made to					
383	the following ecological characteristics can be made-includeing: type and direction of					
384	environmental change, drivers of that change (including keystone processes, colonisation					
385	patterns or cultural processes which have largescale changes on the landscape (Marcucci 2000)) ² ,					
386	the environment in which these -changes occur, <u>the impact of-how-</u> cultural practices impact-on the					

²<u>Including keystone processes, colonisation patterns or cultural processes which have</u> largescale changes (Marcucci 2000).

387	system ^{² (sensu Maraccuci 2000), and how<u>it the system</u> recovers. The final step can-include, as}				
388	noted in the Liberia case, explicitlyly linking historical forests to current forest usage and land claim				
389	on these forests.				
390	In the case of PSPs, synthesising the existing historical and archaeological research for each plot and				
391	linking to specific periods, can <u>show explore how present-day forest structure and diversity these</u>				
392	are linked to disturbances may be linked to present-day forest structure and diversity (Fairhead,				
393	unpublished data). In the case of When studying these impacts through FIPs, documenting the				
394	species most susceptible to disturbance, as done in the Gabon case, is a first stepThe places				
395	where these signals are strongest (e.g. mono-dominant forests), can then be explored. By providing				
396	a view on how ecological patterns and processes have reacted in the past to environmental				
397	changes, historical ecology can inform how ecosystem forest structure and process may respond to				
398	future global change (Safford <i>et al.</i> 2012).				
399					
400	Such collaborations will also help discerninform the sustainability of current forest management				
401	still rooted in equilibria paradigms despite historical and forestry e vidence that question this				
402	rationale (Morin-Rivat <i>et al.</i> 2017). Some forest managers today are aware that the current				
403	management of some-commercial species is not sustainable because the current exploitable-stock				
404	is a legacy of past human perturbations that have favour<u>ing</u>ed light-demanding species (Morin-				
405	Rivat et al. 2016). However, including a historical perspective on the current structure of				
406	commercial species would offer a stronger basis for sustainable management. In both case_studies,				
407	the forest history and species the responses of species are different, and each country has different				
408	sustainable forest management strategies. However, neither country's policies acknowledge the				

^a<u>Including keystone processes, colonisation patterns or cultural processes which have</u> largescale changes (Marcucci 2000).

409	impact that history has on timber stocks, nor and therefore does not address if and how to				
410	maintain and manage these stocks. Furthermore, neither recognises forests as historical and				
411	cultural products of people living there today.				
412					
413	In this paper, we reviewed limitations of plot-based research in light of Afrotropical history, which				
414	heavily influenced the history of these forests, compared the usage of PSPs and FIPs, reviewed the				
415	limitations of plot-based researchmethods and their limitations in the light of sub-Saharan, tropical				
416	African environmental <u>Afrotropical history,</u> and provided cases to demonstratinge how				
417	interdisciplinary research collaborations between the social and historical sciences can enrich the				
418	conclusions from -plot-based studies. We propose_ that future work focus on using existing -plot				
419	networks to research new questions, in collaboration with historians and social scientists <u>The</u> A				
420	lack of such a historical perspective <u>s on</u> of forest <u>s</u> will limit finding ways to address <u>ing</u> sustainability				
421	(Roberts et al. 2018, this issue). However, new collaborations will not only help deepen conclusions				
422	from forest ecologystudies of these forests, but also influence study design and management				
423	options , as demonstrated in the two cases .				
424	We have shown that Without interdisciplinary collaborations, conclusions from studies may be				
425	limited (Cadotte et al. 2017). <u>hHumans have heavily influencedd t</u> The history of these forests has				
426	been heavily influenced by humans (Lewis <i>et al.</i> 2015) and <u>argued that</u> ilnterdisciplinary				
427	collaboration is one way to explore how the forest <u>s has been impacted have been shaped</u> during				
428	the <u>'</u> Anthropocene <u>. This new view of forests suggests that ' We provided a novel definition of and</u>				
429	to define sustainable management <u>and conservation -</u> strategies, whereby some tree species_may				
430	require new <u>formsways of management <u>and; and</u> some forests_may_deserve new recognition as</u>				
431	cultural landscapes worth conserving.				

