

1 Appendix

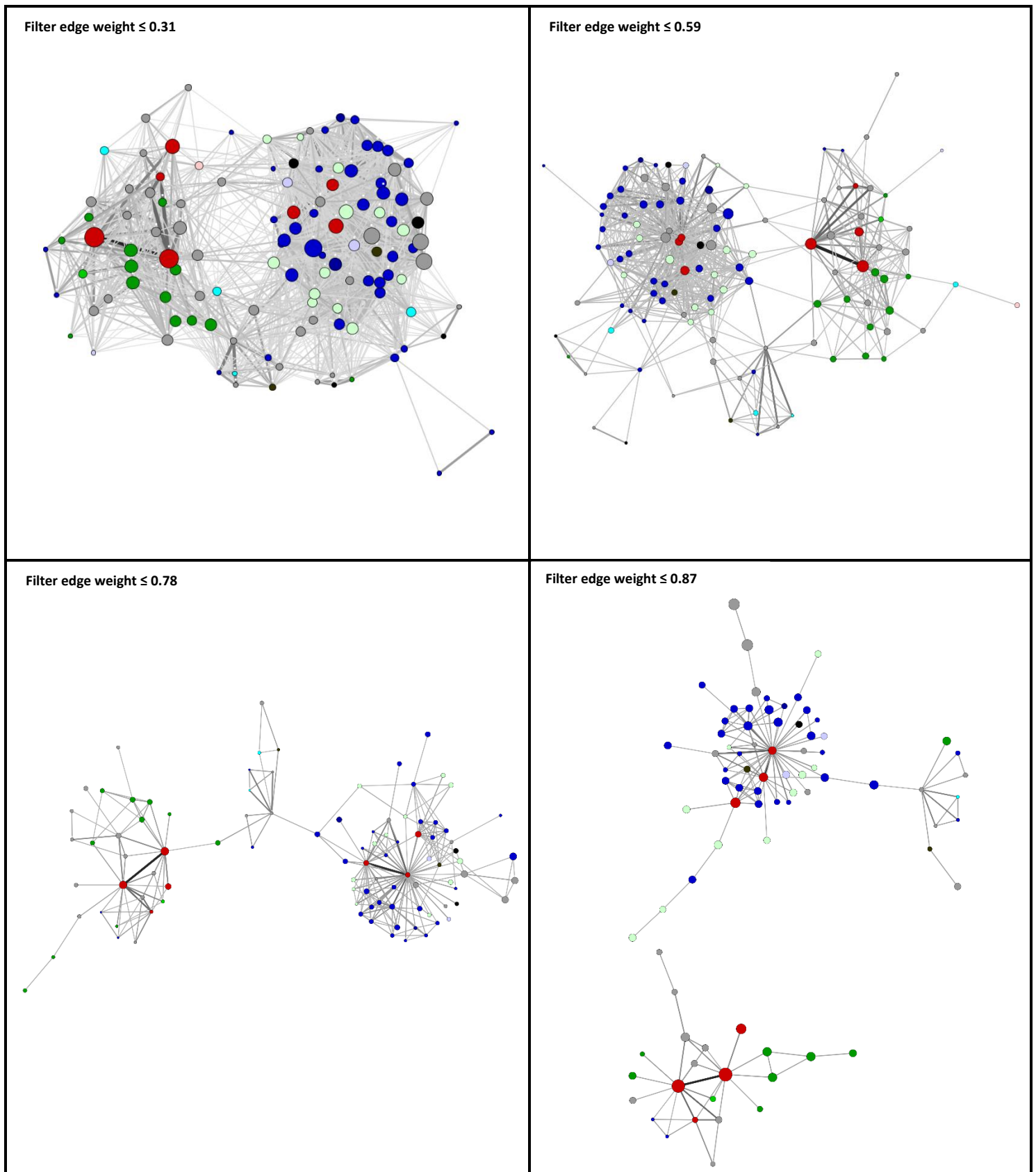


Figure A5: Actor congruence networks applying different edge weight filters (filters: ≤ 0.31 , ≤ 0.59 , ≤ 0.78 , ≤ 0.87).

3 Table A1: Supplementary information on organizations, including their types and affiliations with EU-MS or political levels.

