



University of Groningen

# Where is the Wild?

Rewilding, Media, and Environmental Management

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**Picture on cover page:** Dedham Vale with the River Stour in Flood from the Grounds of Old Hall, East Bergholt - John Constable. Work in public domain.

## Abstract

Rewilding has moved from fringe concept to broadly discussed topic, both in academia and the public domain. However, its definitions are often contradictory, overlapping, or vague. Rewilding eludes precise categorisation, refusing to fit into current environmental management models. As rewilding moves into UK institutional frameworks, particularly with near-future changes to farming subsidies; exploring what media sources highlight in its presentation is valuable. Using a critical discourse analysis approach this research looks at articles from two digital, UK-based newspapers, The Guardian and the MailOnline, to explore different aspects of rewilding highlighted in media narratives. Analysis illustrates questions of wealth, landownership, and inequality, rewilding has failed to address. Rewilding must be approached as the result of past changes, and a structuring force for current changes, in the relationship between the human and the non-human. Through rewilding's presented commitment to ecological function as its foundation, it fails to recognise the sociality and politicality of itself and nature. Using the analysed discourse, a model for comparing value based on enchantment, aesthetics, and function is introduced. This model illustrates patterns of value within four visions of environmental management. It develops a framework for viewing these visions set between two axes: wilderness, or the presence of the non-human; and wildness, or the autonomy of the non-human. Rewilding asks us to re-evaluate our reasons for managing the environment, and demonstrates the need to build it into the everyday. Rewilding is a commitment to taking the non-human seriously, not a total management solution.

Abstract Word Count: 245

## Key Words

Rewilding; environmental management; political ecology; critical discourse analysis; post-natural perspectives

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## Abbreviations

**CAP – Common Agricultural Policy**

**ELMS – Environmental Land Management Scheme**

**EM – Environmental Management**

**PE – Political Ecology**

## Word count

21,974

## Acknowledgements

If there is a single place to discover the sociality of any piece of work, it is in the acknowledgements. This one owes a debt of gratitude to more people than can ever be thanked individually. Whether it is actually any good or not is beside the point. On reflection, my first encounter with something like rewilding was at age 13, and entirely due to my then tutor Alastair Summers. I had to write a presentation, and I chose the proposed de-extinction of mammoths into the Pleistocene Park, Siberia. I am sure I did the topic no justice at all, and promptly forgot about the entire thing. The transformation and creation of various natures is a topic that has cropped<sup>1</sup> up again and again. During my time at Aberystwyth University, Dr. John Warren published a book *The Nature of Crops: How We Came to Eat the Plants We Do*. I was struck at the time by the almost impossible contingency of crop and culture development. What would Italy be like without tomatoes? Or fish and chips without the potato? This was probably in part a reaction to the explosion of news covering invasive species at the time and, living in Wales, bombardment with a (partially) understandable, countrywide hatred for rhododendrons. Once again, I promptly forgot about the whole thing and moved on. Skipping forward a few years to my work on an American summer camp and children's environmental education, a topic chosen almost exclusively so I could return to teaching sailing and driving powerboats in Maine, it resurfaced again: the radical impact and contingency of natures on our sense of self. One quote stands out: *'I think that while I may not realize I'm consciously making decisions, I've been influenced by being here, and stuff like that will have a big effect on my decisions.'*

In exploring rewilding and what it means, this line, spoken by a 14-year-old, seems to me to be the clearest summation of its social nature. Experiences matter. Values, and our placement of them, matter. Not in a glib sense, but a fundamental sense. Coming to Groningen, I expected to be slightly overwhelmed by such a radical change of field. And indeed, I was. J. K. Galbraith, the Canadian-American economist, once wrote *'faced with the choice between changing one's mind and proving that there is no need to do so, almost everyone gets busy on the proof.'* I hope this work is not getting busy with the proof, but that is not for me to decide. Rewilding, although it is moving into the mainstream, is not there yet. It has a long road to travel, and a lot of change to come. In doing this work, my visions of rewilding, and indeed ecology, have changed immeasurably. I cannot thank my supervisor, Dr. Ethemcan Turhan, enough for his constant guidance, and encouragement to stop getting lost in the forest. His introduction to the world of political ecology has been like coming home to something I never realised was missing. I hope I have done it more justice than I gave the return of the mammoth.

This work has also been read more times than I can count by the two people I owe the most. My parents. Their support in reading, commenting on, and discussing not only this, but all the various other assignments has always been, and continues to be, invaluable. If there is any proof that reasoning is interactionist it is here. I am a better person for it. Finally, I'd like to thank my cousin Ellie and friend Iona for taking the time to read, what has often felt like a monolith. They came into this work cold, presented with a stack of sheets, and left to their own devices. Their editing recommendations have been insightful, and have no doubt improved it beyond my own limited ability.

Every work is always the culmination of a series of deeply unlikely events. They are always wrong in some capacity, and frequently in dire need of improvement. This is certainly no exception. However, I have given this one everything I am currently capable of. For that I am proud.

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<sup>1</sup> Terrible pun intended.

## 1.0 - Introduction

*The creek babbled, the water leapt over stones, and dived into pools, each time ending its acrobatics with a comforting gloup. The sun, unusually bright, scrambled through the leaves eager to reach the ground. She idled by the pond. It had been months since she had been up this way. Time had gotten away from her.*

*First one thing, then two things, three and four. Problems piling up, one after the other, never arriving according to schedule.*

*How different this place had become from what she had expected. When they had started, all those years ago, did they really have some end in mind?*

*The thought paused.*

*The lookout on the bluff that never 'looked out' onto anything, the trail through a wetland that had never quite materialised, the cabins built into the trees that had never quite grown tall or strong enough. A million ideas rushing from the endless possibility the open landscape had offered.*

*Did she miss it?*

*The rocky stream, now full of twigs and forest detritus, had changed colour. The speckled greys and pinks of the Quartzite hidden behind greens and browns. The endless, penetrating feeling of insignificance, equal parts awe-inspiring and terrifying, had retreated. Even the water, once so keen to reach the base of the valley now paused a while.*

*The sun passed behind a cloud. The change in light brought her crashing back. No, she decided. No, she wouldn't have it any other way.*

*She followed the stream down. Reaching the bottom, the river, by now deep and wide, emptied into the lake. Suddenly she caught sight of it.*

*A dark nose pointed to the sky; its gentle wake spreading out from side to side. A sharp flick of the tail, a splash of water. Rapidly dissipating ripples all that remained of a swimming beaver.*

This fictional narrative touches on a number of themes found in rewilding media discourse. There is a commitment to some form of (re)enchantment, not only of the environment, but more often of ourselves. A sense of continuing, unexpected change and a deeply foundational aesthetic component. There is a strong economic component, as both initiator and justification, with large landowners being a key target. Lastly, a strong sense of ecological functionalism based on reintroductions, increasing biodiversity, and reducing environmental hazards such as flooding.

Rewilding, understood in the broadest terms as environmental management centred around the non-human (Ward and Prior, 2020), depends on imagination as much as reality. We may set the beaver wherever we wish and create the same effect. Is it really a lake? Or is it a Scottish loch? A pond, a wetland, a meadow? Are the surrounding plants grasses, shrubs, or trees? Is the riverbank on which we stand mud, clay, or concrete?

Rewilding is also intimately linked to social and individual conceptions of identity and nature. The passage may fill us with a longing for such an idyllic experience, a desire to feel these things ourselves. Perhaps it disgusts us, for in it we see a rejection of a current state, one utterly different but just as enthralling. A rejection of one's culture and home. Perhaps we have no strong feelings at all, we are

simply more concerned with the floweriness of the text and its romanticized overtones. Whatever our feelings about the passage; before 2009, to imagine a beaver in Scotland was to draw from before the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Campbell-Palmer et al., 2016). That is no longer true.

As rewilding moves into the mainstream, it is important to question it, not only as method of environmental management (EM), but also as an embodiment of values. Rewilding has moved far beyond its genesis in the United States, with interest becoming more involved particularly within Europe (Jepson, 2016). It is insufficient to limit rewilding to simply a type of ecological restoration, preservation, conservation or recovery. It has grown, morphed, shrunk, developed, lost, gained, and mutated in an incalculable number of ways. The values we ascribe to rewilding matter; and the consequences of those values are significant.

## 1.1 - Aims & Objectives

This dissertation aims to explore how different conceptions and perceptions of rewilding are highlighted in a selection of UK media discourses. By its presentation, both within and beyond the academic literature, rewilding is mobilized to particular ends to serve specific purposes (Heynen et al., 2006). This research will discuss some of the different conceptual underpinnings that rewilding displays, by treating it as neither exclusively method nor philosophy, but as a diffuse set of embodied narrative values. Through this, it questions the relevance of casting rewilding as the 'other' to traditional EM methods, and whether rewilding, in its current form, should be something we aim to promote.

The overall research question is: How is rewilding portrayed by UK media from different political perspectives, and how does this relate to its position within EM.

It will first ask if rewilding displays the necessary forms to be treated as a narrative construct by using Pörksen's (1995) plastic word and Williams' (1983 (2015)) keyword concepts. It will then illustrate how two UK media sources from different political perspectives portray rewilding, following a critical discourse analysis approach. It asks how rewilding, treated as a plastic cluster of new environmental actions, behaviours, and rules systems, can be conceptualised within the overall EM framework.

This research introduces a conceptual framework for positioning rewilding within current EM visions, building on arguments from Katz's (2012) sustained criticism of ecological restoration. This takes place between two axes: wilderness and wildness. This model highlights the differences between the four EM positions: preservation, conservation, recovery, and restoration. Treating these four mindsets as extensions of each other, misses underlying differences in value contained within each. With environmental ethics so deeply embedded in our concepts of self, rewilding asks us to reconsider, not only our methods of EM, but also our reasons for doing so.

### 1.1.1 - Politics in the Ecology?

Political ecology (PE) is not a theory or method (Robbins, 2012). It is a type of practice, built around a specific critical attitude. It sits as neither exclusively analytical nor fully action oriented. It strives to explore the "*constantly shifting dialectic between society and land-based resources, and also within classes and groups within society itself*" (Blaikie and Brookfield, 2016 (1987), p.17). PE is an opening up of differing visions of the environment, illustrating how such visions are created, sustained, and altered through a complex web of interactions (Paulson et al., 2003). This research is situated within the PE framework.

Nature is political, and the stories and presentations of nature(s) in media matters (Ingold, 2002; Lakoff, 2010). Robbins (2012) provides five key theses that often appear in PE aligned research: degradation and marginalisation; conservation and control; environmental conflict and exclusion; environmental subjects and identity; and political objects and actors.

While any of these would be an interesting avenue for future research, this dissertation will focus on environmental subjects and identity. A core part of this branch of research is a reversal of causation of action:

*"...people's beliefs and attitudes do not lead to new environmental actions, behaviours, or rules systems; instead, new environmental actions, behaviours, or rules systems lead to new kinds of people."* (Robbins, 2012, p.216)

In addition to this, such change begets more change:

*"...new environmental regimes and conditions have created opportunities or imperatives for local groups to secure and represent themselves politically. Such movements often represent a new form of political action, since their ecological strands can connect disparate groups, across class, ethnicity, and gender."* (Robbins, 2012, p.216-217)

Rewilding, rather than being seen as a rogue, fringe concept, deserves to be taken seriously as a transformation of environmental ethics. Rewilding acts as a catalyst for change in people's relationship to the non-human. It structures action and behaviour explicitly around the non-human, and in its wake creates different sets of social and political relationships. In explaining the framing of rewilding in media the theoretical toolbox of political ecology becomes invaluable. There can be no doubt that rewilding is a political action.

## 2.0 - Literature Review

### 2.1 - Defining Rewilding

Rewilding is many things to many people. If there is one clear conclusion in attempting to define rewilding, it is that *one* such definition does not exist (Jørgensen, 2015). Sustainability (Kuhlman and John, 2010), adaptation (Watts, 2015), and resilience (Brand and Jax, 2007) are similar. However, this lack of a single definition is not a recent phenomenon. Paradigm (Masterman, 1970) is the same; as are progressive, reactionary, freedom, or equality (Orwell, 1946); and many more.

Pörksen (1995) calls these plastic words. They are not empty, in that they do convey information, but nor are they precise. They are entry points into a field of reality, reordering that field around their, and their users, various meanings. He develops a set of thirty criteria to judge if a word is plastic. A comparison, using these original criteria, supporting the use of rewilding, conservation, and preservation as plastic terms can be found in appendix 9.1. Plastic words are used to structure and frame debate around particular, common, but changeable, interpretations.

Pörksen (1995) is critical of the use of plastic words. He allies them with excessive flattening of contextual differences and the painting of sweeping vistas by 'experts' seeking to sell an idea. Plastic words are not unusual, nor is this valid critique of their use. Development (Simon, 2011, 2003), eco-system services (Heal, 2000; McAfee, 2012; Silvertown, 2015), fast policy (Peck and Theodore, 2015; Spaans and Louw, 2009), and persistent issues of entrenching inequality in sustainable development (Bulkeley and Castán Broto, 2013; Foster, 2005; Galbraith-Kent and Handel, 2007) all contain similar themes.

However, plastic words serve to anchor legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1984) and, through construed and contained values, frame positions (Bhaskar, 1998). Plastic words are concepts that, by necessity, cannot contain all of reality, but do allude to fragments of it. They are essential in structuring communication. Before Pörksen, Williams (1983 (2015)) writes of a similar conceptual understanding of language in *Keywords*. He includes an additional layer of analysis above and beyond Pörksen's, comparatively, heavy handed use:

*"When we come to say 'we just don't speak the same language' we mean something more general: that we have different immediate values or different kinds of valuation, or that we are aware, often intangibly, of different formations and distributions of energy and interest."* (Williams, 1983 (2015), p. xxiii-xxiv)

A word is not just a word. It has a history, it has values, and these values can change. However, there is an important caveat here. A word is not the world. When we compress life to our knowledge of it, and view what's real as only the empirical, these concepts become hollow; their inequities highlighted, all context and nuance removed. For Pörksen, this collapse of the real world into a world of pure knowledge is the source of his despair. The obscurity, the abstractness, of plastic words gives them immense power and long life, but this comes at the cost of disallowing a broad range of perceptions and experiences. For him, plastic words counter-intuitively represent a suffocating consolidation of meaning. His response, to call for a return to some hypothetical state, where words are precise and not plastic, is not possible. Such words are not new, and language could not function without them. Without Williams' understanding of value, plastic words do become the world. Simple stand ins for the mere sum of reality.

In exploring definitions of rewilding we must be conscious of these two different senses of vocabulary. Initially we must be particularly conscious that words have specific and developing meanings. These are set down; perhaps in an academic paper, report, book, or even dictionary. For rewilding, as its use transitions back and forth between the academic and non-academic, this is critical. Jørgensen (2015) highlights the difficulties of defining and limiting the term as it is changed and adapted to a myriad of uses within and beyond scientific writings. It is passed relentlessly back and forth, each time gaining a new grain of truth and additional implied meaning. Jørgensen (Ibid.) also uses Pörksen's (1995) plastic conception but incorporates his pejorative disdain for them in her work. To call something plastic makes it unprecise, and therefore unscientific. There becomes an assumed need to reclaim the word for science and give it specific meaning again. However, this is not the case (Prior and Ward, 2016). Rewilding, and its various meanings will continue to develop, change, and grow. To attempt to create a full, static list of rewilding's meanings is impossible. This is not a mistake of language nor should it be rectified by attempting to police such a word.

Recent efforts opposing the idea of *one* precise definition of rewilding, yet still exploring meaning, can be found in the EM literature. Gaut's (2000) cluster concept, drawn from his definition of art, has been introduced as a way of conceptualising rewilding's many meanings. Here, a concept has multiple defining characteristics, of which none are necessary individually, but each contribute to its instantiation. Gammon (2018) identifies eight overlapping aspects present in uses of rewilding, going on to highlight that current definitions leave out large sections of rewildings uses. She proposes we must approach rewilding as a cluster of related, changing characteristics; as a plastic word, but without the disdain. In efforts to reproduce 'rewilding' and its meaning, one must be cautious in the exploration of its limits.

Such a conception moves rewilding, and other plastic words, into the realm of the political. They require communication and conversation to function. Plastic words exist in tension, encouraging discussion and interrogation of beliefs and values. For rewilding specifically, Gammon (2018) highlights the frequent debates around valuations of landscape that follow rewilding projects: "*it questions the idea that landscapes should be meaningful, that our appropriation of meaning matters at all.*" (p.347) Rewilding, conservation, and preservation are all plastic terms embedded within conceptions of nature and the human.

