Is rewilding “post-conservation”?

Exploring the role and positioning of humans in rewilding discourse and practice

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Abstract:


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Howling wolves, native forests, reconnecting humans with nature….rewilding is a land management practice which embodies multiple visions and ideals relating to wild-land and wilderness. As a process it aims to restore or re-create wild areas as self sustaining ecosystems and is increasing in prevalence across Europe. Rewilding claims to encompass ideals and goals which are distinct from those of conservation, yet it appears to share many elements with conservation. This study assesses the positioning of rewilding in relation to conservation by exploring the positioning of humans in rewilding discourse and practice. Research focuses upon rewilding in Scotland, utilizing a post-structuralist approach to analyse discourse from web and field research to provide an understanding of rewilding. The question- “is rewilding post-conservation” is addressed by presenting a comparative analysis between preservation conservation and rewilding, asserting that rewilding is post-conservation. An exploration of factors underpinning rewildings’ status as post-conservation highlights the significance of the conceptualization of humans as external to the environment. Rewilding is a diverse practice, embracing a spectrum of values, aims, ideals and subjectivities, and is a process which defines the relationship between humans and the environment; it is also a process which has the potential to redefine this relationship.

Keywords: Rewilding, wilderness, post-conservation, post-structural, Scotland, discourse, human-environment relationship.
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**Introduction:**

1: The essence of rewilding and this study:

A horizon filled with nature’s creations from forests to open plains, fully functioning ecosystems, listening to wolves howling in the distance and eating buds from a birch tree; this is an interpretation of some of the goals and ideals which introduce the essence of rewilding. Reconnecting with the environment and self-willed landscapes are visions which rewilding contains; rewilding is the process of achieving this.

Rewilding is increasingly being used as a land management tool across Europe\(^1\) where recreating wild areas or wilderness is the goal. Within this wild land vision is the notion of self-sustaining ecosystems, where natural processes manage the environment without the need for intervention form humans and the benefits for humans relate to experience\(^2\). Rewilding is sometimes presented as a conservation practise, sometimes without reference to conservation and sometimes it is specifically defined as being distinct from conservation or *beyond conservation*\(^3\). It is possible that the *beyond conservation*\(^4\) status is an acknowledgement the situation which Adams presented,

“The 20\(^{th}\) century saw conservation´s creation, but nature´s decline.\(^{5}\)”

Or it could also be linked to the rewilding aspiration to encompass, restore and effectively leave entire ecosystems to their own rule\(^6\). This is in contrast to protectionist conservation\(^7\) where protected area conservation has often focussed upon fenced areas characterised by human management with the intention of protecting them from a perceived threat\(^8\), but the two share many key features.

This study will explore rewilding values, ideals and practises and assess these in relation to conservation. This assessment will be used to assert whether rewilding shares fundamental features with protectionist conservation and can be considered a conservation practise, or whether it is presenting a new and distinct approach to land management – a new post-conservation paradigm.

In order to present an understanding of rewilding, the discourse and practise of 4 rewilding sites in Scotland will be analysed, focussing on 4 themes which are evident in both conservation and rewilding practises: Wilderness, exclusion, degradation and intervention. Web based data and data collected during the field study will provide the rewilding data for analysis. This understanding will provide the basis for the discussion where the positioning of rewilding as post-conservation will be explored. Focus will also be given to the positioning of humans as a part of, or external to the environment as this is acknowledged to affect both the conceptualisation of wilderness and wild-spaces as places without people and untouched by human influence\(^9\), and consequently affects the actions of conservation such as the removal and exclusion of humans from an area reserved for nature\(^10\). This positioning is something which has been highlighted as a fundamental flaw in conservation\(^11\) and has
been challenged. The separation of humans from the environment will be highlighted here as a conceptual boundary which is restricting the potential of rewilding.

This paper will introduce the rewilding concept and the Scottish context followed by a discussion of literature and theory and of methods. The analysed discourse will then be presented as an exploration of the identified themes and storylines relating to each of the sites. This understanding of rewilding will then be considered in relation to protectionist conservation and the discussion will assert whether rewilding can be seen as post-conservation. The concluding presentation will offer a critical interpretation of the asserted positioning of rewilding in relation to conservation.

1.1: Rewilding concept and practice:

The concept of rewilding emerged during the latter decades of the 20th century with Soule and Noss presenting rewilding as a conservation practise. For Soule and Noss, rewilding was something which could be distinguished from biodiversity conservation which they defined as relating to the protection of specific biotic elements, and instead rewilding focuses on the restoration of large wilderness areas, the importance of keystone species (including predators), connected areas of wilderness and the notion of self-regulating environments.

The ideas of connected areas, keystone species and large areas of wilderness have evolved as features of rewilding, and ultimately rewilding aims to restore functions within an environment so that ecosystems can function independently, or with a minimal of human intervention. Rewilding is often associated with human actions to support the restoration of these processes within defined areas. The value ascribed to land classified as wild land or wilderness is also central to the concept of rewilding and this is identified as a primary feature and concern of rewilding and is something which has been identified as a secondary concern to the traditional conservation values of amenity and biodiversity.

Rewilding is also not exclusively related to environments, ecology, wildlife and wilderness, it can also be linked to rewilding the human:

“the ultimate process of re-wilding will be in our own hearts...”.

Rewilding is not only interpreted as a process of facilitating or allowing ecological processes to resume within an environment, it is also viewed as a re-connection with nature and natural processes, and is offered as a liberation from the industrialised, comfortable and predictable lives experienced by 21st century British inhabitants.

Across Europe rewilding is a growing practise and within both the UK and in Scotland there are several established rewilding projects. Aiming to restore forests, landscape functions and to reintroduce missing species, these rewilding actions are sometimes seen as
appropriate solutions in a necessary process of restoration they are deemed as necessary processes because of the perceived degraded nature of the landscape.

1.2: The Scottish context: A brief overview of recent history and politics

Prior to the 1700s Scotland had a rural population who operated a sheiling system of *mixed agriculture* where sheep and cattle were grazed on upland areas during summer months and crops were grown around the homestead. This system of land use came to a forcible end during the 18th and 19th centuries affected by social, political and economic changes, when the rural population were largely removed from the land, sometimes forcibly, by landlords who wished to implement new, more profitable farming systems - namely large scale sheep farming, this episode is known as the Highland clearances. Sheep farming was in part replaced by the rise in the sporting estate in the late 19th Century which was linked a decrease in the profitability of sheep.

Today Scotland is a country within the United Kingdom, exercising devolved powers through a national parliament. Later this year there will be a referendum to decide whether to become independent from Great Britain. Scotland’s political, social and climatic history has created a country where the majority of the population are urban with only 20% of the population living within the rural 94% of the landmass and rural land lies predominantly in the hands of a small number of owners. Scotland has legislated to ensure recreational access to virtually all land is a right for everyone.

It is suggested that forest cover has decreased in recent millennia, driven by a combination of climate, human, political factors, although direct human actions such as agriculture are usually interpreted as the primary, cause. However, although the understanding of the extent of forest cover decrease, the perception of open land as degraded landscapes and the human as the causal factor are common interpretations of landscape history and landscape values, these perceptions and values are questioned and disputed.

Species extirpation has been extensive in Scotland including wolves, bears, lynx in recent centuries and reintroduction of missing species is both a component of rewilding and connected to regional biodiversity policies and targets which contribute to National targets and the European resolution- EU 2020 Biodiversity Strategy, which is a result of the Aichi targets set by the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity. Lack of predators and deer hunting estates are factors affecting the high population of deer in Scotland. Sheep are often blamed today, along with deer, for the perceived sustained degradation of the land although this link between deer and sheep populations and degradation is not a straightforward, and is also linked to perceptions and values ascribed to landscape qualities.

Rewilding has become a process or aim which is increasingly being utilised in Scotland by private land owners and NGO’s with the proposal of a wolf reintroduction and large scale
reforestation projects being at one end of the rewilding spectrum and controlling deer numbers to support natural regeneration at the other\textsuperscript{42}.
**Literature and Theory:**

2: Towards a theory:

Post-structuralism emerged as a philosophical movement in France during the 1960’s as a response to structuralism’s claims that a “secure” understanding of social and cultural phenomena can be gained through the uncovering of existing structures\(^43\). Post-structuralism claims that our understandings are limited to interpretations and asserts\(^44\) that reality is a construct and that discourse is the medium through which social constructions and understanding are formed\(^45\). Discourse is understood here as a language (words, written, spoken\(^46\) and also images) which reflect ideals and values of individuals and groups\(^47\).

**Literature review:**

2.1: Foucault’s ideas of governmentality:

Michel Foucault’s ideas have been extremely influential in contemporary thought relating to post-structuralist ideas of discourse, power and governance or governmentality\(^48\). Governmentality is understood at its most basic level to be the relationship between *abstract societal discourses* and *everyday material practises* and is linked to the understanding of how power operates through discourse\(^49\).

Rutherford\(^50\) asserts that understanding the constructed nature of an environmental crisis is quintessential to assessing “*the ways that the truth about the environment is made, and how that truth is governed.*”\(^51\) Here, she is utilising Foucault’s ideas relating to governmentality and the creation of power through discourse, suggesting that constructed crisis such as land degradation (that is - the discursive framework in which we understand and interpret degradation is constructed) is used to inform, becomes accepted knowledge and affects actions. This is also highlighted by Arts et al\(^52\) in their discourse analysis of documents used to support political decisions relating to species reintroductions, who found that even negative aspects were framed as positive and utilised in favour of the reintroductions.

Similarly, Fletcher\(^53\) frames his discussion on *post-conservation* within the idea that *environmentalities*, or conservation strategies, can be understood as embodying combinations of Foucault’s categories of governance and power including “*truth-governance in accordance with particular conception of the nature and order of the universe*,” and “*discipline-governance through encouraging internalisation of norms and values*”\(^54\). Although the exploration and application of Foucault’s concepts of governmentality and power will not be applied as a primary frame within which this rewilding study will be understood, these frames for understanding are influential to the post-structuralist approach adopted here and elements of these ideas will be evident within
the analysis. Specifically, the concept of differing modes of power is relevant to this study as it highlights the importance of multiple ways in which humans can be influenced by discourse which can be directly linked to the construction, use and understanding of the discourse.

2.2: Rewilding discourse, construction, effects:

The discourse created and used to support government backed species reintroductions in Scotland has been assessed and suggested that the discourse storylines\(^55\) favours positive interpretations of potential problems and focuses on supporting reintroductions\(^56\). Discourse is also explored in relation to understanding perceptions of land use in Scotland, where the anticipated conflict between traditional shooting moorland and (Caledonian) forest restoration was analysed\(^57\). This study will, like these papers explore the discourses which are used to understand and support actions. However, although it can be beneficial to limit a study to one particular aspect within the broader field of rewilding as these studies have shown, this study will adopt a broader approach in order to offer an understanding of the field itself- rewilding.

Robbins and Fraser\(^{2003}\) critically assess reforestation in Scotland and assert that there are 2 distinct discursively constructed types of forest in Scotland, that of a commercial forest and that of indigenous forest\(^58\). They assert that the casting of traditional land uses, such as farming and deer stalking, as human constructed landscapes with negative associations such as degradation of the environment allows the recreated indigenous forests to take the moral high ground\(^59\) and to be seen as a connection to renewal and is linked to creating a new, independent identity for Scotland\(^60\). The idea presented here that socially constructed definitions are used to support actions, are connected to identity creation and can be linked to morality highlights the significance, or the power of discourse and affirms the analysis of discourse as a method for understanding these processes.

Rewilding is the subject of a study of perceptions in Switzerland, and includes lengthy consideration of the origins of rewilding, perceptions of wilderness and some key issues within rewilding in order to situate rewilding in the Swiss context\(^61\). Although the Scotland based studies assess elements which can be seen as components of rewilding, (Caledonian reforestation and reintroductions), and several themselves acknowledge this\(^62\), there is distinct lack of consideration over the implications of this categorisation, or the creation and understanding of this construct despite their acknowledgement, via chosen methods, of the significance of such constructs. An understanding of the constructed context within which these studies are situated and operate- rewilding in Scotland, would further support the claimed value of analysis pertaining to the creation of categories and knowledge, and will be offered by this study.
2.3: Rewilding and conservation:

The terms *rewilding* and *conservation* have been created in order to define and allow understanding of particular beliefs, ideals, aims and actions.

Brown et al. suggest that rewilding is a conservation *strategy*[^63], and offer rewilding as a *new paradigm*[^64] for conservation in Scotland and concluding that rewilding should become an *objective*[^65] in government policy. This paper is itself an example of how knowledge can be constructed, with the intention of being utilised to influence the actions and beliefs of others and it is included in this discussion because it proposes that rewilding is a set of practices which can be distinguished from previous conservation phases and its historical evolutionary path which is traced to the founding of the conservation movement[^66]. The situating of rewilding as a new paradigm within conservation is created and claimed by this paper and will be examined within this study. In his study of grizzly bear reintroductions, Hintz provides a critique of what he presents as the conservation biology rewilding proposal[^67]. He claims that wilderness is a *social goal* and a human *product* that conservation biology essentially separates humans from the environment in practise whilst including them within the environment theoretically and he offers this critique as an opportunity to recognise this, initiate changes and improve the “movements potential effectiveness”[^68]. Hintz presents rewilding as a conservation practise, a conservation practise which needs to be critiqued in order to achieve its goals. The ideas of social construction and the significance of the situating of humans as internal or external to the environment, conceptually and in practise are themes which will be used to explore rewilding in Scotland.

In his book *Beyond Conservation*[^69], Taylor describes nature as being *marginalised*, referring to the idea that nature is perceived as something external to humans, and he views this separation as a *mistake* which he links to conservations separation of humans and nature[^70]. This separation and the consequences of it will be an area of focus within this study. Taylor`s book offers rewilding as new approach to managing land and describes protection conservation as being *in the middle of a paradigm shift*[^71], moving away from protection of threatened areas and towards re-creation of habitat[^72]. Similarly, Fletcher[^73] questions whether contemporary political ecology critiques of conservation can be seen as:

“….proposing a ‘post-conservation’ perspective more concerned with social and environmental justice than biodiversity preservation?”[^74]

This idea is further developed with the suggestion that approaches to biodiversity conservation can be understood through a post-structuralist Foucaultian based understanding of conservations differing approaches[^75] and this will be explored further in the coming theory section.

The claim that rewilding is something new and something different from conservation is a recurrent theme which existing literature, (to the best of my knowledge) has not addressed until now. This study will offer an exploration of rewilding`s positioning as post-conservation
and as humans are both the definers, practitioners and arguably the benefactors of rewilding, the role of humans within discourse and practise will provide the basis for the inquiry.

2.4: Conservation:

Brockington’s book *Fortress Conservation* presents the history of the Mkomazi Game Reserve in Tanzania, exploring the processes which led up the eviction of residents from the area in the late 1980’s and the consequences of this. The study highlights the changes in official policy regarding the pastoralists and residents, and also the role of international conservation and western ideals in preserving its imagined status as an un-occupied wild reserve. One of the things which this study presented which is relevant to the research relating to rewilding, is the connection between alleged degradation of the landscape caused by human activity- pastoralism, and the eviction of people from the environment. This is an example of protected area conservation and the issues of degradation and exclusion and will be explored within the discussion in this paper.

Restricted access to resources and the relocation of some residents was apparent following the establishment of protected area status to the Sariska Tiger Reserve in India. Following the designation, the government appropriated the land within the reserve and although land outwith the reserve was provided for those affected. Restrictions were imposed upon the collection of resources from within the reserve. The priorities of the reserve are focused upon protecting the environment and also conserving the tiger. These priorities have been framed by the reserve as a conflict between the residents and the environment. On example given is a from a representative of the “Project Tiger” who declares that the residents are damaging the environment and that the residents are incompatible with their priority to protect the environment. This is an example of human welfare and survival being deemed of secondary importance to that of the tigers. The suggestion that wildlife and the environment are in conflict and threatened by humans in the environment are also linked to the idea that wild spaces are places without people, thus emphasizing the separation of humans from the environment both physically and conceptually. The exclusion from access to the area and exclusion from resources are features of conservation which will be examined in relation to rewilding.

The commodification of wilderness and conservation are also of relevance here. In her paper on African conservation and colonialism, Garland identifies the separation of humans from the environment as a central component in the creation of a conservation-nature ideal which is free from human presence, and one which is to be valued because of this quality. The value of this non-human environment is represented by a symbolic species, for example the elephant, and this is then utilized to generate support for conservation practices. Similarly, commodifying wilderness in direct relation to tourism is also linked to the idea of wildlife as a commercial resource and eco-tourism is increasing in popularity, as is the
emergence of private wildlife reserves linked to conservation\textsuperscript{81}. The rewilding sites can be seen to reflect these notions of commodification in differing ways and the significance of this will be highlighted.
Theory

3: Discourse analysis:

This study will utilise discourse analysis as the primary method of analysis.

Discourse has many definitions including: The “argumentative structure” within texts; “discourse” can refer only to words and phrases and “Discourse” can refer to the merging of words and phrases with culturally definable actions; Hajer and Versteeg’s define discourse as a collection of ideas which produce meaning.

This study, like Hajer, and Arts et al. defines discourse as a language construct,( words, sentences, paragraphs; written and spoken) which contain and represent the ideals, values and sometimes the aims, of individuals, and groups. These are used by individuals and groups to present an understanding and create a meaning of a particular phenomena and these discursive constructions shape reality. Discourse has a history which reflects the political, social and environmental conditions under which it was produced. Discourse is also culturally and spatially imbedded in terms of both its production and understanding. Discourse is also a medium and expression of power and through the study of discourse an interpretation of social and cultural phenomena can be presented.

Escobar claims that “nature is socially constructed” and by this he means that the human understanding of that which we have termed “nature” is something which humans have developed, quantified, prescribed value to and now utilise. Concepts such as Escobar’s nature and wilderness are discursive constructs and not only are they value laden, they are also an expression of power. Actors, which can include amongst others individuals, NGO’s and government bodies generate discourse and assert power through its use. By assessing the discourse by, to some extent- deconstructing it, the ideas, ideals, values and actions of sites and individuals can be understood, and an understanding of the history and the power of the discourse can be asserted.

3.1: Post-structuralism:

Post-structuralism rejects the existence of objective universal truths and acknowledges the created, situated nature and inherent power created by discursive constructs. These discursive constructs-the discourse, become accepted and it is through them that phenomena are understood and often how actions are proposed, justified and supported.