Coalition	Organization type	Organization name	Country/Political level
Supporting	(Environmental) NGOs	BirdLife International	International
		ClientEarth	International
		European Environmental Bureau (EEB)	EU
		France Nature Environnement (FNE)	France
		Growing Media Europa	EU
		International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW)	International
		Mediterranean Office for Environment, Culture and Sustainable Development (MIO-ESCDE)	International
		Succow Foundation	Germany
		World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF)	International
		WWF Belgium	Belgium
		WWF European Office	EU
		WWF Poland	Poland
		Wetlands International Europe	EU
	Governmental bodies	Ministry for Climate Action, Environment, Energy, Mobility, Innovation and Technology Austria	Austria
		Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development Croatia	Croatia
		Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Development and Environment Cyprus	Cyprus
		Ministry of the Environment Czech Republic	Czech Republic
		Ministry of the Environment Denmark	Denmark
		European Commission	EU
		Ministry of the Environment Estonia	Estonia
		Ministry for the Ecological Transition France	France
		Federal Office for Environment (UBA) Germany	Germany
		Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Nuclear Safety and Consumer Protection Germany	Germany
		Ministry for the Environment, Climate and Communications	Ireland
		Ministry of Environmental Protection and Regional Development of the Republic of Latvia	Latvia
		Ministry of the Environment, Climate and Biodiversity of Luxembourg	Luxembourg
		Ministry for the Environment, Energy and the Regeneration of the Grand Harbor of Malta	Malta
		Ministry of Environment and Climate Action of Portugal	Portugal
	Parliamentary groups	Ministry of Environment of the Slovak Republic	Slovakia
		Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning of Slovenia	Slovenia
		Ministry for the Ecological Transition and the Demographic Challenge	Spain
		Greens/EFA	EU
		The Left	EU
		Renew Europe	EU
		Socialists and Democrats (S&D)	EU
	Business company and association	European Federation for Hunting and Conservation (FACE)	EU
		HSE Group	Slovenia
		Natural Mineral Waters Europe (NMWE)	EU
	Scientific body	European Geosciences Union (EGU)	EU
	Energy sector	Eurelectric	EU
Opposing	(Environmental) NGOs	European Forum on Nature Conservation and Pastoralism (EFNCP)	EU
	Forestry (and land use) industry	Agricultural Industry Association e.V. (IVA)	Germany
		Asociación Española del Sector del Papel y Cartón (ASAPAPEL)	Spain
		Association of the Austrian Paper Industry - Austropapier	Austria
		Austrian Wood Industries	Austria
		Confederation of European Paper Industries - CEPI	EU
		Deutsche Säge- und Holzindustrie (DeSH)	Germany
		Federation of Austrian Industries (IV)	Austria

4 Table A2 (continued)

		Finnish Forest Center (Metsäkeskus)	Finland
		Finnish Forest Industries (Metsäteollisuus)	Finland
		Foro de Bosques y Cambio Climático (FBYCC)	Spain
Coalition	Organization type	Organization name	Country/Political level
Opposing			
	Forestry (and land use) industry	Latvian Peat Association (LPA)	Latvia
		Metsä Group	Finland
		Stora Enso	Finland
	Governmental bodies		
		Austrian Chamber of Commerce (federal)	Austria
		Austrian Chamber of Commerce Styria	Austria
		Austrian Chamber of Commerce Upper Austria	Austria
		Austrian Chamber of Commerce Vorarlberg	Austria
		Austrian Chamber of Commerce Vienna	Austria
		Ministry of Infrastructure and Water Management Netherlands	The Netherlands
		Ministry of Environment Finland	Finland
		General Directorate for Energy and Geology	Portugal
		Ministry of Energy Hungary	Hungary
		Ministry of the Environment and Energy Security Italy	Italy
		Ministry of Climate and Environment Poland	Poland
	Parliamentary groups		
		European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR)	EU
		European People's Party (EPP)	EU
		Identity and Democracy (ID)	EU
	Forest (and land) owner (association)		
		Association of municipal, private and ecclesiastical forest owners in the Czech Republic	Czech Republic
		Austrian Chamber of Agriculture	Austria
		Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners (MTK)	Finland
		CIA Agricoltori Italiani	Italy
		Claumat NV	Belgium
		Copa Cogeca	EU
		Danish Agriculture & Food Council (DAFC)	Denmark
		Dutch Foundation for Innovation in Greenhouse Horticulture (SIGN)	The Netherlands
		European Landowners' Organization (ELO)	EU
		Familienbetriebe Land und Forst Brandenburg	Germany
		Familienbetriebe Land und Forst Baden-Württemberg	Germany
		Familienbetriebe Land und Forst (federal)	Germany
		Familienbetriebe Land und Forst Lower Saxony	Germany
		Familienbetriebe Land und Forst North Rhine-Westphalia	Germany
		Familienbetriebe Land und Forst Saxony-Anhalt	Germany
		Forum Natur Brandenburg e.V. (FNB)	Germany
		Forest enterprises (1-4)	Germany
		Forest owners (1-2)	Germany
		Forest owner association Brandenburg	Germany
		Forest owner association Lower Saxony	Germany
		Groene Kring	Belgium
		Hauptverband des Osnabrücker Landvolkes (HOL) e.V.	Germany
		Hoogbosch Propriété Belge N.V.	Belgium
		Landesbauernverband Brandenburg (LBV BB) e.V.	Germany
		Lasy Państwowe	Poland
		Waldbauernverband North Rhine-Westphalia e.V.	Germany
	Business company and association		
		CropLife Europe	EU
		Neova Group	Finland
	Regional and municipal council		
		German Association of Towns and Municipalities (DStGB)	Germany
		East and North Finland	Finland
	Energy sector		
		Statkraft	Norway/international
		Sustainable Biomass Program (SBP)	International
	Mining industry		
		Euromines	EU
		Industrial Minerals Europe (IMA Europe)	EU

