

Reconciling wellbeing and resilience for sustainable development

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31 **Preface**

32 Securing wellbeing and building resilience in response to shocks are often viewed as
33 key goals of sustainable development. Here, we present an overview of the latest
34 published evidence as well as the consensus of a diverse group of scientists and
35 practitioners, drawn from a structured analytical review and deliberative workshop
36 process¹. We argue that resilience and wellbeing are related in complex ways, but in
37 their applications in practice they are often assumed to be synergistic. Although
38 theoretically compatible, evidence we present here shows they may in fact work against
39 each other. This has important implications for policy.

40 **Main**

41 As society grapples with the associated challenges of global development and
42 environmental change, securing individual and collective wellbeing and building social-
43 ecological resilience are key global and national policy targets. We suggest that narrow
44 interpretations of resilience or wellbeing are not necessarily positively related. Trade-
45 offs between wellbeing and resilience can reduce the chances of meeting policy targets
46 for either, for example in those set under the United Nations' Sustainable Development
47 Goals (SDGs). This article characterises the narratives that lead development agencies
48 to pursue resilience and wellbeing simultaneously. It gives examples where this strategy
49 has created trade-offs that undermine either resilience or wellbeing, and suggests that
50 adopting broad, holistic interpretations of resilience and wellbeing, whilst acknowledging
51 temporal and spatial scales can help avoid these trade-offs so that policies and
52 interventions can successfully promote both.

53 **Resilience and wellbeing as process and outcome**

54

55 Wellbeing and resilience approaches have evolved considerably since they were
56 introduced, and they have both gained prominence in development policy and practice.
57 Wellbeing is seen as an alternative, more meaningful, measure of social progress, in
58 the face of growing criticism of economic measures², while resilience is promoted as an
59 essential aspect of development in an uncertain world of disturbance and surprise.

60 However, in their application, they often remain ambiguous, and it is not clear which
61 conceptions of wellbeing or resilience are used by different organisations, or different
62 conceptions are conflated when implemented, as in the case of social and individualistic
63 notions of wellbeing ³.

64

65 **Wellbeing** is increasingly understood as a multi-dimensional concept that consists of
66 objective measures (of what people have achieved or are able to achieve) and
67 subjective measures (how they evaluate their situation ⁴). Some frameworks also give
68 attention to a relational dimension, acknowledging that wellbeing outcomes are largely
69 produced through relationships, between people and with their social, economic and
70 environmental contexts ⁵. As such, a wellbeing approach does not assume limitless
71 growth or progress, but instead looks at the ways in which people construct wellbeing in
72 resource-constrained environments. **Resilience** is also multi-dimensional and has often
73 been defined as the capacity of a system to withstand perturbations whilst maintaining
74 its structure and functions ⁶. Whilst contemporary definitions increasingly encompass
75 the capacity to adapt to and transform in response to change ⁷, applications of
76 resilience for sustainable development often emphasise buffering, coping and seek to
77 maintain stability of status quo⁸. Drawing on insights from complex social-ecological
78 systems theory, the resilience approach provides a way of understanding change as
79 non-linear and spanning spatial and temporal scales ⁷. Resilience approaches are
80 called for in numerous policy fora and are central to some, such as the Paris Agreement
81 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

82

83 Both of these concepts are multi-dimensional and are increasingly understood as being
84 dynamic and socially contingent ⁷. One cannot simply acquire resilience or wellbeing
85 and hang on to them like an asset or money in the bank. Therefore, resilience or
86 wellbeing can be seen as both process and outcome ⁹. Accounting for context-specific
87 needs, values and circumstances in their practical applications is crucial for ensuring
88 that wellbeing and resilience processes and outcomes are socially just, equitable and
89 sustainable. This warrants an improved integration of objective and subjective
90 measurements of wellbeing and resilience indicators. So called analytic-deliberative

91 processes are increasingly used to integrate such different types and sources of
 92 relevant information, bringing together scientific knowledge and objectively observable
 93 conditions with more subjective, context-specific knowledge, values and lived
 94 experiences ¹⁰.

95
 96 This ensuing discussion extends long established debate about poverty-environment
 97 conflicts, bringing more systemic and interdisciplinary analysis and understanding. By
 98 emphasising dynamic, causal relationships rather than outcomes per se, it exposes and
 99 probes some of the hidden trade-offs, inconsistencies and assumptions in the pervasive
 100 and persuasive discourses surrounding wellbeing and resilience that potentially
 101 undermine the achievement of global sustainability goals.