This study lays its foundations in the assertion that there are no truths, or universal laws in the strictly positivist sense, and therefore to broadly generalise about the nature of rewilding in Scotland and how it should be understood would therefore not be appropriate. Rewilding is a human construct; a term created by humans to define a set of actions or ideals. However, like Escobar asserts, the socially constructed nature of a concept does not
mean that it does not exist, and nor does it mean that there is not an interpretation or understanding that can be offered\textsuperscript{98}. Within this study, the post-structural approach has allowed for the combining and value of difference and subjectivity, alongside offering a picture of shared commonalities. These commonalities, or red threads, will be interpreted in this analysis as a case study perspective of rewilding in Scotland. The post-structuralist rejection of truths allows the researcher to step outside of the constraints which can accompany the search for a definitive and all encompassing answer, or truth, and instead allows an inductive exploration of the research question. In this study, a post-structuralist inductive perspective permits the acknowledgement and significance of both similarities and differences within and between sites and individuals associated with the sites, whilst also valuing nuances, spectrum, perspective and the significance of both the embeddedness and also individuality, (including that of the researcher,) upon interpretation and meaning.
Method

4. This study:

This study will assess the positioning of rewilding in relation to conservation by analysing the role of humans in rewilding discourse and practise at 4 sites in Scotland.

Soule and Noss presented rewilding as a new direction within conservation very clearly defining its aims and goals, with species reintroductions and self-regulating ecosystems as contrasting to biological conservation practices\(^9\) associated with protection and preservation of an existing state\(^10\). It is acknowledged that conservation is not a collective body with a collectively definable identity\(^11\), however the interpretation of conservation used in this paper is based upon the broader understanding of the term in relation to preservationist conservation\(^12\), often associated with protected areas\(^13\). The preservation conservation utilised here will focus on protected area conservation which can include national parks, private game reserves and nature reserves\(^14\). Protected area conservation was selected because it appears to share many features with rewilding, such as notions of wilderness, natural, degradation, exclusion and intervention\(^15\).

The distinction between rewilding and protectionist conservation is further suggested by its presentation and labelling as a new paradigm within conservation\(^16\), as something beyond conservation\(^17\) and in some cases rewilding is presented without direct reference to conservation\(^18\). That the aims and goals of rewilding can be seen as distinct from those of protectionist conservation does not reveal whether the values, associated methods, processes, effects and consequences of rewilding are also secure in their independence, lack of acknowledgement of, or claim of being independent of traditional conservation. In order to explore rewilding and to assess its position as distinctive from protectionist conservation, or post-conservation, the role and positioning of humans in rewilding discourse and practise will be explored focussing on 4 themes; wilderness, exclusion, degradation and intervention. These 4 themes have been identified in existing literature relating to traditional conservation practise and have also, during this research, been identified as features of rewilding.

These 4 themes are interwoven on many levels; Wilderness and the idea of wild spaces as places free from encroachment and human interference are described as one of the dominant factors in motivating the conservation and protection of defined areas\(^19\). Definitions of wilderness include the notion that humans are not present in the environment and evidence from studies of traditional conservation suggest that humans are often excluded to some extent from area labelled as wilderness as a consequence of this categorisation\(^20\). The idea that humans have degraded the landscape\(^21\) is both used as a reason to support the conservation, action of exclusion and also to infer a need for intervention.

These 4 themes are all human constructs\(^22\) reflecting and supporting aims, ideals and power, and will be analysed and positioned as constructs utilising discourse analysis and a post-structuralist perspective.
4.1: Defining the question:

Post-conservation is a term which can be defined in two ways; post as something distinct from a previous state and post as understood as something which retains a strong influence from, or connection to a previous state. The idea of post suggesting a connection to, in this case conservation, is adapted from the following understanding of post-coloniality:

“...’postcoloniality’ is now often taken to refer not only to a condition ‘after colonialism’ but also to the ways that colonial pasts continue to organise experience in the present. It signals, in other words, both continuity in histories of colonial power and decolonization.”

In order to assess the positioning of rewilding as post-conservation, the following 3 questions will be used:

1. Can rewilding be seen as post-conservation in terms of being a distinct move, a reformulation of land management ideals, aims and practices which can be seen as entirely beyond conservation; a new post-conservation paradigm?

2. Does rewilding discourse and practise suggest that rewilding, despite its differing aims, is fundamentally indistinguishable from preservation conservation practise?

3. Can rewilding be interpreted as post-conservation in a post-colonial sense in that it offers a new set of aims which are supported by the values, ideals (and consequently affected by) the values and ideals of preservation conservation?

4.2: An overview:

In order to explore the role and positioning of humans in rewilding discourse and practise, this study, rewilding discourse and practise was interpreted at 4 sites. This process of analysis involved the exploration of 4 themes which were emerged during the initial stages of research, and the subsequent research also highlighted other themes, storylines and processes and factors. The understanding of rewilding offered within this case study is a representation of the goals and ideals of individuals, groups, is affected by legislation, national and international and is a process built upon diverse and numerous influencing factors such as those which can be broadly defined as economic, biodiversity and aesthetic.

Discourse analysis, semi-structured interviews, email questionnaires and ethnographic research have been undertaken to produce empirical data for analysis. In total, 14 semi-structured interviews were undertaken, 3 days were spent as a volunteer participating in site projects, and 4 email questionnaires were completed. The interviews provide the majority of the main body of the field based data and the email questionnaires were conducted in order to expand the range of the data where interviews were not possible or suitable and to obtain further information following interviews. The ethnographic research provided me with impressions and understandings of eg. themes, history and ecology and the importance
of individuals and subjectivity, which enriched my understanding of the peoples and processes involved in rewilding at these sites. Ethnographic research also forced me to question my own understanding and valuing of landscapes.

Four sites were chosen for investigation and a combination of discourse analysis of existing data from websites, interview data and participatory research were utilised in the formation of empirical data from which the research question can be assessed.

4.3: Choice of sites:

The 4 sites were contacted by email in order to arrange site visits, interviews and to clarify the aims of this research project.

The sites were chosen because they represent different interpretations of rewilding in Scotland, whilst sharing common features. These differences and similarities became apparent during the initial stages of research which involved reading and researching of site published data, newspaper articles, academic papers and text books and it was during this pre-discourse analysis stage that the 4 themes degradation, exclusion, intervention and wilderness became apparent. Although these themes were present to some extent and in some form within each of the sites, it was apparent from the outset that the sites occupied different positions within a spectrum which will be presented as a lens through which rewilding in Scotland may be viewed. The identification of the themes allowed for structure within the empirical research by guiding both the site data discourse analysis and the semi-structured interviews which took place during the field trip.

It is important to note here that not all of the sites claim to be, or classify themselves as “rewilding” in their published data or through their representatives (employees) or supporters (volunteers). They were selected for this study and classified as rewilding sites because they display the following traits which are central features of rewilding: habitat restoration, value wilderness or wild land, are considering or have considered animal introductions, (including predators), and acknowledge the value of experiencing wilderness (which takes various forms of physical, spiritual and mental).

I will briefly introduce the reasons for my choice of sites here and an in depth introduction to the sites can be found in the next section. Alladale Wilderness Reserve, a privately owned estate, has received, considerable media attention over the last 10 years due to its close association with animal species reintroductions, namely wolves, and was the first site that I made contact with due to its clear and open ambition of rewilding and my knowledge (from the media), of its existence. Corrour Estate, privately owned, was also known to me as I had visited on several occasions as a tourist and had been intrigued by the estates´ apparent

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a The concept rewilding spectrum was introduced by Jack from the John Muir Trust during our interview.
balance of managing wilderness\textsuperscript{6}, cultural heritage and a vibrant in situ community in a relatively remote place; Corrour was also recommended to me independently as an interesting rewilding perspective. The John Muir Trust (JMT) a wildland NGO\textsuperscript{116} are working with Corrour estate and Mike Daniels from JMT was interviewed. Trees for Life (TFL) are a large and active charitable organisation which own land and consult with others. Their establishment 25 years ago makes them the longest established rewilding project and their ambition to recreate 1000 square miles of Caledonian forest situates them as a prominent and large scale rewilding project\textsuperscript{117}. The Carrifran Wildwood\textsuperscript{118} project is unique in its historical restoration approach to rewilding. Carrifran’s establishment was the product of fundraising from private individuals and its existence after many years of fundraising and negotiation is a result of the dedication of its supporters and founders\textsuperscript{119}, and offers this study a unique perspective of what I will term re-creation rewilding.

4.4: Theory to method:

The approach which I have termed here as post-structural, has allowed for a holistic, interpretative and reflexive analysis of the collected data. Rewilding in Scotland is a complex and variable activity and the post-structural perspective which I have taken has allowed me as a researcher to question assumptions, preconceived ideas and expectations and instead to take an inductive approach to knowledge forming and the production of an understanding. That is not to say that I have operated entirely without structure or direction something which Graham\textsuperscript{120} highlights as a misconception of what is meant by post-structural discourse analysis; she clarifies the post-structuralist approach as simply demonstrating a “reticence” towards claiming and producing objectivity\textsuperscript{121} and this affects both the choice of methods and the analysis. One consequence of this in terms of methods, is that there is not a single post-structuralist prescriptive measure to be followed. Graham discusses the idea of “methodological anarchy”, which she interprets as meaning that as there is not a single research methodology, or set of post-structuralist guidelines, one should however conduct thorough and clear research and analysis, in her case relating to Foucault’s ideas, without being methodologically prescriptive\textsuperscript{122}. The methods utilised in this study adhere to Graham’s notion of methods anarchy and the combination of data collection methods were selected on the grounds that they provide the optimal opportunity, within the constraints of the research, to gather data which would support a post-structural analysis.

\textsuperscript{6} The term sites is used to define the conceptual unit which consists of both physical area of the land and also the official representation of the goals, aims and practices of the sites as expressed in data published on the sites individual websites- what could be termed the official image. Distinction between the physical geography of the site and the published data will be made when required.
4.5: Discourse analysis:

The research conducted for this study focuses initially on the web-site published data which was available on the main official webpages belonging to and representing each site. In the case of Alladale, data from The European Nature Trust -TENT website was also analysed as TENT assists in the rewilding project at Alladale and was established by Alladale´s owner and for Carrifran, The Carrifran Wildwood Story book (written by the founders), was also referred to. Following on from the initial evaluation of this data, a comprehensive process of discourse analysis was undertaken. In order to allow for a thorough interpretation of the data, the data was initially coded, then during the second phase of analysis the codes were grouped into storylines. The storylines were then analysed and sorted in relation to the stated primary themes.

Coding:

In the discourse analysis undertaken within this study, coding- the assigning of short phrase and words to identify and represent features and characteristics of the discourse was undertaken in the initial stages of analysis.

Storylines:

The use of Storylines within this study has, like in the Arts et al discourse analysis of animal reintroductions, been adapted from Hajer’s work on discourse analysis. For Hajer, storylines are condensed statements summarizing complex narratives, and are used by people in everyday life to convey meaning via short hand.

In this study, storylines have been identified and generated by the researcher (myself) in order to facilitate the interpretation of the complex narratives, varying responses and interpretations of rewilding features which were presented within the studied sites.

Storylines can be understood here as story statements or categories, which represent specific ideas and concepts and values and even ideals and provide a framework through which analysis and interpretation can take place. The identification of storylines emerged from a collective consideration and interpretation of the discursive features evident within the discourse.

Both Coding and storylines are processes of categorising to aid understanding and it is important to note that within these processes, a discourse can have several codes and be understood as relevant within more than one storyline. In order to facilitate the analysis and discussion, coded data was considered within the storyline, or storylines within which it most prominently supported.
Themes:

The storylines were then categorised within the primary Themes, wilderness, degradation, exclusion and moral obligation, in order to elucidate their positioning within the research question and support the process of analysis and discussion.

4.6: Discourse analysis within this study:

This method of analysis was also used in the analysis of the discourse from interviews and questionnaires, which included site employees, volunteers, site residents, associates and a management company chosen by one of the sites to present their ideals and values.

As a structure which is intrinsically bound in the generation and supply of meaning, and also one which is an instrument of power, discourse can also offer the researcher an understanding of a particular phenomenon. This study utilises discourse analysis in relation to the identified themes and storylines\textsuperscript{130} in order to offer an interpretation of the role of humans in the associated process and practices of rewilding in Scotland within the context of the 4 identified sites.

4.7: In the field:

Fieldwork was undertaken in February and March 2014. Field based research had the aim of generating an understanding of rewilding in Scotland as represented by the specified sites, and of generating a deeper understanding of the storylines and themes, which alongside the site published data would provide the data for the analysis and discussion of the research question.

During the process of arranging interviews and site visits, one of the sites asked me if I would consider becoming an informal ambassador for their project if I felt that I “agreed” with their goals. In order to maintain the integrity of the research and to avoid any potential bias (including claims of) or ethical issues, I thanked them for the invitation and confirmed that I would review their offer once this research project is completed.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted and due to the differing locations, boundaries of time and access, the interviews had varying formats. Apart from location, individuals and their role and connection with the site also shaped the exact format and choice of wording and questions and undoubtedly the information which was shared.

The interviews were semi-structured and varied in format. In order to maintain vigour and to ensure comparability of the data within this semi-structured approach to interviewing, I utilised an interview guide\textsuperscript{131} which detailed the storylines and themes, and suggested questions which related to them and which might be utilised in order to illicit discussion.
relating to the desired area. The guide ensured that the key issues were discussed and where time was limited a more direct approach to questioning was adopted. In several cases, follow up questions were sent by email in order to or expand upon the interview data, sometimes where a theme was not expanded upon with sufficient clarity during the interview.

On a practical and ethical level, conversations were recorded using an app on my telephone and consent was gained from the interviewees prior to my beginning the recording and I was open and honest about the purpose of my research and in the case of the volunteer days I also explained the reason for my presence in their group. The names of interviewees, have been changed in order to protect the integrity of the individuals and out of respect for the potentially sensitive nature of the information and opinions which were shared during this research.

During the fieldwork I talked to as many different individuals as possible within the time constraints, in order to gain as broad a perspective as possible of rewilding in Scotland and the role of humans within this.

4.8: Ethnographic research; experience and reflection:

The ethnographic research stage of the fieldwork was an opportunity to experience and understand how people engage with and perceive processes and practices of rewilding. This stage of the research offered me invaluable experiences and insights which influenced my interpretation of the role of humans in rewilding through a combination of personal experience of being a human involved in rewilding and through interaction with people for whom the rewilding activities were part of their normal routines and activities.

The subjectivity of landscape aesthetics and the classifying of landscapes as degraded or healthy both caused me to question my understanding and view of the landscape. I realised that my working knowledge of species and plants is extremely limited and that the volunteers whom I met had extensive knowledge and understanding of ecology and landscape history; my inferior ecological knowledge was, upon reflection, a great benefit to me as had I known that Sitka spruce was an unwelcome alien prior to my field work then I may have accepted its inappropriateness as a given and not have understood it as the significance of the value of species. Likewise, had I been able to thoroughly interpret the history of a landscape then I might not have been treated to a historical landscape lesson from a man named Dave which ended in an experience that was described as “referalising” which involved eating buds from a birch tree and my realisation of the value of the human connection with nature through experience (as discussed prolifically by George Monbiot, amongst others).
It is possible that my ecological incompetence/naivety, when compared with the superior knowledge and experience of the volunteers, also redressed any imbalance of power between myself and the other volunteers, some of whom may have been somewhat suspicious or intimidated by my presence as an academic researcher, but this is purely speculative. My experience as a volunteer was overwhelmingly that the volunteers were well informed in matters ranging from EU farming policy, to the properties of aspen roots and fox droppings. They were not only willing to share this information with me but in many cases they were kind enough to transfer their knowledge of these areas and to teach me. These experiences undoubtedly shaped this thesis in terms of both the data gathered and the interpretation of the data.

Authors note: It is acknowledged here that the delimiting factors within this study have undoubtedly shaped the analysis, discussion and the forthcoming conclusions. The selection of more, or different rewilding sites, days of site visits or interviewees may have presented a discourse which offered differing themes and storylines. The choice of alternative conservation examples could also have induced a differing discussion and the luxury of more time would have affected the scope of this study. However, the aim of this study was to offer an interpretation of rewilding in Scotland based upon 4 sites and to address the question of whether rewilding was distinguishable from conservation, and if so, to what extent. This study has achieved these aims and offers here an interpretation based upon and affected by the necessary delimiting factors listed above and is situated as a product of the time and places of its creation, and the subjectivity of the author.
Rewilding in Scotland; the analysed data:

5: The rewilding sites:

The 4 sites each have their own motivations for rewilding and occupy different places within the spectrum of rewilding. Each of the sites is actively undertaking interventionist activities, including deer management, through stalking and with the use of fences, and at 3 of the sites- tree planting is taking place as part of the rewilding process.

Corrour

Corrour is firmly positioned at one end of the spectrum as they offer an interesting interpretation of wild-land management which entertains all of the key characteristics of rewilding, while maintaining a long term plan for intervention. Was purchased as a sporting estate but has realigned its focus to balance both rewilding and sporting practises. It also has a relatively unusual status as a human inhabited “wilderness”. Their striving to balance a traditional highland sporting estate (ie.offering stalking to paying guests), with a managed wilderness is the vision upon which their management decisions are based. The estate has 9 residents, 6 are employed by the estate directly and of the 3 other residents, 2 run a restaurant at the old station house and 1 manages the hostel. Corrour estates 2 primary landscape management actions are minimising the number of deer on the 57,000 acre estate to encourage natural regeneration of the trees, and re-structuring of the commercial forestry to be more favourable towards native flora and fauna. Other activities include repairing of natural ditches and waterways and restoration of peat bogs. Corrour works with the John Muir Trust (JMT), a wild-land charitable organisation and a representative from JMT was interviewed and their responses are included in the field-data for Corrour.

Alladale

Alladale is also balancing a traditional highland sporting estate with rewilding, and at the time of writing has 3 resident employees on the 23,000 acre site. Alladale was purchased for the purposes of rewilding. Alladale has been actively replanting trees, controlling deer numbers, using fencing and exploring and promoting predator reintroductions with a focus on wolves in their goal to restore the estate. To date they have undertaken a number of trial reintroductions including wild boar and moose, have reintroduced red squirrel to the area and are currently involved in a wildcat captive breeding programme. Alladale is supported by The European Nature Trust (TENT) which was founded by the estate owner and some of the Alladale web based data was gathered from TENT´s website.

Both Corrour and Alladale have permanent employees, welcome tourists and guests as day visitors or paying guests in their rental accomodation, are owned by individuals and are
therefore largely privately financed. They are also involved in local community activities such as education projects and tree planting with schools. Corrour has private financing via a Trust and Alladale is supported by a trust (TENT), both trusts were set up and are run by the individuals who purchased the estates.

Alladale has sites which have been designated as Special Areas of Conservation (SAC’s) under European Union designation which controls actions on these sites and ensures conservation. Peat restoration schemes, both private initiatives and government body funded, and Carbon offsetting schemes are examples of how the local, national and international political economy and climate change also affect these estates. Even fencing is affected by national legislation which, by enforcing the “right to roam” for everyone in Scotland and allowing responsible access to all land, requires the landowner to provide suitable access points along any boundary fence.

