- 1 Mexican agricultural frontier communities differ in forest dynamics with consequences for
- 2 conservation and restoration
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- 4 Madelon Lohbeck <sup>1,2</sup>, Ben DeVries <sup>3</sup>, Frans Bongers <sup>1</sup>, Miguel Martinez-Ramos <sup>4</sup>, Armando
- 5 Navarrete-Segueda <sup>4</sup>, Sergio Nicasio-Arzeta <sup>4</sup>, Christina Siebe <sup>5</sup>, Aline Pingarroni <sup>4</sup>, Germán
- 6 Wies<sup>4</sup>, Mathieu Decuyper<sup>1,2</sup>
- 7
- 8 1. Wageningen University and Research, Wageningen, the Netherlands
- 9 2. World Agroforestry, Nairobi, Kenya
- 10 3. Department of Geography, Environment and Geomatics, University of Guelph, Canada
- 11 4. Instituto de Investigaciones en Ecosistemas y Sustentabilidad, Morelia, Universidad
- 12 Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, Mexico
- 13 5. Instituto de Geología, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico
- 14
- 15 Running head:
- 16 Drivers of forest dynamics in Mexico
- 17

# 18 Abstract

- 19 Forest regrowth is key to achieve restoration commitments, but we need to better
- 20 understand under what circumstances it takes place and how long secondary forests persist.
- 21 We studied a recently colonized agricultural frontier in southern Mexico. We quantified the
- 22 spatiotemporal dynamics of forest loss and regrowth and tested how temporal variation in
- 23 climate, and spatial variation in land availability, land quality and accessibility affect forest
- 24 disturbance, regrowth and secondary forest persistence.
- 25 Marqués de Comillas consistently exhibits more forest loss than regrowth, resulting in a net
- 26 decrease of 30% forest cover (1991-2016). Secondary forest cover remained relatively
- 27 constant while secondary forest persistence increased, suggesting that farmers are moving
- 28 away from shifting cultivation. Temporal variation in disturbance and regrowth were
- 29 explained by the annual variation in the Oceanic El Niño index combined with dry season
- 30 rainfall and key policy and market interventions.
- 31 Across communities the availability of high-quality soil overrules the effects of land
- 32 availability and accessibility, but that at the pixel-level all three factors contributed to

- 33 explaining forest conservation and restoration. Communities with more high-quality soils
- 34 were able to spare land for forest conservation, and had less secondary forest that persisted
- 35 for longer. Old forest and secondary forests were better represented on low-quality lands
- 36 and on communal land. Both old and secondary forest were less common close to the main
- 37 road, where secondary forests were also less persistent.
- 38 Forest conservation and restoration can be explained by a complex interplay of biophysical
- 39 and social drivers across time, space and scale. We warrant that stimulating private land
- 40 ownership may cause remaining forest patches to be lost and that conservation initiatives
- 41 should benefit the whole community. Forest regrowth and secondary forest persistence
- 42 competes with agricultural production and ensuring farmers can access restoration benefits
- 43 is key to success.
- 44
- 45 keywords
- 46 secondary succession, Landsat, Marqués de Comillas, Mexico, Chiapas, natural regeneration,
  47 soil quality
- 48
- 49
- 50

### 51 Introduction

52 Increasing forest cover is central to achieving restoration commitments during the 2021-53 2030 decade of ecosystem restoration. The extent to which forest gains contribute to 54 restoration depend on the characteristics of these new forests. Forests are often replaced 55 by monoculture plantations (Rudel et al. 2016, Sloan et al. 2019) with limited restoration 56 benefits, while secondary forest could make substantial contributions (Chazdon and 57 Guariguata 2016). Secondary forests, or natural regeneration, is less costly and more 58 effective than tree planting (Chazdon and Uriarte 2016, Crouzeilles et al. 2017). Secondary 59 forests are resilient, capture large amounts of carbon (Chazdon et al. 2016, Poorter et al. 60 2016, Schwartz et al. 2017), are host many tree (Rozendaal et al. 2019) and animal species 61 (Dent and Wright 2009) and provide multiple ecosystem services (Zeng et al. 2019). 62 However, the extent to which secondary forests contribute to the recovery of ecological and 63 societal benefits depend on how long these forests persist. Secondary forests are commonly 64 ephemeral (van Breugel et al. 2013) like in the Brazilian Amazon where median persistence 65 is about 5 years (Jakovac et al. 2017). Instead in Costa Rica median persistence was 20 years 66 (Reid et al. 2018), allowing substantial benefits for restoration and conservation. To make 67 use of natural regeneration for restoration we need to understand under what conditions 68 regrowth occurs and how long secondary forests persist. Recent developments in remote 69 sensing allow us to track continuous disturbance-regrowth dynamics using satellite image 70 time series (Verbesselt et al. 2010, DeVries et al. 2015a) which enables to quantify the 71 spatiotemporal forest dynamics and identify forest ages.