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Deciphering African tropical forest dynamics in the Anthropocene: how social and historical sciences can elucidate forest research management

3

4 Abstract

5 Forests bear the historical legacies of human activities over thousands of years, including agriculture, trade, 6 disease and resource extraction. Many of these activities may represent indices of the proposed geological 7 epoch of the Anthropocene. Modifications to soil, topography and vegetation evidence anthropogenic 8 influences. Yet studies of vegetation change throughout the humid tropics tend to occlude these by 9 focussing on forest dynamics, timber, and biodiversity through permanent sample plots or forestry inventory 10 plots. We highlight how history and social science can be combined with ecology to help better understand 11 human signatures in forest dynamics. We (1) critically review ecological methods in the light of the environmental and social history of the Afrotropics; (2) map current plot networks for West and Central 12 13 Africa in relation to the Human Footprint Index; (3) using two case-studies, demonstrate how history and 14 social science bring new insights and inferences to plot-based studies; all leading to (4) novel forms of 15 interdisciplinary collaboration for sustainable forest conservation, management and restoration. **Keywords** 16 17 Forest ecology, Africa, historical sciences, social sciences, forest management, interdisciplinarity 18 19 1. Progress in linking past anthropogenic activity to present-day forest 20 structure The ways that tropical forests are studied and conceptualized have changed greatly in recent 21 decades. The work of geographers and anthropologists in the Amazon (e.g. Balée and Erickson 22 23 2006) and in Africa (e.g. Fairhead and Leach 1996) have helped bring about these changes, 24 challenging researchers to consider the influences of humans on forest structure and biodiversity.

- In the early 2000s, ecologists believed that people (Foster *et al.* 2003) had not affected current
- 26 ecosystem dynamics to a large extent; however, it is now widely accepted that past human impacts

have not only shaped ecosystems, but also have become a geological force – captured in the
concept of the "Anthropocene" (e.g., Ellis *et al.* 2013). While some argue for a 1950s start to the
proposed geologic epoch (e.g. Zalasiewicz et al. 2010), others (Lewis and Maslin 2015) argue for an
earlier ca 1500 start, which coincides with the beginning of global capitalism (Moore 2015). In
Africa, these 'Anthropocene' impacts include the slave trade, colonisation, Atlantic trade, disease
epidemics and lifestyles of prehistoric societies (Maddox 2006; Kay and Kaplan 2015), often leaving
their mark on forest structure and biodiversity hundreds of years later.

34 Ecologist P.W. Richards (1952) warned that ecologists working in the African rain forest should not 35 ignore significant modification of their study areas by recent human activity. Foresters were aware 36 of the relationship between cultivation and pioneer forest species (Letouzey 1957); others noted 37 the importance of understanding forest change in relation to the life span of trees (White and 38 Oates 1999). The forests of Oban, Nigeria, for example, now construed as 'Old Growth', were 39 previously inhabited (Rosevear 1979: 78) based on the evidence of trees left by farmers when the 40 land was depopulated hundreds of years earlier. This example suggests that the lifespan of a tree, and what occurred during that period, could be important for understanding forest dynamics 41 42 (Bourland et al. 2015). In some cases, current forest cover, with species of economic importance to the timber trade, have their origins in past African societies (Aubréville 1948). 43

44

Throughout the humid tropics, ecologists have studied forest ecosystems through permanent sample plots (PSPs) (Lopez-Gonzalez *et al.* 2011), (often networked), using common research questions, methodology or databases (Anderson-Teixeira *et al.* 2015). A few decades ago, PSP research principally comprised community ecology, species diversity, and management (Condit 1995). Increasingly, researchers use these plots to understand changes in carbon and forest response to climate change (Talbot *et al.* 2014), indicating alternative uses of these datasets.

However, these are not the only tropical forest plot networks: extensive networks of forest 51 52 inventory plots (FIPs) also exist. In coastal central Africa, they cover more than 11 million ha (de 53 Wasseige *et al.* 2009). While foresters assess timber stock with FIPs, ecologists also use PSPs to 54 study forest ecology and biodiversity. These plots potentially can answer questions beyond their 55 ecological or forestry remit, and so can address the historical and political contexts in which the 56 forests have grown (Robbins 2012). Both types of plots can facilitate Anthropocene studies to 57 understand and quantify human influence on the environment in the recent past and to inform 58 forest management.