Carrifran, like Trees for Life, is a charity, and both are founded by and upon the ideas and ideals of individuals.

Carrifran

Carrifran wildwood is an uninhabited site in the Scottish border area. Site purchase and rewilding activity has been, and still is financed largely through donations, although they also utilise grants to support planting and receive money for tree planting via a carbon offsetting scheme which connects the local to national markets and global issues. Carrifran wildwood is a project of reforestation within a 1600 acre site. The site was purchased by the Carrifran Wildwood Group for the purpose of rewilding, it was formerly grazing land as part of a large farm and was purchased following negotiation from the owner. Re-forestation is based upon pollen records from the site and the goal is to re-create a virgin forest representative of species diversity and density as suggested by the pollen record from a time when the land was not affected by agriculture. Carrifran’s boundary is surrounded by a fence which was erected to prevent neighbouring sheep and wild goats from grazing in the area, the fence is lower than a traditional deer fence. The fence has stiles to facilitate access to humans and a stalker is employed to control any stray roe deer who access the area. Carrifran is managed by members of the Carrifran Wildwood group and utilises volunteers who assist with maintenance and ongoing planting within the site.

Trees for Life

Trees for Life (TFL) is a charity founded by one man in 1989, their vision is to restore a large area of the Caledonian forest which it is claimed once covered large areas of Scotland and now exists only as fragmented wooded areas. Reforestation takes place on their own site and they actively work with neighbouring sites to encourage planting and to create corridors or networks of trees. Funding is from private donations and grants and volunteers are utilised for planting and site maintenance work. No-one resides on their 10,000 acre site although there is some small scale farming which continues, they “inherited” this land use.
agreement when they purchased the land\textsuperscript{154}. The site was purchased by TFL for rewilding and was previously a privately owned sporting estate. TFL promoting carbon consciousness alongside a suggested compensatory donation to fund tree planting\textsuperscript{155} at the site.

In principle the private estates, who are not reliant on external funding for their projects, could choose to put their land to whatever use they wish; they could choose to run a grouse moor, or place a fence around their entire boundary (with consideration for access rights), or fill the landscape with exotic cattle species. However, estates do not operate in complete isolation even if they are largely privately financed. They are contributors to regional biodiversity policies and targets which are in turn part of National\textsuperscript{156} and European resolution on the EU 2020 Biodiversity Strategy\textsuperscript{157}, which is a result of the Aichi targets set by the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity\textsuperscript{158}.
5.1: Presenting the empirical data from the web and field based data:

The discourse analysed here was from web and field data from the 4 sites. The discourse was analysed using a system of coding followed by the generation of storylines relating to the 4 themes. These storylines and themes will be used here to present the discussion with storylines relating to the theme wilderness being presented first, followed by those relating to the themes intervention, degradation and exclusion.

All of the data presented as field-data is based on ethnographic research and interviews and represents the opinions of the individuals and does not directly represent the official values or goals of the site to which they are associated. In order to differentiate between web site data (site data) and field data, site data will be presented without categorical distinction and field data will be introduced as such.

5.2. Theme: Wilderness

Storyline 1. Wilderness/ wild-land is a place of value

Storyline 4. Value of environment- (environment refers to the physical surroundings)

Storyline 5. Differing species and categories, research and knowledge have differing values

Wilderness and wild-land:

Wilderness; the concept is a human construct, a defining category representing ideas of places free from human influence, places reserved for nature and connoting a diverse range of values and benefits from spirituality to biodiversity. The positive and valued status of wilderness is relatively recent. Wilderness had been a “wasteland” viewed with fear, spiritual places of temptation and salvation and as Warren highlights when tracing the origins of the concept:

“Wilderness was a threatening adversary to be overcome and a natural resource to be exploited.”

The change from adversary to positive and worthy of protection was a process which took place during the 19th century with the birth of the conservation movement and is notably associated with both John Muir and the origins of the National Parks movement in the United States and later Aldo Leopold who recognised the value of wilderness and the importance of the role of humans in preserving it. The separation of humans from the environment is apparent within the concept of wilderness and this allows wilderness to be valued above humans and human created environments, although both this separation and consequences such as the exclusion of humans from wilderness areas, are challenged.

See appendix C for presentation table of frames, themes and storylines.
Today, wilderness is often seen as a place to be preserved\textsuperscript{169}, re-created and visited.

Wild-land has similar values and connotations intrinsic to its construction and understanding, and is sometimes used to emphasise the size of the wild area and the perceived level of human intervention in the area. The European Nature Trust defines the two as:

“Wilderness is defined as a substantial area virtually untouched by the hand of man, lacking human infrastructure, where natural habitat and process remain almost wholly intact.”\textsuperscript{170}

“Wild areas by contrast are smaller, more fragmented and have undergone a greater degree of modification from grazing and forestry practice.”\textsuperscript{171}

An ecologist would probably define wilderness or wild land as having different properties and values than a travel agent\textsuperscript{172}, and the values and ideals which are entrenched within the definition exist not only as our mentally constructed understanding of them, they also have an existence\textsuperscript{173} as a physical space or environment. The mental construct wilderness can also have a physical effect which is manifest through our actions- be it through visitation, support, land management or avoidance.

The value of wilderness and wild land and the value attributed to species and science at the 4 sites will be explored here in conjunction within a wider discussion of landscape values. The discourse analysis identified the following qualities as codes within landscape values: cultural history, qualities and features, aesthetics, spiritual-human connection, retreat-escape, and experience. The storyline-value of species; categories and research relates to the categorisation and value assigned to particular species of plants and animals through their status as native and non-native, with the latter predominantly being viewed as undesirable.

The web-data from the 4 sites offered in some cases direct descriptions of both wilderness and wild land and all of the sites utilised one or both concepts to describe their site and to ascribe indirect value to the site. The field data collected from the sites was not always in agreement with the descriptions utilised by the web-data. The data from each site will be presented separately with web-data presented first, followed by the field data. The 3 storylines relating to wilderness, wild land, the value of environments and different species and categories, research and knowledge, have differing values, are interwoven, and to facilitate the flow of the presentation they will be explored together.

**Corrour**

Positive notions of wilderness are utilised by Corrour when creating and defining the estate:

“To experience Corrour is to experience the wilderness” \textsuperscript{174}
Here they are highlighting the idea that wilderness is something that humans can experience, and that this is desirable, which is also something which Leopold suggested\textsuperscript{175}. Linked to the idea of Corrour as a place to experience wilderness, is their assertion that the estates actions aim “...enhancing the experience of all who live on and visit Corrour”\textsuperscript{176}. This signifies the value of humans within this environment, or from Corrour’s perspective—the value of humans as part of the wilderness. Interesting to note here is Corrour’s firm identity creation as a place where wilderness and people co-exist, or can interact with each other. The suggestion is that humans are an active part of nature, an idea which is strengthened by the data collected during the site visit. Beautiful and peaceful\textsuperscript{177} scenery are offered suggesting aesthetic value and peaceful is perhaps being offered as a contrast to the non-wilderness environments chaos\textsuperscript{178}, or as a spiritual connection. Experience is a valued practise, one which is facilitated by the offer of activities such as walking, fishing and stalking\textsuperscript{179}. The idea that experience is itself something which one actively embarks upon and chooses to undertake suggests that experience is something which is constructed in terms of both physical action and human expectation, interpretation and categorisation. For Corrour, this offer of experience is defined as inclusive— they have “something for everyone”\textsuperscript{180}.

Corrour uses images showing Lochs, trees and mountains and also one which features a female standing on a pier overlooking the loch.

Reproduced with kind permission from Corrour Estate. [www.corrour.co.uk](http://www.corrour.co.uk)

These images are their chosen representations of Corrour’s wilderness, they are a part of how Corrour constructs and reinforces their conceptualisation of wilderness and their identity.
The lady in the picture appears to be thoughtful and content, possibly she is representing someone experiencing the wilderness, she may also be symbolic of their strong inclusive view of humans and wilderness environments. Improving the landscape for Corrour takes the form of restructuring commercial woodland to be “less visually intrusive”\(^\text{181}\), which implies that landscapes are valued not just for their commercial value but also for their aesthetic value. Biodiversity is also valued, as is the removal and restricted use of fencing\(^\text{182}\) as values relating to wilderness these illustrates that man-made boundaries are not seen as a welcome features in the wilderness, unlike diversity of species which are fostered within the wilderness vision.

The field data highlighted the differing interpretations of wilderness and the categorisation of Corrour’s environment. For one resident and estate employee the label wilderness could not be applied to Corrour or anywhere else in the UK\(^\text{183}\) due to the influence of humans on the landscape. Another resident felt that due to the remote location and sparsity of humans, that Corrour was wilderness\(^\text{184}\). This reflects the subjectivity of the definitions of wilderness, although both are linked to the idea that the presence of humans affects the definition. Also suggested here is the idea that the differing definitions are based upon an evaluation of the landscape which is based upon existing knowledge and expectations. The first resident was able to identify landscape features which were the result of human management, and as a part of the land management team on the estate, would have this specialised understanding. The second resident based her judgement on aesthetic qualities and the idea of remoteness. Neither of the 2 residents referred to the official site image of Corrour as wilderness. From this it can be asserted that terms such as wilderness are subjective, and that individuals base their understanding upon their own values based judgement and knowledge.

For Corrour there is also the idea of man-made wild areas with the “wild garden”\(^\text{185}\), which was created by a garden designer and is now managed alongside the early 20th century rhododendron gardens which, valued and preserved for both their historical and cultural value\(^\text{186}\). This concept of a human created and controlled area being in some way wild, indicate that the values of the site are a manifestation of notions of value of cultural landscapes, the positive impact of humans on the environment and the matrix of
landscapes—wild garden, managed forest, native un-managed forest, moorland, lochs and rivers. Together these elements are the wilderness that Corrour has defined. Rhododendrons are a non-native species which in the other 4 rewilding projects would classify them as un-wanted. However Corrour has placed value onto the cultural heritage, which not only relates to preserving a landscape which has been actively altered by humans—which arguably all of Scotland’s environments are, it also relates to the idea that human designed landscapes, ones where species have been introduced, encouraged and have a special value. This is very specific to Corrour, emphasising the role of individuals and groups in defining what is to be valued and what is not.

In terms of other species, deer are both controlled and supported and occupy a somewhat paradoxical position at Corrour; they are native species which is controlled to maintain a healthy population and to maintain a specified deer density in order to limit associated environmental problems created by browsing, and yet supported apparently for its value as both a native species and sporting prey. Specific claims of encouraging native species and an openness to reintroductions of native species is accompanied by the supporting statement of removing non-native plants (apart from the “historical plantings”). The value of native species is reinforced while the cultural value of the non-native cultural plantings is maintained, thus generating a very specific definition of what wilderness is at Corrour, and evincing the awareness and importance of human impact on the land in defining and valuing the environment at Corrour.

Sheep have been removed from Corrour and deer are both valued and heavily controlled. Sheep have been somewhat vilified by land managers, researchers and supporters of rewilding due to their ability in large numbers to inhibit the growth in anything other than grasses due to their grazing and the compacted ground which they create.

During the field interviews the quality of habitats was also cited as way of valuing the landscape with value being placed on biodiversity and linked to the health of the land as monitored by the estate themselves and based upon their own targets and expectations. This highlights the way in which the estate generates its own goals, definitions and land management actions. A discussion relating to the apparently unsuccessful attempts of the estate to encourage Golden eagle residency, indicated that despite actively feeding eagles with deer carcass during the hunting season, eagles were unsuccessful probably due to the lack of prey. Relating back to both the wild-land or wilderness classification and the value of species is the idea from the John Muir Trust employee that, “If you map the golden eagle distribution it pretty much maps wild land…”

This can be interpreted as another measure for wilderness- nature; and also suggests that using this classification criteria Corrour would not be classified as wild land. Also interesting here is the idea that particular species can reflect a categorised status of an environment. Another statement “we no longer control predators” suggests that supporting
biodiversity has not always been a priority and indicates a change in the priorities of estate management and consequently in the valuation of species.

Remoteness is valued by both Corrour\textsuperscript{196} and Alladale\textsuperscript{197} as a geographical or physical distinctive feature of wilderness and one which could be seen as enhancing the experience of wilderness. Remoteness suggests that wilderness can be difficult to access and that this is a positive attribute, remoteness is used by both sites to identify how far removed from human dominated landscapes such as cities and suggests that the remoteness helps to define the wilderness by controlling the volume of human visitors, thus ultimately enhancing the experience of those who take on the challenge of accessing the wilderness. Remote, as a wilderness feature is also linked to experience- refuge and solitude\textsuperscript{198} are offered within this concept. Remoteness is a valued state and although this attribute is being utilised by Corrour and Alladale as a positive and defining feature, it could also be interpreted as a boundary, or an exclusive feature which inhibits access or experiencing the wilderness to those who have the means- time and transport, to make the journey into the wilderness.

**Alladale**

Alladale creates its identity by defining the site as “Alladale Wilderness Reserve”. Reserving places for wilderness and nature suggests the separation of humans from the environment\textsuperscript{199} both conceptually and physically\textsuperscript{200}. This notion of reserving a place for nature is not unique to Alladale although it is perhaps most clearly expressed at this site. Although not as clearly defining itself as a melting pot of humans and environments as Corrour, Alladale is clear in its role as a travel destination\textsuperscript{201}, suggesting that human visitors are important. Alladale, like Corrour, also values aesthetic qualities such as beauty and the “dramatic landscape”\textsuperscript{202} which promotes the idea that these qualities are not mundane or ordinary. Spiritual qualities are also offered “recharge your spirit and soul for both adventure and wellbeing”\textsuperscript{203}, and the “the aesthetic and spiritual qualities unique to wilderness”\textsuperscript{204} and this can be seen as the value of experiencing the wilderness being a holistic blend of spiritual connection and physical activity. The spiritual connection is close to the claims of John Muir who describes the wilderness of Yosemite in terms of a holistic pleasure\textsuperscript{205}, utilising religious and descriptions suggesting the plentiful bounty of nature to be indulged in. This connection to John Muir’s ideals, view and value of wilderness is evident more directly on TENT’s website which utilises a direct quote from John Muir on its homepage\textsuperscript{206}, which suggests that Alladale’s ideals, are based on similar beliefs of spirituality and value, as John Muir. John Muir was a preservationist\textsuperscript{207}, concerned with preserving and conserving landscapes and Alladale is clearly restorationists- actively not preserving the landscape in its current state; interesting here is the idea that both of these approaches to landscapes apply the same values to their perceptions of wilderness.

Field data suggested that the view of Alladale as an area of wilderness was not necessarily a shared description of the landscape. For 1 employee Alladale was “wild managed land”, adding that the fact that we had driven 5 miles down an established track, meant that it
could not be wilderness\textsuperscript{208}. An Alladale associate supports this view by stating that wilderness no longer exists and the cause is \textit{human influence}\textsuperscript{209}. Two things can be asserted here, one is that the definition or classification of the landscape, like that of Corrour, is to a large extent a subjective one, and secondly the inclusion of infrastructure, and perhaps accessibility or our presence meant that it could not achieve the status of wilderness.

In terms of value, field data stated that the owner values the land in terms of the \textit{quality of the habitats}\textsuperscript{210} and not in the number of deer which are shot (every deer shot is traditionally linked to an increase in the value of the estate\textsuperscript{211}). This demonstrates that although the site still maintains its function as a sporting estate and would consequently be valued according to this criteria by a land agent, the owner has placed his value and emphasis upon the environmental qualities which steer the primary focus and actions of the estate. This is an example of how value is linked to qualities attributed by individuals, even if their views and valuations do not directly correspond to those of other individuals or existing defining frameworks.

One of the aims at Alladale, evident from both the field and site-data, is to "...enjoy the Yellowstone Effect .." which for Alladale involves the reintroduction of wolves to control both deer movement and numbers which will allow a natural regeneration of trees and the site environment.\textsuperscript{212} The Yellowstone effect, which is the researched and reported changes which occurred at Yellowstone following the wolf reintroduction\textsuperscript{213} is used by Alladale as evidence to support the value of the wolves and their vision, although these changes can also be linked to the political changes, and social challenges which affected the actual Yellowstone reintroduction\textsuperscript{214}. Non-native species are \textit{heavily controlled} at Alladale and native species have been actively reintroduced and are encouraged\textsuperscript{215}. Thus the value of species is ranked according to its categorisation as native or non-native, it is not simply about abundant wildlife or wildlife valued by quantity, on the wildlife reserve it is about the correct type of wildlife as defined by the categories chosen and interpreted by Alladale.

Field data also indicated that for Alladale, the reintroduction of wolves and other large predators is also linked to the valuation of species. Wolves were cited as being a landscape manager, responsible for reshaping the area\textsuperscript{216}, and were classed as the \textit{appropriate predator} for managing red deer\textsuperscript{217}. This categorises and values wolves as a service provider, a provider of a land management role, in a similar way to how the concept of \textit{ecosystem services}\textsuperscript{218} categorises and defines natural functions as serving human needs, the wolf can be interpreted here as a service provider. The idea of wolves as a landscape manager is related to the concept of rewilding, where the wolf reintroduction is seen as restoring a function, or replacing man’s role as landscape manager although it can still be interpreted as providing a service to humans as it is humans who have defined the need for rewilding and possibly created the environmental situation which creates its necessity. Wolf reintroduction can be understood not only as a human construction which is linked to its definition as a
landscape manager, but also as an part of an emotive cultural legacy where wolves are seen as negative towards and by humans. “Little Red Riding Hood has a lot to answer for in this country” which suggests that the popular traditional children’s story mentioned here, has generated fear amongst people, and that wolves are not only perceived as service providers, but also as man eaters. This highlights the complexity of the construction of knowledge, value and ideals.

Wolves are also seen as a potential attraction encouraging visitors to the estate and the local area with references being made to African game reserves. This could be interpreted as suggesting that habitat quality was not the sole motivation for rewilding, placing economic gains rather than philanthropic visions as primary motivation. However, the opinions shared during the field research are interpreted here as supporting the primary vision as one of habitat restoration whilst benefiting from what is perhaps an inevitable economic framework.

Alladale’s homepage picture rotates between the main house, framed and surrounded by trees, and 11 other images including house interior and exterior shots, close up pictures of red squirrels, mountain scenes and a group of stalkers. Alladale’s images emphasise space and remoteness, through the choice of perspectives on several of the landscape pictures which are free from both people and man-made structures.
Images are used throughout Alladale’s website to create an impression of wilderness as a place of value and also of human activity.

Trees for Life

Trees For Life (TFL) have the following images,

“Help us to restore the Caledonian Forest to one of the UK’s wildest landscapes”\(^{222}\).