72

73 In addition, little is known about the drivers of forest dynamics (but see Carreiras et al. 74 2014, Schwartz et al. 2017). In this study we propose that forest conservation, forest 75 regrowth and secondary forest persistence across communities are influenced by spatial 76 variation in three key variables: land availability, land quality and accessibility that were 77 shown to have a close connection to colonisation frontier development and forest transition 78 theory (Richards 1996, Mather and Needle 1998). The early pioneer stage is characterized 79 by rapid forest clearance for subsistence agriculture and where forest regrowth takes place 80 as fallows in shifting cultivation systems. In the second stage agricultural concentration on 81 high-quality land may give rise to forest regrowth on marginal lands, allowing for more 82 persistent secondary forests (Mather and Needle 1998, Smith et al. 2001). During the third

83 stage the a market develops which increases accessibility, and may further enforce

agricultural concentration on high quality lands (Mather and Needle 1998) or decouple

85 productivity from land quality because farmers get access to external inputs. During the

86 fourth closing frontier stage no land is left to colonise and is characterized by urbanisation,

87 land concentration and social differentiation (Richards 1996).

88

89 We assess how differences in societal and biophysical characteristics across time and space 90 have shaped forest dynamics in agricultural frontier communities. We studied Marqués de 91 Comillas region (MdC), a dynamic agricultural frontier located in the Mesoamerican 92 biodiversity hotspot in the humid tropics of Mexico. MdC provides a suitable natural 93 experiment of landscape change in a colonization context because colonization was recent 94 (1970's-1980's), rapid, had big consequences for forest cover, and the region is 95 representative of many such frontier areas in the tropics (Lepers et al. 2005). 96 Specifically, we ask 1) how land availability, land quality, and accessibility affect the extent 97 of conserved forest, the extent and persistence of secondary forest across communities, 98 and 2) how annual changes in climate have shaped forest dynamics. 99 We hypothesized that: Land availability positively influences forest conservation and 100 regrowth because land is only spared when basic food production needs are met. Land 101 quality positively influences forest conservation because higher quality allows farmers to 102 produce food more efficiently. Regrowth extent and persistence may be either decreased 103 with land quality because of shorter fallow cycles, or it may be increased because 104 agricultural concentration leads to land abandonment on marginal lands. Accessibility 105 decreases forest cover as the pressure on land is higher with more market access. In 106 addition, we expected a negative interaction between land quality and land availability since 107 with high-quality lands, less land is needed to meet livelihood needs. Finally, we expected 108 that with accessibility, farmers will have access to off-farm income and external inputs, 109 decreasing the effects of land availability and land quality. We further expect that sudden climatic events may cause shocks in the more gradual processes predicted by colonisation 110 111 theory. The results are discussed in the light of key policy interventions which may 112 accelerate or slow down these transitions.

113

114 Methods

### 115 Study region

116 The study took place in the Marqués de Comillas region (about 2000 km<sup>2</sup>) in Chiapas,

- 117 Mexico (Fig. 1). It consists of two municipalities: Marqués de Comillas and Benemérito de las
- 118 Américas and one community from the municipality of Ocosingo, and is enclosed by
- 119 Guatemala and the Montes Azules Biosphere Reserve on the north-western side. The
- 120 original vegetation is tropical rainforest. Close to 40 settler communities colonized the
- region from 1972 to 1986 rapidly converting forest into agricultural landscapes (de Vos
- 122 2003). Deforestation was significantly increased by settlement of Central American refugees
- in the 1980s (de Jong et al. 2000). Communities were organized in *ejidos*, which is a term for
- 124 the agrarian collective use of the land. Farmers vary from subsistence smallholders to those
- that depend partly on markets (Montes de Oca et al. 2015) and poverty levels are high
- 126 (CONEVAL 2015). The region is characterized by complex human-modified landscapes
- 127 consisting of crop fields (mainly maize, beans), cattle ranches, forests and plantations128 (Martínez-Ramos et al. 2016).
- 129

For the spatial analysis the community is the unit of replication (n = 41), which is justified by the relatively unified colonisation history in which initial settlers usually arrived together and from the same region of origin (de Vos 2003). Most communities (n = 37) are indeed formally recognized as *ejidos*, four units are not (see Fig. 1).