59

Forest ecologists increasingly collaborate with paleo-biologists (Lovejoy and Heinz 2007) to explore 60 61 the legacy of anthropogenic activities on forests from past millennia (Willis et al. 2004; Hayashida 62 2005). Collaborative research with archaeologists (Iles 2016) suggest methodological flaws when 63 plots do not consider the legacies of human history. Furthermore, PSPs were largely established in 64 forests considered 'intact', 'pristine', and 'old growth', or in accessible locations (e.g. research stations) (Pitman et al. 2011). This first bias led ecologists to examine such plots as if they were 65 66 'undisturbed', neglecting anthropogenic legacies. The second bias led them to generalise from plotbased results to the wider landscape (Hecht and Saatchi 2007). 67

68

Given the transformation of the African environment in the last 500 years, such as by the Atlantic
trade, new collaborations with the social-historical sciences can elucidate how human activities
transformed the forest. Land-use research, for example, although originally dominated by remote
sensing, increasingly benefits from historical data, historical methods (e.g. Hunter and Sluyter 2015)
and ecological collaboration (Watson *et al.* 2014) to reconstruct land-use, forest change and carbon
cycling. Such methods also apply to research on forest dynamics, forest management and plots, but

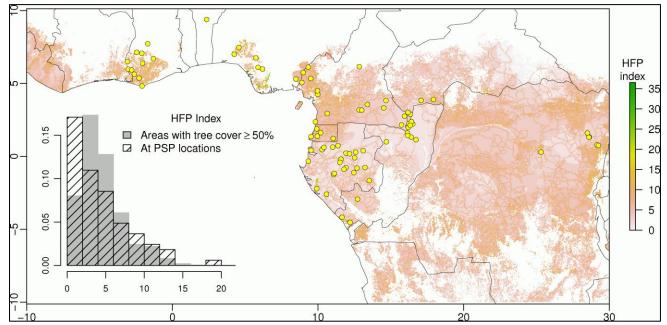
require new collaborations with social scientists and historians to discern legacies that archaeology
is less able to detect, such as political drivers shaping landscapes. Although some research drawing
on plots, paleobiological methods and aerial photography does discern the legacy of recent
disturbances in the present-day forest structure (e.g Delègue *et al.* 2001; van Gemerden *et al.*2003), this often remains unexplained.

81 This article highlights how elucidating forest legacies across plot networks requires new 82 interdisciplinary collaborations amongst ecologists, foresters, anthropologists and historians, while 83 discerning lessons for sustainable management and forest recovery. The paper shows how different disciplines can coordinate methods and reflections to address common questions of forest legacies 84 85 in the 'Anthropocene'. Below, we (1) assess the coverage and methods of PSPs and FIPs in tropical Africa in light of sub-Saharan, tropical African forest history; (2) using two case studies, 86 87 demonstrate how history and anthropology can enrich plot-based studies and inform sustainable 88 forest management; and (2) suggest how future research can facilitate this type of interdisciplinary collaboration. 89

90 2. Current ecological and forest inventory plot methods

Ecological studies of forest dynamics in tropical Africa mostly rely on PSPs, by monitoring individual 91 trees over time (Picard et al. 2010). The size of PSPs varies from 100 m² to 500 ha (one ha is the 92 93 most common size). These plots have some methodological and interpretation limitations (Sheil 94 1995). They were established as part of disconnected studies, so their spatial distribution is uneven 95 and does not follow a sampling design that enables statistically significant inferences to be drawn 96 regionally (Picard et al. 2010). The balance between known 'disturbed' and presumed 'intact' 97 forests remains uncontrolled, and given that the ecological questions that drove their 98 establishment led to more plots being established in presumed 'intact' locations, there is a

'majestic forest' bias in the data set (Phillips *et al.* 2002). Figure 1 details the current distribution of
PSPs in western and central Africa rainforests overlaid with the Human Footprint (HFP) index. The
HFP measures the cumulative impact of direct pressures on nature from human activities based on
eight spatial variables: extent of built environments, cropland, pastureland, human population
density, night-time lights, railways, roads, and navigable waterways.¹



104

- 109 suggesting that PSPs are not representative of forests at that level, due to their placement in
- 110 forests with less human impact, and therefore, should not be used alone to draw conclusions about
- 111 forest history. However, forest researcher additionally use FIPs, their more extensive cover may
- 112 reduce this bias.
- 113
- 114 FIPs, although more extensive, have other problems. Used to estimate timber resources at the scale

Fig. 1. Locations of Permanent Sample Plots (PSP) with the Human Footprint (HFP) index in the background.
 Dots = PSPs. The HFP in the background is based on the NASA index. White indicates areas with tree cover <
 50%. X-axis of the inset plot = HFP while y-axis = density of distribution.