This statement represents TFL’s view that forest is valued as wild land and suggests that the landscape is not currently wild. It also claims that the land is in need of restoration and is something which individuals can support. Having clearly stated its aim to recreate a relatively large area of forested land, TFL’s choice of small, close up Images of trees, leaves and insects which are presented above the statement, and the lack of landscape vistas, indicate the importance of the micro scale, and biodiversity within the project. For TFL the idea of “natural forests”\(^{223}\) being recreated is important infers that it is not simply forest cover which is of value, or can be classified as wild, it is what they have classified as *natural* and *forest* which supports their vision of wild. Both *natural* and *forest* are social constructions\(^{224}\), defined here by the aims and values of TFL which promote the value of
forest as an ecological necessity for both wildlife and the land\textsuperscript{225} and the value of native species over non-native species\textsuperscript{226}. The re-created physical forest can also be seen as a social construction as its formation is not only practically supported by society members-volunteers, it also relies upon societal will-utilises other socially constructed understandings-climate change to encourage funding, and both bases and supports its founding principles upon historical interpretations of the landscape. They are constructing the idea of forest as natural and valued in both a physical and mental sense.

The first day of field based research was a day in the mountains with two employees of TFL, and an ecologist associated with a neighbouring estate. Field research notes highlighted several interesting factors relating to perception and value of environments and species in relation to wilderness and classification and valuation of landscapes. I stood and appreciated the surrounding snow-capped mountains as beautiful and as the other members of the group also looked at this landscape, Brian declared that the snow made it look marginally better as it masked the “barren deer desert” beneath\textsuperscript{227}. What I interpreted as a beautiful landscape, Brian interpreted as a problem in disguise. As seen with both Corrour and Alladale, this illustrates the extreme differences in landscape judgement and appreciation and also positioned myself within this understanding. Wilderness for the TFL associate was a space which could support “a full complement of predatory species and whose ecological processes are not under human control\textsuperscript{228}” emphasising once again the subjective nature of the valuation process used in assessing or understanding wilderness as a concept.

Value of species was a question of categorisation as “native” or “non-native”, with non-native species being deemed as not belonging in the landscape, despite their presence. This became apparent during a process of searching for trees within the moorland, which was in this case, something which required looking at the ground for any signs of tree growth, which were very limited. It was during this process that Lynne spotted a 30cm high tree after several hours of walking. It was the first one of the day and I responded excitedly “oh look a tree” which was swiftly followed by Lynne pulling up the tree from the ground. It was a non-native Sitka spruce\textsuperscript{229}. I realised at this point that rewilding and reforestation was not simply about trees, it was about the right kind of trees.

During the ethnographic field research day with the TFL volunteers, the value of the landscape also had differing meanings and the valuation of species was also divided between native and non-native categories of good or correct and bad and in-correct. Rhododendrons were discussed in the minibus on the way to the site with conversation on how hard they are to remove and general reflections of disapproval whenever they were spotted. The volunteers with whom I spoke were also involved in other conservation projects which possibly influenced their views relating to non-native species. However, there was a challenge to the status of non-native species when the question was raised about the classification of native as non-native species as strictly positive and negative
“We´ve got species now that we consider native but they were introduced by the romans, and now we wouldn´t be without them\textsuperscript{230}.”

This statement indicates that the idea of non-native is firmly linked to human activity. It also exemplifies the constructed and situated nature of categories and values by illuminating the possibility that non-native and native are affected by time and also perhaps the qualities which they are perceived to contain.

**Carrifran**

For Carrifran Wildwood, the use of the concept *wild* in the site and project name can be seen as a distinction from the cultural landscapes—farmed, open moorland and hills and managed commercial forestry which surround the site and are typical for the Scottish borders area\textsuperscript{231}. For Carrifran re-creating a space that is covered in trees can be seen as the recreation of a wild space and this *wild* distinction is used to reinforce the value of the wood in relation to, or as opposed to, the surrounding and predominant landscapes. The idea that woodland is wild or non-cultural, disguises the reality of the wildwood re-creation which is characterised by, like all of the sites analysed here, human intervention. *Locally produced* seed is collected and used by Carrifran to produce tree saplings for planting on site\textsuperscript{232}. This valuing of locally sourced seed as opposed to just sourcing the required tree nationally is similar to Alladale’s valuing of wildlife, again- the value is in what the site has defined as important and this case it is local authenticity of the species, not just the correct species type. Carrifran uses rolling images of open landscapes; a single tree in a vast landscape and volunteers working on an open hillside with caption “Where one tree survives…”

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followed in sequence by a third image of a dense green, tree and shrub lined river under the statement “…a million will grow”\textsuperscript{233}. Carrifran are inferring here that they are creating a
wildwood and that the role of humans in this are as volunteers- the physical re-creators. Interestingly, not only are they physically creating a wooded landscape, they are also creating the idea of woodland as being wild; reclaiming the concept of woodland from the monoculture blocks of commercial forestry\textsuperscript{234} and redefining woodland as wild and by inference- not managed.

That the Carrifran Wildwood project is basing its woodland replanting on a historical record, that gained from pollen\textsuperscript{235}, acknowledges the value of scientific research (and history) for the project and this was supported by the field research\textsuperscript{236}. From this it can be inferred that the value of the research or the scientific process of pollen analysis, affected the value of the species as understood by and attributed to the species within this project. It is interesting to note here that the species selection on the site has also been affected by the criteria dictated by grants which have been claimed for tree planting. This demonstrates that although Carrifran have defined the species and species density which would ideally be included within their woodland restoration project and conforms to their aims and ideals, they may be restricted in their actions by the definitions and categorisations of an external party. Highlighted here is the fact that although this project is defined by its physical boundary and its created identity, it does not operate in isolation and is affected by external economic forces.

For one of the volunteers the landscapes woodland and open moorland provided a conflicting view or valuation of the landscape where an appreciation of the open landscape both aesthetically and from a practical perspective as a hill runner enjoying an easier route, was mixed with the need for balance within the open landscape and the appreciation for dense wooded areas\textsuperscript{237}. Here the individual perception of landscape values is complex mix of practical consideration and aesthetic appreciation, which suggests that landscape valuation and is not only a subjective thing but that even for the individual it is not necessarily a linear process with a definite delineation.

Summary:

- For all of the sites, subjectivity was an apparent element of understanding alongside existing knowledge. Differing interpretations of wilderness, wild land and valuation of species suggested the importance of subjectivity in generating understanding and defining these features. This indicates that the web site (official site) discourse, although a unifying feature which must illicit support from the volunteers, residents and employees associated with the site, is not the only factor influencing the generation of perceptions relating to the environment and species.
- For Corrour wilderness is a place inclusive of humans and cultural landscapes. In contrast, Alladale who also describe their site as wilderness, create a separation of humans from the environment with the inference of reserving a place for wilderness.
For TFL forest is valued as wild and natural and for Carrifran a similar distinction is evident with the inferred contrast of the sites’ wildwood sitting in contrast to the non-wild, managed commercial forestry plantations. Neither TFL nor Carrifran are explicit about the role of humans in wilderness, except that they have a role as re-creators (interventionists) and supporters of rewilding. That the role of humans as interventionists at TFL and Carrifran will be withdrawn in the future suggests that humans are positioned as external to the environment.

- For all of the sites the creation and construction of wild areas was being undertaken both discursively and physically.

Storyline 2; The environment is un-natural, we need to fix it:

Phrases which are encompassed by the storyline “un-natural, we need to fix it” often include the verbs restore, repair and re-create to denote action and are used to generate and support the concept that something is wrong in the landscape- a problematic state, and also to support the aims and actions of the sites. These words are often coupled with ones which represent the alleged state of the landscape prior to the degradation:

“... an extraordinary project to restore the Scottish Highlands to their former glory.” (Alladale)

“...to re-create the full range of habitats...” (Carrifran)

“...restore the Caledonian Forest to one of the UK’s wildest landscapes” (Trees for Life)

Here the term wildest can be viewed as inferring that-wild land status is one which exceeds its current perceived value. Glory connotes a rich spectacle bound in a lost vision of the Highlands. In these examples the environmental values- wildest and range of habitats, complement the accompanying action verbs and strengthens the idea that something is amiss in the landscape. This indicates that the landscape is perceived as currently de-valued or degraded and emphasises the value in the previous and post action state of the landscape. That the described habitats are un-natural can be linked to the idea that humans have affected the environment. This can be interpreted further to include the idea that humans are not a natural part of the environment and that consequently their actions have not added positive value to the landscape. That the landscapes have to be repaired is intrinsic to the unstated suggestion that the return to a former state of a wild, spectacular and diverse landscapes is valued higher than preservation in its current state, or other potential uses.

This indicates that previous states of the landscapes and the restoration process, offers an unquestionably positive solution to the perceived problem landscape. These notions are laden with the values and perceptions of the landscape which are created from a
The field research with the TFL volunteers highlighted categorisation of the environment as un-natural with comments including “I think it should be more natural” and “I think I want to make the countryside how it should be”\textsuperscript{242}. Within this perception of the environment as un-natural is also a suggestion that something has happened to generate this current state and this is confirmed as a negative human influence at a later stage in the interview\textsuperscript{243}. That human influence is un-natural and negative implies a predilection towards excluding humans from the natural environment/countryside in order to protect it, but there was not a direct connection to this idea as the upcoming discussion relating to humans as external/part of the environment will explore. Field research from Alladale was less direct in terms of language relating to natural or un-natural, referring to the ecosystem reaching “some sort of equilibrium” which implies that the ecosystem is in a current state of imbalance and interestingly referring to humans as the top predator\textsuperscript{244} within the ecosystem. For Corrour it is a more direct reference to imbalance in the environment with the discussion referring to the reason that golden eagles do not prosper on the estate-“it’s probably lack of food for them”\textsuperscript{245} with the discussion also covering the estate’s attempts to support eagles by leaving deer carcasses out as food during the stalking season. Here the indication is that even if human intervention such as feeding is viewed as part of the natural processes of the estate, those natural processes are still not functioning. During the field work at Carrifran wildwood, the suggestion of un-naturalness was more figurative, “on that side you can see the trees marching over the skyline”\textsuperscript{246}

This metaphoric language suggests that the trees are in protest or perhaps even battle. The context of the statement was a hillside that was virtually free from the visible presence of trees apart from the small trees whose presence could be identified against the skyline. The idea of the trees facing adversity or winning the battle against the bare hillside, (which by implication of its aim of restoration suggests an un-natural state,) alongside the significance of their presence in a woodland restoration project was reflected in this comment.

Summary:

- The idea that humans have affected the environment negatively is suggested by Alladale, TFL and Carrifran. This negative association between human actions and the environment can be interpreted as suggesting a predisposition to exclude humans from the environment.
- Claims of former states of equilibrium within the environment are used to support and understand rewilding actions. The use of figurative, emotive language suggests the power and sentiment attached to the ideas which the discourse represents and indicates a need to change something.
Storyline 3. Benefits

The interpreted and promoted benefits of wilderness and wild land, with all of the inherent qualities that have been presented here, vary between sites and encompass a variety of advantageous prospects including biodiversity gains, local economic gains and experience.

For Corrour, “..enhancing the experience of all who live and visit Corrour” states their intention to improve how people experience Corrour and also emphasising the importance of the human encounter with Corrour. Peaceful and beautiful landscapes are offered suggesting calm, quiet and aesthetically pleasing surroundings to enjoy and experience. Corrour reflects upon wider benefits through commercial forestry where social and economic benefits spread beyond the estate boundary and into the wider community which situates the estate as a separate unit of space but one which does not operate in isolation. Encouraging wildlife and increasing biodiversity can also be seen as benefitting local and national biodiversity - ecological benefits.

The field data highlights more detail relating to estate actions and benefits of rewilding, and the idea of balance between commerciality and habitat restoration is raised:

“we are trying to restore some of the worst areas, I say from a commercial forestry perspective, deep peat and bogland habitat”

In terms of benefits this can be seen as suggesting that both the habitat and the estate economy should benefit from these actions. For one resident the benefits of living in a wilderness area (the resident classed the area as wilderness), were both economic, as she runs a business there, and aesthetic,

“...waking up to that view every morning”

For this resident, the remote location in a wilderness area is a positive personal experience and the wilderness location may also be of positive benefit to the business. It was also suggested that rewilding and reintroducing large predators was linked to a need to experience danger and this infers that rewilding is driven by a human need to be challenged through experience.

For Alladale’s owner “protecting our environment is a win-win strategy” which is a general statement about his view on conservation, but he also links this to the idea that conservation can alleviate poverty, create jobs and benefit rural economies. As Alladale offers itself as a reserve for wildlife which is also a visitor destination, these benefits can be seen as linked to the idea that tourism and nature are compatible within capitalism. Other benefits include climate compensation offered by the peat restoration scheme, thus connecting the benefits to global concerns. Spiritual enhancement, or experience alongside physical and aesthetic experiences are also offered.
During a discussion in the field regarding fences, there was a clear expression that “people should come and enjoy it”\(^{257}\) supporting the notion that enjoyment and positive experience of wilderness is something which can be seen as a benefit. Financial benefits to the local economy and that of the reserve were perceived to be something which would occur when the wolves return\(^{258}\) although financial gain for the reserve was not seen as a driving force behind their rewilding actions\(^{259}\). Other benefits included that of education which was seen as investing in the future\(^{260}\).

Carrifran links the changes they are making to the environment with the Local/regional biodiversity action plan\(^{261}\) demonstrating that managing the landscape for restoration can increase biodiversity. Carbon offsetting is also utilised by Carrifran\(^{262}\). Biodiversity and carbon offsetting both link into the idea that this site, although bounded by a fence, is not a distinct unit in terms of its effects and potential benefits. Another less obvious benefit with the Carrifran wildwood can be inferred from their funding structure which reveals that 80% of the funds for the site purchase were donations from private individuals\(^{263}\) which suggests that individuals saw the project as worthwhile or beneficial in some way, perhaps aesthetically or biodiversity wise. Field data again highlighted the notion of experience as being a benefit to the individual\(^{264}\) and the enjoyment of sharing knowledge was both apparent and experienced as a benefit by myself whilst walking with the volunteers\(^{265}\).

TFL are restoring forest “...for its own sake” which can be seen as connected not only to nature’s intrinsic value, but also as a benefit for wildlife and ecology\(^{266}\). The holistic wellbeing of the land is the main intended benefit of their work, although carbon offsetting is acknowledged as an unintended benefit of their actions\(^{267}\). Field data revealed a number of benefits including that of wild land as a “source of inspiration for many people”\(^{268}\) this can be seen as supporting the idea of a spiritual connection to wild places, and a need or the benefit of accessing them. Re-connecting with nature was also seen as a benefit of rewilding, with contemporary lifestyles being viewed as comfortable and disconnected from nature, “stop being in your comfort zone and taking the easy option”\(^{269}\).

This idea of re-connecting with nature was introduced not only as a benefit to the individual through “re-feralsing” yourself, but also highlighted as a benefit to the wider environment and conservation goals\(^{270}\); with the suggestion being that perceptions and actions relating to the environment would be modified in support of environmental functions through an increased connection, appreciation and understanding.

**Summary:**

- The benefits of rewilding are diverse and include: Social and economic, aesthetic and experience and also biodiversity and ecological. For TFL the benefit was tied to the intrinsic value of nature. Benefits which affect beyond the sites boundaries were also
cited by Carrifran in terms of local biodiversity plans, and both Alladale and Corrour suggested economic and social benefits to the local community. Re-connecting with the environment was also interpreted as a benefit due to the suggestion that this benefits both the individual and the environment.

- Benefits are subjectively defined by the sites and individuals and reflect the values of the definers.
- The notion of benefits suggests a human need or expectation to perceive, receive or experience something of value— a benefit, from the environment. To an extent the environment is viewed as an external resource.
5.3. Theme: Intervention, degradation and exclusion

6. Role of humans:

7. Human intervention is part of the process
8. Human activity leads to degradation
9. Humans are part of environment
10. Humans are external to environment
11. Culture and identity

Within this section, the data presented covers specifically the role of humans, although it is asserted that humans, as value givers, definers and creators and actors are intrinsic/integral in all of the elements of rewilding analysed here. As with the previous section, web site data (site data) will be presented without categorical distinction and field data will be introduced as such.

Intervention can be defined as being conscious actions taken by humans which affect the environment.

Corrour:

For Corrour the role of humans in creating or affecting the landscape is a largely positive one. With the valuing of the landscaped and created planting areas\(^{271}\), the commercial forestry\(^{272}\) and deer stalking\(^{273}\), the interventionist role of humans within the environment is acknowledged as a historical process, forestry, and is also supported today. Corrour defines itself as wilderness, but within this is the very clear dimension of humans within the environment.

The field research supported the interpretation of Corrour as a place where humans were a part of the environment. This was expressed in a variety of ways and included many differing aspects within this storyline. Significant here is the consideration of humans as part of the environment, which field research revealed was also extended to include humans as a part of the ecology of the environment, albeit with the acknowledgement that managing the land in this way is a result of necessity created by a lack of predators:

“There´s no predators, we can´t just leave them, we have to take the role of predators.”\(^{274}\)
Here the interventionist role of humans can be viewed as an essential one, taking the role of the predator is part of the responsibility of the land managers. Although being part of the ecology and also controlling it could possibly lead to situations of conflict.

Corrour sees intervention as an inevitable part of the environment- their aim and role is to “...maintain high quality habitats” suggesting that the environment will not manage itself to sustain habitats. This can also be linked to the notion that that ecosystems are not operating at optimal levels, and it could also support the idea that humans are part of the eco-system and their presence is necessary. Intervention as a positive and inevitable action contributes to their identity as a wilderness or wild-landscape where humans are a part of the environment.

Another interesting understanding of the role of humans in rewilding is the idea that not only is it necessary that humans must intervene and manage the environment, but that it would pose some kind of crisis if the land wasn’t managed in this way and by a wealthy landowner. This was linked to both employment but also to the question of land use, suggesting support for the management of the estate in this way and the perceived importance of private land ownership.

Protecting can also be seen as a form of intervention; protection in the physical sense of controlling deer numbers and retaining the fenced area around the cultural plantings to reduce and prevent browsing. Stewardship also involves intervention- the idea of managing the land for future generations which is both stated on the website and became evident during the field visit through the visible and discussed building of a hydro power system and new homes for employee residents. Protecting in the form of fences is also a form of exclusion and during the field visit one resident expressed the idea that “I think you should be able to go wherever you want to go” which is something that is supported by this estate’s restricted use of fences. It is the deer who are intentionally excluded by the fencing on Corrour and this is mainly to protect the cultural areas of planting such as the rhododendron area. If we consider the idea of exclusion in relation to the history of the estate, it becomes apparent that there were even more residents or humans within the environment in the recent past;

“right across there there’s ruins, of sheilings and ruins in remote bits, there were people everywhere” These ruins could be the remaining traces of the people cleared from the land during the period known as the “highland clearances”, which was a result of changing land management priorities and land use driven by economic forces during the 1800’s. If these ruins are linked to this period which can be interpreted as forcibly excluding humans from their environment, it means that exclusion on this site was a historical act and one which does not affect the view of the human role in the environment today.
Corrour desist from using direct references to human caused degradation. Indirect references relate to the current actions of the site and include “...restore the hydrology...correct the mistakes...” and “restructuring our woods so that they become more sympathetic to the landscape...”. This is a focus on positive interaction with the landscape, rather than on the causes of the problem. Corrour also identifies itself as working for current and future generations which if seen as an indirect reference to moral obligation could be interpreted as representative or supporting Corrour’s position as a place where people are part of the environment and their best interests should be nurtured alongside landscape intervention and protection.