102
 103 **An idealised relationship between resilience and wellbeing**

104
 105 The pursuit of wellbeing and resilience is also prevalent throughout the SDGs and made
 106 explicit in seven of the goals (Table 1). These two concepts are expressed in goals and
 107 targets, and as means to achieve them. In some instances, goals related to wellbeing,
 108 such as no poverty, no hunger and good health (which are all considered essential
 109 domains of wellbeing ¹¹) have targets that explicitly mention resilience. This creates a
 110 narrative of greater resilience leading to greater wellbeing. Conversely, some
 111 environmental resilience related goals which aim to protect species, habitats, prevent
 112 irreversible regime shifts and sustain the provision of ecosystem services ¹² have
 113 wellbeing targets such as improving education or supporting a diversity of nature-related
 114 values ^{13,14}. This forms a narrative that greater wellbeing sustains greater resilience.

115
 116 Table 1: Operationalised relationships between resilience and wellbeing amongst the
 117 sustainable development goals.

Goal	Target	Idealised Relationship
1-No poverty	1.5 Build Resilience of poor and reduce their exposure to shocks	Greater resilience
2 – Zero hunger	2.4 Implement resilient agricultural practices	

		sustains greater wellbeing
3 – Good health and well-being	3.D Strengthen capacity for early warning, risk reduction and management of national and global health risks	
11 – Sustainable cities and communities	11.7 Provide access to green spaces	Greater wellbeing sustains greater resilience
13 – Climate action	13.3 Improve education	
14 – Life below water	14.7 Increase economic benefits to least developed countries through use of marine resources 14.D Provide small scale fishers access to markets and marine resources	
15 – Life on land	15.9 Integrate peoples’ ecosystem and biodiversity values into poverty reduction strategies	

118

119 These two concepts are also thought of as mutually beneficial amongst some of the
120 most influential non-government organisations (NGOs) focused on conservation,
121 sustainability and or development. Oxfam, for example, defines resilience as 'the ability
122 of women and men to realize their rights and improve their well-being despite shocks,
123 stresses and uncertainty'¹⁵. Practical Action, a development NGO, also defines
124 resilience as “the ability of a system, community, or society to pursue its social,
125 ecological, and economic development and growth objectives, while managing its
126 disaster risk over time in a mutually reinforcing way”¹⁶. Similarly, Conservation
127 International projects that seek to restore degraded land aim to directly improve the
128 wellbeing of communities through enhancing ecological resilience¹⁷. Other
129 organisations such as the International Fund for Agricultural Development argue that
130 “poor rural people are less resilient” and that building the personal resilience of rural
131 people can be done in part through increasing their incomes and assets, asserting that
132 economic security can be a source of resilience¹⁸. World Vision, a humanitarian and
133 development organisation, has taken learning from the concept of resilience right into
134 the heart of their programs. They developed a theory of change that incorporates
135 notions of household and community resilience with child wellbeing outcomes¹⁹. As

136 such, it appears that resilience to climate change or extreme events, be it either at the
137 system or individual level is often measured through social, economic, community or
138 social capital variables. Although the range of interpretation and degree of embedding
139 resilience and wellbeing into their operations ranges dramatically, these concepts have
140 been internalised by many organisations seeking to improve the lives of communities.

141
142 The academic literatures on social-ecological resilience and wellbeing also point to a
143 close correspondence between these two concepts. The social-ecological resilience
144 literature aims for an integrated systems-based view of how human society is linked
145 with ecosystem change, and how change occurs within that linked system ²⁰. This in
146 turn has provided insights on the role of social-ecological systems for wellbeing, poverty
147 alleviation and development ²¹⁻²³. Of note, the concept of social-ecological traps offers a
148 dynamic explanation of social-ecological processes that trap people in multi-
149 dimensional poverty. Cinner's study, on tropical reef fisheries, for example, where
150 poverty is high and local institutions weak, found that overfishing with destructive gear
151 can push coral reef social-ecological systems past key thresholds by reducing coral
152 cover and herbivorous fish. Ecological feedbacks then led to the proliferation of
153 macroalgae, thus locking the system into an undesirable state where overfishing results
154 in poor yields and reef systems are further degraded ²⁴. Such thinking enables
155 resilience scholars to explore tangible pathways for disrupting social-ecological traps ²⁵
156 with particular focus on the role of adaptation and transformation for escaping from
157 traps ^{7,24}. Thus, resilience science helps us to understand what keeps people in different
158 forms of poverty as well as what will lead to improvements to their wellbeing ²⁶. Broadly
159 defined as the ability to successfully deal with change, resilience levels can also help in
160 identifying who will do better or worse in the face of environmental change and shocks.
161 Further, resilience is defined in terms of wellbeing, for example as the capacity of a
162 person, household or other aggregate unit to avoid poverty over time in the face of
163 various stressors and shocks ²⁷. With such a 'resilience sustains wellbeing' narrative,
164 resilience is the intermediate target and it is assumed to have positive effects on
165 wellbeing (Fig.1a).