¹⁰⁸ In Figure 1, the HFP index of PSPs is significantly smaller than the average HFP at the regional level,

¹ This index was developed by WCS, CIESIN and Columbia University, with a publicly-accessible data set (<u>http://dx.doi.org/10.7927/H4M61H5F</u>).

of a forest concession (50,000-500,000 ha), they follow sampling designs. Although some plots may lack rigour, others can be studied using statistics (Réjou-Méchain *et al.* 2011) and could be used to infer forest dynamics at larger scales. For example, they can probe globally important questions concerning forest dynamics in the context of historical social change and land-use, to learn about ecosystem recovery and historic global carbon cycle fluctuations. Such questions become increasingly important to understand and quantify human influence on the environment in the recent past and to inform sustainable forest use (Aleman et al. 2018).

122

Comparing estimates of changes in aboveground biomass for forests based on PSPs and FIPs reveals 123 the significance of these methodological flaws. Using 260 PSPs in African rainforests, the mean 124 aboveground dry biomass was reported as 395.7 Mg ha⁻¹ (95% CI: 14.3) (Lewis *et al.* 2013) whereas 125 others using the same allometric equation but drawing on data from FIPs found much lower levels: 126 324 Mg ha⁻¹ (Gabon) (Maniatis et al. 2011), 241.7-303.7 Mg ha⁻¹ (Central African Republic), and 127 225.3-235.3 Mg ha⁻¹ (Republic of Congo) (Gourlet-Fleury *et al.* 2011). Lewis et al. (2013) cautiously 128 specified that they reported biomass for intact closed-canopy forests, but the differences suggest 129 130 the significance of non-intact (i.e. disturbed) forests at the landscape level and difficulties in interpreting plot data from different forest types and histories. 131

132

The forest signal of past anthropogenic activities lies in the size distribution of light-demanding (disturbance-prone) tree species. With the exception of monodominant forests, a one-hectare plot says little about the size distribution of any species. However, if these signals are analysed across a larger area, it becomes easier to understand their origin and extent. Historical knowledge is needed to disentangle perturbations resulting from human activities or other influences, such as elephants, which can also impact forest structure (Blake *et al.* 2009).

3. African forest history

African forest history comprises a complex interplay of climatic drivers and land-use changes at
different timescales (McIntosh *et al.* 2015). Global models of historical land-use suggest that
significant parts of Central and West Africa had increasingly reduced natural forest cover from
1,000 AD with an associated carbon loss (Kaplan *et al.* 2011). The 'first significant use' of landscapes
in West and Central Africa drastically increased from the start of the first millennium (Ellis *et al.*2013), but with significant differences in forest loss and gain from the 1900s to present (Aleman et
al. 2018).

147

Trade between Europe and the Afrotropics historically influenced forest dynamics. Beginning in the fifteenth century, it extended along the Atlantic coast and inland, encountering trade networks and creating social upheavals in West and Central Africa, and restructuring polities and trade routes (e.g. Coquery-Vidrovitch 1985). The introduction of new crops (e.g. manioc) drove economic transformations, while slavery, warfare, and disease epidemics depopulated entire areas, which

153 Ford (1971: 489) understood as "biological warfare on a vast scale"

154

In Atlantic Central Africa, peak human population density potentially occurred in the 16th century, 155 after which the population decreased until the 19th century (Oslisly etal. 2013). During this period, 156 the Atlantic trade alone potentially resulted in a loss of 11 million people from Africa (Maddox 157 2006). Furthermore, the worldwide Spanish influenza epidemic likely lead to the death of at least 158 159 1.5 million people in Africa, in 1918-1919 (Spinage 2012: 1201–2). This uneven demographic impact 160 left land depopulated in humid West Africa (Fairhead and Leach 1998) and Central Africa, the latter of which was accentuated by forced, colonial resettlement along roads in the 20th century (Gray 161 2002, Fig. 2). Evidence from a variety of sources indicates that most of the areas studied by PSPs 162

and FIPs in West and Central Africa were shaped by these complex factors, as described by twocases below.