Plastic words make use of Willams' (1983 (2015)) second strand of vocabulary; the sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit connections that are made between a plastic word and peoples' activity. Plastic words are not only about discussing but about exploring and cementing our central experiences. The correct answer to 'What is Rewilding?' is moment specific. Plastic words depend on transient connections to other aspects of a group or individuals activity. To be understood in any given moment, this contextual activity must also be taken into account. They can therefore be considered a narrative concept that contains within them a set of embedded ethics. In their use, an actor alludes to a set of structural indicators that subtly direct action (Key et al., 2019).

This recognition of rewildings politicality; its transient, flexible, communicative meaning, helps uncover and challenge many dogmas both within and without EM. Not only does rewilding spur individual action, it acts as a flashpoint for discussions of environmental value. This is not to imply that this is a recent shift, nor that it is limited to rewilding. Highlighting of the politicality of conservation and nature, especially under the banner of post-natural perspectives, is abundant in recent scholarship. In understanding the

context and the sociality of rewilding as a plastic term, ideals of nature and how they develop should be explored.

## 2.2 - Post-nature?

The past two decades have seen a proliferation of works in the broad category of post-nature. Morton's *Ecology without Nature* (2007), Vogel's *Thinking like a Mall* (2015), and Büscher's *The Truth about Nature* (2021) are some examples within this emerging literature. In broad terms, this field can be generalised in Freyfogle's (2017) words:

*"...our struggle to live sensibly within the land community is pre-eminently a cultural one, not chiefly a matter of scientific knowledge, technology, or even population, though these factors are all highly relevant."* (eBook, Introduction, Paragraph 9.)

In other words, our understanding of nature is social, as are the efforts to transform it. Post-nature is a broad rejection of a particular kind of nature. A nature presented as one, simple, definable thing. It is not a rejection of the environment or environmentalism (Warde et al., 2018). It is an acceptance that any attempt to talk about or interact with nature has an inherent politicality; an inherent sociality. This framing aligns well with the idea of a *social nature* (Castree, 2014; Castree and Braun, 2001). This is characterised by the rejection of a differentiation in kind between human-nature relations, and an alignment with differentiation by degrees. While there are differences between these accounts, they all ask us to consider nature in three ways.

First, that knowledge of nature is always impacted by a knower's biases. Our conceptions of nature always pre-date the actions that reproduce or transform them, as well as surviving them in a reproduced or transformed capacity. How we approach nature is therefore always pre-structured for agents, who never create these conceptualisations, only reproduce or transform them. How we view nature will therefore depend not only on future goals and objectives, but on a substantial body of pre-acquired context and value structures. For example, if I have lived all my life in an urban metropolis and have never travelled beyond an urban area, I will not approach nature with the same idea of it as someone who has never set foot in an urban area, even if we share the same goals and objectives. MacFarlane (2015) highlights this issue through his extended exploration of the specificity of local language and its subsequent loss, as its would-be users change in practices and location.

Second, that the social dimension of nature is stratified and irreducible to knowledge alone. The social dimensions of nature act at multiple, casually dependant, but irreducible levels. Macro (often societal but not always) conceptions of nature and widespread consequences are dependent on, but not purely reducible to, micro (often individual but not always) conceptions and local consequences. The social dimension is both material and conceptual. We take actions, and we think about why and how we do them. Knowledge uses material practices to create or critique the conceptual (the why and how) in a process of meaning making. However, it cannot ever conceptualise everything. It misses out on everything it has yet to uncover and, given its retrospective position, is itself a creation of values. As such, knowledge, and therefore our knowledge of nature, is a reduction of a reduction; it is only a part of the complex, interlinked social world. Knowledge is never value-free.

Third, that nature is transformed internally within social processes; it is not external, intrinsic, or universal. Conceptualisations of nature are always the outcome of past social activity. There is no *one* static conceptualisation that all visions of nature are striving towards, but this does not mean there

cannot be better or worse conceptualisations for any given value. It also means that our ideas about nature are not mutually constitutive with action. They are not created simultaneously as both the medium and outcome of practice. For example; if one were to create a Japanese garden, the conception of what a Japanese garden is, is the *medium* of activity. It as an idea, not only as a visual form, but also as culture and philosophy, is being reproduced or transformed. However, the idea *itself* is the outcome of past activity. After the activity, having made a version of a Japanese garden, one can have transformed, rather than reproduced, the overall conception of what a Japanese garden is. This is done through comparison to previous practice. One does not create the conception of a Japanese garden while making it. Put in this analytical duality, human agency is enabled and constrained by our prior conceptualisations of nature, which are then reproduced and/or transformed by agency (Bhaskar, 2016). Castree (2014) takes this a step further when he writes "*nature is made sense for you, not by you.*" (p. xvii) (emphasis in original). This does not remove any conception of individual agency or change, nor signal a return to a totalising society-individual dualism, but an emphatic descriptor that nature as a social structure is an unintended consequence of, as well as a necessary condition for, activity. Nature is not made by individuals; it is a group activity.

This social, post-natural perspective inverts the way we must look at rewilding. It should not be explored as being limited to particular individuals, groups, or their behaviours. Rewilding is not a mere methodological alteration within EM, nor a specific set of alternative strategies. It must be seen as the outcome of past changes in relationships between individuals and groups. The emergence of rewilding as an identifiable concept tells us something about a change in relationships between ourselves, with the non-human, and the environment. In analysing what these past changes have been, two ideas - those of wildness and wilderness - must be further developed.

### 2.3 - Wildness vs Wilderness

Wildness was for a long time an intrinsic part of wilderness, or rather, wilderness was an intrinsic part of wildness. Nash (1967 (2014)) traces wilderness' roots as coming from wild $\ddot{e}$ or with wild-d $\ddot{e}$ or-ness referring to the place of wild beasts. Wildness as a standalone social construction has not had the same level of academic attention as wilderness. It often appears as inside of wilderness, rather than separated as a concept of its own (Aplet et al., 2000; Drenthen, 2005; Turner, 1996). Wildness however has experienced a shift in meaning (Cookson, 2011). Wildness refers to the autonomy of the more-than-human world (Woods, 2005). It relates to who is directing any individual element; wildness is about control. As another plastic word, it trades on the knowledge of people's life experience. 'Wild' means different things, to different people, in different contexts. Through this shift in meaning it has come to be a separation by degrees rather than a separation in kind (Evanoff, 2005). From this, its ability to be used as a rewilding axis has emerged. Autonomy is not a binary state, but a scale (Fernández et al., 2020).

Rewilding involves an independent meaning of 'wild', but with the wild's inclusion within, separate, initiator of, and product of, wilderness it is clear there is a strong relationship between the two. Rewilding relates, not only ideas of wild, but much broader concepts of the non-human.

Wilderness has existed far longer than rewilding. It has come to define entire sections of environmental philosophy, in particular the 'American Wilderness Philosophy' (Turner, 2013). Wilderness has had considerable energy spent on uncovering its underlying values, particularly by, but not limited to, American scholars. Its use as an EM ideal is not a new, universal, or asocial concept (Nash, 1967 (2014)).

Cronon (1996) highlighted the use of wilderness as a deeply held social nature that portrayed the environment as an unchanging 'other' to humanities relentless change. In doing so, he laid many of the foundations for post-natural discourse. This is not a rejection of wilderness, but an acceptance of its capacity to make the human and non-human irreconcilable. This creates an impossible hurdle for any ethic of human intervention. Wilderness simply becomes a catch-all for anything untouched by humanity.

With wilderness conceived as a spatial construct defined by human absence (Chapman, 2006), we are, by extension, entirely outside of it, and can therefore do nothing within it. Any EM movement that strictly utilises this view is limited to doing nothing except remove wilderness. Today there is no part of the world humanity has not impacted. While this is often presented in dramatic terms<sup>2</sup> and as an epoch defining event (The Anthropocene (Crutzen and Stoemer, 2000; Steffen et al., 2011)) spawning multiple social movements<sup>3</sup>, these do not exhaust wilderness as a concept. Wilderness is plastic, it can be used differently. There is still a place for wilderness in EM, and in rewilding.

Accepting that there are clear - social - reasons for presenting the 'end of nature' in this catastrophic way, we can also view it as a push for recognising responsibility and accepting mutuality in EM. This is not a new idea. The ethic of reciprocity - the golden rule - is abundant in environmentalism and governance<sup>4</sup>. The final line of Harrison's (1996) *Towards a Philosophy of Nature* drives this need for recognition home:

*"Acknowledgement does not save us from ourselves; at most it spares us the indignity of leaving the world kicking and screaming like the infants who came into it."* (eBook, concluding line)

To accept responsibility for human derived global effects is not to abandon all attempts of change. This line is strikingly similar to a headline quote on the Dark Mountain webpage: *"The end of the world as we know it is not the end of the world full stop."* (Dark Mountain Project, 2021). Cronon (1996) pre-empts and iterates the same point:

*"Any way of looking at nature that helps us remember—as wilderness also tends to do—that the interests of people are not necessarily identical to those of every other creature or of the earth itself is likely to foster **responsible** behaviour."* (Cronon, 1996, Para. 52. Emphasis in original)

Wilderness can no longer be a state of human absence that once lost, is lost forever. But it could be a deliberate human absence. It becomes a conscious choice. Wilderness is moving away from Castree's separation in kind, to a separation by degrees. It is still anthropocentric, but not totally exclusionary.

Instead of defining wilderness by the absence of humanity, we could instead define it by the presence of the non-human. This reinforces the impossibility of a totally human state and is aligned to a separation by degrees. To leave an area as wilderness is to maximise this non-human presence by removing as much of ourselves from the area as possible. But how can this be achieved in a country without any wilderness

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<sup>2</sup> See: *Collapse* (Diamond, 2005), *The Population Bomb* (Ehrlich, 1986) *The End of Nature* (McKibben, 1989 (2005)), *The Annihilation of Nature* (Ceballos et al., 2015), *Our Place: Can We Save Britain's Wildlife Before it is too Late* (Cocker, 2019).

<sup>3</sup> See: Dark Mountain (Dark Mountain Project, 2021), Extinction Rebellion (Extinction Rebellion, 2021).

<sup>4</sup> See: *Governing the Commons* (Ostrom, 1990), *Fairness on the Day after Tomorrow: Justice, Reciprocity and Global Climate Change* (Page, 2007), and indeed it is not limited to humans: *Wild Justice: The Moral Lives of Animals* (Bekoff and Pierce, 2009).

left? In understanding how wildness and wilderness relate to rewilding within the UK, its context must be set.

## 2.4 - The UK and its Wildlife: Setting the context

Wildlife in the UK, including in protected areas, is not in a good state (DEFRA, 2018). Since the 1950's our capacity for change on a global level has skyrocketed (Steffen et al., 2004). In the UK, 1 in 4 mammal species are threatened with extinction (Mathews and Harrower, 2020) and the distribution of pollinators has continued to decline. Successive governments have consistently failed to meet targets and provide funding adequate for any sustained long-term improvement (RSPB, 2020). In 2019, only 6% of habitats of European importance in England were in a favourable condition. 21% were unfavourable improving, 23% were unfavourable declining, 41% unfavourable stable, and 8% in an unknown condition (DEFRA, 2020a), despite the amount of protected land in England remaining fairly constant at ~1 million hectares (MHa) since 1999 (Ibid.).

Including broader definitions of protected territory<sup>5</sup>, as well as the rest of the UK, increases the amount of protected land up to 38.6 MHa (UKBI, 2020). This is shown in Figure 1 with large population centres added.

Attempts to alter this landscape brings up a critical issue for rewilding. Land ownership within the UK is a messy and ill explored topic (Home, 2009). Whilst all land is owned by someone, not all of it is registered (Hookway, 2018). Although this aims to be rectified by 2030 (HM Land Registry, 2017) it creates significant holes in land use maps (Powell-Smith, 2019). The 'Who Owns England Blog'<sup>6</sup> has highlighted the intensive difficulty of enacting alternative forms of EM at scale, including on National Park land, given the complicated and often deliberately obscured layers of ownership.

If, instead of protected land, types of land use are explored, an alternative for large scale EM change becomes apparent. In England 62.8% of land use is utilised by agriculture; total developed use is just 8.3%

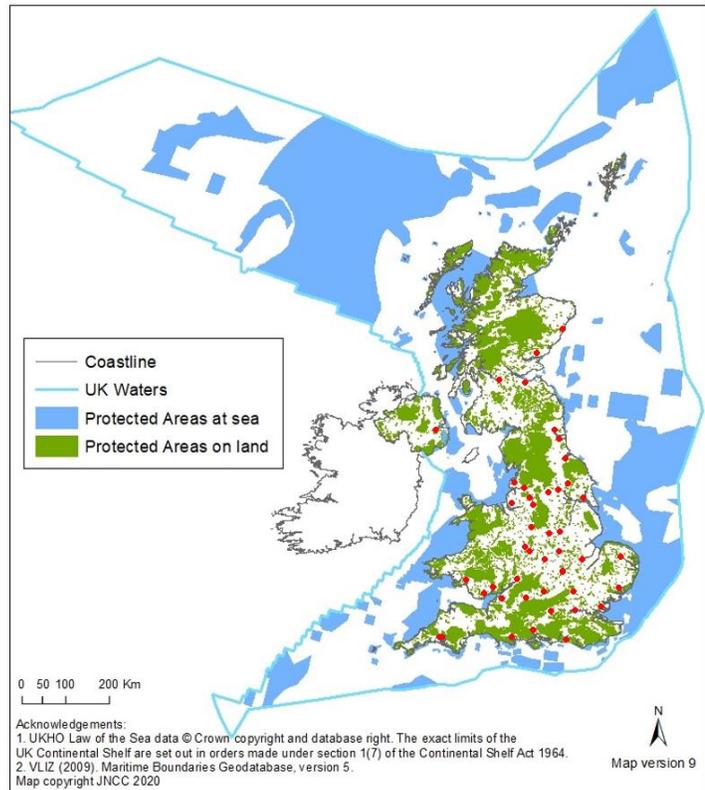


Figure 1. Map of UK protected land and marine territory (UKBI, 2020), with added population centres.

<sup>5</sup>This includes: Areas of Special Scientific Interest (Northern Ireland), Sites of Special Scientific Interest (England and Scotland), National Nature Reserves, Marine Conservation Zones, Nature Conservation Marine Protected Areas, Ramsar Sites, Special Areas of Conservation (including candidate Special Areas of Conservation and Sites of Community Importance), Special Protection Areas, Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, National Scenic Areas and National Parks.

<sup>6</sup> <https://whoownsengland.org/>

(MHC&LG, 2018). Agriculture has a significant stake in overall wildlife quality within the UK. The intensification of agricultural production has had the largest impact of any sector on wildlife over the last 40 years (State of Nature, 2016). In a similar fashion to land ownership being opaque and consolidated, this large-scale change has been driven by a comparatively small set of actors. The *Agriculture in the UK* report (DEFRA et al., 2019) puts the total labour force on commercial farm holdings at just 476,000 people. That is a similar size to the population of Brunei (DEPS - Brunei, 2020) or staff working in Higher Education in 2017/18 (HESA, 2019). Land and wildlife quality in the UK is not a democratic affair. It is dominated by the practices of large institutions and individual landowners, some of whom own enormous tracts of land.

Taken together, the poor state of protected land and the impact of agriculture, one could conclude two things. The first is that we should expand the area of assessed territory and therefore provide the relevant funding for a cadre of assessors, and the second is that changes to agricultural processes and land management must be the key priority (State of Nature, 2016). This is a particular way of seeing these issues; one narrative amongst many. Such narratives are present in the creation, presentation, and interpretation of everything (Dryzek, 2013; Hajer, 1995; Roe, 1991). These two conclusions tell us our issues lie, not systemically, but in specific actions within a sector. Our solutions become a question of method rather than ontology. In accepting current modes of organisation, solutions jump to increasing capacity of state/NGO's/environmental agencies and have framed our mandate for action. These solutions therefore accept that what is required is a change to the how, rather than the why. It is here that rewilding finds its position as EM's, and in particular conservation's, 'other'.