166

167 Conversely, recent literature on wellbeing suggests that the material, relational, and
168 subjective domains of wellbeing influence human resilience and the ability to adapt and
169 cope in the face of stressors and shocks ²¹ . Material wellbeing refers to what people
170 have and includes resources such as foods, income and assets, amongst others ²⁸ .
171 These confer resilience by providing resources that people can draw on to adapt to
172 stressors and shocks ^{29,30} . In the face of dwindling fish stocks, for example, coastal
173 societies or individuals can draw on financial assets to purchase bigger boats or new
174 fishing gear in order to fish further afield or target different species ³¹ . Relational
175 wellbeing refers to what people do and how they interact with others to meet their needs
176 and achieve a good quality of life ²⁸ . Here again, it is argued that relationships between
177 individuals, communities and organisations can help build resilience to change by
178 providing social support and access to knowledge and resources ³² . Preparing for or
179 recovering from high-intensity storms, for example, will often require individuals to help
180 one another and for state agencies to coordinate short-term recovery ³³ . Subjective
181 wellbeing refers to how people think and feel about their situation ²⁸ . This is also
182 deemed to be important for responding to environmental change as people have little
183 incentive to act unless they believe that their actions can produce desired outcomes or
184 forestall undesired ones ²⁵ . The above suggests that all dimensions of wellbeing can be
185 seen as sources of resilience, for they influence the potential for adaptation and in turn
186 the potential for improved wellbeing through adaptation ²⁹ . This supports a 'wellbeing
187 sustains resilience' narrative (Fig.1b).

188

189 >Insert Figure 1<

190

191 **Where pursuit of one may undermine the other**

192 These two discourses, that wellbeing promotes resilience and that resilience promotes
193 wellbeing, imply positive synergy between the two. However, the literature is replete
194 with examples from different contexts and scales of social organisation, be they at the
195 individual, community or aggregated at a regional level, where the pursuit with a focus
196 on either one has undermined the other. Thus, while we recognize that the pursuit of
197 wellbeing and resilience is necessary to meet global sustainability challenges, we call

198 attention to the critical need to go beyond tacit assumptions about their relationship to
199 carefully consider when one does indeed sustain the other. Three examples are given
200 below, one stemming from feudal society which illustrates the complexity of this
201 relationship and two from contemporary reports by practitioners which demonstrate how
202 unintended trade-offs can occur between resilience and wellbeing in development
203 practice.

204
205 A historical perspective can shed light on the tensions between resilience and wellbeing
206 of peasants in feudal societies. In these societies, the well-off landowners would provide
207 loans or reduce the taxes of those who laboured their land, when there were poor
208 harvests or the households were going through a tough period. They allowed collection
209 of crop residues from their land for fuel and fodder and helped in educating the children
210 of the peasants ³⁴⁻³⁶. Such systems reinforce highly unequal distribution of resources
211 and wellbeing and further the interests of patrons as they ensure the continuation of the
212 community as a whole and ensure support that maintains privileged positions in society
213 ³⁶. In such situations, any surplus from ecosystem services, in this case agricultural
214 production, that labourers might accumulate in order to lift themselves out of poverty is
215 usually appropriated by higher classes through obligations and uneven property rights
216 ³⁶. As such, the peasants in this case would not take risks. They foster the relationship
217 with their overlords to maintain their resilience in terms of their ability to survive crises,
218 with the effect of limiting their wellbeing. These social relationships were a major
219 constraint on capital accumulation and hence constituted poverty traps, thus
220 undermining the pursuit of wellbeing for the labourers. The important trade-off to draw
221 attention to is that the clients are willing to sacrifice surplus of harvest for the security of
222 not starving in the hungry season or times of crisis ³⁴. These patron-client relationships
223 provide the only means of access to credit for the poor and provide loans that match the
224 unpredictable nature of ecosystem service provision ³⁷. However, the price for flexibility
225 and security are exploitative conditions of transaction that mean that the benefits of
226 ecosystem services accrue very largely to the 'patron' ³⁸. This exemplifies the types of
227 trade-offs that can occur between resilience of the peasant and their wellbeing. It will be
228 wise to review more deeply whether and when promoting resilience or wellbeing

229 objectives can be expected to improve the other in pursuing the sustainable
230 development goals.