134



Figure 1. The 41 communities considered in this study. The dark blue units are formally
recognized as *ejidos*, the green units are not. For the spatial analyses across communities
only the dark blue communities (*ejidos*) were used.

139

### 140 *Forest dynamics trajectories*

141 To quantify forest landscape characteristics per community, we first characterized pizel-142 level forest dynamics trajectories using Landsat time series (1984-2016). An NDMI (Normalized Difference Moisture Index) raster stack was constructed and forest dynamics 143 144 trajectories were created using on a mix of methods (detailed methods presented in 145 Supplementary materials). A baseline was set in 1991, for which we produced a forest non-146 forest map using a maximum likelihood classifier applied in ArcGIS (ESRI 2012), which 147 ensured sufficient historical data (1984-1991) as a historical reference. For pixels that were 148 not forested in the baseline we instead used a spatial reference (DeVries et al. 2015a). To 149 characterize disturbance-regrowth trajectories, we applied three sets of disturbance and 150 regrowth algorithms to the monitoring period (1991-2017). Disturbances (forest to nonforest) was detected when the median NDMI anomaly exceeded -0.02 (cf. DeVries et al. 151 152 2015b). Regrowth (non-forest to forest) was detected using the *rgrowth* R package (DeVries 153 2015, DeVries et al. 2015a). Each method records the date at which a pixel undergoes the 154 event and this iterative process results in six rasters representing the dates of first, second and third disturbance and regrowth dates for each pixel. Overall accuracies were 0.77 for 155 156 disturbance (0.04 standard error) and 0.72 for regrowth (0.07 standard error).

157

158 Based on the baseline forest map (1991) and the pixel-level forest dynamics trajectories, we 159 identified the state of each pixel. Old forest was forest in the baseline and no disturbance 160 was identified during the monitoring period. This implies that old forest has been 161 undisturbed for at least 26 years, and is not the same as old-growth forest. Secondary forest 162 was not forested at some point in time, after which regrowth was detected and persisted 163 until the year of interest. For pixels identified as regrowth we calculated the age (year of 164 interest - year of regrowth). Since our monitoring period starts in 1991, the oldest 165 secondary forest age that could be identified was 26 years (1991-2017). Secondary forest in 166 this region rarely reach 26 years (van Breugel et al. 2006) so for the assessment of 167 secondary forest extent and ages this is appropriate. The forest dynamics method was not

designed to distinguish regrowth by secondary forest from plantations. Recent maps of oil
palm were developed using Sentinel-2 imagery and an object-based image segmentation
(SAGA-GIS) classification method (Fig. S2) and masked from the secondary forest and old
forest maps.

172

173 Forest landscape characteristics

174 From the current (2017) state of each pixel, we calculated the four forest landscape 175 characteristics at the level of the community. 1) Forest cover is the proportion of the land 176 covered with forest. 2) Old forest cover is the proportion of the land covered with old 177 forest. 3) Secondary forest is the proportion of the land covered with secondary forest. 4) 178 Secondary forest age, estimated as the time (years) at which half of the forests survived 179 (median survival) was calculated based on Kaplan-Meier survival analyses using the R-180 package *survival* (Therneau 2015). As one pixel may exhibit a maximum of three cycles of 181 disturbance and regrowth, we only included the first cycle for any single pixel. Survival 182 analyses were carried out for each community, and for the entire region. For three out of 183 the 41 communities this value could not be estimated because the probability of survival 184 remained higher than 0.5, in which case used 25 years as the median survival. We also split 185 the dataset into two equal 10-year time periods (1994-2003 and 2004-2013) to evaluate 186 shifts in median survival of secondary forests over time.