## 2.5 - Rewilding in the UK

Rewilding is often introduced within UK academia as a new direction for conservation, based around ecological function (Jepson and Blythe, 2020). This includes functions found in specific time periods or individual keystone species. Lorimer et al. (2015) structure their literature review around three temporal baselines that rewilding narratives often draw from: the Pleistocene, the Holocene, and novel contemporary ecosystems; Brown et al. (2011) prioritise rewilding in Scotland using a list of 22 species driven to extinction over a number of time periods, from 4000 years before present up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Rewilding is presented as an emerging counter trend (Jepson, 2016), often using key examples, "*wild experiments*" (Lorimer and Driessen, 2014, p.1), to challenge conventional thinking. Comparisons are often made to projects abroad. These highlight the cores, corridors, and carnivores heritage of rewilding's American roots. Cores are protected areas of key habitat; corridors allow connections between cores; and carnivores provide top-down regulation of prey species (Foreman, 2004). The wolves of Yellowstone National Park in the USA are a frequent example, together with the Pleistocene Park in Siberia, and the Oostvaardersplassen nature preserve in the Netherlands. These are used to provide inspiration and justification for rewilding projects.

Allusions are often made to "*wider enthusiasm for rewilding*" (Lorimer and Driessen, 2014, p. 1), but also to the rate of interest stripping past the rate of uptake, and serious practicable issues regarding policy and uncertainty (Pettorelli et al., 2018). Lorimer (2017) highlights the complex structure of rewilding's political economy. Rewilding, especially projects around farm abandonment, depends on economic globalisation and agricultural intensification elsewhere, particularly in the tropics. The land on which rewilding occurs is often only available because it has been appropriated elsewhere.

Rewilding, however, is increasing in uptake. Both the concept, and its principles, are moving into institutional frameworks and formal management plans. For instance, Natural England<sup>7</sup> has announced a species reintroduction task-force (Natural England, 2021) and the National Trust<sup>8</sup> (2017) has plans to restore species at a number of their properties. Another key area that will have dramatic effects are the future Environmental Land Management Schemes (ELMS). Following the departure from the EU, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is to be replaced. ELMS aim to incentivise sustainable farming, local nature, and landscape recovery (DEFRA, 2021). Given the increasing importance of rewilding in the UK's EM approach, attention should be given to how its values and narratives have been shaped in media discourse. This study's methodological approach will be discussed in the following section.

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<sup>7</sup> A non-departmental public body under the DEFRA banner, responsible for the protection and improvement of England's environment. Scotland and Wales have similar devolved organisations in NatureScot and Natural Resources Wales.

<sup>8</sup> A heritage conservation charity covering England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Scotland has an independent organisation National Trust for Scotland that operates under a similar remit.

### 3.0 - Methodology

This work aims to provide an exploration of rewilding narratives. In describing the relationships between different groups and their use of rewilding, a qualitative approach is more appropriate for this study (Mack et al., 2005). Taking rewilding as the consequence of a change in relationships; a contextual cluster of meanings rather than exclusively defined method; and as a political actor that creates new practices, I argue that rewilding can be explored through the (re)production of, and challenges to, dominant discourses in the media. Alternate perceptions legitimise different actors' roles and create distinct sets of interventions (Bengtsson and Elgström, 2012). Following Mercier & Sperber's (2017) conception of reasoning as interactionist (social), created as needed to justify positions and convince others; this research views journalistic writing as a vital forum for introducing, questioning, rejecting, and supporting specific discourses (Olper and Swinnen, 2013). A critical discourse approach is therefore an appropriate methodology for this study (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 1993).

Digital newspapers provided three important pre-conditions that made them preferable to other forms of qualitative study more common in PE aligned research: ethnography, interviews or surveys. Firstly, as well-established shapers of public opinion, media outlets cater to particular audiences. In doing so, they have developed a stance that is more quickly and easily categorisable than an individual's detailed life history. Secondly, information is available across time. Unless research was carried out over a number of years, the ability to track changes over time would not be possible. Thirdly, this research was carried out in the first half of 2021. As such, the COVID-19 pandemic was ongoing, making detailed ethnography almost impossible (Abidin, 2020; Lems, 2020), and changing interview techniques and dynamics (Adams-Hutcheson and Longhurst, 2017; Thunberg and Arnell, 2021), thus leaving case studies without the rich backbone of thick description that is highly valuable in political ecology research.

Two digital media publications, The Guardian and the MailOnline, were used as the sources for the created dataset of articles. Both are freely accessible online without subscription and represent the two largest newspapers (including print and digital) in the UK (Ofcom & Jigsaw Research, 2019). Both also have a global reach having the first and third highest numbers of unique visitors globally in 2012 (Comscore, 2012). The two are generally acknowledged to be at opposite ends of a left-right political spectrum (Smith, 2017), with The Guardian being centre-left and The MailOnline being right. Both have divided opinions about the other (Guardian Letters, 2017). Having opposing political alignments allows exploration of underlying ideologies, and highlighting of strategies of manipulation, legitimation, and the manufacture of consent in reproduced discourses (Amoussou and Allagbe, 2018). The MailOnline<sup>9</sup> is the website of the Daily Mail and the Mail on Sunday print material, as well as a publisher of online only pieces (Bloomgarden-Smoke, 2014; Preston, 2017). Through its Wires section it also hosts articles from other publications. The Guardian<sup>10</sup> is the website of printed Guardian and Observer pieces as well as the publisher of additional multi-media such as video and podcasts.

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<sup>9</sup> Owned by the Daily Mail and General Trust (DMGT, 2021) through the DMG Media group (Daily mail, The Mail on Sunday, MailOnline, Metro, Metro.co.uk, i, inews.co.uk, This is Money, New Scientist, and more (DMG Media, 2021)). The DMG Media group is one of three companies that owns 90% of the UK-wide print media (Media Reform Coalition, 2021).

<sup>10</sup> Owned by the Scott Trust Ltd (Guardian, 2015) through the Guardian media group (The Guardian, The Observer, theguardian.com (Guardian, 2018)).

In order to create a broad dataset, the only requirement for an article to be included was to be relevant to a site search for 'rewilding'. Each websites' search function (both provided by Google) was set to surface 'most relevant' articles. Critical discourse analysis studies have a wide variety of dataset sizes. Some studies analyse a single article; others a meta-analysis of many. As this research aimed to explore a broad overview, a higher number of articles was preferred; however, this must also be mediated by the fact that there was a finite timeframe for the analysis. The Guardian search returned 10 pages, creating a set of 40 articles: 33 from the Guardian, 6 from The Observer, and 1 published in both. The MailOnline search returned a larger number of articles: 198. Having such a discrepancy between the size of the two datasets, and with time limitations in mind, I decided to use 40 articles as a baseline. The MailOnline, in addition to being separated by Daily Mail articles and MailOnline articles, acts as a collection point for a number of different publications. The Guardian sample set was therefore significantly more cohesive in the original publisher than the MailOnline sample set. Because underlying publisher ideologies were an important factor in the analysis it was vital to be able to recognise these. Given the larger number of articles returned by the MailOnline search, I decided to increase the number of articles in the dataset rather than exclude articles published by different sources. This continued until at least 20 articles (50% baseline sample size) were originally published by the Daily Mail print newspaper. This resulted in the MailOnline dataset increasing by 11 to 51. Overall, 91 articles were included in the dataset. Article meta-data (title, author, URL, original publishing house, website section categorisation, and text type) and codes were entered into Microsoft Excel.

Articles were collected in two sessions on 16/04/2021 and 17/04/2021 to minimise potential 'in-between' publications. The earliest article was published on 24/05/2010, with the latest article published on 15/04/2021. The dataset therefore covers a period of 11 years.

Each article was coded in a two-cycle process. In-vivo coding was used for the initial cycle, aiming to maintain the nuance of authors tones and allow for direct quotation (Charmaz, 2014; Manning, 2017). The Guardian also produced 2 articles in an audio-visual format. These were included in the dataset. One article was a narrated animated video, and the other a podcast. Both were analysed following an adaptation to critical discourse analysis focusing on storytelling (Chautard and Collin-Lachaud, 2019; Luff and Heath, 2012; Nassauer and Legewie, 2021). Axial coding was used for the second round linking in-vivo codes together in categories to highlight the key concepts (Charmaz, 2014; Saldana, 2016).

## 4.0 - Results

For a full list of the articles that comprise the dataset see appendix 9.2. Data on source, title, date, URL, author, and original publisher have been included. In sections 4.1 – Meta-Data Findings and 4.2 – Content Analysis, the source of quotes is provided using the dataset number in place of a citation.

### 4.1 – Meta-Data Findings

As an initial stepping off point, it must be established whether rewilding is becoming more popular over time in the dataset, or if its heightened representation in academic discourse is an outlier. Figures 2 and 3 show the change in cumulative publications between the MailOnline and The Guardian. While these results, especially for the MailOnline dataset, are tentative; given the lowered sample size and methodology used (sorting by most relevant may have impacted which articles appeared from different time periods), there are clear patterns to the data. The strong upwards trend in both is a good indication that rewilding is becoming increasingly talked about.

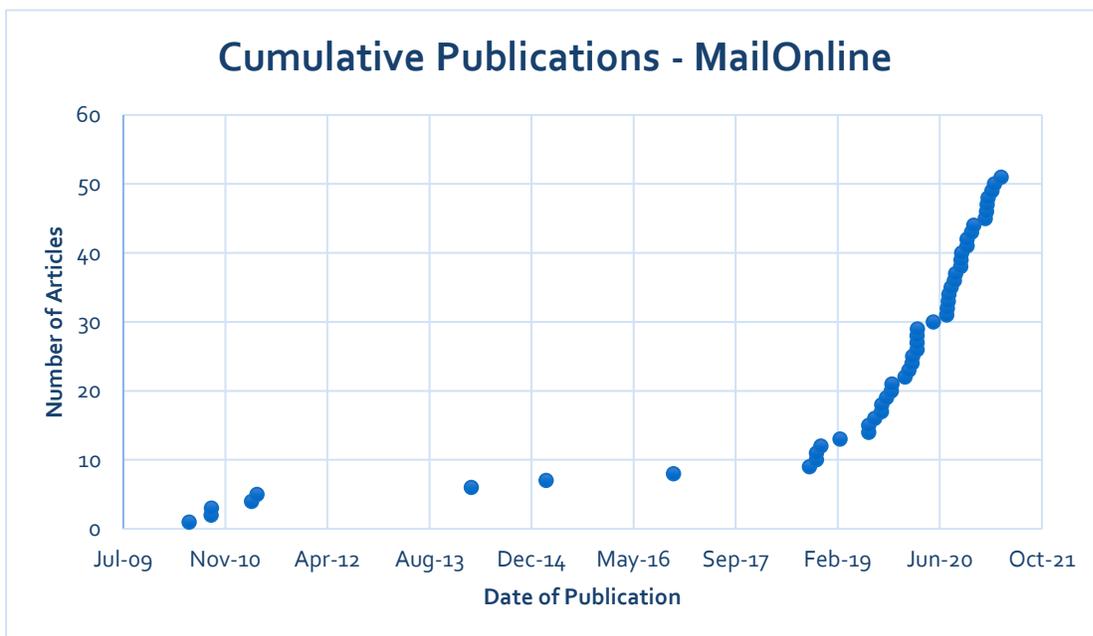


Figure 2. Cumulative publications over time – MailOnline articles

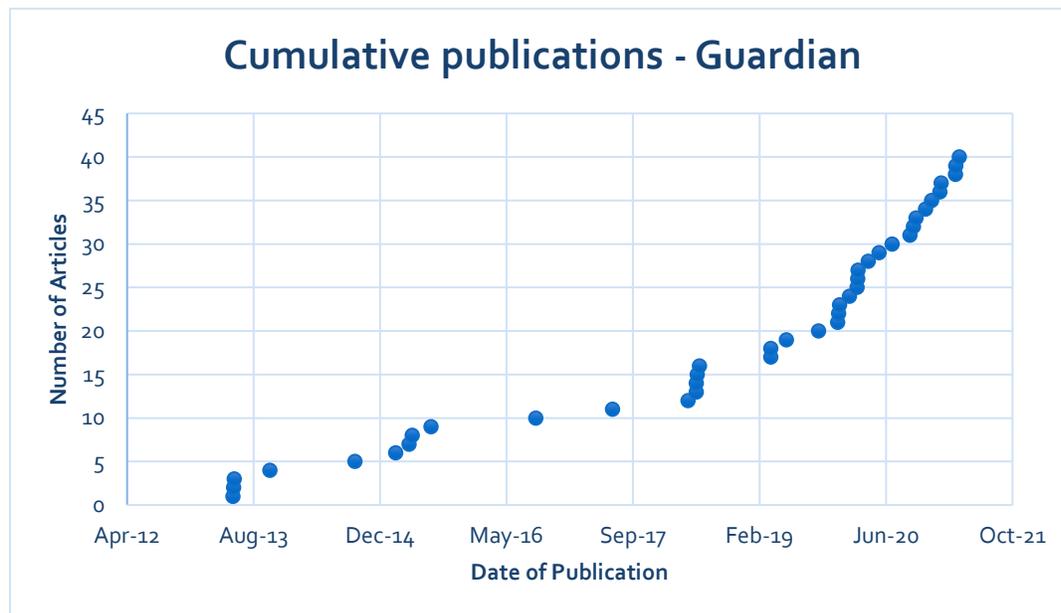


Figure 3. Cumulative publications over time – The Guardian articles.

The MailOnline dataset starts with a cluster between May 2010 – April 2011. This comprises four Horse Racing articles, featuring a horse called ‘Rewilding’ and a single article on the reintroduction of giant tortoises to Ile aux Aigrettes. The three articles between March 2014 – November 2016 are: an opinion piece on reintroducing predators, particularly wolves and lynx, to Scotland; a news piece discussing the reintroduction of lynx to Scotland; and a piece on the need for increased funding for rewilding flood management schemes. From September 2018, however, the rise in the number of articles has been rapid. 43 of the 51 articles appear in this 3-year time period.

The Guardian’s growth mirrors this trend. Prior to 2018, publication was inconsistent but more continuous than the MailOnline. Sporadic pockets of activity occurred between May – October 2013, September 2014 – July 2015, and April 2018 – June 2018. Of the first four Guardian articles (24 May 2013 – 18 Oct 2013) one is a book review of *Feral* (Monbiot, 2013), George Monbiot’s book on rewilding; two are written pieces by Monbiot, one in the opinion section and one on Monbiot’s blog; and one is a narrated animated video based on *Feral*’s rewilding principles. Prior to these there were no Guardian publications that appeared in the dataset.

The rapid increase in rewilding representation occurs in both sources between April – September 2018. While this is pronounced in The Guardian, it is even more so in the MailOnline. Further analysis of this will be developed in section 4.2 but this aligns well with the publication of the UK withdrawal agreement and subsequent developments from this immense political change. This strongly supports a conception of rewilding as both a new form of environmental rules and a political action. Not only does rewilding have impacts on farming subsidies, but also on contentious topics such as Scottish independence. Rewilding is not apolitical, and neither is its media representation.

Having established rewilding as a political word, it must be asked if it shows patterns consistent with Williams’ (1983 (2015)) second strand of vocabulary. Whether rewilding is indeed plastic, with its meaning dependant on transient connections to other aspects of a group or individual’s activity. To do so, a word

must be quickly understandable in abstract terms, fit into many potential categories and subtly direct action within these categories towards an underlying value structure.

To establish if rewilding is rapidly understandable in abstract terms, the authors of the articles can be used. These results bring up three points. Firstly, the MailOnline sometimes uses generic brand names 'Daily Mail Reporter' or 'Press Association' in its hosting of other material. This prevents a full analysis of its collection of articles. Secondly, most authors are single article contributors. Only 6 authors wrote more than a single article. A table of authors with multiple published articles can be found in appendix 9.3.3. Very few authors spent any significant length of time tackling rewilding topics. This supports the conception of rewilding as a plastic word. Each author trades on its flexibility and pre-given conceptual understanding to fit it into a written piece. The specifics are not nearly as important as the generalised perception to most authors. Thirdly, there is a difference in the two publications in who spends time with rewilding. Moving beyond Monbiot, the second key player in The Guardian articles is Patrick Barkham. Barkham is a natural history writer and the author of 4 books including *The Butterfly Isles: A Summer in Search of our Emperors and Monarchs* (Barkham, 2011) and *Wild Child: Coming Home to Nature* (Barkham, 2020). He authored 5 articles within The Guardian Dataset. Together Monbiot and Barkham make up 12 of the 40 Guardian articles. The MailOnline's largest contributors have authored 2 articles independently and one together. C. Fernandez is a Science and Environment correspondent, and G. Adams a Features Writer. The MailOnline is more eclectic in which contributors repeatedly cover rewilding. C. Craig Smith a Gardening Writer, and M. Townend a Horse Racing correspondent have both authored two articles mentioning rewilding. In analysing the data this difference in treatment of rewilding speaks to

## George Monbiot

Monbiot is a journalist, writing as a regular columnist for The Guardian, and other publications such as The Ecologist. He has authored 10 books on various topics including indigenous rights (Monbiot, 1989 (2003)), the blurred lines between state and corporation (Monbiot, 2001), climate change (Monbiot, 2007), and social equality (Monbiot, 2017). If his books have a consistent theme, it is that of wonder with the world, and a despair with how things are done. It is no surprise that these themes are also found strongly within the media analysis.