When discussing the question of the when the area was more forested and the existence of visible tree stumps across the estate, one employee offered the interpretation of the deforestation as, “a lot of trees you will see the whole trees- trunks and that, so you can say it was natural rather than man-made”. Interesting to note here is the referral to causes of deforestation which are not attributed directly to the actions of humans, something which is in contrast to the interpretation of deforestation offered by other sites.

In terms of identity, Corrour do not use the word rewilding and the head stalker actively dismissed the idea that Corrour was wilderness stating that it was wild-land. However, another resident believed firmly that it was wilderness and an associated NGO discussed Corrour in terms of rewilding. As the concepts of wilderness, wild land and rewilding are all human constructs, it could be argued that it is each individual who decides on the labelling of the land. However, each site through its website data promotes the identity of the site and supports its own categorisation of the landscape and their land management. Corrour’s vision of wilderness is interpreted here as including humans as an intrinsic part of the environment, albeit perhaps out of necessity as the Stalker suggested or perhaps as a reflection of the owners’ values and perceptions.

Alladale:

For Alladale, humans both contributed to the environmental degradation, and are also the ones who will benefit from its restoration. It is a place which people can experience as visitors, through education and where humans are actively managing and changing the landscape. Through education the role of humans at Alladale becomes one of power as a teacher, or sharer of values and knowledge. Here Alladale extends its role from restoring the environment, to investing in future generations. Humans are also responsible for defining...
the purpose and actions of the estate and they create the values and the definitions which are presented as the estate’s identity. A such, the creators of these definitions assert power by supporting their vision and offering it to a wider audience for consumption. This power is asserted directly through the education programme and in-directly through the website representations of wilderness as a place for visitation. The power is in the form of sharing values and ideals and categories through which the receiver then processes and may utilise in the formation of an understanding or interpretation in the future. Alladale defines its position as offering a land management vision which has been and still is an area of public and media interest, (since 2009 there have been 52 press features linked to Alladale, TENT and Paul Lister the founder/owner), claiming that they have “…helped trigger a wider debate about how we manage the Highlands”. The media, like the website data, is an example of how the ideals and values assigned to landscapes by individuals and sites, can affect the wider understanding and opinions of an issue, such as wolf reintroductions, with the intention of influencing policy changes which would facilitate predator reintroductions. The media, website data and the education programme can also be linked to enhancing the appeal, or advertising the Reserve as a tourism destination.

For Alladale the existence of one owner with a clear vision on the site is quintessential to both its actions its identity and its rewilding ideals. During the field visit to Alladale one of the first things said about the estate was:

“...the owner Paul isn’t just saying that it has got to happen at Alladale ok, he wants this to happen in Scotland...he wants to see carnivores back in Scotland...”

Which suggests that the beliefs and ideals of the owner are not bound by the desire to rewild Alladale, they encompass the wider issue of rewilding in Scotland. The owner Paul was referred to repeatedly throughout the visit emphasising the importance of not only the vision and the finances which this man was claimed to possess, but also the drive and ambition which drives the project. The idea of creating a wildlife reserve based on the idea of Paul’s model for the reserve being that of an African game reserves was also offered as a way to understand the vision at Alladale. The references to the owner’s vision identify the strength of one man’s vision and highlight the role of humans as decision makers and controllers.

Another way in which humans have a role here is through the proposed employment which the planned changes will generate and this is something which the field visit emphasised,

“what Paul is talking about is creating hundreds of jobs, from scientists to road builders to lodge staff- everything...”

This infers that rewilding for Alladale is a process of both environmental and economic change.
Field data suggested a view that humans have a “purpose to interfere” in environmental processes, and also that humans have a role as a predator, which is further supported by the process of physical intervention via deer control, which occurs on the estate. The idea of interference being somewhat of a direct role for humans connotes the view that human actions are negative ones inflicted upon something external. However, the connection of humans to the role of predator could in contrast also be interpreted as meaning that the natural human role within the environment is that one of intervention, and for this it can be asserted that human actions can be viewed as natural processes. These 2 examples from the field data highlight the ambiguity of the positioning of humans in relation to the environment and suggest that the externalisation of humans from the environment, although evident at this site, can also be a fluid one.

Alladale in contrast to Corrour, uses direct references to human degradation making a clear connection between degradation and the intention to repair the damage:

“First a cooler and wetter climate, the axe, fire and livestock reduced natural forests to scattered remnants across the landscape.”

“Alladale wilderness reserve is an extraordinary project to restore the Scottish highlands to their former glory.”

Although acknowledging the effects of climate on tree cover, Alladale attributes the latter stages of forest reduction to humans. This site offers the re-creation of something which has been degraded to an extent by mankind the words “restore” and “glory” have already been highlighted for their role as suggesting a lost vision of the Highlands.

Field data suggests that sheep, and by implication human actions, were the problem, or cause of overgrazing and degradation, as oppose to cattle- which the reserve have a number of today. Although it is the sheep that are blamed for the action of overgrazing, the cause of the degradation can be linked to the political and economic situation which supported and still supports their existence on the landscape.

For Alladale the motivation for rewilding links to the idea that “we need nature” for both ecosystem services and for mental wellbeing which indicates that their actions are motivated out of necessity and for the benefit of humans.

Alladale’s identity as a Reserve for Wilderness defines the role of humans further by asserting their position as protectors of the land, and the connotations of reserve imply a boundary, or a limited area, which infers their control over the defined space. This notion of boundary which is at present figurative, (although a boundary fence might one day be a physical reality to facilitate the reintroduction of wolves), also indicates that the surrounding
landscapes and environments are not optimal places for wildlife, or are at the very least- not being managed with the same ideals and practices.

Field research explored the notions of fences and exclusion which revealed both the historical legacy of human displacement from the land and the current desire to pursue rewilding whilst planning for what was deemed as a necessary boundary fence, necessary for to support the proposed wolf reintroduction. The ruins of a building were also discussed:

“this dwelling is from the highland clearances so there would have been, you know- a few families would have lived in this area” 307

This acknowledges the environmental history as being one that included people. Interestingly it is suggested during the field visit that one of the attractive qualities of Alladale to a prospective purchaser would be its lack of tenants who were perceived as potential sources of conflict over their rights and land use308. This comment may refer to both the legal responsibilities which a landowner has to his tenants and the legislation which supports crofters (small holder farmers) rights to purchase their land, regardless of whether the land owner wishes to sell309. That farmers were once present on the site and are not perceived as a desirable feature of the reserve today is suggested here. However, this was not supported by further discussion relating to the existing cattle on the reserve (owned by the reserve) which were viewed as habitat managers, and when questioned over the potential benefits of resident farmers to assist with land management objectives, the response was that in theory, it was a valid point.

With regard to the issue of fencing which was mentioned throughout the field visit, the reserve currently has smaller areas of enclosures to support tree planting. However, it is the idea of fencing off a large area to create the wilderness reserve with wolves, that raises questions of access and exclusion. A boundary fence was regarded as being for the sake of the wolves:

“…society is not yet ready to entertain wolves/bears roaming free....there is also a need to protect them from us!”310

Fences are viewed as an essential component of the plan to reintroduce wolves to Scotland, or what is termed here a controlled release311, which refers to the controlling function of both humans and the fence. That the animals need to be protected from people who live outside of the reserve is interesting as that suggests that humans have a role here as both the protector and a threat to the wildlife. The issue of the fence is not only a consideration for the estate, it relates to national legislation which enforces right of responsible access to virtually all land in Scotland312. Scotland has a culture of hillwalking and outdoor activities such as mountain biking and the right to access is a feature which supports these activities.

It was also emphasised that exclusion was not the intention of the owner and the fence was seen as necessary to facilitate the presence of the wolves who are desired for their role as
habitat managers. However, this idea of not excluding people by the fence was also a difficult concept for the reserve employee personally who felt that the future potential of fencing a 50,000 acre site in Scotland (this is more than double the current size of the reserve),

“is not a lot to sacrifice for the ramblers”

This indicates that the value of the rewilding goals may be deemed as greater than that of access to land for outdoor enthusiasts and suggests that what could be understood as “one man’s vision”, outweighs the values and visions of other interest groups such as hill walkers. Ultimately what this discourse relating to exclusion and fences highlights is the complexity of beliefs and values upon which decisions and visions are built, and the complex relationship that humans have with wild spaces, wildlife and views relating to conservation, protection and restoration.

Trees for life:

As a charitable organisation Trees for life (TFL) rely on the support of public and private donations to fund rewilding activities, and also rely largely on volunteers as labour. Like Alladale and Corrour, the vision and all of its associated values and actions of TFL is influenced by its founder (in the case of Corrour and Alladale it is the estate owners). In terms of the role of humans within the TFL project, it is not just as founding fathers, volunteers and financial supporters who have a role within the wilderness, visitors are also welcome.

TFL acknowledge that TFL’s “...work is as much about people as places...” emphasising the value of people to the project. Although, this can also be extended to an understanding that while the rewilding intervention is under way, humans have an active role within the environment and when the work is completed, the people will be surplus to requirement, at least in their active role as interventionists.

During the field research the role of humans were the enforcers of categories such as native and non-native and all of the associated connotations.

One volunteer named Dave also stated;

“rewilding is not about landscapes it is about people”

He was referring to the idea of what he termed re-feralising yourself, which is interpreted crudely here as re-connecting with nature and is a process which involves being outside of your comfort zone. Dave invited me to eat birch tree buds and my limited knowledge of birch trees afforded me the understanding that they were not poisonous and with some
encouragement I stopped picking them with my fingers and ate them straight off the tree whilst receiving a lesson in landscape history and edible trees. This, for me was re-connecting with nature, realising that I understand landscapes in a different way to other people and the boundaries of my knowledge and understanding. The role of humans in rewilding in this example include that of educator or sharer of knowledge, the complimentary role of student which was myself, that of challenger of existing behaviour and beliefs.

TFL use language such as *degradation, exploitation and impoverished*\(^{317}\) to emphasise the condition of the land and the cause of this. That *exploitation* is cited here places the responsibility for the degradation clearly in the hands of humans. There is a clear statement here which allies TFL to a moral obligation to right the wrongs and set a good example:

“...we believe that the onus is on Scotland to provide an example of reversing the damage which has been done here”\(^{318}\). The fact that human intervention is perceived here as being the cause of the negative environmental changes- de-forestation, and that it is human intervention which is deemed imperative in its restoration suggests a claimed superiority of the knowledge and actions of the interventionist. That the maximum extent of the Caledonian forest is claimed to have been between 4-5000 years ago and is the source of inspiration for this project\(^{319}\) is interesting when considered alongside the fact that there is no suggestion that the social wrongs of less than 200 years ago, ie. the highland clearances, should be redressed, although this point does not apply exclusively to TFL. From this is could be asserted that rewilding is fundamentally about environmental re-creation, and that this utilises a vision of the environment without humans, although as discussed, this is not clear cut.

Field research offered one person’s interpretations of Scotland’s landscape and damaged peat land as being “like an open wound on my hand that we´re not allowing to heal”\(^{320}\), strongly suggesting that humans actions are preventing habitat restoration and revealed ideas such as “we need to restore the natural capital\(^{321}\), which suggests a human imperative to rectify the damage. When considered in conjunction with the same persons responses to rewilding actions and wild land values,

“it is a source of inspiration for many people”,

and

“...wild land is the arena of evolution”\(^{322}\)

Several things can be inferred: There is a fundamental ecological need for wild land, there is a human need or a spiritual value in wild land the land in Scotland is damaged and humans need to repair this damage. In less graphic terminology volunteers also ascribed to the landscape a need to repair its *un-natural*\(^{323}\) state.
TFL employee Brian had a distinctive interpretation of the environment, one which is not always shared with other TFL employees or volunteers. Where he believed that rural Scotland should not support a population and that “people should not be living off the land” due to the *wounded* nature of the landscape\(^ {324}\), his colleague felt that it was not unreasonable to consider low intensity sustainable mixed farming- *woodland crofts*\(^ {325}\) as part of a sustainable way to live and manage the land. Volunteers were conscious of humans as a part of the environment, and were also less inclined to exclude people from the environment with reflections such as;

“..we are part of the environment for better or worse”,

“..alot of the stuff we do actually benefits biodiversity, so you can clear a bit of woodland, let a bit of light in and the cattle will eat and different types of flora will come up”\(^ {326}\)

These 2 statements support 3 ideas, that of humans as intrinsic parts of the environment and also that intervention-farming can be viewed as positive for biodiversity, and also that woodland is not the only valuable environment.

Considered together, these examples highlight the subjective nature of the interpretations of the human role in the environment and also the strength of the share a common goal or underlying ideal. Significantly, as the founder of TFL believes that humans should not be making money from land resources, namely farming, this can be seen as a form of ideals based exclusion where the values of the individual preclude inclusion of humans within a vision of appropriate land use. Unlike Alladale and Corrour, TFL does not have any residents on their land, although they do have sheep which they inherited and maintain this relationship out of value for tradition\(^ {327}\). The TFL official (web) site vision does not include humans in the vision of the forested rewilded landscape, and cites humans as having a negative historical impact on the land\(^ {328}\), the latter is supported by the field data.

During the field research with TFL I became aware of the human role as one of intervention on a practical level, witnessing the removal of non-native species and collecting aspen tree root cuttings for propagation\(^ {329}\). Intervention can be seen as humans becoming part of the ecology of the land, through controlling deer and growing trees. However for TFL the intervention of humans in the landscape may be an essential part of the restoration process, but it is only the journey towards the rewilded destination, and that destination ultimately sees humans stepping back from ecological processes. From this it can be asserted that TFL officially see humans as separate from the environment; although, as already discussed the field data suggests that this is a grey area which supports a variety of differing views.

Fences are used to exclude deer from selected areas were a topic of discussion repeatedly and the notion of time scale related to the rewilding aims was expressed,

“..fences- well, if they are there for 25 years, well, it´ s over one tenth of the life of a scots pine. Perspective, it is not that long but it seems like forever.”
Here the idea of human intervention is presented as a temporary and relatively insignificant action. Connoted here is that rewilding is more than the actions which we can perceive, and this places rewilding as something which is beyond individuals.

TFL identify themselves as saviours and re-creators of something of value, and also as setting a positive ecological example for “reversing the damage” to other countries. This encompasses notions of responsibility and also of exporting a perceived version of best practise in land management linked to the values and aims of one of group onto another, an exercise of power, and similar practise has been noted in Colonial conservation. Networking and offering support or consultation to projects with similar ideals are also roles which TFL fulfill, suggesting their role as purveyors of superior knowledge.

In terms of identity, TFL is a re-creator of Scotland’s forest who are championing the cause of Caledonian forest restoration and emphasising the urgency of the project. They offer a collective identity, using words such as we, our, help us, make a positive difference, which invite individuals to support the TFL vision through volunteering or financially.

Carrifran:

Carrifran, like TFL does not have any human residents within its boundary and was founded by individuals who shared a collective vision and is a “grass roots enterprise” and is a charity. The use of the rewilding goal to support intervention that is also evident here. The re-creation of the wildwood area is a long term vision in which humans are repairing the damage which other humans caused.

Humans as repairers and interventionists is an interesting position and presents a paradox when considered in the light of Carrifran as ultimately aspiring towards the restoration of ecological processes within an environment so that they can function independently of man, using markedly man-made and what could be claimed as un-natural methods- namely the use of herbicides and fertilizers. During the participatory field visit with the Carrifran Tuesday volunteers I assisted with the sprinkling of herbicide over newly planted saplings in what I describe as a beautiful landscape. This, to me presented a rather uncomfortable paradox: To create something that is perceived natural whilst asserting that the landscape in its current state- is devalued or degraded (this is by implication if you are restoring it), and that this current state is caused by human activity, it seems almost ironic to say that the solution to this is more human intervention using distinctly non-natural methods. The Carrifran book, emphasises that this form of intervention is undertaken with reluctance.

For Carrifran, the research indicates that there is a connection between human induced degradation on the landscape and the motivation for recreating it, although the strongest motivation for the project is the recognition of lost biological features. This indicates that although there is an imperative to restore the landscape, it is linked to biological and
ecological motivations can be interpreted which could be directly linked to the motivations of 2 of the founders of Carrifran who are biologists. There are no residents on the Carrifran site and visitors are low in numbers and there is not a direct connection or suggestion that humans should be excluded from the site in any way which relates to the current use of the land. However, sheep and goats are classified as a problem and were excluded by removal and relocation of the goats and fencing out of the sheep.

There is a boundary fence designed to keep out the neighbouring sheep and it is a relatively low fence designed to withstand snow and wind as it sits along the mountain ridges. The fence is a form of intervention and also a physical demarcation between the project’s choice of land use ad that of neighbouring sites. As the physical boundary does not keep out roe deer, a stalker is retained to eliminate deer from the site. The presence of a stalker and the boundary fence, are both interventionist actions and suggest that the role of humans as one of defining boundaries, role of predator, restricting species and controlling the environment.

Volunteers provide the labour to undertake the rewilding and not only do they physically contribute to the workload, they are also a source of knowledge and undertake research such as bird monitoring, for the project. The volunteers with whom I volunteered alongside had specialist knowledge of the environment which included geology, ornithology, and local flora and fauna and I received a wealth of information on these subjects which also included a practical lesson in how to identify fox droppings. Volunteers are also ambassadors for the area and the project.

Visitors are welcomed at the site and this is facilitated by a carpark and even the boundary fence has access stiles along the perimeter, although it was acknowledged that, “we very seldom see people up here. We’ve seen 2 walkers today, but that is exceptional.”

Which suggests that although visitors are welcomed and provided for, encouraging an increase in visitors is not one of the goals of the project, which is in stark contrast to Alladale.

Intervention which removes an undesired ecological feature or function such as deer browsing, is evident within all of the sites and highlights the role, whether short or long term, of humans as an active part of the environment, although this does not reflect whether or not humans are viewed as a natural part of the environment. Carrifran employ a stalker to control the roe deer, and have a boundary fence which is patrolled on a monthly basis in order to control its integrity. Here humans can be seen as both taking the role of the predator, and also that of the guard who must keep out the undesirable neighbours who are in this case sheep.
Other common factors:

All of the sites are technically run by absentee landlords, which means that management decisions are not taken by residents of the site (if there are any). This is often viewed as a negative aspect of land ownership in Scotland, linked to foreign landowners and wealthy individuals who wish to own large tracts of land for recreational and personal use, and is linked to the perceived inequity of land ownership in Scotland.