165 4. Evidence from Western and Central Africa

166 **4.1 Liberia**

West Africa's Upper Guinea Forest region is a 'hotspot' of global biodiversity (Poorter et al. 2004), 167 threatened by logging, rubber and industrial agriculture (Fairhead and Leach 1998). Liberia holds 168 the greatest area of this forest, with 41,238 km² or 37.7% of historic forest cover remaining 169 170 (Poorter et al. 2004:6). However, historical observations and recent research reveal that much of this forest is 'anthropogenic' or 'domesticated' due to settlement and agro-forestry dynamics 171 172 which have shaped the current forest species composition (Fairhead and Leach 1998). This history 173 is occluded by ecological studies that assume forests are 'pristine' without evaluating their history even in areas of known anthropogenic influence. Bongers et al. (1999), for example, represented 174 175 plot species composition as primarily an effect of climatic variation, even when these species 176 distributions are often influenced by anthropogenic processes. Cotton [Ceiba pentandra], Kola [Cola 177 nitida], Terminalia ivorensis, Terminalia superba) are all species propagated and managed by people in this region (Fairhead and Leach 1996; Bongers et al. 1999). 178

179

Much of Liberia's forests are shaped by past, long-term swidden-fallow dynamics, viz., they are embedded with overgrown, old settlements, considered 'sacred' by local peoples due to the presence of certain tree species (e.g. Cotton, Kola), ancestors and spirits, and therefore often afforded protection from felling. These 'old town spots' also feature fertile 'African Dark Earths' and are frequently cultivated as cacao agro-forests (Fraser *etal.* 2016) meriting the term 'sacred agroforest'.

A recent survey of 83 localities in Gbarpolu, Bong, Lofa, Nimba counties near forestry concessions, 186 where plots are likely used for management, found at least one sacred agroforest at 51 locations, 187 94 in total (Appendix 1, Fraser etal. 2016). At the local scale, mapping and transects within a 3km 188 radius (ca. 2,827 ha) of a settlement found 18.6 ha of sacred agroforests, with the majority of 189 190 adjacent areas covered in variously aged fallow vegetation (Diabate pers. comm.). In comparing 191 transects in sacred agroforests and secondary forest, sacred agroforest increases biodiversity at the 192 landscape level due to differing species composition in both canopy species and seedlings. This 193 study failed to find old growth forest in this area (see Fraser et al 2016: "Baema", Figure 1, 194 Appendix 2). This pattern appears to be typical of NW Liberia with major historical disturbance also 195 occurred in neighbouring settlements. The diaries of two African American explorers, George L. 196 Seymour and Benjamin J. K. Anderson, who traversed the area in 1858, reported, 'it is common to see a hundred-acre farm in one cutting' (Fairhead et al. 2003). And, 'Standing upon an elevation, it 197 198 seemed to me that the people had attempted to cover the whole country with their rice fields...Only 199 here and there could be seen patches of large forest trees.' (Fairhead et al. 2003:190-191).

200

Early foresters recognised the anthropogenic landscapes that emerged from such processes over time. In the 1940's, forester Karl Meyer walked 2,300 km through Liberia's forests observing that *'abandoned villages are, in some sections, very common,'* and areas *'with no signs of occupancy 'during recent centuries are few and scattered'* (Mayer 1951:25). Hence, today's forest is composed of secondary forest, historically disturbed through shifting cultivation, with largely unmanaged succession (Fairhead and Leach 1998), dotted with sacred agroforests (Fraser et al. 2016, Appendix 1).