Monbiot is not the only key figure in rewilding, nor is he the sole arbiter of shaping discourse. However, he has had an enormous impact on the generalised recognition and perceptions of rewilding. As an individual, with both enormous reach, and skill in rhetoric, there are few who have altered rewilding's perceptions in the UK to such a degree.

Monbiot's influence over the framing of the Guardian's coverage of rewilding can only be described as overwhelming. To separate The Guardian's opinion from Monbiot's opinion is an impossible task. In a short editorial titled "*The Guardian view on rewilding Scotland: an immodest proposal*" published 21 March 2019 the paper takes less of a smoking gun approach than Monbiot, but the point reached is identical.

*"If undertaken in the right spirit, the restoration of huge tracts of the Highlands could be a hugely beneficial enterprise."*<sup>[20]</sup>

Monbiot himself is a less directly important figure in the Mail's coverage of the topic. Yet, his ideas and values, displayed in The Guardian content, as well as his books, still act as a nucleus for discussion. He is directly mentioned in one Mail article published 28 February 2020 titled "*War of the wild: How trendy metropolitan eco-zealots with close ties to Boris Johnson are set on driving out traditional farming and 'rewilding' the land*" written by Guy Adams. In the article he is considered:

*"A hugely divisive figure in rural circles."*<sup>[55]</sup>

the differences in underlying values between the two sources. They use rewilding to direct action in very different ways. This will be explored further in section 4.2.

The next area is whether rewilding can fit into varied categories. A full list of the dataset categories can be found in appendix 9.3.2. Changes in categorisation are related not only to the content within the article, but also to different publications internal policies or priorities. However, internal comparison of rewilding's categorisation provides support for viewing rewilding not only as method or philosophy, but a plastic cluster of new environmental actions, behaviours, and rules systems. Rewilding is used in ways that go far beyond pure EM.

The categorisation of The Guardian articles is broad. While many of the categories can be drawn together (wildlife holidays and green travel, for example) the dataset highlights the impact rewilding, taken as a set of value changes, can have on radically different areas. The Guardian's dataset includes articles on conservation and wildlife, but also as a method of economic change, changing patterns of tourism, urban planning, civil engineering, personal growth, health and wellbeing, and changing the political climate. It also highlights the importance that rewilding puts implicitly on a changed form of self-perception. Rewilding in The Guardian consistently acts as a proxy for a change in what is valued in human relationships with the environment. It is not utilised as just a method of EM.

In contrast, the MailOnline articles appear much more limited in categorical scope. Articles are more tightly confined to science, news and home. However, on inspection, a number of similar themes to the Guardian appear. Science articles are often tied to economics, engineering, and planning; home articles include aspects of personal growth, health, tourism, and gardening; and news articles are often linked with scandal, and politics. Contrary to its initial tight categorisation, rewilding in the MailOnline displays very little consistent form. Within any single category, rewilding's presentation is erratic, always tied to an alternative point and used to either justify or decry it. An additional category in the MailOnline dataset is that of Sport. This appears nowhere in The Guardian list. These were the earliest articles covered (May 2010 – Mar 2011) and are related to a horse called 'Rewilding'. Although this appears to be an inclusion that could have little meaning, it speaks to *who* has been a key driver of rewilding in the UK. The horse Rewilding was owned by Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum (Racing Post, n.d.). Al Maktoum is the Vice President and Prime Minister of the UAE and ruler of Dubai (Government of Dubai, 2016) and is the owner of at least 40,000 hectares of land in the UK (Conn et al., 2021). The link between land ownership and rewilding will be further developed in section 4.2.

Both sources' categorical usage highlights the flexible, yet contextually specific, nature of plastic words, and their ability to subtly direct opinion and action to an underlying value structure. Through rewilding's continued use in supporting and opposing particular stories, it becomes associated with specific opinions. Analysis of the dataset's core themes are explored in the next section.

## 4.2 – Content Analysis

This analysis is concerned with identifying macrostructural themes that allow for an explanation of why rewilding has been utilised the way it has. There are four conceptual themes that have been identified and help to explain much of the confusion around what rewilding is. This section develops each theme independently and illustrates how they relate to the dataset. It then closes with a created model of nested interactions. Three of the identified themes (enchantment, aesthetics, and function) demonstrate an unaccounted for set of interactions for EM. Enchantment describes patterns of intrinsic value: what do

groups or individuals believe to be foundational? Aesthetics is how those intrinsic values are presented: they are the theories and structures built from intrinsic value. Function is how these aesthetic values work: how the theories are implemented, and structures maintained. The fourth theme, landownership, highlights why such a conception is needed - especially in UK rewilding.

Given this work's focus on the broad narrative uses of media writings, it is necessary to explore how themes appear. Van Dijk (1988) provides additional explanation. Frequent occurrence in the news contributes most to awareness of events. This results in people recalling information they already knew. This is compounded by any previous knowledge also improving comprehension and recall. Previous knowledge is heavily influenced by social contexts such as levels of education, interest in a subject, perspective, and specific daily practices. Frequent repetition of a theme is an important indication that the information is either widely believed or wishes to be widely believed. Importantly, details are often lost in recall. It is macrostructural topics that are best remembered, rather than specifics. Details, particularly causes and consequences, provide important structural indicators to allow understanding and recall, but may not be remembered precisely. Finally, negative or spectacular stories that have everyday relevance are the most well remembered. In analysing the dataset, repetition is the most important characteristic for identifying themes.

#### 4.2.1 - Wealth in Rewilding

Rewilding requires land. Without land, without massive commitment of resources over a long timescale, rewilding can achieve little. It is perhaps unsurprising that its examples are driven by people and institutions that do, in fact, own land. Likewise, given the two sources' opposing political views, it is not unexpected that they present this focus in different ways. However, given the simultaneous jump in the number of published articles in both sources between April - September 2018 the question becomes 'Why?'

A retrospective of 2018 brings up three factors. The first is the weather. While this explains little in terms of increasing interest in rewilding specifically, weather, and the decisions taken to mitigate its effects are directly related to EM. 2018's weather was not absurdly unusual, although it was irregular. It does however demonstrate changes to the UK's climate. Overall, 2018 was a warm year - not in terms of a short heatwave, but a clear indication of generalised warming (MacCarthy, 2019). It experienced two rapid and influential cold periods; the first of which was colloquially termed 'the Beast from the East' (BBC, 2018a, 2018b). It also had a number of flood events, the worst of which occurred in Wales (BBC, 2018c). This illustrates changes to climate that are creating challenges now, not merely theoretical challenges to come in the future. As an example, 2018's weather illustrates the due sense of urgency that is required to "draw down carbon... [in the] most effective way,"<sup>[32]</sup> capitalising on the "rising tide of concern about the environment from catastrophic decline in insects to climate change and flooding."<sup>[81]</sup> But this does not explain such a rapid increase in rewilding articles specifically.

Second, 2018 also marks a key point in the British exit from the European Union, or "Brexit". The European Union (Withdrawal) Act 2018 was passed on 26<sup>th</sup> June 2018. The act allows for the substitution, adaptation, and removal of applicable EU law into UK law. The withdrawal agreement fully came into force on the 31<sup>st</sup> January 2020. With the need to transpose or alter EU habitats directives and other wildlife protections, this is in and of itself a major factor, but it does not yet fully explain the rapid increase in rewilding articles. The 2018 act also has large ramifications for the devolved governments of Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. Schedule 2, Part 3 (Implementing the Withdrawal Bill), 23 (2) reads:

*"No regulations may be made under this Part by a devolved authority which, when made, are inconsistent with any modification (whether or not in force) made by this Act, or a Minister of the Crown under this Act of – (a) any retained direct EU legislation, or (b) anything which is retained EU law by virtue of section 4."* (UK Parliament, 2017, p.25)

Within this section, a devolved government cannot choose to act inconsistently with law passed within the UK parliament. The Agriculture and Fisheries, and Environment departments are key devolved powers (Gov.scot, n.d.; Scottish Parliament, n.d.). This has created an unresolved tension around devolution, particularly in Scotland (BBC, 2018d). With rewilding's focus on upland areas, particularly in Scotland, this has an impact; however, given this is not mentioned specifically, it once again does not explain the massive increase in rewilding coverage from 2018.

The third factor flows from the UK's withdrawal from the EU, and also has implications from the contest over devolved powers. This is removal from the CAP. As an attempt to stabilize farm income via policy (Tyner et al., 2005), the CAP represents a hugely important part of any post-EU governmental policy.

*"farming is losing money left, right and centre and only thing that keeps it going is government subsidies so we have to look at a different future and a different use of the landscape"*<sup>[56]</sup>;

*"By investing in nature we can reap rich returns, for example in public health and wellbeing, catching carbon from the air, helping us adapt to the changing climate, ensuring supplies of clean water, boosting tourism and protecting our future food security."*<sup>[76]</sup>

The influence such a policy has on the structure and forms farms develop is enormous (Lefebvre et al., 2012; Papadopoulos, 2015; Szerletics, 2018). Given the intricate relationship between farmers, the Basic Payment Scheme, agri-environment schemes, and diversified incomes (DEFRA, 2020b), novel policy formulations and their implementation will create surprises that cannot be fully predicted. While these may be ecological (Gordon et al., 2007), it will also have social and behavioural effects (Dessart et al., 2019; Pedersen et al., 2012).

*"Our shift from CAP to the ELM is huge, and this is going to turn the whole subsidy system on its head, and within ELM I want there to be a recognition of the value of rewilding"*<sup>[54]</sup>;

*"also makes sense commercially, reducing reliance on farming subsidies... allowing the business to diversify into small scale eco-tourism."*<sup>[45]</sup>

Following the departure from the CAP, the current countryside stewardship scheme is being reformed into the ELMS. This aims to be rolled out from 2024 (DEFRA, 2021). It will provide much of the framework for reaching the goals of the UK government's *A Green Future: 25-year environment plan* (HM Government, 2018), also published in 2018. This plan seeks to improve air and water quality, develop richer habitats capable of supporting more wildlife, and create approaches to agriculture, forestry, land use and fisheries that develop, rather than degrade, their environments. Initial trials for the ELMS started in 2018 (DEFRA, 2020c).

ELMS aims to split farms into 3 tiers depending on their preferred farming system (DEFRA, 2020d). Tier 1 aims to incentivise environmentally sustainable farming and forestry and help to deliver environmental benefits. This focuses on maintaining high yields and current levels of production especially on high quality land. Tier 2 aims to incentivise the management of land in a way that delivers locally targeted

environmental outcomes. This is targeted at the use of more marginal land, the use of mixed methods and a reduction in farming intensity. Tier 3 aims to deliver land use change projects at a landscape scale to deliver environmental outcomes. This is aimed at low productivity land, and squarely sets out a focus on radically changing current practices. Rewilding as a concept impacts all three tiers, but especially tiers 2 and 3. Tier 1 pilots in 2021 launching in 2022, and tiers 2 and 3 pilot in 2022 and launch in 2024 (DEFRA, 2021). If the rapid increase in rewilding is related to the flow of subsidy payments it would be expected that this, and landownership would be a key theme in the media discourse. This is indeed the case.

The Guardian's articles view the current state of UK wildlife as a chronic governmental and institutional failure and seeks to fix this. It justifies rewilding though the restoration of ecological function to the exclusion of other issues. However, in doing so it creates a split personality for itself. It uses the goals and intentions of rewilding projects in the hope of building momentum towards larger change, accepting a less critical view of who takes part on the one hand:

*"Purchasing huge tracts of land in Chile and Argentina, former clothing tycoons Doug and Kristine Tompkins have led a quarter century-long effort to reintroduce threatened and locally extinct species to the wilds of South America."*<sup>[36]</sup>;

*"in 2006, the billionaire Anders Holch Povlsen... Urged on by his man on the ground... Thomas MacDonell... intensified efforts that had started under his predecessor to bring down deer numbers, with a view to allowing the estate's woodland to recover and biodiversity to return."*<sup>[30]</sup>;

Simultaneously, it develops a sense of unease to this on the other:

*"Scottish Land Commission said the heavy concentration of land ownership in a small number of hands, including private owners, charities and government agencies, constitutes a monopoly, which undermined the public interest."*<sup>[40]</sup>;

*"half the Scottish countryside is owned by around 450 people"*<sup>[30]</sup>.

There are many advantages in rewilding large areas at once. Even the simplest task can spiral as the number of people involved grows, and in setting out proof of concept cases to build momentum, the bigger the capacity of the backer, the more likely the project is to succeed. However, there is also recognition of issues likely to arise in the future:

*"the role of rewilding landowners must be scrutinised along with the rest."*<sup>[20]</sup>

But by whom, for what, and how can these landowners be scrutinised? If we have based rewilding solely on restoring ecological function, then we have shut down the ability to include any other considerations as prior. Through its written commitment to ecological function first, The Guardian creates immense difficulty for itself in incorporating any social issues. However, The Guardian's content implicitly accepts that function is not the foundational reason for rewilding to occur. There is a clear guiding vision behind its rewilding articles, with content heavily geared to gaining acceptance of its own enchantment value pattern. This will be expanded on in 4.2.2. Through its commitment to function as the highest justification The Guardian informs us that enchantment matters - just as long as it is the right *kind* of enchantment. Their enchantment. This works as long as such values are not questioned. It does, however, have a negative element. Without recognition that such enchantment values can and must be questioned, it is all too easy for those with land, wealth, and power to force a solution. This is no different

than the issues plaguing current conservation and development practices (Adams, 2009; Bayliss et al., 2011; Bixler, 2013; Kistenkas, 2013; Meadowcroft, 2007). It is here the differences in the MailOnline become important.

The MailOnline's content appears less cohesive than The Guardian's. It does not share the same specific enchantment values as The Guardian and so rewilding represents something very different. The MailOnline is almost exclusively concerned with the human. To understand this position, the distribution of money must once again be at the leading edge of thought.

The MailOnline is concerned with specific social questions. It is not against or for rewilding as a generalised concept but against or for it depending on whether and how it impacts its social values. Rewilding is useful only as a hammer with which to hit the social anvil. In this, the MailOnline becomes a scrutiniser of specific rewilding projects, but from a very deliberate position. Its content revolves around the maintenance of subsidies, farmers, and landowners - in that order of priority. Its criticism of multi-millionaires and landed gentry is light, provided those concerned maintain some expected standard of social conduct, often to do with farmers on their estates. Articles on Hugh MacLeod, a Scottish clan chief, and Deborah Meaden, a businesswoman most famous for appearing on the TV show Dragons Den, are very positive, rewilding becomes *"ambitious project[s]"*<sup>[89]</sup>, about *"turning... property back over to nature"*<sup>[73]</sup> and *"restoring... land... [with] a positive ripple effect on the local community."*<sup>[89]</sup> However, the articles can rapidly change direction. Anselm Guise, a baronet from Gloucestershire, becomes a *"party-loving aristocrat"*<sup>[72]</sup>, *"labelled the hedonistic heir after dismissing his father's plan of following him in a banking career."*<sup>[72]</sup> He:

*"joins a handful of fellow aristocrats, such as Sir Charles Burrell in embracing the rewilding movement - confessed that around 70 of the 250 acres he's using is prime arable land"*<sup>[72]</sup>.