Reintroductions of species such as lynx and wolves were seen as something which is needed, or something which is currently being or has been considered by all of the sites.

Summary:

- The 4 sites create their own definitions of wild land, wilderness, their own categories and measures, and their own visions, goals and actions. Their constructed nature is affected by the beliefs of the owners and founders and their existence relies on the compatible aspects of these values and understandings which are shared within the site, between the founder/owner, to the volunteer, employee and resident.
- This idea of humans as interventionists and the view of this role as inevitable sits in contrast to the rewilding idea of self-willed land, where ecological processes are restored to a state where they function without human intervention.
- This interpretation of rewilding appears to exclude humans from the environment, and Corrour has demonstrated an approach to rewilding which includes infinite intervention with humans as part of the environment. Alladale too suggests an infinite role for humans as interventionists, although not necessarily viewed as an intrinsic part of the environment. For Carrifran and TFL, long term visions include the withdrawl or reduction of the human role in the environment.
- For Alladale and Corrour, investing in the future was also a notion which spread beyond the restoration of the environment. Alladale’s educational program can be seen as a way to share knowledge which will create values which in turn will reflect the sites values and actions. For Corrour their investment was also directly aimed at humans with new houses and hydro power investments which can be viewed as a vision of the future which maintains humans and human needs as part of the estate.
- Fencing is used by all of the sites to restrict access to either deer or sheep. Alladale’s proposal to reintroduce wolves to the site includes the idea of a boundary fence which may present access issues, although field research indicated that human exclusion was not desirable. For Alladale, TFL and Carrifran, humans caused the degradation in terms of forest cover loss. Corrour, in contrast, offered climate change as the cause of forest loss. The power of knowledge was evident at all of the sites,
taking differing forms. TFL asserted an environmental authority by claiming that they were setting an example to other countries by restoring the landscape and Alladale’s educational program can also be viewed as a asserting the authority of their environmental knowledge.

- The description of animals as habitat managers, implies that the animal is fulfilling a human role, or at the very least a role defined by humans. This externalises the ecological function which the animal provides, separates and defines it as a service through which the value and understanding of the entire environmental system is lost.

This discussion will focus on the comparison of the themes and features evident within both rewilding and conservation in order to identify similarities and differences which will facilitate the understanding of rewilding’s positioning in relation to conservation.

Post-conservation has been defined in this paper as having two definitions; post-conservation as a **new post-conservation paradigm** in the sense that rewilding is a distinct practise from that of conservation; and, post-conservation adapted from the **post-colonial** use of post, which was defined as a new state which retains a strong influence from, or connection to a previous state. These 2 post-conservation definitions will be explored alongside the final area for consideration, that of whether rewilding can be seen as a conservation practise.

Conservation is a broad term, encompassing a diverse range of actions, ideals and practices which aspire towards the protection and promotion of a wide variety of features including those which can be defined as natural, and also specific species, spaces, environmental features and processes, (for an example of the variety of definitions of conservation see\textsuperscript{353}) . The discussion here will focus upon preservation conservation\textsuperscript{354} with a focus on protected area conservation which can include national parks, private game reserves, nature reserves\textsuperscript{355}. The examples of conservation practise used here are wide and diverse in terms of both time period and geographical location and were selected because they are strong representative examples of practices which relate to the areas of discussion; wilderness, degradation, exclusion and intervention.

The storylines and themes discussed here relating to rewilding and conservation, are not independent of eachother, however, to facilitate the discussion, storylines and broader themes have been separated to the extent that they can be without compromising the complexity and inter-dependent nature of the subject.

**Wilderness, wild-land and the human-environment relationship:**

The positioning of humans as intrinsic or external to the environment affects perceptions, ideals and actions and this relationship is often termed the human-nature relationship\textsuperscript{356}. Wilderness and wild-land are concepts loaded with ideals and values, most notably are the notions of wilderness as places without people, and places free from, or with minimal visible evidence of human intervention and infrastructure\textsuperscript{357}. The conceptual distinction between wilderness and its connotations as natural and distinction from non-natural, or human influenced environments has affected preservation conservation since its inception\textsuperscript{358}.

Separating humans from the environment, or nature, has had implications for conservation practices. One implication of relevance here can be linked to the perception of wild places as
spaces without people which leads to the exclusion of humans from the environment, both conceptually and physically, and can also lead to human wildlife conflict. This separation also leads to the commodification of conservation, where wildlife and environments becomes a resource for human use and consumption. The separation of humans from the environment affects the understanding of human actions as un-natural processes which can also be seen to support the idea that existing or previous human actions have led to degradation of the landscape. By defining wilderness and wild places and defining them as spaces without people, places of conservation, spaces are redefined and so is the role of humans. Humans become interventionists, re-definers and protectors of spaces; visitors, excluded people and volunteers.

The externalization of humans from the environment allows humans to view nature as something which can be controlled and exploited. This externalization can also be linked to the promotion of ideals and aims which favor one interpretation of the environment and its values over another. Cronon defines the dichotomy between natural and un-natural and the subjectivity of the definition, in the relation to the understanding of wilderness, as a crude conflict relating to value. This reflects not only a contention between the two notions of natural and un-natural, but also that the separation is based upon the social construction of wilderness which reflects ideals, aspirations and knowledge and is bound by the specificity of the place and time in which it was created.

The conceptualisation and definition of wilderness and the positioning of humans varies between and within the sites. Wilderness is the official environment for both the Corrour and Alladale sites. This categorisation is interesting as, for Corrour, humans are very much a part of life on the estate and as such are presented as part of the environment, whether driven by a suggested sense of inevitability of this status or belief in the role of humans as part of the environment is not clear. Field research showed that where one Corrour resident also perceived the environment as wilderness, another did not due to the fact that the environment was a product of human activity. At Alladale the field data revealed an interpretation of the environment as that of wild managed land. A combination of the website and field data indicated that Alladale positions humans outside of nature, or external to the environment. However, on occasion, the field data indicated the existence of a perception of humans as part of the environment alongside the idea of humans as external to the environment, suggesting that a tension exists. It can be asserted that the role of humans at Alladale is not one of an intrinsic part of the ecology or environment in the sense that although they are welcome and necessary as visitors and employees, the discursive presentation defined these roles in connection to management functions and benefits, restricting the conception as intrinsic to the environment. Carrifran are re-creating a wildwood, a place where wild values will be recognised. This illustrates a value of perceived wild qualities of woodland, unstructured perhaps and also reflects a desire to be distinct from the neighbouring structured mono-plantations. For TFL, woodland is also a defining feature of valued land, restoring wild forest with an emphasis on the forest not being
planted for commercial logging purposes, suggesting that wild- means not managed. For both Carrifran and TFL humans are volunteers, visitors, supporters and employees. All of these categories are, supported by the lack of residents and very clear definition of rewilding to pre human interference states, and can be seen as situating humans outside of the environment, as beings who consciously influence the environment rather than being a natural part of it. However there were differences within the field data from TFL and for Carrifran, this is less clearly defined.

Summary: The conceptual and physical separation of humans as distinct from the environment is something which can be identified in both conservation and a 3 of the rewilding sites, however, for rewilding this is not straightforward as web-data and field-data were not always in agreement. The extent of this separation and the consequences of it will be explored in this discussion.

Wilderness, protected areas and power:

It is claimed that early conservation via the introduction of protected areas in colonial Tanzania, were created for the benefit of settlers and that the voices behind their creation were a political elite in England. At this time the preservation of species for both hunting and biodiversity given as motivation, alongside the powerful images of Africa as a (threatened) bountiful wilderness which was in contrast to the urbanised power base in England. Since the 1980’s conservation NGO’s and individuals working in the context of international conservation have, it can be claimed, taken over the colonial conservationist role as an external authority affecting the creation of protected areas in countries other than their own. These notions of external decision making bodies suggest and enforce the idea of a superior knowledge of the environment and its use and by implication define previous landscape uses and knowledge as inferior.

If this idea of a remote or disconnected decision making body is considered in relation to the 4 rewilding sites studied here, a similar claim can be made. The 4 sites are ultimately affected by the goals and management ideals of the site owners, or in the case of Carrifran and TFL- by the founders who are also part of the decision making process within their respective projects. These decisions, actions and ideals are sometimes based upon an idea of the environment prior to perceived human impact, as is the case with Carrifran and TFL. That none of the decision making parties are resident on the sites, or even residing in the immediate surrounding area to the best of my knowledge, affords the claim that they are distant, or detached management regimes defined by their boundaries, and serving the ideals of the decision makers. Whether these ideals translate into actions which serve the ideals and benefit others associated with the site, presents a more complex picture but it can be asserted that there are commonalities between the ideals of the site and those of the employees, residents, volunteers and associates which allow these individuals to function
within and support the site. The distance of power from the site also enforces the idea of disconnectedness, a disconnection between humans and the environment.

**Summary:** Parties external to the physical site maintain authority over the site and this is a feature of both rewilding and conservation.

**Degradation and exclusion:**

Brockington et al. use the example of the international conservation movement’s influence and authority in influencing and establishing new protected areas in Madagascar. Here it is suggested that the idea of a threatened environment which is rich in biodiversity, and one which is based within a poor country, were powerful features in attracting intervention actions from external conservation bodies. Once again, the notions of external power and superior knowledge are evident.

International conservation organisations have also been linked to the preservation of areas from where the human population have already been evicted in the name of conservation and governments have evicted residents from protected areas amidst claims of human induced environmental degradation. Threatened environments, environments classified as degraded or the perceived threat of degradation, can be seen as a strong theme within conservation and degradation and can be seen as not only a driver for acts of conservation but sometimes justification for exclusion of humans from the environment. Brockington explores the history of the Mkomazi game reserve in Tanzania, highlighting the exclusion of people from the environment which had been deemed as degraded due to pastoral activity and overgrazing. Brockington claims that western notions of Mkomazi as wilderness without humans, denied the inherent role that humans had occupied within the environment prior to eviction and that the vision of an empty wilderness was used to support actions which maintained the excluded position of humans. Similarly, exclusion of residents from the Kruger National Park in Kenya was also undertaken in the name of conservation, and although here the excluded community have regained access and ownership rights associated with the area, they are not allowed to reside or return to farming here, which can also be seen as reinforcing the idea of wild places without people. In Tanzania during colonial rule, conservation practices initially removed access rights to hunting, this was followed by displacement of peoples. Independence initially saw a continuation of the separation of people from the environment and distant, centralised control although in recent times attempts to include communities in the processes of conservation have begun. In India, the creation of forest reserves resulted in the displacement and relocation of residents and agricultural practise, and restricted use of resources. This has led to a long period of conflict between officials and local people caused by the “guns and fences” approach to conservation. The idea that humans need to be removed or restricted in their interaction with environments, despite
histories of living within the environment, indicates a conceptual separation held by decision
makers, which influences and supports the exclusionary processes. Although it is
acknowledged here that conservation practises are changing, their legacy is apparent in the
form of continued exclusion in term of restriction of use, and the separation of humans from
the environment

In 2 of the rewilding sites, pastoral activity- small scale cattle grazing, is a valued feature of
the landscape management although, the presence of the cattle does not reflect the
presence of farmers. The Alladale field interview did suggested that small scale farming of
this type might be beneficial to the land and this has both similarities and differences to
the early African colonial views of pastoralism as an element of nature. On the one hand, pastural activities are viewed by Alladale as positive, yet they are not perceived as intrinsic to nature, the role of the cattle and any human caretakers is one of landscape managers an externalised and social construction of a provided service which suggests the role of man as manager and external rather than as part of nature.

The perceived threat of farming highlighted in the examples from African reserves is one
which has affected the recent displacement of people. At Alladale, Corrour and Trees for Life, any displacement of people from the land can be linked to the Highland clearances which occurred in the 1800s. There is a disconnection here between displacement, or exclusion, and current environmental practises at the sites. The clearances were presented during field research without reference to the need to redress a social wrong, they were mentioned as a straightforward historical fact, unlike the critical conservation research which presents the recent exclusions as an issue of environmental justice. The existence or not, or residents on the sites may also reflect the environmental ideals of the project founders/owner, although this is speculative. The discussion at Alladale specifically referred to the lack of residents being a positive feature. This is possibly linked not simply to a vision of wilderness without humans, but also to legislation which gives tenant crofters the “right to buy” their croft, even if it is not being offered for sale by the landlord. That the 3 sites are virtually free from residents, whatever the motivating factors, supports the idea of wilderness being conceived as places without people, defining nature as being external to humans and human activity, and can be recognised as a feature of both conservation and rewilding.

In a sense, people have already been excluded from the environment at the rewilding sites. Historically they were excluded through the clearances and replaced by commercial priorities. Current rewilding practises at all sites apart from Corrour uphold a somewhat excluded approach to humans and the environment with their lack of, or minimal numbers of residents and public visitors; although apart from the suggestion that Alladale’s site may have been chosen in part due to its lack of tenants or non-employee residents, these factors do not present themselves as intentional.
Summary: The conservation and rewilding sites discussed here, both have connections to pastoral and agricultural activity. Conservation has interpreted these activities as a threat and a reason for exclusion of humans and their activities from sites. For rewilding, removal of pastoral and agricultural humans from the environment occurred historically for commercial reasons and is not considered as something which needs to be redressed as part of the rewilding process. Although Alladale considered pastoral activity as offering potential benefit to the site, but ultimately the idea was not deemed viable\textsuperscript{390}. Rewilding and conservation do not demonstrate the same notions of exclusion here relating to land use.

Exclusion, restriction and threat:

Exclusion and conservation does not only take the form of the physical removal from the area it can also take less direct forms. At the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park in South Africa local people now have the right to visit the park after a period of exclusion, which it is noted is often as a paying visitor meaning that not many can afford to do it\textsuperscript{391}. Offering access which is conditional, can be viewed as an exclusionary action. Restricting access is also noted that another example is given relating to Tanzania where, following challenges to policy during the 1950’s, conservation areas were established within which indigenous people were permitted to continue using resources. However, regulation was still a feature of this continued access and this was perceived as a restriction\textsuperscript{392}. As highlighted in relation to exclusion, restricted rights over resources were a source of conflict in India\textsuperscript{393}. This regulation and categorisation of the environment in to governable spaces possibly affected the identity of the population and may have affected their relationship with their environment\textsuperscript{394}. By prioritising the imposed definition and boundary of the space over that of the existing identity of the area, the definers, in this case colonial rulers, repudiate existing knowledge and land use and in effect exclude the people from their own history and knowledge of the environment.

Volunteering at the rewilding sites could also be interpreted as something exclusionary. Their knowledge of the environment (diverse), having the time to invest in the project and having access to the project in terms of being in close proximity to afford in time, the regular journey, are factors which facilitate and also limit, (especially the last 2) access to the site in the role of volunteer.

As a visitor, access to all of the sites is supported and currently without charge. At Carrifran, the existence of a fence is unlikely to prevent access due to the availability of stiles around the boundary, the low height of the fence and the most natural access point being at the bottom of the valley which houses the carpark and access stile. The issue of a boundary fence is one for future consideration at Alladale, who propose a fence to protect wildlife from people and to facilitate the reintroduction of wolves. Fences are currently used by the sites to protect areas from deer and sheep, so it is animals that are excluded, not humans.
Critical accounts of conservation often highlight the external forces and drivers which affect perceived environmental degradation and question the role of human’s actions and the inferred inferior knowledge of environments which lead to the degraded environment. Research by Sundberg asserts that in the case of the Maya Biosphere Reserve, international NGO’s constructed truths relating to human-land relationships, and by doing so privileged perspectives and assumed authority over knowledge and interpretations. This acknowledges the value and power which discourse and perceptions can assert.

At the rewilding sites, de-forestation is also degradation and although this received a predominantly human causal factor by the sites, although it should be noted that this is questioned by some researchers and one site emphasised climate change as the primary cause. Degradation of the land on the rewilding sites is associated with sheep and deer, both of which can be seen a result of human activity, due to the hunting to extirpation of predators such as wolves and economic gains (linked to politics) of sheep farming. That humans are the cause of the degradation, is used to build storylines within the rewilding discourse such as humans activity leads to degradation.

In the rewilding sites, neither the idea of threatened environments, or the preservation of existing places of wilderness were direct features. Although Corrour’s preservation of the cultural plantings within what the site officially (via the web data) defines as wilderness could be seen as preservation, as could their maintenance of a deer population which facilitates sporting hunting as the request of the sporting interested owners; (the high density of deer could be at the expense of the regeneration, suggesting a conflict between sporting and rewilding goals.) However their interpretation of the landscape as both wilderness and also as not-degraded when combined with their actions to support biodiversity and natural regeneration, suggests that largely they are aspiring towards something other than traditional conservation preservation in their site goals.

Like Corrour, Alladale also maintains a sporting interest in maintaining the deer population, although this is not claimed to affect the rewilding objectives and is seen as an integration of traditional practices and revenue in current intervention actions within the rewilding project. Degradation is a historical act and as there are no residents on Alladale who are not employed directly on the estate, there is not a conflict of interests relating to land use or perceived threat to the environment. The only threat is perhaps the deer. For the TFL site, the general threat to the Scottish environment is an ongoing one caused by people living in rural areas. The TFL site is protected by the groups ownership of the site and their defined goals and values relating to restoration. For the TFL site the threat to the environment is that of human activity in the form of farming and de-forestation and is one which has already occurred on their site. Although they technically protect the site by owning it and consequently retaining the right over its use, they are primarily focussed upon restoration work. For Carrifran the threat to the environment is also a reality that has been realised. They actively protect the site from neighbouring threat of sheep and control deer on the
site. The lack of residents and limited number of visitors also reduces any possible threat to the environment and their goals.

The threat for rewilding is a historical one, actions are driven by a sense of something lost which needs to be re-created; the threat today could be perceived as one of in-action by humans to act appropriately, the threat of in-action rather than the threat of current actions. Where conservation by default must have a reason for protection- current or future threat, defined value of environmental qualities or resources, rewilding is driven in part by a perception of a historical wrong and also by the opportunity to fundamentally change the current environmental situation.

**Summary:** Both common features and differences can be identified between conservation and rewilding relating to the perception of degradation and exclusion. Humans cause degradation in both rewilding and conservation (although not for Corrour) and for conservation this justified the need to remove humans from the environment which can be linked to the conceptual separation of humans from the environment and the concept of wilderness. Human exclusion is a feature of both practices, although it takes differing forms and for rewilding the removal of residents from the environment is a historical and conceptually disconnected one. Physical exclusion for rewilding is currently aimed at sheep and deer. Restoring and re-creating the environment does not include re-creating or embracing the human aspects of environmental history, thus maintaining a historically generated separation of humans from the environment at all of the sites apart from Corrour. There is not always direct convergence between web and field data.