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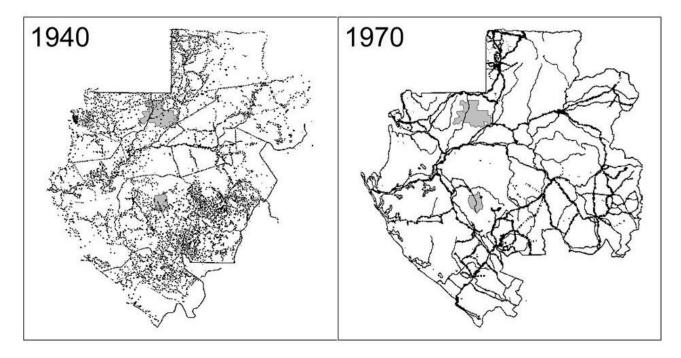
209 In 2006, Liberia revised its national forestry law, promoting sustainable forest management. In 210 2009, the Community Rights Law was enacted, empowering communities to engage in sustainable forest management on their lands. That year, industrial logging companies were granted 25% of 211 Liberia's forests, yet the implementation of the forestry laws remains difficult (Altman et al. 2012; 212 213 O'Mahoney 2019). 214 We make the following management recommendations: First, the government largely does not 215 recognise the history of Liberian forests. This encourages viewing forests as a resource stock rather 216 than a cultural artefact. It is important that the linkages between extant forest peoples, such as the 217 Loma and their ancestors who created these forests (Fraser et al 2015), are recognised in 218 representations of forests by government, media, and in school curricula. Second, if the two 219 abovementioned laws are not implemented, people will lose tenurial rights over the 220 agrobiodiversity created by their ancestors. An awareness campaign should ensure that people 221 know their tenure rights. Together these interventions - raising historical awareness and legal 222 awareness - could empower citizens to conserve the landscapes that are also their cultural heritage. 223 224 4.2 Gabon 225 In Gabon, archaeology, palynology, diatoms, phytoliths, and tree population genetics have partially 226 reconstructed forest history (Brncic et al. 2007; Piñeiro et al. 2017). However, history and linguistics 227 also explain the interactions of people and forests over time (Vansina 1990), including societal 228 change impacting vegetation structure (Walters 2012). A dominant, sub-endemic timber species to 229 Gabon, Okoume (Aucoumea klaineana), colonizes slash-and-burn openings, which forester Aubréville described as "Okoume being the son of manioc" (Aubréville 1948). Once mature, large 230 231 stands indicate the presence of past villages (Biraud 1959). However, disease, brought by trade and

colonial rule severely affected village placement and human demography (Headrick 1990,

233 Chamberlin 1977, Gray 2002), resulting in changes to forest composition.

234

235 Oral histories from the Parc National de Waka (PNW) area near PSPs (Balinga et al. 2006), (Hymas 2016) found that current stands of Okoume originated from colonial concession plantation 236 agriculture during the late-1800s to mid-1900s. These forests are the outcome of complex historical 237 238 trajectories. Inter-ethnic conflict over natural resources depopulated the area in the early 1800s; it was repopulated in the late 1800s through trade concessions, and then again depopulated in the 239 240 1920s by trade-induced disease, and further depopulated in 1960 by the government resettlement 241 policy (Fig. 2). In the 1960s, logging companies were attracted to the Okoume stands, which resulted in a repopulation by workers. In 2003, the PNW was created to protect elephant 242 243 populations (WCS, 2007), attracted to abandoned village sites, rich in planted fruit trees (Barnes et 244 al. 1991). In another case, using the FIPs of a forestry concession in the Haut-Abanga, Engone Obiang et al. 245 246 (2014) diagnosed 'old, naturally-declining' populations of Okoume through a tree diameter analysis. 247 The modal diameter of Okoume was 50-60 cm, corresponding to 60-70-year-old trees. The 248 historical literature showed that the area was a former communication corridor that lost its role 249 with the establishment of the modern road network. The area, populated until the 1940s, became 250 almost empty in the 1950s due to the resettlement policy (Peyrot 2008), Fig. 2. 251



253 254 255	Figure 2. Population distribution of Gabon in 1940 prior to the resettlement policy and in 1970, afterwards (adapted from Sautter 1966), showing the Haut Abanga Concession in the north, and PNW in the center.
256	Okoume is Gabon's most important timber species but other commercial species are fast-growing
257	and light-demanding, too. For such species, current stocks are often the legacy of past
258	disturbances, such as slash-and-burn cultivation. Hence, forest history plays a role in determining
259	their distribution. Nonetheless, current sustainable forest management relies on the hypothesis of
260	demography at equilibrium, where young trees continuously replace large ones. Sustainability is
261	assessed through the recovery rate of the species at the end of the felling cycle. When the recovery
262	rate becomes too low, forest managers often increase the minimum size of felled trees. Although
263	this measure may have short-term success in maintaining species stock, it does not acknowledge
264	the role of history in shaping it. As a result, these stocks may decline, with both environmental and
265	economic consequences, bringing the concept of 'sustainable forest management' into question
266	(Karsenty 2018a).