And additional modifications highlighting social inequality are raised:

*"plans also involve six new lavish tree houses with decks overlooking the rewilding grounds, as well as the possibility for a floating sauna in a wild swimming pond."*<sup>[72]</sup>;

*"Mr Littleton told the publication it was difficult to see land good for growing crops not being used to its full potential, fearing it could harm the UK's food security... Mr Littleton claimed other local farmers felt the same way but were unlikely to be open about their concerns because they were Mr Guise's tenants."*<sup>[72]</sup>

Ben Goldsmith, a financier, becomes a *"rewilding toff"*<sup>[92]</sup>, *"metropolitan eco-zealot"*<sup>[55]</sup>, *"posh Pinocchio"*<sup>[58]</sup>, and rewilding *"a modish form of land management in which tracts of countryside are taken out of agricultural production and allowed to return to nature."*<sup>[58]</sup> This comes after a series of incidents regarding introduced animals:

*"even though Ben Goldsmith may try to pass this off as the stuff of a TV sitcom, for the farmers and villagers of Witham Vale there is nothing remotely funny about it."*<sup>[757]</sup>

Goldsmith is particularly interesting. He is a son of James Goldsmith, a banker; the brother of a Conservative minister, Zac Goldsmith<sup>11</sup>; a non-executive member of DEFRA; a Conservative and Green Party donor; a farmer; donor to The Ecologist magazine; and an investment fund manager. The MailOnline has three articles dedicated specifically to following his story. All three articles present a less than rosy picture of his character that cut to the very heart of issues around the inability to scrutinise rewilding landowners based on ecological function alone. His brother Zac also appears in The Mail's coverage:

*"Lord [Zac] Goldsmith also hailed the end of the EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) which will become the Environmental Land Management scheme (ELM) after the Brexit transition period. The Mail revealed yesterday that his brother [Ben] had claimed EU CAP subsidies of £25,000 for his farm last year."<sup>[54]</sup>*

This theme of the already vastly wealthy, in terms of a combination of money (millionaires, billionaires), land (landowners, farmers, and the previous), and social capital (landed gentry, hereditary lords, all the previous) being at the front of UK rewilding media discourse is such a common theme as to be considered a core, if not the core, of what it is. Rewilding, and its use by the two media sources can only be explained if we incorporate the steering of huge subsidies given to landowners for EM. Not only is rewilding a political, plastic word, but the sudden increase in rewilding articles is a political action in itself. Media rewilding discourse must be viewed with this clear and salient position at the forefront of any thought. Rewilding is intimately linked with wealth.

In exploring this ability to scrutinise rewilding projects and their initiators the three identified themes: enchantment, aesthetics, and function must be deepened.

#### 4.2.2 - Enchantment

Enchantment is a common theme in environmental literature and is no less important in philosophy (Asprem, 2012). In governance and critiques of modernity, (dis)enchantment follows a common Weberian account (Jenkins, 2000). This is based around the world becoming understandable and knowable, removing mystery and magic, leading to an impersonal and anthropocentric view. This is not the most useful account of enchantment however (Latour, 1993), and often mistakes despair for disenchantment. Bhaskar (2016) provides meaning here: *enchantment - there is intrinsic meaning or value in the world*. This word – intrinsic – is critically important in distinguishing enchantment. Intrinsic does not mean there is *one* essential value or that the passing of *one* key value to another is a loss of all intrinsic value. Intrinsic just means that there *is* a perceived base value involved. When reading books and articles on environmental issues it is easy to confuse despair for disenchantment. Rachel Carson's (1960) *Silent Spring* is a work of enchantment. Bill McKibben's (1989) *The End of Nature* is a work of enchantment. Both have deep themes of despair, a sense of catastrophic loss and alienation; yet both are also written as if there is an injustice being done. They have a sense of wonder about the world, they provide their subjects with intrinsic values. Disenchantment is a negation of any value. It is not that enchantment is not there; it is just ignored or concealed for a purpose. Harrison (1996) provides an example of the distinction between the two:

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<sup>11</sup> Z. Goldsmith was highly involved in the magazine The Ecologist, his Uncle Edward was the founding editor, owner and publisher, and between 1998-2006 Goldsmith was the editor-in-chief (Bertodano, 2000). He is currently Minister of State for Pacific and the Environment (Gov.UK, n.d.).

*“Those realists who insist on reminding us that human beings are nothing but tiny microorganisms on a speck of cosmic dirt called Earth are not wrong in their analogy. They are merely feckless. Humans are those beings for whom being nothing but tiny microorganisms on a speck of cosmic dirt is a source of anguish.”* (Paragraph 45, Ebook)

From this failure to recognise enchantment values, disenchantment is aligned with a failure to recognise any aesthetic values, and in the context of rewilding, creates a totalising focus on functionalism. Without enchantment, without some intrinsic value the only reason to ‘do rewilding’ above some ‘other’ methodology becomes ecological function. It is important to note exactly who is disenchanting here. Reducing rewilding to ecological function does not mean those individuals promoting it are themselves disenchanting. They are more often responding to disenchantment. They construct whichever narratives they feel will allow them access to the resources they need - land, funds, policy makers etc. It is also important to note that disenchantment does not mean a decision maker does not use an enchantment value as a criterion for judgement. They still do. It is, however, done presumptively, without acknowledgement or social consideration.

There are four sub-themes within the media discourse that enter into enchantment. The first of these is catastrophe and optimism. Both of these rely heavily on enchantment. Catastrophe is a sense that an important value is being lost forever, optimism that a new value may be just as good or better than a previous one. Within the articles catastrophe often leads into optimism, through a proposed method of renewal: rewilding. Early on in the articles the catastrophic stage is set. Phrases like *“man’s terrible destructive impact”*<sup>[10]</sup>, *“are we doomed to societal collapse?”*<sup>[28]</sup>, and *“the forests still burn, but now the world looks away”*<sup>[5]</sup>, then give way to an introduction of a time conditional hope *“it’s the deal of the century, and like most good deals available for a limited time”*<sup>[7]</sup>, *“our big chance”*<sup>[10]</sup>, *“we need to act now”*<sup>[56]</sup>. Rewilding is then introduced as a vehicle for this change *“Rewilding offers hope”*<sup>[29]</sup>, it *“offers positive environmentalism”*<sup>[21]</sup>. Its projects become beacons of light, each one a *“hopeful example”*<sup>[3]</sup> that *“introduces hope where hope seemed absent”*<sup>[10]</sup>. If just given a chance, change is *“remarkably rapid, wildlife responds quickly to change, to disruption”*<sup>[31]</sup> and after initiation *“the battered ecosystem bounced back”*<sup>[55]</sup>.

Rewilding is also presented as something far greater than merely an ecological movement. It is just as much a philosophy as method, a state of being with an almost evangelical fervour. If you *“embrace a teeny bit of wild, wild nature will embrace you”*<sup>[23]</sup>. Rewilding *“the ecosystem offers us the opportunity to rewild our own lives as well”*<sup>[2]</sup>. It has a capacity to be a lightning rod of change that spurs further interest. A flash of inspiration: *“then I came across this word: rewilding”*<sup>[31]</sup>, creating a wonder that goes to the core of self for its practitioners *“to take humans out of nature we’d first have to take the nature out of humans”*<sup>[29]</sup>. Rewilding provides a sense of purpose: *“going to go down in my career as one of those defining moments”*<sup>[4]</sup>. It is not just a methodological alteration but a change in vision *“rewild[ing] ourselves – can change our way of seeing”*<sup>[23]</sup>. It places us right on the leading edge of change, on the *“brink of a psychological shift”*<sup>[14]</sup>. Rewilding can *“usher in a new way of living”*<sup>[28]</sup> that resonates for various different reasons: *“rewilding chimes with me. It’s not macho and it emphasises play”*<sup>[22]</sup>. It is also self-aware of this reciprocal relationship change *“our relationship to nature is key to this change”*<sup>[9]</sup>, *“we all need nature in our lives once more”*<sup>[62]</sup>. Rewilding becomes something that can *“heal not only the living world but much that is missing in our own lives”*<sup>[19]</sup>.

However, it can also be a deep cause of negativity. Without the ability to contest enchantment value; not only of rewilding, but also the EM vision it seeks to change - such different views cannot be brought into

discussion. The Oostvaardersplassen made many “*ashamed to be Dutch*”<sup>[4]</sup>, and rewilding as a concept can similarly produce visceral reactions in opposition:

*“If the environmentalists get their way, our green and pleasant land will be transformed into an apocalyptic post-industrial landscape, overrun with wild animals — from hippos in the Humber to rhinos in the Rhondda Valley.”*<sup>[69]</sup>

An “*affront to the efforts of every self-respecting farmer, an immoral waste of land*”<sup>[30]</sup>. Rewilding, both for positive and negative, becomes a pillar of identity that cannot be separated from an individual's sense of self. It becomes a part of who someone is. It bleeds into political action and advocacy. It has a strong predilection for self sufficiency and individual action:

*“don't expect much help from politicians nor are the big conservation groups filling the void”*<sup>[5]</sup>;

*“main motivation is to reverse the decline of native wildlife species in this country. He said 'morally this is the right thing to do'”*<sup>[56]</sup>;

*“Welsh woman declares vindication after 'guerrilla rewilding' court case.”*<sup>[33]</sup>

Yet it also recognises the enormous capacity for state to drive change:

*“when we are called upon to make big changes, we can make big changes, and the changes that need to be made for environmental reasons are much smaller... if government gave us a clear steer... we would do it”*<sup>[31]</sup>.

As a concept, rewilding becomes a nexus point for criticisms of value. For its proponents it is a “*rallying cry*”<sup>[65]</sup>, for its detractors it is “*divisive*”<sup>[1]</sup>:

*“advocates enthuse about the benefits... opponents fear the impact could be devastating”*<sup>[22]</sup>;

*“many traditional landowners and game keepers continue to spurn both the term and idea behind it”*<sup>[30]</sup>.

This “*tension speaks to the conflicting views that have emerged about rewilding*”<sup>[82]</sup>. In every project “*there [has] been some resistance... to what we are doing*”<sup>[38]</sup>. But even with this tension there is an underlying theme that rewilding brings into question. Regardless of who is talking, rewilding asks fundamental questions about enchantment values:

*“We need to start a debate, a debate which asks a number of obvious questions. What are we doing and why? What is the basis of the decisions we have made? Is it sound? What do we want and how could we get it? These are the questions our conservation groups have failed to ask.”*<sup>[39]</sup>

Finally, it encourages individuals and groups to get involved. Rewilding projects, similar to many other EM projects, rely on being “*helped by volunteers*”<sup>[23]</sup> but rewilding projects aren't exclusively large scale; there are “*several ways to embrace nature – no matter the size of your plot*”<sup>[13]</sup>. Its growing momentum is often highlighted. Rewilding projects “*gather pace*”<sup>[25]</sup>, “*continue to rise in popularity*”<sup>[81]</sup> and draw attention to its global reach “*backed by global rewilding alliance*”<sup>[8]</sup>. Media use of rewilding claim its:

*“ambitious campaign will unite people in working for a common goal that benefits us all - one of nature's recover.”*<sup>[61]</sup>

It seeks to “*broaden and democratise access to the countryside*”<sup>[14]</sup>, being held to a high standard, “*rewilding must take place only with active consent*”<sup>[19]</sup>. But in practice there is an undercurrent of exactly the opposite. A die-hard commitment to getting the job done at any cost “*we need to as quickly as possible restore as much as we can*”<sup>[31]</sup>.

In doing so rewilding strikes a Faustian bargain. Its initiators, particularly in the largest projects, are rag-tag:

*“ad hoc coalitions of politicians, activists and conscience-stricken billionaires (whose core activities, such as Povlsen’s clothing business, are often less than environmentally friendly) have rewilded millions of acres of mostly failed agricultural and grazing land.”*<sup>[30]</sup>

Within the UK much of the downwards focus on functionalism, and missing acceptance of a plurality of aesthetic values is driven by this focus on the extraordinary individual, those with the land, money, power, and privilege to enact rewilding projects. There is no surprise that questions of intrinsic value, of enchantment, are brushed under the rug. It is not that enchantment values are not used; it is that they have already been firmly decided long before such projects are even publicly discussed. This occurs on both sides of the argument. It is not limited to those landowners who buy into rewilding; being just as prevalent in those that decry it. In not recognising the need for enchantment, that there always is some pattern of intrinsic value used, the reasons for doing anything have already been decided. Nature and the environment once again become immutable, unquestionable objects. This is, however, only one aesthetic view.

#### 4.2.3 - Aesthetics

The second theme important in the media dataset is that of aesthetics. If enchantment is intrinsic value, aesthetics is how we view those values. Aesthetics is not simply about the visual, or a specific style of artistic creativity. Aesthetic values allow a nebulous ideal to become concrete, a specific goal to work towards. They provide a foundation of form, of structure. Aesthetics are vitally important in conceptualising the environmental identities of those who are for, neutral, or against rewilding. With rewilding being tied to environmental identities, aesthetic values supply a pre-recognised platform for individuals to build on.

The first sub-section of aesthetics is “*instead we could have*”<sup>[9]</sup>. This presentation of alternative visions is a critical part of building the enchantment values into something less abstract. “*Restored landscapes could teem with wildlife*”<sup>[76]</sup>, “*wildlife friendly rewilding look means gardens will be teeming with nature*”<sup>[81]</sup>, “*wildlife ponds in every industrial estate and a public park*”<sup>[67]</sup>. An important part of building aesthetic values is comparison to other known systems: “*Barren monocultures of maize... replaced with landscape that looks more like the African savannah*”<sup>[1]</sup>, or hinting at a particular function: “*aims to give Thames its flood plain back*”<sup>[32]</sup>. Comparisons to current states are not just left as possibilities either, examples are hugely important.

The second theme in aesthetics highlights the importance of previous projects in creating the clusters of rewilding’s meanings. These exemplar projects have enormous reach and value. International examples are used extensively, in particular the reintroduction of wolves to Yellowstone National Park, USA, and the Oostvaardersplassen “*known as the Dutch serengetti*”<sup>[4]</sup>. In the UK there are multiple examples used many times, however, one is significantly more common than the rest: the Knepp Castle Estate. Having

started in 2001 (Knepp Castle Estate, 2021), Knepp Castle has become the premier example for rewilding farmland in the UK:

*"every British farmer I spoke to while researching this article has an opinion on what the Burrells have done at Knepp, even if it is to damn the enterprise as tokenistic and unproductive."*<sup>[30]</sup>

The Knepp Castle Estate is also the subject of the book *Wilding: The Return of Nature to a British Farm* written by one of its owners, Isabella Tree (2018). In it she cites a trip to the Ostvaardersplassen as a critical point in the development of Knepp. The number of people involved in developing the Estate is astounding. The acknowledgements chapter in *Wilding* is extensive. It names 70 people, involved in the estate itself and/or the book. This does not touch on the various external networks, suppliers of goods, buyers of the various estate products, tourists, walkers, and the many other connections it takes to make even one estate like Knepp function. However, in the media analysis, such projects are necessarily condensed to one or two key players.

A key player is not only important for what they may say or do, but also what they represent. To become a key player there has to be a certain mythos built up around the individual. When someone talks about a key player there is a symbolic representation of self. The player becomes a proxy for our own beliefs. Whether one agrees with them or not is not limited to just what they say, but how they say it, who they are, who they are perceived to be, and one's own feelings and visions of what they represent. Key players are essential for limiting and structuring the rewilding media discourse. In addition to running the Knepp Castle Estate its other owner, Charlie Burrell, is a trustee of the charity Rewilding Britain (Rewilding Britain, 2021a)<sup>12</sup>. Both Burrell and Tree are key players. The articles mention a number of billionaires and multi-millionaires who would also meet these criteria. Key players often produce discourse themselves, but their influence extends far beyond them and their work. Monbiot is a perfect example of a key player as not only an individual but also a symbol. Rewilding Britain as a charity is a consequence of his writings:

*"On Wednesday a new organisation, Rewilding Britain, was launched (it was inspired by my book Feral and I helped to found it, but I don't have a position there."*<sup>[19]</sup>

And his symbolism can also be seen in The Mail dataset.

*"Since the whole project was orchestrated by Rewilding Britain — which boasts Monbiot's partner Rebecca Wrigley as chief executive (their home in Oxford was listed as Summit to Sea's mailing address)." <sup>[55]</sup>*

The author of this piece, G. Adams, uses it almost as an implication to conspiracy, but its inclusion here, and not in The Guardian content is important to note. It is also important to consider the relative time of the quotes. The MailOnline piece is from 28/02/2020, the Guardian from 16/07/2015. However, both highlight the same thing. How rewilding is seen, its aesthetic values, have been strongly impacted by key players such as Monbiot. These visions of rewilding are vitally important, and yet they are often obscured by a focus on function.