231
232 Other examples come from organisations that after attempting to build social-ecological
233 resilience or enhance wellbeing of communities note that these are not always mutually
234 beneficial and the pursuit of one can undermine the other. Médecins Sans Frontières
235 (Doctors Without Borders) for example, have recently stated that ‘building resilience’ is
236 often at odds with a core humanitarian approach to crises which seek to enhance
237 wellbeing³⁹. They argue that when a response becomes a mixture of ‘all things to
238 everybody’ (building capacity, reducing vulnerability and ensuring sustainability), often
239 the basics are overlooked. There is a danger that ‘building resilience’ becomes an
240 excuse for inaction on the basics of saving lives and alleviating suffering ³⁹. This
241 suggests that a focus on resilience can sometimes ignore direct and necessary
242 wellbeing impacts from sustainable development interventions. Conversely,
243 Greenpeace have argued similarly that projects focused on increasing food production
244 and achieving wider wellbeing goals has left farmers less resilient due to dependence
245 on external inputs and resources that are too costly or unsustainable for farmers ⁴⁰.
246 They highlight that certain approaches that sought to enhance wellbeing had created
247 dependence on costly external inputs which led to soil degradation by imbalanced use
248 of nutrients and that they at times relied on utilising resources that were unsustainable
249 such as use of drinking water for irrigation or expanding rice cultivation and irrigation
250 plans in water-limited locations ⁴⁰. How can we identify holistic approaches that combine
251 both features that are so vital for sustainability? We argue that a better understanding of
252 potential trade-offs can help to reach synergies amongst these concepts in practice.

253
254 The above examples illustrate that the *casual* use of the narrative of resilience and
255 wellbeing being *causally* synergistic can lead to unintended environmental or social
256 consequences. So much so, some agencies have become disheartened as they have
257 experienced trade-offs between resilience and wellbeing when pursuing sustainable
258 development goals ³⁹. This can have important ramifications if organisations re-focus
259 their attention and specialise on approaches that build resilience or wellbeing in

260 isolation. We argue that it is important to be aware of trade-offs between these two
261 goals, but that there should be renewed focus on how they can inform each other
262 positively. The question is then, how to realign resilience strategies to work with rather
263 than against wellbeing pursuits and vice versa. Before doing so however it is important
264 to understand the origins of these trade-offs.

265

266 **The roots of trade-offs between resilience and wellbeing**

267

268 Despite the complex multi-dimensional natures of wellbeing and resilience, indicators
269 are commonly employed which are simplistic and narrowly-focussed around qualities
270 that are easy to measure such as income or resistance to specific shocks ²¹. Decision-
271 makers are led to focus only on those elements that are captured by the indicators and
272 not aspects that are less amenable to quantification, such as power, relational values,
273 culture, slow onset crises or increasing hazards. These narrow interpretations of
274 wellbeing or resilience are often at the root of the trade-offs that are seen to exist
275 between them. For example, efforts to enhance material wellbeing (income) through
276 conservation interventions (biodiversity conservation) which seek to prevent irreversible
277 ecological regime shifts, can worsen inequalities and damage the moral fabric of
278 communities by undermining peoples' perception of fairness. This in turn, can weaken
279 their motivation to support such interventions and undermine the resilience of the
280 system ^{41,42}. The more intangible relational values, power and culture vitally affect how
281 and whether trade-offs manifest and who is most impacted by them.