268	To address unsustainable forest management, in 2018, Gabon announced that all forest
269	concessions must become certified by the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) standard by 2022. The
270	standard goes beyond the issue of sustainable stocks (Karsenty 2018b), but its implementation has
271	often been problematic (Nepomuceno et al 2019). It is unlikely that "sustainable stocks" can be
272	achieved without considering their historical origin. Forest management plans must factor in
273	historical dimensions and when natural recovery is no longer possible, silvicultural techniques,
274	including planting, should be proposed.
275	
276	5. Interdisciplinary collaboration to understand tropical African tropical forests in the
277	Anthropocene
278	Today's West and Central Africa forests provide an archive of the slave trade, conflicts, diseases and
279	depopulations that left farm and village lands abandoned. Attempts to read forest composition and
280	dynamics only through the lens of 'natural history' and 'climate change' overlooks this history and
281	the associated meaning for those who live there, and reduces the ability to manage these legacy
282	forests.
283	
284	PSPs and FIPs in the Afrotropics provide a research lens into both 'forest ecology' and past
285	environmental change. This requires asking a wider range of questions of these plots,
286	collaboratively researched using ecologically and socio-historically focused inquiry. To ask such
287	questions, new forms of research are required, but combining different disciplines that use diverse
288	lexicons, timeframes, epistemologies and methodologies is one of the biggest challenges of
289	achieving interdisciplinary research (Lele and Kurian 2011). Interdisciplinary research programs
290	must be developed with an integrated methodology combining data from archaeology and history
291	(artefacts and texts), anthropology and political and historical ecology, with ecology to understand
	13

forest patterns. These initiatives require researchers to "share the conceptual world of their
colleagues", beyond disciplinary boundaries (Darbellay 2015:167).

294

In achieving this, it is imperative to recognise that people shape forests. Thinking in terms of social-295 296 ecological and biocultural systems (c.f. Fischer 2018), can demonstrate society-environment 297 interconnections, leading to discussions on how to study these impacts collaboratively. Robbins 298 (2012) proposes that links between socio-political forces and ecological characteristics include type 299 and direction of environmental change, drivers of change, the environment in which changes occur, the impact of cultural practices on the system (sensu Maraccuci 2000), and how it recovers. The 300 301 final step can, as noted in the Liberia case, explicitly link historical forests to current forest usage 302 and land claims.

303 In the case of PSPs, synthesising existing historical and archaeological research for each plot and 304 linking to specific periods, can show how present-day forest structure and diversity are linked to 305 disturbances (Fairhead, unpublished data). When studying impacts through FIPs, documenting the 306 species most susceptible to disturbance, as in the Gabon case, is a first step. The places where 307 these signals are strongest (e.g. mono-dominant forests), can then be explored. By providing a view 308 on how ecological patterns and processes have reacted in the past to environmental changes, 309 historical ecology can inform how forest structure and process may respond to future change 310 (Safford et al. 2012).

311

Such collaborations will also inform forest management still rooted in equilibria paradigms despite
historical evidence (Morin-Rivat *et al.* 2017). Some forest managers are aware that the
management of some species is not sustainable because the stock is a legacy of past human
perturbations (Morin-Rivat et al. 2016). However, a historical perspective on the current structure

of commercial species would offer a stronger basis for sustainable management. In both casestudies, forest history and species responses are different, and each country has different
sustainable forest management strategies. However, neither country's policies acknowledge the
impact that history has on timber stocks, nor address if and how to maintain and manage these
stocks. Furthermore, neither recognises forests as historical and cultural products of people living
there today.

322

323 In this paper, we reviewed limitations of plot-based research in light of Afrotropical history, which

324 heavily influenced the history of these forests, compared the usage of PSPs and FIPs, and provided

325 cases demonstrating how interdisciplinary research collaborations can enrich plot-based studies.

326 We propose future work focus on using plot networks to research new questions, in collaboration

327 with historians and social scientists. The lack of historical perspectives on forests will limit

328 addressing sustainability (Roberts *et al.* 2018, this issue). However, new collaborations will not only

help deepen conclusions from forest ecology, but also influence study design and management

- 330 options.
- 331 Interdisciplinary collaboration is one way to explore how the forests have been shaped during the
- 332 Anthropocene. This new view suggests that some tree species require new forms of management
- and some forests deserve new recognition as cultural landscapes.
- 334

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