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<sup>12</sup> This is a UK wide charity, that aims to grow rewilding and influence policy (Rewilding Britain, 2021b), and also supports a rewilding network to provide information and support for rewilding efforts (Rewilding Britain, 2021c).

#### 4.2.4 - Functionalism

The final key theme from this analysis is that of functionalism. Of the three conceptual themes, functionalism is the most explicitly prevalent and often highlighted. Function as used here are values of how something works. The overwhelming theme in rewilding discourse is that the only criteria on which to base comparison of projects are the highly focused functions of a system. It must be clear from the outset that this criticism of a function-first view is not to imply that functional values are not important. They are vital. Detailed and careful attention must be given to them. However, this dominance of function conceals and renders any prior claims unquestionable. In the media discourse, rewilding displays implicit intrinsic valuations, but they are buried under functional justification. Attempts to justify rewilding often fall back on a notion of reversal and restoration. Understandably, a lot of this attention is focused on the impact of climate change:

*"[Restoring ecosystems is the] most effective and cheapest ways to combat climate crisis... scientific study finds."*<sup>[7]</sup>;

*"call for rewilding to be encouraged in order to save essential areas and species"*<sup>[42]</sup>;

*"large-scale increases in woodland and restoring peatland are also needed to curb greenhouse gases."*<sup>[60]</sup>

In doing so it critiques the conservation viewpoint of only limited change, replacing it with an obsessive focus on process and balance. Many deep issues are explained away: the *"ecosystem had fallen out of balance"*<sup>[3]</sup>. Our *"key concept is creating a balance between herbivores and predators"*<sup>[64]</sup> creating *"functional ecosystems in which dynamic living process prevail are likely more resistant to climate change"*<sup>[19]</sup>. We must *"replace conservation 'mollycoddling' with 'restoring natural processes'"*<sup>[1,]</sup> and in doing so focus on *"restoring natural balance"*<sup>[37]</sup>. Balance, however, is double-edged; it implies the possibility of a perfect state of affairs. Even if something changes, one could develop a stable state that is totally resilient. It tells us there is an ecosystem that will always roll back into 'balance', always implied to be a morally good thing (a hidden enchantment value); we just need to give it a push. In replacing conservations limited conception of change, this presentation of rewilding finds a way to create a vision of total stability. Of stagnation. In searching for dynamism, it becomes static. This ultimately supports the maintenance of a future status quo, one remarkably similar to the current one. One based on land and wealth.

Another component of this functional pre-eminence is hypothetical economic gain. Once again, such a criticism does not imply economic considerations are not important - like function itself, they are vital - but they are a product of implementation, not a cause. Both The Guardian and MailOnline use job creation as a core reason to justify rewilding. Tourism dominates this changed job landscape: *"rewild while offering tourist experiences"*<sup>[8]</sup>, providing *"more employment in the highlands, partly because people want to see and experience wild nature"*<sup>[66]</sup> and *"rejuvenating the tourism industry"*<sup>[11]</sup>. Such a focus is built on a familiar economic outlook: that *"one way to encourage people to protect wildlife would be by making it 'pay for itself'"*<sup>[52]</sup>, but this contains an inherent exclusivity, therefore entrenching further inequality:

*"the tourism it offers is limited; a rewilded area cannot accommodate many people without undermining its own existence."*<sup>[30]</sup>

Given the rich framing of needing urgent action: that the “ecosystem [is] dangerously out of whack”<sup>[3]</sup>, and the highlighting of environmental benefits “restoring habitats could save a fifth of species from climate risk”<sup>[78]</sup>; when combined with the amount of consolidated land used by rewilding examples, the types of owners of these examples, and the speed with which tourism is mooted as the economic saviour, rewilding starts to look very similar to Fletcher’s (2019) *Anthropocene Tourism as a New Capitalist “Fix”* and other examples of tourism development through disaster capitalism (Erickson, 2021; Harangody and Mostafanezhad, 2020; Timms, 2011; Wright et al., 2020). In his review of rewilding and tourism, Hall (2019) highlights how little is written about rewilding projects specifically. Tourism is a social and economic factor. It is therefore beholden to ecological function. A landowner can always default to excusing the exclusion of people from land to maintain ecological function. This does not imply that such a thing is never needed; it merely highlights that with function as the highest value claim, exclusion becomes an insurmountable statement. It becomes impossible to argue against without protracted and expensive legal action. This has been a critical flashpoint especially around calls to reintroduce carnivores, particularly wolves, into fenced areas, but any reintroduced animal has the capacity for creating issues:

*“raises hackles with hikers, who have legal right to roam across the estate. ‘Our view is that it’s not a reintroduction he’s trying to do, he’s trying to create a giant zoo.’”<sup>[21]</sup>;*

*“While he admits the deer escaped over fencing on his land, he insists the boar, which he admitted feeding, were already in the area.”<sup>[54]</sup>;*

However, tourism is only one way of making the wild pay its way. Another is subsidies.

The Guardian questions whether giving farms subsidies as they are currently set up, particularly in upland areas, is the best thing to do. It pushes funding rewilding as an answer to these issues:

*“calls for billions of pounds in farm subsidies to be redirected towards creating native woodlands and meadows and protecting peat bogs and salt marshes”<sup>[6]</sup>;*

*“farming is sustained... though taxpayers’ munificence.”<sup>[10]</sup>*

Whereas the MailOnline questions what happens to the lives of those people should they lose them. In as far as subsidies are attached to rewilding, the MailOnline is in support of it but, when rewilding is perceived to be radically changing the environmental identity of farmers, it becomes an issue:

*“provide a range of benefits, supporting nature, protecting against coastal flooding, generating jobs and volunteering opportunities and give people more access to green space.”<sup>[45]</sup>;*

*“Rewilding schemes boost jobs and volunteering while helping nature, study says.”<sup>[47]</sup>;*

*“How long before the reintroduction of wild animals becomes official EU policy, funded by billions of pounds of taxpayers’ money?”<sup>[68]</sup>;*

*“spokesman for the national farmers union said money could be better spent elsewhere.”<sup>[63]</sup>*

This again supports a conception of rewilding as a political action, whose support is essential for directing the funding of the post-Brexit ELMS. As a contributing factor, strongly related but not limited to economic activity, food security is often used as a justification not to rewild. Food security is held up as

the pre-eminent reason for maintaining farm subsidies supported with its own, undoubtably true, set of statistics:

*"[Fairlie, S as quoted] What worries me... is that some of the rewilding is on prime agricultural land, grade one. Land in the fens was drained at great expense to produce food and now it's being undrained at great expense. Meanwhile, our self-sufficiency in food production is dropping: it's gone from 70% to about 60% in the past few years. We're even importing milk."*<sup>[25]</sup>;

*"[National Farmers Union] Acting to tackle damaging climate change is vital. However, we will not halt climate change by curbing British production and exporting it to countries which may not have the same environmental conscience."*<sup>[6]</sup>;

*"a number of local farmers oppose the plans and believe Mr Guise should use the high-quality arable land to grow crops."*<sup>[72]</sup>

Incorporated within this are recourses to historical narratives, especially to the development of patterns of culture and specific practices in a binary fashion. It's either there or its not:

*"The concept of rewilding requires farming to cease. Unproven and often dubious economic benefits are no replacement for dismantling farming communities that were built over generations."*<sup>[55]</sup>;

*"You have to ask yourself whether you want low-input, low-output farmers or high-input, high-output farmers. There's no in-between."*<sup>[30]</sup>

Likewise, rewilding projects often go to great lengths to ensure they are not taking up prime agricultural land and counter with their own set of statistics:

*"the food thing is levelled at us – we're acutely aware of that. But our project takes up about 1% of the food producing land in the fens. And remember a third of the food we buy ends up in the bin, and that even before it reaches our fridges the supermarkets have rejected a lot more because of the way it looks."*<sup>[25]</sup>;

*"restoring nature did not have to be at the expense of agriculture and food production"*<sup>[7]</sup>;

*"Rewilding habitats including native forests, rivers, moorlands and saltmarshes, and boosting wildlife-friendly farming, can be achieved without losing productive farmland."*<sup>[60]</sup>

As part of the battle over these binary states, definitions of what rewilding 'is', are frequently used. This trades on two elements. The first is that the definitions are written in a highly apolitical way. There is a pervasive lack of recognition of Williams' (1983 (2015)) second strand of language use in many definitions:

*"Rewilding is a type of conservation that involves reinstating natural processes."*<sup>[52]</sup>;

*"rewilding - large-scale wilderness recovery that allows natural processes and native wildlife to flourish."*<sup>[35]</sup>;

*"rewilding - the mass restoration of ecosystems."*<sup>[19]</sup>

This allows authors to provide a definition and then write with authority. They give rewilding an aura of specificity to both legitimise it as a concept and limit 'what' is acceptable in rewilding. Both uses conceal the values that give rise to such a conception, ending up with opposing actions:

*"In proper re-wilding projects, large mammals such as deer, wild horses and boar, and some breeds of cattle are typically introduced in small numbers over a wide area to promote biodiversity. However, unlike Goldsmith's deer, they tend to be properly fenced in."*<sup>[57]</sup>;

*"strategy of purchasing land, removing livestock and fencing, and reintroducing extinct species or reinforcing populations of threatened ones has become a laboratory - if not a model - for rewilding worldwide."*<sup>[35]</sup>

There is also an undercurrent that not defining rewilding robs it of something and opens it up for abuse:

*"as conventional conservation jumps on the bandwagon... fears it could become a cliché... end up rebranding all the conventional nature conservation activities as rewilding in the hope that people take an interest."*<sup>[1]</sup>

Confusion results in a multitude of different vague definitions. These seem to recognise rewilding as something else, defining it as social change, acceptance of doing nothing, or feeling:

*"rewilding is a growing movement to isolate areas and allow nature to take over."*<sup>[50]</sup>;

*"this term means: letting nature take care of itself and that this will restore the landscapes around us."*<sup>[31]</sup>;

*"its called rewilding but it's not wilderness; its more like renaturing."*<sup>[25]</sup>

However, its plastic nature is also spelt out:

*"What exactly is meant by rewilding depends on who is talking about it."*<sup>[20]</sup>;

*"[garden rewilding] precise definitions of what this means vary, but the concept of meddling less and celebrating nature more was notably popularized in 1993 book 'Noah's Garden' by Sara Stein, a bible for the movement."*<sup>[82]</sup>

This is clearly in line with viewing rewilding in Williams' (1983 (2015)) second sense, as a plastic word, but without disdain. This is not to say that rewilding should never be defined, nor that it is undefinable. Rewilding has meaning, but as a concept its meanings are values. It alludes to a body of knowledge. Rewilding is not a method nor philosophy; it is something else entirely. The patterns of analysis and reasoning both sides produce can ultimately be boiled down to a single word: belief.

*"They believe removing land from agricultural production can help fight climate change and reverse the catastrophic decline in wildlife populations we have suffered in recent decades."*<sup>[55]</sup>

If this quote is reversed it is just as true:

They believe not removing land from agricultural production can help fight climate change and reverse the catastrophic decline in wildlife populations we have suffered in recent decades.

If there is a single reason why enchantment values and aesthetic values must be talked about, it is this: without them there is nothing to compare rewilding against. Rewilding based purely on ecological function will continue to run into problems. Likewise, a dogmatic belief that food security is the underlying issue here cannot solve the deep problems faced today. Both are smoke and mirrors. This is

not to say a change in function is not part of rewinding, nor that food security is not an issue. Just that neither are the reason not to do the other.

#### 4.2.5 - A model of themes

Within the dataset, function is overpowering in its lack of recognition of enchantment and aesthetics. It dominates as both justification and rebuttal. Every article in the dataset starts with a position on the enchantment and aesthetic values, but often imply that they come after function. Enchantment and aesthetic values are thereby subsumed underneath function. They become something to be tacked on after the social and the economics are sorted out. This does not appear to be the case. Enchantment and aesthetics come first.

Figure 4.a shows these three themes nested inside of each other. While they can interact reciprocally (the inner core can influence the outer directly), they start with a constraint imposed by the previous value set. Any particular enchantment value sets the initial boundaries for aesthetic value; aesthetic value for function etc. Only after initiation and investigation can an inner value impact an outer value. Figure 4.b shows two additional levels inside functional value that are contained within this nested model.

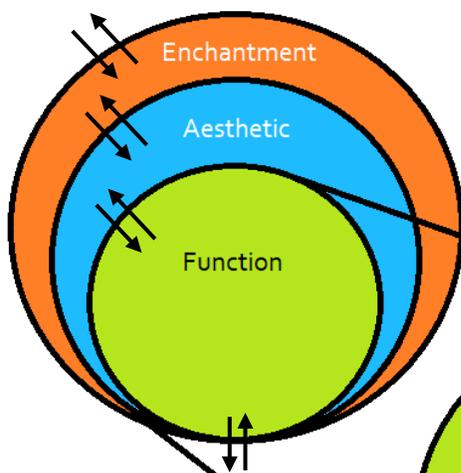


Figure 4.a Model of identified theme interactions illustrating the boundary setting of functional value by enchantment and aesthetic values.

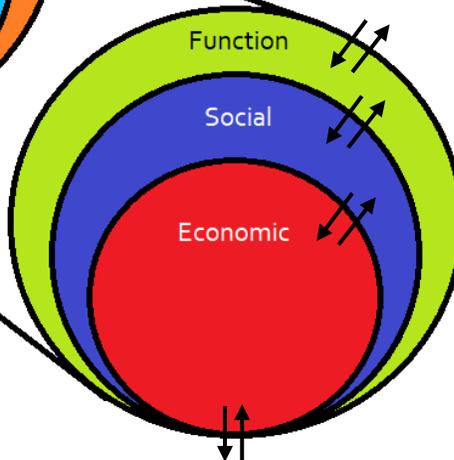


Figure 4.b Model of functional value and sub-theme interactions highlighting the loss of enchantment and aesthetics.

Enchantment and aesthetic values provide the boundaries within which function works. As an example, let us take the development of a hammer. By starting with functional value, we may say the initiating reason a hammer is shaped as it is, is to allow us to hit nails with optimal force. But that is incorrect. A hammer did not start with functional value as its initiator. A form already pre-existed any hitting function. In this case, a rock. There was a moment of wonder, of enchantment, a need to hit something with more

force than a hand or a fist can provide. This need came *before* the functional value. Changing the moment of enchantment from a need to hit a nail-like object to chopping down a tree, or hunting an animal, or hitting another human, has prior consequences on the functional form. Following this need, the aesthetic values (how we see something) then also bounds function. We are limited by what we can imagine in our manner of thinking. Here we can imagine giving a person who has only ever hit things with a rock, a modern hammer with a long handle. As they use it, they may only hold it by the head, just like we would a rock. It still functions as a hammer, but it doesn't provide any of the advantages of using the additional function provided by the handle. Almost anyone using the hammer this way would think, "this is identical to the rock I already have, why do I need one of these?". Until we change how the individual sees the hammer, change their aesthetic value – how they view the hammers form – their ability to use the hammer to its full extent – its highest functional ability – will not be any better, and indeed may be worse than their current object, the rock. Just so with rewilding, it tacitly depends on a different set of enchantment and aesthetic values and in doing so creates new ways of doing things, new ways of exploring function. Rewilding depends on different enchantment and aesthetic values to much of current EM. In trying to fit rewilding into current frameworks without paying attention to these different underlying value sets, it is as if we are the individual holding the hammer by the head. Recognising the different enchantment and aesthetic values that rewilding represents is important.

Theory alone is never enough, and yet, though a focus on function, theory becomes calcified. In its media presentation rewilding embodies this. However, in practice it appears to be different. Rewilding is gaining traction, it is growing, it is becoming more and more used, and not just by large landowners. Something in its practice is not emphasised in its translation to media. This recognition of the difference in presentation between media and practice is important because it supports a reversed conception of rules systems. New rules systems, new theories, create new people. Theories are aesthetic values created in response to wonder, to enchantment. Theory is how we view and understand wonder. When theories change, the world has not. Our way of seeing it has.