187

188 Community-level spatial drivers of forest landscape characteristics

189 We used six community-level indicators to quantify the drivers land availability, land quality 190 and accessibility. Land availability is the access to land for farmers to produce food. For land 191 availability we assessed the proportion of privately owned land and the proportion of 192 communally owned land at the *ejido*-level (Registro Agrario Nacional 2020). Land available 193 to individual landowners was quantified by dividing the privately owned land by the total 194 number of landowners in the village (RAN; datos.gob.mx), expressed in hectares per farmer. 195 Land available to the community was determined by the relative area of *ejido* land that is 196 communally managed.

197 *Land quality* is the quality of the land and soil and determines what a farmer can do with the

198 land. For land quality we used two indicators, one based on soil quality (see detailed

199 methods in Supplementary materials), important for crop production, and one based on

200 hydrological properties, important for cattle ranching. We calculated the median topsoil 201 carbon based on the soil carbon contents (%) across each community and the proportion of 202 the land covered with high productive soils (Fluvial terrace, Alluvial plain and the Karst 203 Range of Limestone-Claystone; see Fig. S3). Hydrological properties were indicated by 204 calculating the internal river length density (km of river length / km<sup>2</sup> of land area) for each 205 community, based on data from the hydrographic network of INEGI (see Fig. S4). 206 Accessibility is whether communities have access to infrastructure. With the opening of the 207 road in 1994, the region was connected with nearby cities, but left some communities 208 better connected than others. Accessibility of each *ejido* was included as the proportion of 209 the land that falls within 1 km from the main road (see Fig. S5).

210

## 211 Temporal drivers of forest dynamics

212 We tested whether climatic variables explained annual variation in forest disturbance and 213 regrowth across the region. The Oceanic Niño Index (ONI) reflects the El Niño-Southern 214 Oscillation (ENSO). ENSO is a recurring climate pattern involving changes in the temperature 215 of the central and eastern tropical Pacific Ocean where El Niño is a warming of the ocean 216 surface (anomalies of 0.5 degrees or larger) and La Niña is a cooling of the ocean surface 217 (anomalies of -0.5 degrees or larger; data derived from noaa.gov). This oscillation affects 218 rainfall on land where Mexico receives less rain during El Niño events and more during La Niña events. As indicators of rainfall we used the total annual rainfall and the total rainfall in 219 220 the dry season (February to April), as derived from the nearby Lacantún meteorological 221 station (conagua.gob.mx).

222

## 223 Statistical analyses

224 For the spatial analyses we tested whether community-level forest landscape characteristics 225 could be explained by drivers. Only communities formally recognized as 'ejidos' could be 226 included, for one *ejido* land ownership could not be estimated because it had no privately 227 owned land, so this analysis relied on 36 communities. To test the most important drivers 228 we used generalised linear models (glm) following a three-step approach. First, we tested a 229 simple model without interactions, including all six community-level drivers. Second, we 230 tested a model including all drivers and a two-way interaction between land availability and 231 land quality. Third, we tested a model including all drivers and a three-way interaction

- between land availability, land quality and accessibility. The best model for each of the
- 233 forest landscape characteristics was selected by first excluding models that were not
- significant, then excluding models for which none of the drivers were significant, we then
- 235 selecting the best model based on the lowest Aikaike Information Criterion (Burnham and
- And erson 2002). In case models did not differ ( $\Delta$ AICc < 2), we chose the simplest model. We
- also calculated pixel-level odd-ratios to get better understanding of the probabilities of
- 238 forest to occur on land characterized by each of the drivers.
- 239 For the temporal analyses we used the year as the unit of replication (n= 26). For each year
- 240 we used the total number of disturbance events detected and the total number of regrowth
- 241 events detected. We tested whether the ONI index, the annual rainfall and the rainfall in the
- 242 dry season (February to April) for that same year explained the disturbance and the
- 243 regrowth. The best model was selected based on the criteria outlined above. Graphics were
- 244 made in the *ggplot2* package (Wickham 2016), to estimate marginal effects we used the
- 245 ggeffects package (Lüdecke 2018). All statistical analyses were carried out using R version
- 246 3.5.3 (R Development Core Team 2011).
- 247

# 248 Results

- 249 Forest landscape characteristics
- 250 The proportion of forest in 2017 in MdC was 0.63, of which 0.55 is old forest, 0.08 is
- 251 secondary forest. Forest characteristics differ widely across communities (Figs 2, 3a)
- 252



255 Figure 2. Map of the current (2017) forest landscape characteristics in Marqués de Comillas

region, Mexico. Old forest is forest conserved for at least 26 years, blues, greens and yellows

are secondary forests specified by their ages, no colour indicates no forest and can be

258 pasture, maize field, oil palm or other land uses.