282

283 Narrowly conceptualised interventions to support resilience can often be limited to the
284 ability to withstand or resist specific stressors and shocks (specific resilience) rather
285 than to build an "all-purpose kind" of general resilience ²³. Critically, resilience theory
286 has shown trade-offs between specific and general resilience ²³. Also, resilience is
287 about more than resistance to disturbance, it is equally about the opportunities that
288 disturbance opens up through adaptation, learning and self-organisation to do things
289 differently ²⁰. As a result, interventions to support resistance to specific shocks may
290 have unanticipated negative impacts on wellbeing. The negative impacts that can arise

291 when adapting to specific shocks and stressors have been discussed extensively in the
292 maladaptation literature ⁴³. However we argue that an understanding of the complex
293 relationship between wellbeing and resilience can help in anticipating and potentially
294 preventing them. For example, following the Asian tsunami in 2004, new legislation in
295 India and Sri Lanka forbade homes and businesses being rebuilt close to the coast in
296 order to create buffer zones and build resilience to future tsunamis⁴⁴. Whilst this
297 reduced exposure to future tsunamis, the re-housing of coastal people, dependent on
298 the sea, to isolated inland villages disrupted livelihoods and cultural and social
299 attachments to the ocean, undermining wellbeing in diverse ways. As such this
300 intervention to enhance resilience to such shocks led to a short term gain yet long term
301 risk to the wellbeing of those displaced. It also highlights that such responses to shocks
302 and stressors are reflective of the political context and power dynamics at play. This
303 opened up the remaining coastal strip for more powerful large-scale tourism
304 development interests and impeded rehoused people's access to fisheries. There was a
305 lack of consideration of what is important for these communities' wellbeing and their
306 resilience to other shocks and stresses such as ill health. Whilst members of these
307 communities might have survived the disaster physically unhurt, the resilience
308 intervention had put their property and livelihood in jeopardy⁴⁴. Pushing a resilience
309 strategy that works against peoples' own priorities is unlikely to work. The re-developed
310 safer settlements inland in Sri Lanka were only occupied by woman and children, whilst
311 male fishers continued to reside and work by the sea therefore countering potential
312 resilience benefits for men ⁴⁵. In summary, the focus on responding to a single stressor
313 and shock, the tsunami, in India and Sri Lanka has ignored the erosion of social and
314 economic capital of relocated communities. Thus, attempts to improve resilience to a
315 specific threat reduced wellbeing while also reducing 'general resilience'.

316

317 Efforts to improve wellbeing interpreted in a narrow or single dimensional sense can
318 also undermine social-ecological resilience. A focus on income generation to improve
319 wellbeing, for example, led to the rapid expansion and specialisation of shrimp farming
320 in Asia. In Bangladesh, a large number of farmers converted their rice fields to export-
321 oriented shrimp farms. All shrimp farmers, irrespective of size of their farms, have made

322 profits and now associate this change with increases in income ³⁸. Shrimp farming has
323 also encroached on agricultural land, resulted in mangrove clearance and caused
324 serious degradation of land and de-stabilization of coastal ecosystems ³⁸. This large-
325 scale conversion of agricultural land to shrimp ponds has in many cases led to a paucity
326 of vegetables, impacting food security and nutrition. Further, these impacts are set to
327 persist given that the salinization caused by the ponds will likely undermine or even
328 prevent agriculture in the future undermining the social-ecological resilience of the
329 region.

330

331 More generally, the progression from low to high standards of living is normally thought
332 to involve people specialising in products that correspond to their competitive advantage
333 ⁴⁶. This economic argument has underpinned developments in agriculture (e.g., the
334 promotion of cash crops and monocultures) as well as in aquaculture. In Central Asia
335 during the Soviet era, intensive monoculture production was seen as economically
336 beneficial. However, the removal of traditional resource management practices
337 exacerbated water stress in the region leading to a legacy of environmental degradation
338 ⁴⁷. It is increasingly understood that whilst there may be short-term material benefits to
339 specialisation, the adverse environmental consequences can increase vulnerability to
340 climate variability and change ^{25,48,49}. Further, specialisation is argued to limit
341 households' flexibility and consequent adaptive capacity to deal with stressors and
342 shocks ⁵⁰. A focus only on improvements to specific aspects of wellbeing can undermine
343 the longer-term ability to maintain social and ecological diversity, threatening the long-
344 term resilience of social-ecological systems.

345

346 **Paving the way to synergies**

347

348 Although wellbeing and resilience approaches are rooted in distinct disciplinary
349 traditions, both concepts have evolved considerably since they were introduced in ways
350 that they can now inform one another. More holistic interpretations of wellbeing and
351 resilience are often considered to be intrinsically linked. Over time, for example, an
352 individual's wellbeing depends on personal resilience and mental toughness, as well as

353 resilience of the social-ecological system which the individual is part of ⁵¹. Similarly,
354 resilience to environmental change requires people to have material assets, social
355 connections and a capacity to act collectively with others. They also need sufficient
356 agency in their adaptive responses ³¹, all of which are closely linked to domains of
357 wellbeing ^{52,53}.