Swedish Association for Mines, Mineral and Metal Producers (Svemin)
Zinkgruvan Mining

Sweden
Sweden

6 Table A3: Supplementary information on the storylines identified, their meaning and exemplary quotes from discourse coalitions.

Storyline	Explanation	Opposing coalition (exemplary)	Supporting coalition (exemplary)
State of European forests	The debate surrounding the storyline focused on the overall state of biodiversity in European forests.	“The results [of regular monitoring of the status of habitats under the Habitats Directive] show that there are no major negative changes in current habitat extent, impacts and threats, structure and function, or deterioration in future habitat prospects (degradation) due to forest management.” (Association of municipal, private and ecclesiastical forest owners in the Czech Republic)	“Importantly, this is the first-ever piece of legislation that explicitly targets the restoration of Europe’s nature, to repair the 80% of European habitats that are in poor condition, and to bring back nature to all ecosystems, including forests, [...].” (European Federation for Hunting and Conservation)
Restoration financing	The debate surrounding this storyline centered on whether sufficient financing is available to implement (forest) restoration measures.	“Further evaluation of the availability of the funding mechanisms provided for farmers and forests, including data on previous rates of consumption of EU funds by member states to estimate the effectiveness of the financial proposal.” (CIA Agricoltori Italiani)	“In its current format, the proposed regulation does not explicitly address the EU support for nature restoration other than in Article 12(2)(l).” (Wetlands International Europe)
Global crises	The debate surrounding this storyline addressed the role of forest restoration in the context of geopolitical conflicts, particularly with regard to strengthening domestic agriculture and forestry production.	“The Ukraine war and the fragility of international supply chains require Europe to maintain production capacities to secure the supply of food and renewable raw materials.” (German Familienbetriebe Land und Forst e.V.)	“Russia’s war on Ukraine shows we need a more resilient EU food system without lowering quality or health safety standards.” (S&D)
Leakage	The debate surrounding this storyline addressed the potential outsourcing of production resulting from forest restoration efforts to non-EU countries, along with the associated relocation of climate and biodiversity impacts.	“Banning the use of wood leads to higher imports from other EU countries and thus to the overexploitation of other areas, including the associated damage to the environment and biodiversity” (Austrian Economic Chambers)	“However, what applies to climate change, also applies here: this crisis should make us aware of how dependent we are on fossil fuels and importing our food, especially animal feed. We need to build a resilient European agricultural sector that works with nature, not against it. For that, you need laws like this.” (The Greens/EFA)
Legal ambiguity	The debate surrounding this storyline focused on the role of legal ambiguities and unclear definitions within the legislative proposal.	“Alongside this there are a series of terms that are ill-defined or not at all; resilience, reference condition, satisfactory level, forest connectivity, sufficient, connectivity, favorable conservation status, and biological cycle.” (COPA COGECA)	“The NRL creates more legal certainty by establishing a legal framework with clear definitions, rights, obligations, monitoring, reporting, targets and deadlines.” (The Left)
Bureaucratization	The debate surrounding this storyline referred to the potential increase in administrative burdens for forest and landowners caused by the Regulation.	“Due to the accumulation of obligations and strict nature goals, the agricultural and forestry sector is succumbing to the pressure.” (Hoogbosch Propriété Belgium)	“There are no obligations which apply directly to industries, farmers, fisheries, etc, so there is no regulatory burden!” (The Left)
Expropriation	The debate surrounding this storyline addressed concerns about disproportionate impacts on property rights, including the potential for land expropriation allegedly supported by the Regulation.	“The proposal of the Regulation in its current version suggests that the EU decides on the use of land instead of land owner (state, municipalities, private individuals). It shouldn't be so.” (Latvian Peat Association)	“Following the adoption of the council mandate, new flexibilities were brought in, allowing further taking into account of essential economic activities to food security and ecosystem resilience.” (French Ministry for the Ecological Transition)