- 262 Figure 3. a) Current (2017) forest characteristics across Marqués de Comillas communities
- 263 (see also Fig. 2). b) Trend in forest characteristics over time, for the entire study region.
- 264 Colours indicate the proportion of old forest, secondary forest and not forested.
- 265

- 266 Marqués de Comillas consistently shows more forest loss than regrowth (Fig. 4), resulting in
- a net decrease of 30% in forest cover in the period 1991-2016 (Fig. 3b). A remarkable peak
- 268 in forest disturbance in the year 1998 was found (Fig. 4) for which we assess its variation
- across communities (Fig. S6). Secondary forest cover has remained relatively constant since
- 270 2004 (7 8 % of land area; Fig. 3b), while secondary forest persistence has increased (Fig.
- 271 5b).
- 272
- 273



Figure 4. Total area of forest disturbed (pixels that changed from forest to non-forest) and
of forest regrowth (pixels that changed from non-forest to forest) between 1991 and 2017.
The year 1998 shows a remarkable peak in forest disturbance, which is also analysed for its
spatial variation across communities (see Figs S6, 6).

Secondary forest in MdC reached a median age of 7 years (Fig. 5a), but values differ widely
among communities (range: 3.5 - 21.4 years, mean: 8.1). Analysing the probability of
surviving for two decades separately we found that there has been an increase in median
secondary forest survival from 5.1 years in 1994-2003 to 7.9 years in 2004-2013 (Fig. 5b).



287 Figure 5. Survival of secondary forests across the Marqués de Comillas region as analysed

with Kaplan-Meier survival analyses. Dashed lines indicate the median age (0.5 probability

- of surviving) of secondary forests. a) Including all years of study period 1991-2016, b)
- 290 Separating data in two decades to evaluate changes in median survival over time.
- 291
- 292 Spatial drivers of forest landscape characteristics
- 293 From the four forest landscape characteristics plus the variation in area disturbed in 1998,
- the simple model (without interactions) best explained the data, except for secondary forest
- ages where the three-way interaction model fitted best (Table S2). Communities that had
- 296 more land with high-quality soils tended to have more old forest (Fig. 6a), and less
- secondary forest (Fig. 6b) but these persisted for longer (Fig. 6c). The peak in disturbances in
- the year 1998 was particularly pronounced in communities that had less land with high



299 productive potential (Fig. 6d).

300

Figure 6. Results from the best fitted generalised linear model for each of the forest
landscape characteristics. Given are the marginal effects of significant explanatory variables
explaining differences across communities in: a) relative area covered by old forest, b)

relative area covered by secondary forest, c), median secondary forest age, d) relative areadisturbed in 1998 (see Table S2 for test results).

306

307 At the pixel-level we found that all drivers contributed to explaining the probability of being 308 covered with forest, old forest or secondary forest as well as secondary forest ages. In terms 309 of land availability, it is more likely to find forest and old forest on communal land compared 310 to private land and secondary forests tend to be older. In terms of land quality we found 311 more forest and more secondary forest on low quality land, while no differences were 312 found for old forest occurrence or for secondary forest ages. For accessibility we found all 313 forest types to be less common inside the 1km buffer from the main road, and secondary 314 forests tended to be younger close to the road (see Table 1).

315

316 Table 1. Odds ratios to evaluate the effect of land availability, land quality and accessibility 317 on forest characteristics at the pixel-level. Given are the number of pixels covered with 318 forest, old forest and secondary forest in given categories of land availability (on private or 319 communal land), land quality (on high or low quality soil) and accessibility (within or outside 320 the 1km-buffer of the road), the proportion of the forest type within each of the categories, 321 and the odds ratio which indicates the ratio of the proportions of the forest type in the two 322 categories. Odds ratios around 1 indicate the forest type is as likely to occur across the categories. Odds that differ from 1 indicate that the probability of that forest type to occur 323 324 is different for the two categories, these are given in bold. The last row gives the median 325 forest secondary forest age in each category, noteworthy differences are given in bold.