358

359 Despite the theoretical complementarities that are shared between wellbeing and
360 resilience, we have seen that in practice this relationship is not always synergistic and
361 that the narrow pursuit of one, can undermine the other. Given the policy imperative and
362 importance of finding ways to support both resilience and wellbeing, development
363 actions need to acknowledge the complexity of these concepts whilst finding practical
364 ways to reconcile and apply them. The social theories underpinning wellbeing for
365 example can help to integrate social concepts (e.g. agency) into resilience thinking ⁵⁴.
366 On the other hand, resilience scholars draw on concepts from systems science to
367 unpack how society and the environment might respond to change, which can occur
368 suddenly or gradually and can be environmental, social, economic and/or political in
369 nature. Cultural aspects are increasingly being highlighted through lessons from cultural
370 evolution ⁵⁵. These concepts can enable a more dynamic understanding of how such
371 changes shape poor people's wellbeing over time, including their ability to benefit from
372 ecosystem services and their capacity for resilience. Whilst wellbeing and resilience are
373 intertwined, the relationships are complex and contingent ⁵⁶. We argue that a deeper
374 understanding of the synergies and trade-offs between these two concepts can help in
375 predicting the unintended consequences of development interventions and can
376 therefore build on the growing body of literature on maladaptation which focuses on the
377 negative impacts of adapting to shocks ⁴³. We further argue that it can help address
378 power imbalances for two reasons. First, the **power to identify** tensions between
379 wellbeing and resilience relies on appropriate framings and methodologies which are
380 able to identify trade offs in the first place. Second, is that the **power to address** those
381 trade-offs relies on (often unequal) levels of voice, agency (defined as the power to
382 make a decision and act on it), and political will. This is becoming more recognised in
383 the literature. For example, Daw et al 2015 demonstrate the integration of

384 multidimensional wellbeing into participatory social-ecological system analysis for small-
385 scale fisheries in Kenya ⁵⁷. This enabled a clearer recognition of a range of impacts
386 from different scenarios on different user groups. It highlighted that whilst win-wins
387 between conservation and profitability could be seen at an aggregate scale, it obscured
388 the fact that the less powerful and more marginalised stakeholders within the
389 community were differentially influenced by management decisions. Specifically, the
390 combination of methods illuminated a trade-off between fisheries productivity and lost
391 earnings from women fish traders, who are reliant on cheap ‘trash’ fish caught using
392 illegal beach seining. As a result, the plight of beach seiners and women fish traders
393 became central to workshop discussions, and how to lessen the disadvantages
394 experienced by these groups. The unanticipated negative impacts on different people
395 for example, can therefore be clarified by understanding multiple domains of wellbeing.
396 To help promote synergies, we suggest a further three sets of actions for practitioners to
397 help policies and interventions support both wellbeing and resilience.

398
399 First, we advocate a more process-driven, systemic and dynamic understanding of
400 resilience that measures persistence, adaptation, and transformation in response to
401 multiple disturbances through time. Attempts to specify and assess resilience often limit
402 resilience to the ability to withstand or resist a specific disturbance despite tensions
403 between specific and more general resilience ⁵⁸. Resilience thus needs to be thought of
404 as the capacity for ongoing adaptation and even transformation in response to diverse
405 and often co-occurring environmental as well as socio-political shocks and stressors ⁵⁹.
406 Methodological approaches have been developed that support a more inclusive
407 analysis of resilience, which is more likely to support long-term wellbeing. Tools such as
408 Wayfinder ⁶⁰, for example, lead stakeholders through a process of exploring their
409 social-ecological system and the changes, capacities, opportunities and strategies that
410 can adapt or transform the system in line with aspirations and priorities.

411
412 Second, policy makers and practitioners should adopt a more complete and holistic
413 understanding of wellbeing not only as a state, or property of individuals, but also as a
414 multi-dimensional phenomenon that emerges from people’s interactions with each other

415 and their environment ⁵. Increasingly, the pursuit of wellbeing is not seen as progress
416 on unidimensional metrics. A variety of approaches, such as the 3D ²⁸ approach, and
417 their associated participatory tools, can better capture multiple domains of wellbeing
418 and the diversity of people's aspirations. They also enable understanding of how
419 wellbeing is related to broader processes of change in people's relationships.