**Value**

The commodification of wilderness and natural functions of the environment. Ecosystem services has affected both conservation and rewilding. The notion of experience as a benefit of wilderness or wild places was highlighted in the rewilding site and field data presentation where experience was valued positively as a physical activity, a mental process and a spiritual one. This value was also translated into a commercial benefit or opportunity by 2 of the sites who offered the opportunity to experience the wilderness in the form of organised activities and on site accommodation.

Conservation as business is a theme within conservation practise and commodifying wilderness is a concept that will be explored here. Commodification is based upon generating financial income or support through tourism or financial support via donations or sponsorship. Offering conserved wilderness as an experience is known as eco-tourism and is increasingly being utilised by private reserves, some of whom see financial gain as a benefit to conservation and others view financial gain as a benefit of conservation. The commodification of wilderness involves the creation of a value, natural capital and is interpreted as:
“..a particular kind of capitalist production, one which lays claim to the intrinsic, or natural, capital game animals represent...”

According to this theory, this natural capital is then transformed into a transferable form, understood as a resource, and used to communicate the value. A lot of this value is perceived as symbolic, rather than linked to the primary ecological function of the species. So heavily tied into the notion of conservation is the idealised and imagined status of Africa as untouched wilderness with symbolic species that the author claims that nature is perceived to be not yet affected by the social domain. This is an example of the dichotomy between natural and un-natural in the created visions which support conservation. It is also a reflection of the value of species not in terms of ecology but in terms of symbolic totems representing ideals and spaces.

Value at the sites relates to both financial gain and ecological authenticity where non-native species are usually regarded as un-desirable and native species are prized for their status as belonging to the local environment.

For Alladale, the value of wolves as a tourist attraction is strongly promoted. The re-introduction of wolves is cited as a symbolic species, one that will attract tourists. However, unlike the conservation example, the value of wolves to this site is not only one of symbolic value, it is also very clearly defined in terms of its role within the ecosystem- a landscape manager. Suggesting that the value of the species is in assisting the re-creation of the rewilded wilderness area, (for it already claims to be wilderness,) which is the sites primary goal, and also as a symbol of wild land. Alladale openly bases itself on an idea of an African wildlife reserve, which an interviewee claimed related to the scale and size of the project, although it can also be asserted that the idea of an African wildlife reserve also reflects the estates´ idea of wilderness as a commodity of tourism. Corrour promotes wilderness as its´ symbolic and valuable feature, adding to that the clear idea that wilderness is something which can be experienced, although the desire to attract tourists or to increase visitors is not so clearly pronounced as at Alladale. For Carrifran and TFL these ideas relating to the commodification of the landscape for tourism is not applicable, however, both sites are involved in promoting their projects in order to attract funding. Both Carrifran and TFL sites create discourses relating to human degradation and the value of woodland and specific, native species, which support their goals, represent their ideals and are intended to attract support. Carrifran, like Alladale, is also involved in commercial activity to assist in funding and is involved in a carbon offsetting scheme. The 4 sites commodify the wilderness, or aspects of it, to some extent, although Corrour offers this commodity in a subtle way, suggesting that this is not a priority. The commodification of the environment involves an externalisation of its qualities, a separation of the role of humans from the environment and a re-alignment of humans as consumers of a disconnected commodity.

That the 4 sites have differing relationships to value and commodity in a commercial sense, reflects their differing positions within the rewilding spectrum. The researched highlighted
that all of the sites except for Corrour, openly utilise discourses relating to wilderness to encourage financial support (via tourism in the case of Alladale). It can be claimed that although Alladale supports the re-introduction of wolves to the site and views this as a potential tourist attraction, that ultimately the sites’ aim of rewilding the environment places the value of wolves in its role within the ecosystem primarily, and its’ value as a commodity is secondary to that. The other sites are not asserting an aim to encourage tourism or for direct financial gain, although Carrifran and TFL utilise their visions of wild land and wilderness to illicit support and donations, which could be seen as commodifying the vision of the environment.

Summary: Rewilding is interpreted here as having similarities and differences in relation to value and the practice of conservation. Conservation utilises symbols to generate financial support or income and 3 of the rewilding sites (not Corrour) are also undertaking this practise to varying degrees and in different ways which reflects their differing approaches. For Carrifran and TFL of the rewilding sites it is the promotion of an interpretation of the past and a vision of the future which is commodified, rather than the conservation idea of commodifying which suggests that it is an existing state or feature (existing either in the physical or perceptual sense). For Alladale rewilding shares the same process of commodification of wilderness as conservation. The other 3 rewilding sites have not taken the same commercial approach. The externalisation of wilderness supports the actions relating to commodification.

Intervention- is rewilding confused?

If the goal of rewilding is to step back from nature and to have self-willed land, with a distinctive value placed on natural functions and native-species, then why is there so much human intervention? The answer offered here is that rewilding of the environment in Scotland requires human intervention, although this can still be a difficult concept. Intervention is making a conscious decision to act, with the intention of this action affecting the environment. This can include withdrawing from the landscape and letting ecological processes manage the environment (the goal of rewilding), as a conscious act, this can be interpreted as intervention. But intervention is more easily recognised as the physical acts which are performed within the landscape such as tree planting and fence erection.

Conservation is intervention. For Hintz the idea of wild areas as free from human intervention and the seemingly conflicting but necessary process of intervention required to re-create them represent a problem within conservation (he understood rewilding as a conservation practise)⁴¹⁰. The decision to conserve an area is itself an intervention on an existing state of processes. Spaces are redefined, their status is changed, they become a construct of conservation⁴¹¹. The role of humans in conservation stretches beyond the borders of a defined area. According to Adams:
“Conservation is the term we use to describe the choices we make about the terms of engagement between people and other species.”

Not only does this suggest the constructed nature of the perceived relationship between humans and other species, it suggests a disconnection between humans and natural process, one which is enforced by the conscious act of defining the conditions of interaction. This form of conscious interaction can be defined as intervention. Like the term of conservation which does not have a single descriptive definition, neither is there a prescription for protection conservation actions. The act of intervention considered here is fencing. Fencing is used in conservation to exclude people, especially poachers, and to enclose nature and to prevent conflicts. It has been noted that fences in conservation in Africa can take differing forms, with South Africa enforcing boundaries with fencing and their associated restrictions and East Africa utilising fences more sparsely. In South Africa fencing was used to protect wildlife from bush meat poachers and also to protect people from wildlife.

Field research at Alladale indicated that the proposed fence relating to the desired wolf reintroduction was linked to protecting wildlife from humans. In this regard, Alladale’s proposed intervention can be seen as directly reflecting the actions and motivation used by conservation in relation to fencing. Carrifran utilise a boundary fence to protect the area from grazing sheep, which is also similar to conservation. Corrour aims to not use fences, although they exist to preserve the cultural plantings and TFL use fences to exclude deer. All of these suggest similar actions to conservation, however if the consideration is extended further in relation to conservation, a contrast emerges.

Protecting wildlife from bushmeat poaching can also be viewed as preventing humans from a resource, one which may have been theirs for consumption prior to the conservation designation and boundary. For the rewilding sites, poaching or hunting was neither apparent, nor raised as an issue. The only wild animal used for meat at the rewilding sites, were red deer which were culled or shot for sport by the estates. Legally, red deer are not owned by anyone but they become the property of the estate when on their land. This can be interpreted as the presence of fences or otherwise does not affect the status or use of deer as a resource. Crucially, the fences used in rewilding are not (currently) restricting the movement or activity of people.

Protecting people from animals by restricting their movements, as seen in conservation, can be both in-effective and restricts the natural movement and natural processes of the ecosystem. If this is considered in relation to rewilding, it can be claimed that fencing restricts the movement of sheep which at Carrifran and sheep are not part of the site ecosystem. Deer, although excluded from certain areas, can be considered to roam freely in Scotland due to the size of the enclosures which even if considered in relation to the sites, can be interpreted as relatively small. Even where there is a boundary fence, deer have access to the site (although they are controlled by stalking). In relation to the control of red deer at Alladale and Corrour, both sites recognised the role of humans as predator,
suggesting that humans are a part of the ecosystem. Although this was not supported by Alladale’s field and site-data when considered as a whole. Humans are considered as external to the environment by both conservation and 3 of the 4 sites which supports the act of intervention by positioning humans as external- managers and volunteers. This positioning allows the actions the safety of distance allowing the humans to intervene for the benefit of the environment rather than as a holistic process of human-environment ecology.

Field data from Alladale and Corrour highlighted a sense that the role of humans within the environment was to intervene. The control of deer was cited by both sites as a strong area of concern and one which needed careful management in the form of stalking. Interestingly, both sites mentioned this role in the light of being that of a predator, placing humans within the ecology of the environment rather than external controllers of it. Fencing was a contentious issue for all of the sites, with fences being used out of perceived necessity to exclude deer and sheep rather than people. The act of using herbicide was, for me and the site, one of interest and difficulty. The idea of intervening by using a plant killer to support the growth of a tree was uncomfortable, however, perhaps all modes of intervention are uncomfortable interruption on the current functioning of the system.

The goal of the rewilding projects Carrifran and Trees for Life is to restore or re-create a self functioning environment from which human intervention can be withdrawn, either entirely to as large an extent as possible. TFL and Carrifran are positioned at what is defined here as the purist middle of the spectrum, with self defined ecological properties of the land. Alladale sits at the opposite end of the spectrum with its goals of long term intervention, with reintroductions, fences and plans for tourism. Corrour sits at one end of the spectrum with its apparent infinite approach to human intervention to support natural regeneration. That Corrour, through its infinite inclusion of human intervention within the rewilding area, could be interpreted as matching the actions of conservation, is acknowledged. However, it is asserted here that it is the nature of the intervention and the aspiration to change the environment in a patient and intrinsic way, working with nature, which connects them most clearly to the idea of self-willed land. This is a much clearer connection to rewilding goals and actions at Corrour than the other three sites which present somewhat of a paradox when considering the nature of the intervention and the idealised and value laden goal.

Summary: The spectrum of rewilding goals and actions presented here demonstrate that beyond identifying intervention as a feature, their actions and intentions do not share broad commonalities. Both conservation and rewilding use fences for exclusion in the examples here. At the rewilding sites, fencing was used to protect spaces from sheep and deer, and unlike the conservation examples, was not currently used for the exclusion of humans. Alladale’s proposed fence to protect wolves from humans and vice versa, is similar to the conservation reasons for fence use, but for Alladale this is still a proposal. Although intervention is a feature of both rewilding and conservation, the results of the intervention,
both intended and actual, can be seen as largely different from those of conservation. Also where conservation intervenes from a conscious and long term management perspective, Carrifran and TFL intervene in the short term with a long term goal of reducing or withdrawing from intervention practices, suggesting differing goals. Humans are positioned external to the environment at all of the rewilding sites except Corrour, and in the examples from conservation, affecting actions and perceptions of the role of humans.

**Intervention: Is rewilding- taking something away?**

The idea of Dan Brockington’s *Fortress conservation* - is linked to the action of “land loss for conservation purposes”\(^{419}\), which is the reality of land being categorised and removed from one group and authority assumed by another, of which exclusion and claims of degradation are also factors. Land appropriation and restrictions in land use are common features of protection conservation with restrictions to grazing rights, access and exclusion occurring\(^{420}\).

If this idea of land appropriation and control is considered in relation to the rewilding sites a complex picture emerges. For all of the sites, land has not been expropriated for the purpose of rewilding. Although, as already discussed, the Highland clearances could be considered as a form of exclusion and also to an extent, land expropriation. The estates were all, except Corrour (who recently changed focus from purely sporting towards a balance between rewilding and sport\(^{421}\)), purchased with the express intent of undertaking rewilding projects, and were not being used for other purposes, commercially or residentially. From this it can be asserted that land loss did not take place. However, if restrictions in use are considered, the Alladale and the proposed boundary fence and wildlife reserve, could pose a restriction to access rights, although this was considered a small sacrifice by one employee\(^{422}\) and represents the idea that the rewilding vision is dominant over all other interests; a sentiment which is arguably inferred by the examples of conservation, land loss and restrictions given above.

For Alladale it can be asserted that they are investing in the environment and they themselves claim that this will benefit the local economy, although it is acknowledged that this claim is also made of eco-tourism and is acknowledged to raise questions about the compatibility of conservation and commerciality\(^{423}\). Corrour are clearly “…enhancing the experience of all who live on and visit Corrour”\(^{424}\). TFL are creating “a wild forest, which is there for its own sake”\(^{425}\) and Carrifran are restoring a woodland\(^{426}\).

Considered from this approach it can be asserted that rewilding is neither removing land, nor taking something away. It is rather a process of investing in the environment and the processes and which materialise as a result of this investment are dependent on the individual sites ideals, visions and values.

**Summary:** The examples demonstrate that land appropriation and loss of access are features of preservation conservation. Rewilding, in contrast is not claiming land for its purpose or
imposing restrictions on access. Rewilding is investment, a process of supporting or allowing natural functions to manage the land, it is not, at these sites, taking something away.

6.1: Revisiting the question, is rewilding post-conservation?

Post-conservation is understood in this paper as having 2 positions and in order to assess whether rewilding can be seen as post-conservation, 3 questions were defined:

- 1. Can rewilding be seen as post-conservation in terms of being a distinct move, a reformulation of land management ideals, aims and practices which can be seen as entirely beyond conservation; a new post-conservation paradigm?
- 2. Does rewilding discourse and practise suggest that rewilding, despite its differing aims, is fundamentally indistinguishable from preservation conservation practise?
- 3. Can rewilding be interpreted as post-conservation in a post-colonial sense in that it offers a new set of aims which are supported by the values, ideals (and consequently affected by) the values and ideals of preservation conservation

The spectrum of rewilding presented by the rewilding sites demonstrated that rewilding is not a uniform process, and undoubtedly neither is conservation. However, the rewilding sites and the conservation examples in this discussion do exhibit common features and themes which, although sometimes apparent in differing forms, allowed the 2 practices to be explored in a comparative manner.

The discussion has illustrated that conservation and rewilding have several characteristics in common such as decision making and power which is external to the site. The consideration of the conceptual positioning of humans within, or external to the environment has presented a complex picture with conservation clearly placing humans as external to the environment and Alladale, TFL and to some extent Carrifran also situating humans as external to the environment. Although differences existed between and within the rewilding sites, the interpretation offered here was that despite suggestions that humans were part of the environment, overall, the sites (web and field) data supported the separation of humans from the environment. The notable exception was the 4th site- Corrour who consistently include humans within the environment.

Features which can be seen as shared identifiable traits, but were also assessed as having differing elements were exclusion, value and degradation. With regards to degradation, Alladale, Carrifran, TFL and conservation presented the claim that human action leads to degradation of the environment. The difference appears when the time period of the threat
is considered. For conservation, the perceived threat is a recent or current one, either actual or potential whereas for the 3 rewilding sites, the threat is a historical act which has already been realised. Also, this threat of degradation was used to support exclusion of humans from the environment in conservation and this is not apparent within rewilding. Exclusion, value and degradation are areas which offered an inconclusive positioning, whereby the interpretation was that rewilding and conservation both shared features and were also distinct from each other, (and there are also differences within rewilding itself).

There were also aspects of the discussion which highlighted clear distinctions between rewilding and conservation. In relation to degradation and exclusion pastoralism was explored and revealed that where conservation had viewed pastoral activity as the cause of degradation and a threat to the environment, rewilding viewed the grazing of cattle to be beneficial to the environment at Alladale and Corrour, and the idea of a historical exclusion had taken place for commercial reasons, not related to the degradation of the landscape. Another key differing aspect was the notion of appropriating land and taking something away, where it was illustrated that unlike conservation, rewilding had not appropriated land for its purpose and was not removing access rights or people.

The themes and storylines assessed in this discussion have highlighted the position of rewilding in relation to the 3 questions highlighted above:

- **Rewilding is not clearly disconnected from conservation in the form of a new post-conservation paradigm** (question 1);

- **Rewilding is not definitively aligned with conservation** (question 2);

- **Rewilding is post-conservation** (question 3), defined as- although rewilding is a practise with many features which distinguish it from that of conservation, it also shares many features with conservation suggesting an influence or inheritance from conservation.

This research and analysis has highlighted the role of humans as being conceptually positioned as either internal or external to the environment. The suggestion here is that the similarities between rewilding and conservation are underpinned by an idea of humans being external to the environment. The conceptual positioning of humans as external to the environment is intrinsic to conservation and one which is also evident in conservation values and ideals actions. This separation has also been identified as a feature of rewilding practices at TFL, Alladale and Carrifran, although it is noted that there is variation within the sites relating to this perception and for Carrifran this is less pronounced.
**Conclusions: Rewilding as post-conservation**

7. Reviewing the positioning:

Rewilding claims to be something *beyond conservation*\(^{427}\), this study has explored this positioning by offering an understanding of rewilding in Scotland in relation to conservation.

Soule and Noss defined rewilding as encompassing restoration of large wilderness areas, corridors connecting these wild areas and reintroduction of species to support functioning ecosystems. This research has provided an interpretation of rewilding in Scotland based upon a case study of 4 sites. That which has been presented here indicates that rewilding is a diverse practice based upon differing goals, ideals and values, encompassing elements of what Soule and Noss\(^{428}\) defined as rewildings’ key elements and interpreting them to fit the site and the goals of the site.

The interpretation of conservation used within the discussion was based upon preservation conservation and utilized examples which demonstrated and represented the characteristics and practices which were comparable to rewilding. These included: exclusion of humans from the environment, the role and use of intervention and the use and effects of the concept wilderness. Analysis and comparison of the themes and storylines revealed 3 differing positions of rewilding in relation to conservation:

- A clear disparity between the two
- As featuring shared perceptions and practices,
- A combination of the two.

Within the 4 rewilding sites studied during this research, a spectrum of rewilding practices was evident with Corrour seen as a distinct rewilding paradigm in many ways, and Alladale aligning itself most closely with a conservation influenced approach. Carrifran and Trees for Life sit in-between the two, the extent of any alignment to either a new paradigm or conservation rewilding varies depending on the assessed theme. What this highlights is a diversity within rewilding which expresses the subjectively defined collaborations of ideals and aims of the individual sites. The research also demonstrated that there is a variation of ideals within the sites which suggests that a spectrum of ideals and values exists also within each site and that these are accommodated within a communal consensus relating to the aims of the rewilding.

Consideration of all 4 of the rewilding sites during the analysis did not define rewilding decisively as either a conservation practice or a new post-conservation paradigm. Rewilding is, by this study, positioned as post-conservation where although new and distinct practices are evident within rewilding, there is also a strong influence from ideas and values characteristic of conservation which are connected to the conceptualization of humans as external to the environment. Post-conservation is also understood here as in-between...
paradigms because, as the Corrour example demonstrated, it is possible to rewild without being influenced by a conservation legacy. This both indicates the possibility for rewilding sites to evolve and redefine their ideals and practices into a position that can be seen as distinctive from that of conservation, and also reflects the current rewilding situation which encompasses a variety of interpretations of rewilding within the rewilding spectrum.