		Land availability			Land quality			Accessibility		
# pixels	total	private land	communal land	odds ratio	high quality soil	low quality soil	odds ratio	within 1 km buffer of road	outside buffer of road	odds ratio
total	2215790	1348171	677927		384495	1831295		381720	1834070	
forest	1065633	544851	406491		165526	900107		141325	924308	
proportion	0.481	0.404	0.600	0.674	0.431	0.492	0.876	0.370	0.504	0.735
old forest	828305	433854	345182		139477	688828		110377	717928	
proportion	0.374	0.322	0.509	0.632	0.363	0.376	0.964	0.289	0.391	0.739

secondary forest	237328	144192	71624		26049	211279		30948	206380	
proportion	0.107	0.107	0.106	1.012	0.068	0.115	0.587	0.081	0.113	0.721
median secondary forest age	10.67	9.01	12.95		10.59	10.67		9.84	10.81	

327

#### 328 Temporal drivers of forest dynamics

329 Forest disturbance was best explained by an interaction between the rainfall in the dry

330 season and the Oceanic Niño Index; El Niño years combined with lowered rainfall in the dry

331 season led to peaks in forest clearance (Fig. 7a). Forest regrowth was best explained by

332 rainfall in the dry season only, having a positive effect (Fig. 7b).

333





336 Figure 7. Climatic variation explaining the annually variation in forest dynamics (n= 26 337 years). a) Forest disturbance explained by the interactive effects of Oceanic Niño Index (La 338 Niña, El Niño and normal years) and the rainfall in the dry season between February and 339 April. b) Forest regrowth explained by the rainfall in the dry season between February and 340 April (See Table S3 for test results).

341

#### 342 Discussion

343 We quantified almost three decades of forest dynamics across in a recently colonized

agricultural frontier in Mexico. Results show consistently more disturbance than regrowth 344

345 and as such forest cover keeps decreasing, despite efforts to revert this. Secondary forest 346 area has remained constant over the last decade though secondary forest persistence is 347 increasing. We found large differences in forest characteristics among communities and 348 these were explained only by differences in land quality. In contrast, when assessing 349 impacts at the pixel-level, all drivers contributed to explaining forest characteristics. Forest 350 dynamics over time was associated to climatic variation. Our results show that forest 351 dynamics can be explained by a complex interplay of drivers across time, space and scale. 352 Results give insights into agricultural frontier development and have consequences for 353 conservation and restoration.

354

### 355 Continuous decline in forest cover

356 We found that forest disturbance consistently exceeds forest regrowth, resulting in a 357 continuous decline in forest cover (Figs 3b, 4). This confirms Fernández-Montes de Oca et al. 358 (2015) demonstrating that deforestation in the region was continuously high from 2000 to 359 2012, and Vaca et al (2012) who observed that forest cover continued to decline from 1990-360 2006. An older study covering the 1970's and 1990's already reported this forest cover 361 decline and attributed it to policy support for agricultural expansion (de Jong et al. 2000). 362 Although policy support for agriculture continues up to today, there seems to have been a 363 shift from support for agricultural expansion (PROCAMPO since 1993, payments for arable 364 fields on area basis) towards agricultural intensification (support for oil palm since 2007 and 365 PROGAN support for cattle ranching on per-capita basis since 2008). The latter programmes, 366 combined with those that aim to enhance conservation, such as the payments for 367 ecosystem services programme (Costedoat et al. 2015), highlight efforts to halt 368 deforestation and intensify agricultural production. This shift came into effect after 369 international pressure, notably during the UN Summit of 1992, and coincided with signing 370 the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (Tello et al. 2020). However, at least for MdC, 371 these efforts have not resulted in halted or reverted deforestation.

372

## 373 Forest conservation

We found more old forest in communities that have more high-quality soils (Fig. 6a) though at pixel-level instead land availability and accessibility explained the probability of old forest

to occur (Table 1). More conservation with better soils supports the land-sparing and

agricultural intensification scenarios where agricultural production concentrates on highquality soils and low-quality soils are spared for conservation (Mather and Needle 1998,
Phalan et al. 2011). At the pixel-level, however, old forest was as likely to occur on high
quality soils as it is on low quality soils. Possibly where forest is conserved is the result of
two contrasting forces: on the one hand agricultural intensification favours old forest on
poor soils, on the other hand, high-quality soils are often found near main rivers (see also
Figs S3, S8) or in karst zones where agriculture is impractical or risky.