7 Table A3 (continued)

Storyline	Explanation	Opposing coalition (exemplary)	Supporting coalition (exemplary)
Restoration site	The debate surrounding this storyline discussed whether (forest) restoration measures should be focused on Natura 2000 sites only or go beyond them.	"As indicated in paragraph 23 of the draft regulation, the Natura 2000 network is the main instrument for achieving the objectives of the Habitats and Birds Directives, and therefore EU regulations in this regard should be defined within the boundaries of the Natura 2000 network." (Polish Ministry of Climate and Environment)	"The marine habitats to be restored go beyond those covered under the Habitats Directive and also the restoration of habitats of species go beyond the species protected under the Birds and Habitats Directives." (European Environmental Bureau)
Forest restoration cost-benefit	The debate surrounding this storyline addressed the cost-benefit ratio of forest restoration.	"The cost estimates included the impact assessment are quite uncertain and possibly an underestimation, as estimations are based on an EU-average and no opportunity costs are included. A more comprehensive economical evaluation should have been conducted to better assess the real economic effects of the regulation." (Metsäkeskus)	"This will also be critical in adapting to our climate challenge. We know that in each of our countries, nature-based solutions are going to be the lowest cost, the most beneficial measures we can take in reducing emissions." (Irish Ministry of Environment)
Subsidiarity	The debate surrounding this storyline examined whether directly setting forest ecosystem targets and indicators exceeds the EU's competence.	"The EU does not have a common forest policy. Any new legislation must fully respect the Member States national competence related to forest policy." (MTK Finland)	"We are concerned that giving too much freedom to Member States will result in delays and a lack of effective action at national level." (MIO-ESCDE)
Feasibility	The debate surrounding this storyline discussed whether the Regulation sets realistic targets and whether the restoration baselines are supported by sufficient empirical evidence.	"There are also many data gaps in forest inventories. Not only this lack of data creates serious doubt about the credibility and justification of the set targets." (European Landowner Organization)	"This regulation represents an appropriate framework for us to protect and strengthen the role of nature in achieving those [nature restoration] targets." (Slovenian Ministry of the Environment, Climate and Energy)
Local participation and inclusion	This debate surrounding this storyline discussed whether the expertise and needs of key stakeholders have been sufficiently considered.	"Nature conservation is not possible without cooperation with the local people who live and work in the forests and fields, who know the local area better than anyone else and who want to pass on good ecological, social and economic conditions to their children." (German forest enterprise; translated from German)	"The inclusion of forest ecosystems and marine areas (in particular, seagrass and seabed) among the spheres of intervention of the law and the bottom-up approach of the restoration planning by Member States, are both welcome points." (MIO-ESCDE)
Forest disturbances	The debate surrounding this storyline focused on the interactions between forest restoration and forest disturbances.	"Indicator carbon stock in the forest: risks of climate change, calamities, forest fires etc. are completely ignored here." (German land and forest owner association)	"Nature restoration is our best insurance policy for climate adaptation as it will increase our resilience to droughts, floods and other extreme weather events." (eNGOs, S&D, Left and Greens)
Production restriction	The debate surrounding this storyline addressed the potential restrictive impact of forest restoration on forest production and its effects on rural economies.	"Wood represents an extremely important value chain in Vorarlberg, which secures sustainable jobs and prosperity. The loss of many jobs would be the result if forests were to be put to other uses." (Vorarlberg Chamber of Commerce)	"It is crucial for enhancing the productivity and resilience of forest and agricultural land, which are already severely threatened by the growing impacts of climate change in nearly all parts of Europe." (Left Group, the Greens/EFA)

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