420

421 Third, emphasise that resilience and wellbeing are socially differentiated across spatial
422 and temporal scales making the process of operationalising these concepts in
423 programmes and interventions inherently political ⁶¹. Across **temporal scales**, possible
424 trade-offs exist between short-term gains in, and long-term risks to wellbeing (and vice
425 versa) as a result of loss of resilience. Approaches that incorporate long-term horizons,
426 such as participatory scenario planning and the structured consideration of future
427 generations' interests, can engage with such temporal interactions between resilience
428 and wellbeing ⁶². Equally, interventions should be evaluated according to how they
429 affect wellbeing and resilience at different **spatial scales** and with caution for how
430 interventions may create new vulnerabilities ²⁵. Resilience in particular can be thought
431 of as individual, community or social-ecological system resilience⁶³ and consideration to
432 the interactions across these scales is key. Similarly, wellbeing can refer to individuals'
433 or a more aggregate measure of community wellbeing ⁶⁴. Available tools such as
434 watershed approaches and shoreline management plans can expand system
435 boundaries to include a broader range of stakeholders and consider effects that cross
436 from one place to another or occur across scales.

437

438 These trade-offs and differences across scale mean that wellbeing and resilience of
439 diverse groups of people are differentially affected by attempts to build system-level
440 resilience or improve wellbeing. This **social difference** and the power imbalances that
441 shape them, must be considered in the development of policies and plans in order to
442 support equitable and socially just outcomes. Techniques such as community profiling
443 can identify key social and demographic factors that structure society in a given context,
444 in order to facilitate disaggregated analyses and consideration of equity and social
445 justice. In particular, this can help in identifying those more powerful individuals or those

446 more marginalised who may have less ability to voice their opinions on how they might
447 be impacted by interventions. These can be coupled with advances that identify
448 different types of trade-offs between environmental and/or social objectives across
449 temporal, spatial scales and between groups of individuals^{65,66}. Mapping out the roles
450 and interdependencies of different groups within these trade-offs, for example based on
451 wealth or gender, can help decision-makers and stakeholders identify trade-offs and
452 their implications for equity⁶⁷. Ultimately, genuinely co-creative approaches that are
453 grounded in people's own experiences that aim to counter differential access to power,
454 knowledge, and resources are needed to support equitable outcomes⁶⁸. Of course,
455 these interventions do not take place in a political or institutional vacuum; the wider
456 economic, social and political relations will also determine whose interests, values and
457 knowledge are prioritised and influence what policies and programmes are funded and
458 implemented⁶⁹.

459

460 Programmes will need to adopt holistic and broad interpretation of both resilience and
461 wellbeing whilst acknowledging multiple temporal and spatial scales and the inherent
462 uncertainties in these. The appropriate approaches and techniques used to reconcile
463 wellbeing and resilience goals will differ across different social-ecological contexts.
464 Thus, experimentation and learning, drawing on the knowledge and experience of
465 multiple perspectives will be needed, as proposed by the adaptive management
466 approaches from the resilience and resource management fields⁷⁰. Such approaches
467 can support an adaptive process of learning through doing (Fig.1c). Hard choices will
468 need to be made where resilience or wellbeing strategies are prioritised, especially
469 when trade-offs are unavoidable. A fuller understanding of the complexities of the
470 resilience and wellbeing relationship may help uncover some of the tensions and
471 anticipate some of the potential consequences, but to make decisions and navigate
472 these trade-offs this information is unlikely to be sufficient, there will be a need to
473 assess both the facts and our values and bring them together to make decisions⁷¹.
474 Nevertheless, we highlight some mechanisms for reducing or avoiding trade-offs and
475 navigating towards outcomes that deliver on both wellbeing and resilience objectives.
476 These innovations could prove critical for meeting global sustainability challenges.

477

478 **Contributions**

479 T.C. and K.B. led the writing of the paper, T.M.D., S.C. and L.S. were part of the core
480 writing team. All authors contributed equally to conceptualisation and editing. All authors
481 have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

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490

491 **Competing Interests**

492 The authors declare no competing interests.

493

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659 Figure 1 – The narrow pursuit of resilience (1a) and wellbeing (1b) does not always lead
660 to synergistic outcomes. An adaptive process of learning through doing is required to
661 reconcile wellbeing and resilience for sustainable development (1c).