- Odds-ratio analyses revealed that old forest is 1.5 times more likely to be present on 384 385 communal land than it is on private land (Table 1), which goes against the conception that 386 resources managed under the commons will eventually be overexploited, known as the 387 tragedy of the commons (Hardin 1968). However this theory has been disputed by many 388 studies (e.g. Feeny et al. 1990), and also in Mexico where communally owned coniferous 389 forest had lower deforestation rates (Barsimantov and Kendall 2012). Other studies instead 390 found no difference between communally and privately owned lands in Mexico, which was 391 attributed to differences in community organisation and marginalisation (Bunge-Vivier and 392 Martínez-Ballesté 2017, Ellis et al. 2017). These results warrant that the Neoliberal 393 development allowing individuals to own and sell their land may accelerate forest loss in 394 this region, as recently illustrated by a global analysis (Davis et al. 2020). It also suggests that 395 programmes that aim to help conserve the remaining forests should ensure benefits for the 396 entire community. Although accessibility of communities did not explain how much forest 397 was conserved, at the pixel-level we do find that 35% more old forest occurs outside the 398 buffer of the main road. This confirms that infrastructure determines the extent and ease in 399 which farmers access markets, which increases land value and adversely affects forest cover 400 (Putz and Romero 2014, Alamgir et al. 2017, Vaca et al. 2019).
- 401

## 402 Restoration: Forest regrowth and secondary forest persistence

Secondary forest covered only 8% of the land (Fig. 1), its cover remained relatively constant while median secondary forest ages increased over time (Figs 3b, 5b). This suggest a change from shifting cultivation to permanent cultivation, in line with forest transition theory and colonisation frontier development (Richards 1996, Mather and Needle 1998). Shifting cultivation was the main livelihood practice in the early pioneer stage (de Vos 2003), where secondary forests occur as part of fallows. De Jong et al (2000) estimated that secondary 409 forests covered 17% in 1996. As agricultural frontiers increase access to markets, during the 410 second and third stages of colonization development (Richards 1996), communities move 411 towards more intensive land uses with cattle production and cash crops (van Vliet et al. 412 2012). Often this is characterized by agricultural concentration on high-quality lands 413 allowing secondary forests to persist on marginal land (Richards 1996, Mather and Needle 414 1998, Smith et al. 2001). Drivers of the transition away from shifting cultivation are a mix of 415 market development, population growth, policies and economic structures, increased land 416 tenure security, government support for cash crops and/or cattle (van Vliet et al. 2012). In 417 MdC similar developments have occurred: land could be owned individually since 1992 418 (Assies and Duhau 2009), government support shifted focus from agricultural expansion to 419 agricultural intensification (Tello et al. 2020), and NAFTA marked the neoliberal discourse 420 (Klepeis and Vance 2003) which caused farmers to change from crops (often in shifting 421 cultivation) to (more permanent) cattle production (Speelman et al. 2014). 422 Across communities we found a large variation in secondary forest cover (4 to 30%, Fig. 3a) 423 and in median secondary forest ages (3.5 to 25+ years). Differences across communities 424 were explained by land quality only, while at the pixel-level all three factors mattered. 425 Communities with more high-quality soils tended have less secondary forest that persisted 426 for longer (Fig. 6c, d) which is explained by agricultural concentration on high-quality soils 427 (Mather and Needle 1998). Indeed we found 70% more secondary forest on poor soils, 428 though, surprisingly, soil did not explain differences in secondary forest ages (Table 1). 429 Forest regrowth was also associated with poor soils in Costa Rica (Arroyo-Mora et al. 2005), 430 though other studies found no link with soil quality (Sloan et al. 2016). Median secondary 431 forest ages (up to 21 years) reach beyond what is expected in shifting cultivation, also 432 confirming a change away from shifting cultivation. Results suggest that restoration is only 433 an option in communities with access to high-fertile lands and that incentivising farmers 434 may be needed to further increase the restoration potential of secondary forests (Rudel et 435 al. 2016, Chazdon et al. 2020). The current PES programme, however, effectively excludes secondary forests due to the programme's minimal area requirements. We found more 436 persistent secondary forests on communal land, reflecting a similar pattern to old forests. 437 438 Secondary forest was 30% less likely to be present within 1 km of the road where it was also 439 less persistent, similar to findings from Peru (Schwartz et al. 2017).