## 5.0 - Discussion

### 5.1 - Towards a recognition of enchantment and aesthetics

In exploring why enchantment and aesthetics are hidden and ignored, a connecting force becomes important. This force is Alienation. For Marx (1975 (1844)) this was alienation of labour; for Harvey (Harvey, 2003) this is alienation from the city; for Vogel (2015) this is alienation from the environment we are in. It is a failure to recognise ourselves in the world. To acknowledge and take responsibility for what we have done, what we have built, what we may do and what we may build. An absence of any value outside of function. Comparison of action becomes reduced to the how, rather than the why. This leaves little room for productive compromise or cooperation. In starting with only implicit positions on why a thing is important there is little space to give ground. Every argument or discussion becomes an existential threat to any individual 'why' because they result in such different 'how's', such different functional expressions of value.

In much of its practice rewilding is self-conscious of its significance. It is highly aware it deliberately transforms its environment. In the practice of rewilding's there is a primacy of enchantment and aesthetic values over function. Function is important but there can be many solutions to any particular problem. Rewilding prioritises relationships, particularly between the human and the non-human, over entities. It prioritises development over structure. A structural form is aimed at in its initiation, but it is a nebulous and changeable form.

However, rewilding in the UK has deep issues. Its relationship to any social value is tenuous and many of its projects display a dubious commitment to the human side of project consequences. With efforts to force its new vision rapidly, particularly in Scotland, rewilding and its users have the capacity to negate conflict though hard power. It uses the ability for wealthy individuals to acquire enormous tracts of land and resources and do what they wish with it. In doing so, such individuals become judge, jury, and executioner. This is not unique to rewilding, nor does this imply that rewilding should not go ahead because of these issues. But it must pay attention to them. Just as it is self-conscious of its relationship to the non-human it must be self-conscious of its ability to reproduce and transform human relationships. The subjugation of enchantment and aesthetics by function allows a hiding of these value choices. The subjugation of enchantment and aesthetics allows recourse to acceptance of social ills as a necessary component of change. The social is, after all, inside of function. This commitment to function and its obfuscation of enchantment and aesthetics has been highlighted elsewhere in rewilding's academic literature. However, this issue is identified as one rooted in the social level (below function) rather than above.

Jørgensen (2015) traces changes in rewilding's meaning through Foucault's historical genealogy. This is a technique that questions the emergence of a social or philosophical belief, focusing on historical analysis as a critique of the present (Fendler, 2010). She calls for a more inclusive vision of rewilding, moving past its glorification of the non-human disavowing "*human history and [finding] value only in historical ecologies prior to human habitation.*" (Jørgensen, 2015, p.487). She identifies the lack of responsibility rewilding takes for its human relationships but roots the issue squarely in the social component.

*"While the impulse to swing radically toward an exclusionary approach to nature might seem justified in an age where humans affect all things, a more concrete, specific and future-embracing*

*rewilding would be to look for places and spaces in which humans and non-humans can co-exist.”*  
(Jørgensen, 2015, p.487)

By placing the issue underneath the functional level, it creates a conception of rewilding that is an exhaustible method, built on a certain triumphalism, exaggerating the human power to know and control and a sense of fundamentalism, that it is based on a perceived set of indubitable ecological principles, creating the same false absolute of an only positive nature it explicitly rails against. In practice, this function-based rewilding maintains a commitment to knowledge as being, resulting in a totalistic specificity of ‘what rewilding looks like’. It eternalises and naturalises its founding principles, ignoring the sociality and politicality in their construction. This maintains a judgemental moralistic elitism, the very opposite of a pluralistic perspective, and continues EM’s general failure to see the politicality inherent in its approach.

Rewilding, in a conception that starts with function, falls woefully short of its goal of taking interventions in environments seriously. Rewilding, as presented in the media discourse, highlights the need for an ethic of environmental intervention.

## 5.2 – What is Rewilding? Is it even Conservation?

Rewilding, at various times, by various authors, has been seen as part of all four EM visions. Preservation, conservation, restoration, and recovery (Jepson & Blythe, 2020). However, the hierarchical positioning of these categories, often with conservation as the base (Adams, 2004), does not do justice to the differences contained in each. All four display different connotations. In separating them and extracting rewilding, it must be shown how rewilding is different, yet similar, to each of them.

In discovering where rewilding lies, we must first look at the critique of restoration ecology. This is a highly contested area within environmental ethics. Elliot (1982 (2008)) casts significant doubt on the values within the restoration movement with Katz (1996) building on these. The central theme of the criticism is: What will happen if restored systems become the accepted norm? With rewilding’s focus on explicitly recreating simulacrum of past, and novel, systems, this question is an important one to answer.

Through continued refinement of argument from 1982 onwards, the central thesis against restoration becomes most clearly expressed in Katz (2012):

*“This viewpoint changes the goals of environmental policy, replacing the ideals of preservation, conservation, and protection with manipulation, modification, and control. **Preservation** and **protection** will lose all substantive content; they will be meaningless terms in a world of the unlimited modification of natural processes, a world in which the human domination of nature will be complete.”* (p.72) (emphasis in original)

There are a number of indications to draw from this passage. Katz is not discussing functional value at all. He is discussing enchantment. He is talking about the placement of intrinsic value. By moving to a full ethic of restoration, a value, an “*ideal*” is lost. He sees value in the presence of the non-human, and he sees value in its autonomy. He sees value in wilderness and wildness.

Both wilderness and wildness have to do with our relationship to the non-human and the environment. They both contain explicit values. Wilderness emphasises the presence of the non-human, and wildness emphasises the autonomy of the non-human. We can therefore define two axes between which we can set rewilding, and the four visions of EM it has been placed within. One axis is between total wilderness

and total humanity. Neither of these end points exist, they are purely analytical. Wilderness is a boundary to constrain and justify *our* activity. There is no full wilderness, nor is there full humanity. When we are truly absent, we know nothing of an area. It is as if it does not exist for management purposes. Nor are human creations totally artificial. We still require all manner of interactions with the biosphere to make, do, or be anything. The other axis is between total non-human autonomy, and total human control. Once again, these hypothetical end points are analytical. For the purpose of management, the human is always involved in some capacity, and the non-human as well. It is a boundary to constrain and justify *our* activity.

Rewilding explicitly values human intervention to create a state of non-human autonomy. Over time it will move towards different levels of wilderness and wildness than it started with. Rewilding forces change along these two axes, blending methods and visions. When discussing what rewilding is, people do not disagree about what 'it' is, but only the areas in which they think rewilding belongs. On visualising rewilding, a project commits to a cluster of values. This is just as true for other EM visions (preservation, conservation, restoration, recovery etc.), but different initial enchantment values create different aesthetic and functional outcomes. Forcing rewilding into any current framework based only on ecological function does not recognise the differences in underlying value, or the change in relationship it represents. It robs rewilding of critical power, and more importantly distracts from serious criticism of rewilding projects. In a country so depleted of wildlife, such as the UK, rewilding represents something important: a different way of viewing environmental management.

Katz draws preservation and protection together twice. Protection is an action, a method of preservation. Without preservation the non-human's presence and independence is obliterated by human modification and control. He also pulls out conservation as an idea. This, unlike preservation, is not included as being susceptible to losing all substantive content. Conservation is about moderated use. It fully contains wilderness - the presence of the non-human - but it is human controlled - it has less wildness.

Between our axes of wilderness and wildness, both preservation and conservation have high wilderness, but only one has high wildness. We have started to compare different forms of EM based a pattern of intrinsic value - of enchantment. We have also begun to seat methods inside of these. Methods are practical ways of seeing. Aesthetic values deriving from enchantment, creating function. There is an issue here, however. Preservation and conservation are often taken as a pair, one inside the other. In the media narratives, we can begin to see why there is a fear over rewilding becoming subsumed under conservation. Without recognition of the enchantment differences between preservation and conservation, they become treated as the same. However, we have not yet extracted rewilding from either.

Rewilding has seen framing as a previously missing 'other side' to a conservation spectrum. An example of this is shown in Figure 5. This places rewilding as an additional method to assist in restoring ecological function (Seddon et al., 2014). While this may well be a specific use for rewilding, and a productive way of deciding whether conservation or rewilding is the goal, it again reduces rewilding down to simply one method. In contrasting the two in this way, it is implied that both utilise the same foundations. That the only difference between conservation and rewilding is between what is there, and what should be there.

## Translocation for species conservation

To improve the status of focal species



Black stilt  
*Himantopus novaezelandiae*



Hamilton's frog  
*Leiopelma hamiltoni*



Tasmanian devil  
*Sarcophilus harrisii*

## Translocation for rewilding

To restore natural ecosystem functions or processes



Gray wolf  
*Canis lupus*



Aldabra tortoise  
*Aldabrachelys gigantea*

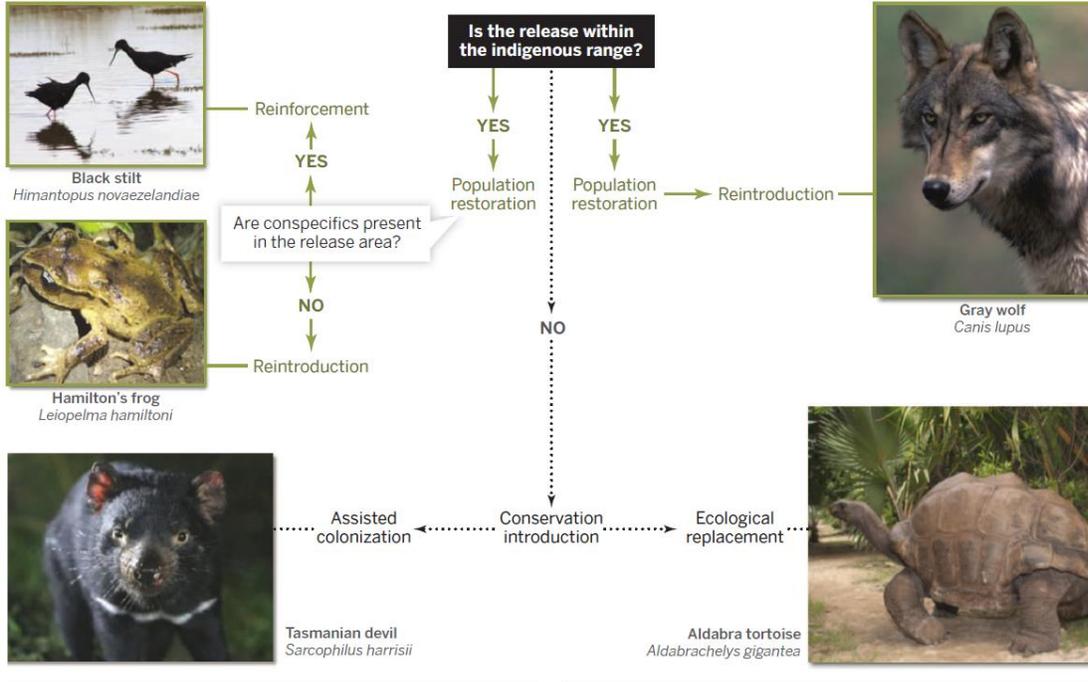


Figure 5. A conservation translocation spectrum. Taken from Seddon et al. (2014).

There is a distinction between conservation and rewilding alluded to in Figure 5. Within the conservation view the future is predicted. It is much the same as a past and/or the present. It is the continual maintainance of state(s) that rely on a number of pre-conditions remaining the same. An issue arises here. It is the same issue that gave rise to restoration in the first place. In a time of rapid (climate) change this view is often untenable (Harris et al., 2006). What is there to do with those systems that have already been damaged or destroyed to the point of no repair? If the only option is conservation, then how can we rationally transform the world? How can we limit and shape our interventions? What forms of enchantment value can we use to compare human activity against? Conservation cannot be the only pillar we have to recognise.

Within rewilding the future is predicated. There is a conception of a future, contingent on the present, but also - at least in principle - an acceptance that it may well end up different to the imagined. In the media narratives this is shown by the relentless focus on future balance and restored function. Rewilding uses points in the past, to inform the now, imagining the future. It does share aspects of the conservation outlook, but its conceptions and outcomes are radically different (Deary and Warren, 2019). Rewilding is not just conservation, in the same way that preservation is not just conservation. Rewilding starts from a different place. In this, it is far more similar to restoration or recovery. All three start off from a position of creativity.

### 5.3 – So it's Restoration after all? Or is it Preservation? or Recovery?

Within the extension of the present into the future though active management (conservation), an area must be understood, and known, through direct observation. Its functions must be accounted for. Every facet must be explored and understood, lest something is forgotten and drives change. Detailed

observation and understanding is essential, particularly in understanding biomes and species that rely on highly specific conditions. Without such knowledge there is nothing for conservation to aim for. Unless you first understand how something currently works, there is little chance it can be maintained. However, through the conservation view such an approach, does not allow leeway to step alongside and accept massive change, nor does it allow for radical, deliberate change. Through its commitment to wilderness, conservation is limited by the amount of human-influenced change it can produce. Restoration, recovery, and rewilding all take this knowledge and apply it differently; imaginatively.

'Imaginative realism' is a term coined by James Gurney (2009) and defined as a convincing portrayal of something that cannot be observed directly. Gurney is an artist. He is most well-known for his National Geographic illustrations, and *Dinotopia* series. Rewilding, recovery, and restoration are all deeply creative enterprises that cannot escape their imaginative component, nor should they try to. However they use this imagination in different ways. Prior and Brady's (2017) review of rewilding projects and literature highlights a particular kind of visual aesthetic appreciation common to rewilding:

*"rewilding demands of an aesthetic appreciator more flexibility and openness to change across time... the anti- or minimal interventionist objective of rewilding is at odds with the preservation of existing beauty, and is likely to lead to the emergence of difficult aesthetic experiences such as ugliness and terrible beauty."* (Prior and Brady, 2017, p.44)

This aesthetic acceptance of ugliness, autonomy, and terrible beauty is very different to restoration. Restoration shares many more analogues to conservation in its use of human control. It is a domination of non-human autonomy through human practices. Elliot and Katz's critiques are correct in identifying the radical differences between preservation and restoration. Between the two axes, restoration does not contain a commitment to wilderness (maximising the presence of the non-human) nor does it contain a commitment to wildness (maximising the autonomy of the non-human). Restoration is necessarily all about us. Rewilding therefore is not pure restoration any more than it is pure conservation.

This 'terrible beauty' is far more like preservation and recovery. Both of these have a commitment to wildness, to the autonomy of organisms. At face value, rewilding asks us to consider not only the piece - the organism, the fallen log, the decaying carcass - but how that piece fits into the greater whole, spatially and temporally (Von Essen and Allen, 2016). In rhetoric it explicitly asks us to accept non-human sovereignty, the autonomy of the wild. However, when constructing the simulacrum of reality through imaginative leaps even the most anti-interventionist rewilder starts from, and must contend with others', preconceived understandings of wildness, wilderness and nature. There is always a normative, a social, expectation of wild behaviour. Punishment for deviation from this is often imposed arbitrarily in practice (culling or relocation for example) (Shelton, 2004), even while railed against in rhetoric.

This is indeed a key area of critique for rewilding projects and a key issue in the media analysis. In the Oostvaardersplassen nature preserve, in the Netherlands, ungulate populations were to be kept in check by yearly die offs during the winter months, preventing overgrazing (Vera, 2009). This has failed to be a socially adequate solution with mass starvation in 2005 and 2017-2018 causing unrest (ICMO, 2005; Jepson, 2018). The visible malnutrition of many ungulates is a repeated topic of heated national interest with a number of protests and legal challenges, and has resulted in management changes (van Geel, 2018). Jamieson (2008) critiques the de-domestication agenda of the project through an anti-speciesist lens. He highlights the implicit function of control over nature in rewilding projects that act despite its espoused non-human goals. This is a contest over the idealised autonomy of the non-human, true

wildness, and the practicable version of autonomy often shown in reality, a constrained wildness. This creates a tension between the imagined, and the real. Rewilding often displays a desire to a return to *an* imaginary past, or to create *an* imaginary future without much consideration of the living organisms it interacts with now:

*"I am distrustful of many such projects – not because I do not love wild nature but because I am suspicious of us and our motivations... But all too often they are really directed towards what the biologist Marc Bekoff calls 'redecorating nature', and animals are the furniture that are being rearranged."* (Jamieson, 2008, p.195)

This also highlights the lack of recognition of rewilding's social consequences. This is again shown by the considerable critique of the potential loss of local culture raised in opposition to rewilding in the media analysis. While often used as a cover for maintaining current subsidies, this does not take away the very real, and important role such criticism has. It is not a mere lack of understanding, a deficit of information, that the protestors around the Oostvaardersplassen objected to, although understanding is of course important. They are comparing the projects enchantment and aesthetic values against their own and finding it disastrously lacking. Rewilding involves too much active intervention, too much imagination for rewilding to be pure preservation. Is rewilding then simply ecosystem recovery (Jepson and Blythe, 2020)?