Within this post-conservation rewilding spectrum there were also differences within the sites relating to ideals and practices, suggesting that although the sites presented an official rewilding picture (web-data), volunteers, associates and residents harbored their own interpretations of rewilding and the values and ideals which it contains. This suggests that there is fluidity within rewilding, something which may be important to any future evolution of the rewilding processes, values and ideals. There was also disparity between sites, with Corrour distinguishing itself from the other rewilding sites in various ways.

The discussion revealed that conceptual exclusion of humans from the environment was evident in conservation relating to all of the themes. For rewilding, it was asserted, that like conservation, rewilding had also placed the human as external to the environment, with Corrour being the exception to this. The positioning of humans within or external from the environment is significant as it is an intrinsic element within the notions of degradation, exclusion and intervention and supports and guides actions. The example of exclusion indicated that the understanding, conceptualization and valuation of environments as places free from human presence or intervention, supported the exclusion of pastoralists and residents from the environment.

The positioning of humans in relation to the environment can be linked to the conceptualization of wilderness. It is asserted here that it is the separation of humans from the environment which most pronouncedly confines rewilding within the boundaries of fortress conservation. Within the 4 sites there was an exception to this conservation legacy- Corrour. Corrour achieved something which the other rewilding sites failed to, they positioned the humans as part of the environment both conceptually and in practice and consequently distinguished itself from conservation. Although it should be noted here that this is the interpretation of this study and does not necessarily reflect any intent by the site to attain this position.

Ultimately what this analysis highlighted was the existence of ideals and values (which affect practices) which aligned rewilding with conservation or suggested a connection to it, and also some practices and ideals which distinguished it from conservation. That new practices are apparent in combination with inherited practices positioned rewilding as post-conservation in this study.

The positioning of rewilding as post-conservation will be considered here in order to offer an understanding of its positioning as in-between paradigms, the nature of the conservation
legacy and to suggest that rewilding is currently being confined by its conservation legacy, something which limits its potential to re-shape the human environment relationship.

7.1. The path to an understanding- all signs point to wilderness:

I will introduce here what Taylor presented as the fundamental flaw in conservation- the conceptual separation of humans from the environment. The analysis undertaken here has indicated that this is also the dominant reason for rewilding being suspended between paradigms post-conservation, it is the conservation legacy which permeates rewilding discourse and practise.

The link between this separation and rewilding, as suggested by this research, is the concept wilderness. Soule and Noss utilized the concept when defining rewilding as a process of recreating wilderness areas, although an examination of their interpretation is not within the boundaries of this study and nor is it necessary here, it is highlighted because they defined rewilding as a process which valued an interpretation of wilderness. The wilderness or wild land values envisaged for the process of rewilding at Alladale, Carrifran and TFL, appear to have been directly inherited, a legacy, from the preservation conservationists interpretation of wilderness as a place free from humans, something fundamentally separate and to be protected as so. This conservation legacy can be seen as affecting the positioning of rewilding as post-conservation. Of the rewilding sites, only Corrour appears to have avoided this conceptual restriction, redefining wilderness as a cultural and inclusive space where humans are part of the environment, perhaps this is because they have neither defined themselves as conservationists nor rewilders and are consequently not bound by the restrictions which such concepts impose.

The idea of humans being part of the environment is not defined by a physical act which affects the environment, as demonstrated by the acts of intervention in rewilding- the process of the action does not itself define the human role as intrinsic to the environment. Neither would the act itself of moving a village to the centre of the Alladale reserve, mean that these new resident were part of the environment, or even that Alladale perceived them as so. The positioning of being part of the environment is knowledge and perception based which ultimately affects actions. It is having the knowledge to understand the human position as intrinsic to the environment; to be aware of the processes to which the human is a part, acknowledging that this is a natural process, that humans live as part of nature within the environment, and perceiving and supporting this state as so. It is about creating and maintaining a balance (or trying to), and acknowledging that the actions which uphold this affect not as something external to humans, but the environment within which humans are a functioning part. Being part of the environment can also be understood in terms of what it is not; eg. viewing the human role as that of determinist controller and the environment as an external resource which needs to be protected from the actions of humans.
The position of humans as part of or external to the environment affects the understanding of intervention. Rewilding is fundamentally based upon the idea of reduced intervention or self-willed land, in practice rewinding involves minimal, intense and diverse intervention across varying timescales and for Corrour and Alladale intervention was an infinite prospect. I have already explored the idea that this is a paradox, questioning the role of distinctly non-natural intervention methods in the re-creation of a wild area whose conception rests upon the ideal of an environment that was unaffected by human actions. I concluded that at the 4 rewilding sites, to support the rewilding goals, intervention was necessary, but that it was not always a comfortable process. The process of intervention is itself worthy of enquiry here because of the links which rewilding has to the ideal of wilderness and wild-land, a place free from human disturbance and presence- and representing the conceptual separation of humans from the environment. As this wilderness conception is apparently utilized by 3 of the rewilding sites (not Corrour), and specifically requires lack of human presence and interference, the very act of creation through human intervention presents a conceptual problem; if wilderness exists because humans have not affected that environmental space, then the recreation and intervention by humans must mean that it is not wilderness. The data from the rewilding sites suggested that this was not a consideration, inferring that this conceptual paradox has been resolved in some way. Perhaps it is a subconscious acknowledgement of the role of humans as part of the environment which allows the existence of man-made wilderness, but this is purely speculative.

I will assert here that the very acknowledgement that humans are required to, and do, intervene in the environment supports the naturalness of this role and suggests an understanding at some level, that humans are a part of the environment. It is perhaps here where the paradox lies, between the separation of humans from the environment conceptually and ideally, and the actions which seemingly support the inherent status of humans as part of the environment. Corrour, as the exception to this conceptual separation are interpreted here as having redefined wilderness to include the cultural, the man-made and the role of humans as intrinsic to the environment, for this site, there is no need to consider restricting human intervention, they have moved the parameters of rewilding.

For some of the TFL volunteers, and writers such as Taylor and Monbiot, rewilding is about people and the need to re-connect to the environment. What this indicates is a realization among rewilders and rewilding advocates, of the value of the connection, or the conceptualization and reality of humans as part of the environment. Wider benefits of this connection are asserted, relating to people feeling a responsibility towards the environment, supporting conservation and rewilding objectives and acknowledging the value of environments. There is critique of the impacts of the separation of humans from the environment and the implications of repositioning humans to their place within the environment is recognised as a benefit for conservation and linked to a necessary and
beneficial change where justice will prevail and both humans and the environment will benefit.\textsuperscript{444}

The idea of re-connection suggests that humans have been un-naturally separated from the environment and the discursive separation was reflected in the presentation and discussion on wilderness with the example of Corrour opposing this apparent trend and presenting their own interpretation of wilderness as a space of inclusion. The artificial disconnection of humans from the environment prevents the understanding and valuation of environments and the impacts of human actions. The separation allows and supports the commodification of wilderness and wildlife, an external action driven by the desire and intent to control and affect, it is an action of detachment where the environment becomes a place to be used for the benefit of humans. The conceptual separation supports conservations’ physical separation of humans from the environment where they become external threats and degraders. It supports the foundational idea of wild places as free from humans, upon which the concepts and actions relating to intervention, degradation and exclusion are based. It is all about perception, and as the field data suggested there is a wide variety of interpretations and values which relate to the same idea to concept, supporting the idea that there is a fluidity within rewilding and suggesting that there is a possibility to re-conceptualise and foster a more inclusive and holistic conceptualization and practice. Perhaps the shift in perceptions which will most effectively alter the human environment relationship, is that which can be achieved by rewilding, where the human environment relationship is nurtured and supported and perceived as a natural alliance, an ecology. One which allows rewilding to be positioned outwith the legacy of the conservation confines.

This concluding discussion has expanded beyond assessing how rewilding sits in relation to conservation, for that has already been asserted. What has been expressed here is how rewilding has the potential to evolve into a new paradigm; where humans are part of the environment connected through knowledge of its functions, acts of intervention, use of the fruits of the forest, the rivers and the air we breathe. With such a value at its foundation, rewilding in Scotland can progress through the confusion of the post-conservation legacy, and into its own paradigm- a new post-conservation paradigm. One where issues of exclusion and conceptualization of wilderness as places without people are not prevailing features of a powerful ethos which seeks to protect environments and nature from humans, but one where the human role is understood as intrinsic, inseparable and invaluable.
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Appendix A

Interview Guide and Schedule
Interview guide:

Aims of field research: To explore rewilding in Scotland and gain an understanding of the identified themes: wilderness, degradation, exclusion, intervention.

Note:
Corrour does not use the term rewilding; or class itself as doing so (according to a source): wild land management
Corrour and Alladale use the word wilderness to describe their site (web data)
Carrifran is restoring a “wildwood”, TFL restore a “wild forest”
TFL, Carrifran and Alladale acknowledge their link to rewilding (email correspondence)
The sites do not refer to eachother
Tree loss is blamed on humans primarily
Fences are relevant to all sites

Suggested topics of focus to encourage discussion of key themes:

Wilderness: Perceptions of landscape/environment
Is this wilderness? What is wilderness?
How/does the presence of man-made structures affect the landscape?
Should humans/people live in wild places?
Do people live here? Visit? Interact?
Discuss the open landscape
Are people welcome on the site, in what capacity
Will rewilding bring more visitors, residents to the site?
**Intervention:**

Role of interviewee on site

What actions are being undertaken on the site currently

What are the future plans for actions

Discuss current method of deer management

Are other species managed?

Role of people, visitors, recreation, re-creation, employees

Fences - why are they used and how.

Fences - what is their purpose

Fences - do they restrict access

Reintroduction, planned? - why this choice of animal

Is there a place for other forms of land use on the site? - crofting?


**Degradation:**

Is there something wrong with the landscape/environment in its current state?

What caused the “problem”?

Why should we fix it?

Discuss the open landscape

Sheep and deer

How should the (non-urban) environment/landscape be used? - farming-crofting, managed woodland, empty of people?
Exclusion:

Does/will the existence of fences restrict movement or access of people? How?

Why is the exclusion necessary?

What form does the exclusion take? - fences around whole site, small areas, access points?

Who or what benefits from the exclusion

Is the fence a long term or permanent solution?

Do people visit the site?
Interview Schedule:

Alladale wilderness reserve: Interview with Ian  
visited on: 27/2/2014

John Muir Trust: Interview with Jack  
visited on: 28/2/2014

Trees for life: Interview with Brian, Mark and Mary  
visited on: 3/3/2014

Trees for life volunteer day: interview with volunteers  
visited on: 5/3/2014

Corrour Estate: Interview with Dan, Jim and John  
visited on: 6/3/2014

Corrour estate Station House: Interview with Lynne  
visited on: 7/3/2014

Carrifran volunteer day: Interview with volunteers  
visited on: 11/3/2014

Interview questionnaires sent to:

Alladale: James

Corrour: Dan

John Muir Trust: Jack

Trees For Life: Mary
Appendix B

Example sections from web and field data discourse analysis, the coding
Excerpts from Corrour estate web-data discourse analysis and coding:

Data from www.corrour.co.uk accessed on 14-2-2014

Comments: human history and influence and impact important. Humans are a part of estate.

Homepage:

www.corrour.co.uk

“To experience Corrour is to experience the wilderness”

Wilderness, identifying area as this; identity. Experience

About the estate:

http://www.corrour.co.uk/about/the-estate

“...conserved wilderness”

It is wilderness and we have been, and are protecting it

“....gardens originally established by Sir John Maxwell....Today, the gardens reflect the

Design aspirations of Jinny Blom, our design consultant”

Human influence and management of landscape is part of cultural

legacy and human- environment interaction.

Value and human-environment

“...a wild garden surrounds the lodge and nearby cottages.”

A managed environment can be wild

“...comfortable accommodation”

wilderness experience is not uncomfortable
“Remote, beautiful and peaceful scenery”

aesthetic - spirituality

“Two other properties are near by: the Loch Ossian Hostel and the Station House...”

value and recognition of history of human shaping of estate and value of continuation of use and human inhabitation and visitation.

Human - cultural history. Human place in wilderness as resident and visitor - business and pleasure

“Sir John’s interest in trees and planting were the start of environmental stewardship at the estate.”

Value of cultural legacy

Conscious caretaking role

“...he planted the rhododendron gardens that remain on Corrour today.”

Heritage. Value of species due to value of cultural heritage

“The estate is moving towards a new balance between sporting estate and natural wilderness.”

Balance. Managing land for wilderness properties and sporting - financial and experience. Change in focus?

“We are working towards promoting the bio diversity and beauty...”

Fostering or advertising?

“We are working towards... enhancing the experience of all who live and visit Corrour.”

People important. People intrinsic part of estate environment as visitors and residents. Experience - spiritual, economic, comfort?
Example of field data discourse analysis notes, coding

Carrifran field discourse analysis

Excerpts from ethnographic and interview notes and coding:

The location is a valley, within a valley for want of a better description. Next to the carpark there are trees and bushes which creep along the valley behind the gate and fence which lies between the carpark and the Carrifran wildwood site.

Trees, contrast, fence

There is a low (not deer fence) boundary fence which can be identified at a distance, but only in certain places.

Boundary, fence, exclusion

Fox droppings were to be identified by their pointed ends. Foxes were not considered a problem species. However, roe deer were especially in relation to their antler rubbing and scent marking activities which damages trees.

Species value

There was something paradoxical and slightly uncomfortable about assisting in a rewilding project which is focussing on ecological restoration of woodland by scattering herbicide over saplings in what I would describe as a beautiful and natural environment. There is something uncomfortable, or a certain juxtaposition in the idea of human intervention to create something natural whilst claiming that the landscape is currently devalued or degraded (by implication if you are restoring it), and that this is linked to human activity such as sheep farming and deforestation. Intervention.

Intervention, paradox. Re-creation natural Environment and process using un-natural methods

Giving nature a helping hand, or intervention, is an interesting concept as it suggests man’s control and mastery over nature which really does sit juxtaposed to the aims of creating a self supporting system. Rewilding is about levels of intervention.

Intervention- mastery, or assistance Humans as part of environment? Or controllers of it?
Volunteer interviews:

V1- “the boundary line is up there just next to the skyline, if they put up a large fence, it is fairly exposed up there and with the wind it would get snow piling up against it.”

Small fence, weather dictates this, intervention

V1- “there is a contractor, a stalker who comes in here …”

Intervention, human as predator

V1”…we are planting in such densities that we hope that we are exceeding any potential damage that can happen.” Planning for loss, calculating nature

V1- “on that side you can see trees marching over the skyline”

Trees in battle, winning the battle

V1- “they took pollen samples, there is a peat bog up there, and the pollen samples were done and there were pollen from about 12-15 trees which is a significant mixture since the ice age.” Value of species based on historical record

V1- “..when this flush comes, the whole valley lights up and it’s terrific.” Experience, joy, memory

V1- “we very seldom see people up here. We’ve seen 2 walkers today, but that is exceptional.” Not many people visit

V1- “do you know how to identify fox droppings?”

V1- “you always get a pointy bit at the end of a fox dropping. He has been eating something very hairy…..” sharing knowledge. Engaging with environment
Example of field data discourse analysis notes, coding

Excerpts from Alladale field discourse analysis notes and coding:

“So if the wolves are managing the deer are you managing the wolves? They do have a lot of hunting in a lot of African game reserves”

“...of course there would be some sort of management”  
  intervention long term.  
  Role of Humans

“as long as we are here it is our purpose to interfere”

Role of humans is to intervene

P5.

Talking about wolves

“little red riding hood has a lot to answer for in this country”

Popular culture= fear of wolves. Public opinion

“Everyone’s sort of saying to Paul about the lynx and he is standing his ground and he wants – the wolf. The wolf is the number one predator- he has got to be”

Value of species. Not just any predator- wolf

“they are doing what we are doing, but they are doing it 24/7.”

Wolves as more effective predator than Humans
Talking about fences and access - exclusion

“I think that people should come and enjoy it”  
humans should enjoy wilderness

The Highland cattle on the reserve

“Habitat managers really...”  
species in human action terms

“cattle were not the problem here, it was sheep grazing that was the problem in Scotland- huge numbers of them you know. They go into an area and bare everything.”  
Sheep as a problem. Degradation.  
Scale and numbers

“if cattle are a good thing, is there a role for small farmers on your land?”

“it’s quite a valid point...”

“it is probably safe to say that one of the attractive things about buying a place lie Alladale- there’s no difficulty with having farmers on the land you know what I mean...when you have tenants the problem is there’s always an issue that ‘they have rights’”  
Residents are a problem

Talking about land value

“the value he puts on the place is th equality of the habitats...it is not about –we can shoot 10-20-30 stags...”  
valuing landscape for habitat not sport-  
Personal values not market ones

“Is this wilderness?”

“I think it is wild managed land”  
wild land is managed

“it cannot be wilderness- we have just driven a 4x4 five miles into it...”  
Accessability and infrastructure-not wilderness
Appendix C

Frames, themes and Storylines
Frames, themes and storylines: Discourse analysis of web based material relating to sites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame:</th>
<th>Role and positioning of humans in rewilding discourse and practise: values and qualities</th>
<th>Role and positioning of humans in rewilding discourse and practise: Physical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Themes:</td>
<td>Wilderness</td>
<td>moral obligation, degradation and exclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storylines:</td>
<td>1. Wilderness/wild-land is a place of value</td>
<td>6. Role of humans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The environment is un-natural, we need to fix</td>
<td>7. Human intervention is part of the process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Benefits</td>
<td>8. Human activity leads to degradation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Value of environment</td>
<td>9. Humans are part of environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 Differing species and categories, research and knowledge have differing values</td>
<td>10. Humans are external to environment - exclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11. Culture and identity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Extra codes and sub-storylines emerging from field work analysis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame:</th>
<th>Role and positioning of humans in rewilding discourse and practise: values and qualities</th>
<th>Role and positioning of humans in rewilding discourse and practise:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Themes:</td>
<td>wilderness</td>
<td>moral obligation, degradation and exclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Codes and Storyline number to which they belong:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in () corresponds to the codes through which the text was initially understood through coding.</td>
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<tr>
<td>These codes and sub-storylines were then reprocessed and categorized within the broader storylines-1-11.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **5:** (12.) animals are landscape managers
- **5:** (13.) sheep are a problem
- **4:** (14.) social history-cultural landscapes-value
- **5:** (15.) politics of deer
- **3:** (16.) re-connecting with nature
- **5:** (17.) people are scared of wolves
- **6:** (18.) the human is a predator
- **9:** (19.) humans in wild land=tension
- **9:** (20.) one person’s vision
- **7, 10:** (21.) exclusion or access?
- **6:** (22.) population – too many people is a problem