### 441 Temporal drivers of forest dynamics

The method we employed allows a unique and detailed historical trajectory of disturbance 442 443 and regrowth events, which is valuable to analyse drivers of variation in space and time. We 444 found that variation in climatic conditions explained the variation in disturbance and 445 regrowth over time. More forest is disturbed in El Niño years that had extreme drought in 446 the dry season (Fig. 7a), which is driven particularly by the year 1998 that showed a four-447 fold increase in disturbance (Fig. 4) and had extreme socioeconomic consequences (Buizer 448 et al. 2000). In MdC people combined it with deliberate forest fires to clear land for 449 agriculture (Román-Cuesta et al. 2003, 2004). The proportion of area cleared in that year 450 was negatively related to the proportion of land suitable for permanent cultivation (Fig. 6d), 451 suggesting that 1998 was taken as an opportunity to easily clear lands with less potential. 452 The price-changes resulting from NAFTA (Speelman et al. 2014), that made cattle ranching 453 more popular, may have paved the way for the increased forest clearance. Forest regrowth 454 instead was elevated in wetter years (Fig. 7b), similar to findings in the African Sahel and 455 Southern India (Xiao and Moody 2005). Land use is the result of a complex interplay of 456 drivers across scales, as illustrated by the 1998 disturbance peak which coincided with an El 457 Niño event and followed changes in tenure security, government support programmes, and 458 changing commodity prices. This is true also for forest regrowth, and similar to findings in 459 the Sahel (Sendzimir et al. 2011).

460

461 *Limitations of this study* 

Our method on pixel-level forest dynamics yielded good overall accuracies but probably 462 463 overestimated the current amount of old forest and underestimated the area not forested 464 and under secondary forest. While we found 55% old forest and 8% secondary forest, INEGI 465 2011 estimated 42% of forest cover, including both old growth and secondary forest (INEGI 466 2010). Estimates based on plot-data in the southwestern part of the region estimated 33% 467 old-growth forest and 17% secondary forest (Zermeño-Hernández et al. 2016). Although definitions of old forest and of secondary forest may partially underlie this (in our case old is 468 469 older than 26 years), we expect that model assumptions also played a role. Our method 470 took a conservative approach to detecting disturbance or regrowth with thresholds that 471 reduce commission errors but may increase omission errors. As a consequence some 472 disturbances will go undetected (increasing old forest cover), and that some regrowth will

go undetected (decreasing secondary forest cover). This may apply particularly to regrowth
which remains hard to identify due to its gradual nature (DeVries et al. 2015a). Although we
recognize this bias, such errors will apply homogenously to the whole region, and thus not

476 affect our results in terms of the drivers across time and space.

477

478 *Recommendations and conclusions* 

We found that forest conservation and regrowth can be explained by a complex interplay of drivers across time, space and scale. We warrant that further stimulating private land ownership will lead remaining forest patches on communal land to be lost and that initiatives geared towards enhancing forest conservation should benefit the community. To ensure that secondary forests contribute to restoration targets, forest regrowth and secondary forest persistence should be stimulated which requires incentivising farmers to set aside land for restoration (cf. Chazdon et al. 2020).

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performed the remote sensing analyses. ANS and CS have collected data for the soil
properties and created the map on geomorphical units, SN and GW have created the oil

503 palm map. All authors contributed to the writing and have approved the final version of this

504 work.

- 505 The authors declare no conflict of interest
- 506
- 507 Please refer to the supplementary materials for:
- 508 Detailed methods on forest disturbance and regrowth identification
- 509 Detailed methods on soil properties across the geomorphic units
- 510 Figure S1. Illustrating the forest dynamics trajectory method and validation
- 511 Figure S2. Map of oil palm plantations in Marqués de Comillas, Mexico
- 512 Figure S3. Geomorphic land units across Marqués de Comillas and their values for high-
- 513 productive potential and soil organic carbon
- 514 Figure S4. Internal rivers in Marqués de Comillas region
- 515 Figure S5. The main road (built in 1994) that connects communities in Marqués de Comillas
- 516 region
- 517 Figure S6. Forest disturbance in year 1998 in Marqués de Comillas region
- 518 Figure S7. Map with formally registered lands under private and communal ownership
- 519 across Marqués de Comillas region
- 520 Figure S8. The main rivers that border Marqués de Comillas region
- 521 Table S1. Soil sampling across the six main geomorphic units and across land uses
- 522 Table S2. Test statistics for the drivers of forest landscape characteristics across
- 523 communities
- 524 Table S3. Test statistics for the drivers of dynamics over time
- 525

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