Recovery is a return to an operating range of an ecological entity (Brock et al., 2018). It signifies a full return to a particular state, either past or novel, created by human intervention, but with a commitment to full wildness, full autonomy of individuals. And yet full autonomy is often difficult to find in rewilding projects. Rewilding's focus on functionality (Jepson, 2016; Pettorelli et al., 2018) creates a situation in which wild organisms are bound to specific duties, in specific areas, and in return gain non-interference. That is not autonomy, that is control:

*"this is the way in which rewilded animals are effectively turned into proxies for humanity, making them the agents for fulfilling the latter's moral duty to restore and heal damaged nature by tasking them with the restoration of ecosystem."* (Von Essen and Allen, 2016, p. 93)

The autonomy of individuals, particularly individuals of another species, is difficult to reconcile with the limitations we place on them, especially if we start from a functional view of the world:

*"it should not be thought, however, that they suffer from cognitive pressure in performing the tasks we give to them... Instead, our unjust treatment of them is a result of their also going beyond these human-assigned tasks to behave in ways that are genuinely wild and sovereign, pursuing their own agendas rather than ours as self-willed and autonomous."* (Von Essen & Allen, 2016, p. 93-94)

While wildness as a concept may be the stated goal for many of the largest rewilding projects, they often fail to reach truly wild animal sovereignty. Recovery is not a realistic state for many rewilding projects. A farmer, for example, who uses rewilding as a springboard to change his practices is not after a fully wild farm. They still expect and will utilise a certain level of management. All of the rewilding projects in the media analysis (Knepp, Oostvaardersplassen, the various projects in Scotland including the introduction of beavers, Yellowstone, etc) have required extensive ongoing human management to mitigate and manage wild behaviour. Rewilding is not only about pure recovery either.

## 5.4 - A Rewilding Environmental Management Model

Rewilding orients EM strategies explicitly around the non-human. It brings into sharp relief the flaws in not accepting the sociality of such strategies. It highlights the limitations of comparing options based on function alone. It challenges our notions of environmental identity. Are those who conserve, conservationists? Those who rewild, rewilders? What separates each of these words? What happens when we get to environmentalists? After all, we all live in an environment, why should we distinguish that fact? The confusion over definitions and rewilding's ability to be used for myriad ends in the media analysis demonstrates the futility of trying to force it into any individual facet of EM.

Different rewilding projects will have different requirements. There is no single right answer for all rewilding projects. Each project builds its own normative set of starting conditions, developing a contextual narrative of heritage embedded in, and often justified by, scientific research and theory. Ashworth (2005) lays out heritage as a contemporary decision to receive from pasts or bequeath to futures. In selecting any time or species a choice has been made. Heritage is about the now. It mines from imagined pasts and colonises imagined futures. It is neither sacred nor profane. Heritage is created as needed to justify a present. The imagined in rewilding is not only in the past or future, but the present. Rewilding is a choice in the now. It is a particular way of setting up EM.

Rewilding is a starting point, a commitment to values. In and of itself rewilding is a different set of environmental behaviors that will create interactions, actions, and identities of its own. However, it cannot be seen as diametrically opposed to any one particular 'other'. It requires pairing with one or more areas of EM to guide its method and justifications. Rewilding is an acknowledgement of the importance of the non-human and acceptance that efforts so far have not been adequate to check human expansion. It is the response to a change in enchantment values, not functional values. Rewilding is explained as a change to our relationship to the environment; an acceptance of the immense power and responsibility we have over our surroundings.

Rewilding is currently in a fragmented state. It has been forced back and forth from one EM vision to another. In doing so, it has picked up issues. Not least its capacity to support the consolidation of land, resources, and wealth so clearly highlighted by the media study. As it becomes more and more institutionalised this must be understood. Within the UK, rewilding is tightly connected to the allocation of subsidies. This issue is not hidden or unknown. To ignore this is a clear and deliberate choice. This is not to say such a choice is exclusively bad. Recognition of where intrinsic value lies requires acceptance of a social and political nature. To do so asks questions that are hard to answer. Without such an acceptance there is nothing to contest and shape rewilding into something worthwhile, something that does not just exist for an elite few. It is through comparison of enchantment, how we assign and collaborate on intrinsic values, that allows us to discern what is better and what is worse. To continue viewing rewilding as method cannot deliver the change in environmental relationships it calls for.

Changing how rewilding is viewed calls for some structure to build around. The first thing to develop is an ethic of environmental intervention. What are the questions we must ask that apply to all four aspects of EM? In developing the case against the superceding of the preservation view by the restoration view Katz (2012) supports his core argument with five points. Choosing the why's, what's, and how's for any environmental project interacts with all five of these arguments. These are taken as transcendent arguments from which a rewilding EM model can be built from. Table 1 contains these five arguments as transformed into a rewilding ethic of environmental intervention.

Table 1. *Five arguments for an ethic of environmental intervention. Adapted from Katz (2012).*

1. Genesis and history of a place matters.	What happened and who created/changed a system displays values.
2. Causal genesis and history of a place matters.	How and why a system was created/changed displays values.
3. Presence of human intentionality and design matters.	There is an ontological difference between natural entities and artifacts.
4. All interventions are necessarily created for a (sometimes indirect) human purpose.	Therefore all interventions are to some degree artifactual. Total wilderness is not possible.
5. An analytical duality between the human and non-human is required to provide a criterion opposite to human interest.	There is a need for way of comparing values to decide 'wrong' and 'right' in environmental discussion. Total wildness is not possible.

Building on this ethic of intervention, Figure 6 provides a created model of EM, set between the two axes: Wilderness, or the presence of the non-human, and wildness, or the autonomy of the non-human. Each of the four key EM visions has been mapped to a quarter of the model. Rewilding, as a commitment to taking the non-human seriously, changes the ultimate outcomes of all four of these. Such a conception allows understanding of the difficultly categorising rewilding within the media discourse and leans into moving rewilding beyond ecological function. Without borrowing from and aiming for one of these four regions rewilding has no aimed for state. Each rewilding project will ultimately transition to be more and more embedded in one of these four visions. The orientation towards the non-human remains. However, the methods used and justifications for them will change. Table 2 illustrates the underlying differences in enchantment value when comparing the four strategies and rewilding within the framework. It also sketches out differences in actions leading from this.

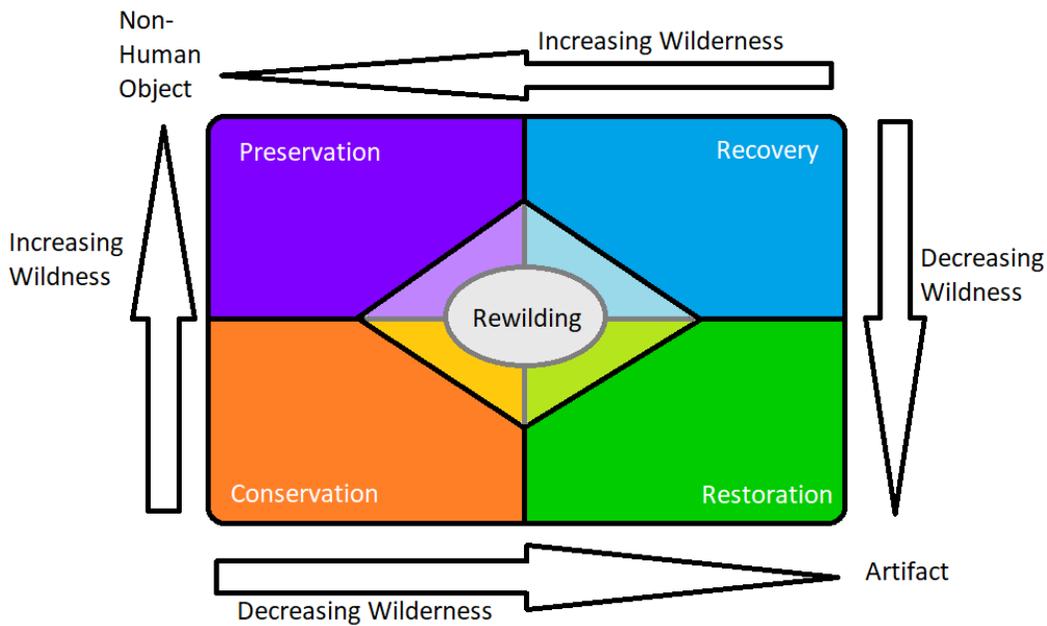


Figure 6. A framework for situating environmental management strategies around rewilding.

Table 2. A comparison between different environmental management strategies.

Environmental Management Strategy	Enchantment Value	Actions
Preservation	Emphasis on non-human autonomy and non-human presence through direct prevention of use and participation.	Avoidance of direct management and interventions outside of limiting use and access.
Recovery	Emphasis on non-human autonomy through human controlled non-human presence. Limits on use and participation.	Direct interventions to support key functions when needed. General management is weak monitoring.
Conservation	Emphasis on non-human presence through human controlled non-human autonomy. Strong limits on use and participation.	Direct interventions to support desired conditions. General management is strong monitoring and continual effort.
Restoration	Emphasis on human derived presence and controlled autonomy. Creation and maintenance of an assemblage through assisted means.	Direct management and continual intervention.
Rewilding	Emphasis on non-human environmental aspects through human initiation.	Set up of conditions, will then shift towards one of the other strategies for long-term management.

Given rewilding's explicit orientation toward the non-human, and its highly contested aesthetic values, organism welfare in rewilding projects must be the next priority. As mentioned earlier, Oostvaardersplassen has had issues regarding this, as has Yellowstone and its wolves, and the reintroduction of beavers in Scotland. Without taking such concerns seriously, rewilding cannot be considered as integrated into EM. Von Essen and Allen (2016) suggest two ways rewilding can address the need to distinguish between more wild and more artifactual uses of organisms. The first is to fully legitimise the sovereignty of introduced animals. Decisions over interventions, such as culling, must be defended in a public deliberative process, taking place only where a sovereign is directly infringing on a legally defensible human issue. To a limited degree this is the route taken by the response to the 'unofficial' beaver population on the Tayside in Scotland (Ward and Prior, 2020), through the introduction of management guidelines, and requirements for lethal control licences. Their second suggestion is for increased responsibility over introduced animals. A designation, in projects that do not aim for a preservation goal, to an alternate political status within the *Zoopolis* (Donaldson and Kymlicka, 2011). A sketch for how such projects may wish to classify organisms is shown in appendix 9.4.5.

A third issue is deciding where current categorisation of different aspects of rewilding fit into the rewilding EM model. A detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this work; however, many current adaptations of rewilding fit directly into this framework. Seddon et al.'s (2014) translocation spectrum (Figure 5.) can be placed on the line between pure conservation and rewilding. It can be used to inform users where one is more appropriate than the other. Likewise Nogués-Bravo et al.'s (2016) classification of rewilding projects at the functional level can be mapped to the framework, along with some key expectations of that type of project. This can be seen in Table 3. These specific types of rewilding are by no means the only types of rewilding that occur. As rewilding moves more and more into urban areas, increased attention will likely be given to the restoration quadrant in particular.

Table 3. An orientation of Nogués-Bravo et al.'s (2016) classification of rewilding projects mapped to the rewilding environmental management framework.

<b>Trophic Rewilding</b>	Cores, corridors and carnivores. Large scale wilderness recovery though reintroduction of large predators.	Recovery
<b>Pleistocene Rewilding</b>	Recovery of ecological function through conspecifics of long extinct (10-15k years ago) species.	Recovery
<b>Translocation Rewilding</b>	Conservation of ecological function through reintroduction of recently extinct species.	Conservation
<b>Passive Rewilding</b>	Massive reduction – total abandonment of human use and specific management of an area.	Preservation

## 6.0 - Conclusion

This research has presented an analysis of a media dataset from two UK based sources: The Guardian, and MailOnline. It used these to analyse the dominant narratives in rewilding media discourse using a critical discourse analysis approach. This discourse acts as a proxy for information that is either widely believed or wishes to be. It is therefore assumed that, in the media discourse, repeated themes are key to understanding the complex question of 'what' rewilding is. The analysis highlighted the deeply rooted question of wealth, landownership, and inequality that rewilding has failed to address. In order to illustrate this issue, it developed a model of enchantment, aesthetics, and function that demonstrates the sociality and politicality in rewilding's construction. This also raised the need for rewilding to move beyond definitions based on ecological function and to recognise that rewilding is not only about the non-human, but about human relationships with the non-human. Rewilding was compared to the four visions of EM in which it has previously been included (preservation, conservation, restoration, recovery), and found to be both like and unlike all four. To solve this issue of categorisation it introduced a new model of rewilding EM set between two axes: wilderness, or the presence of the non-human; and wildness, or the autonomy of the non-human. It also introduced an ethic of intervention, five statements that help EM understand their social and political underpinnings. This ethic of intervention aims to help guide and structure arguments over intervention in environments. Through this, it seeks to allow recognition that EM is responsible for curbing our own activities, through a social and political process. This is not a light responsibility. It introduced a proposed framework for identifying different levels of required animal care for projects within each of the four EM visions and, as a form of project initiation, rewilding. Finally it tested the created rewilding EM framework against two current categorisations and methods for rewilding and placed them within the framework.

In constructing a set of media narratives through this study, I have developed my own set of embedded ethics. I am, just like everybody, impacted by my own biases and pre-conceptions of nature. I am also directly involved in comparing and transferring narratives from academia to general use and back again, as such I am both inseparable from this work and, in however small a way, responsible for giving rewilding specific meaning(s). However, this research is an incomplete story. It is a brief look at repeated patterns within a tiny subset of media. This work, as well as the analysed texts, have been recontextualised, reorganised, and transformed, through and by me. The conclusions of such a media study cannot inform us of what readers felt, if they acted on these ideas, or if they paid the narrative any thought beyond reading the article. This research has not explored whether these patterns are mirrored in governmental, academic, or other social discourse, nor how they are transferred between them. Any conclusions drawn beyond this limited analysis are, at best, imaginative. In line with Bhaskar's critical naturalism (1998) this set of narratives, ethics, and concepts must not be seen as predictive. They should be judged on their exploratory and explanatory power. Should any narratives be explained better, differently, or more elegantly than they must supercede any written here. Likewise, should the introduced frameworks fail in practice or not be useable for analysis, they must be replaced.

Rewilding questions environmental managements' fundamental values. It is already changing practices by guiding and structuring action. How it does so will continue to change as it is reproduced and transformed. Rewilding is the product of, as well as structuring agent for a change in relationship between the human, the non-human, and their environments. It asks us to look at our daily practices, not only out 'there', in some imagined far of place, full of flora and fauna, but 'here' in the everyday. Jørgensen (2015) is absolutely right that rewilding is about recognition of, action in, and transformation

of, mixed human/non-human spaces, but *it* does not do that, *we* are doing that. To accept rewilding as it is, requires acceptance of a social and political nature along with all that entails. Rewilding cannot escape from the messy world of politics, power, and privilege, nor should it try to do so.

Rewilding's media presentation implicitly asks us to accept a new overlord of conservation, one based on ecological function first. The MailOnline encourages a light touch when disrupting the status quo. As long as the social and, by extension, the economic, is maintained, it is highly flexible with the form EM takes. This is not meant as a judgement, it is neither wholly good nor wholly bad. The Guardian, on the other hand focuses on what *a* conception of rewilding is trying to achieve, often at the expense of how and by whom it is achieved. Once again, this is not entirely positive or negative.

However, these different focuses interact, not only with each other, but with wider contextual changes, including shifts in both government and academia. This ultimately pushes rewilding back to being led by a singular conception of nature. In presenting rewilding as based on function, we are left with an inexorable split between the saved and the sinners, only no one can decide who is who. A focus on function-as-first removes the ability to recognise the sociality of nature, and its deeply political, value laden underpinnings. This leaves all sides holding onto apparently unassailable, but imaginary positions. Rewilding becomes just another method of EM, but rather than try to extend the present, it tells us we should embrace the future through the past. A 're-mantic' method. This rose-tinted retrospective has long been a foundational position for much of environmentalism, and is not likely to be overcome any time soon:

*"We need only to remember, reconnect, and rewild: to remember what nature can be; reconnect to it as something meaningful in our lives; and start to remake a wilder world."* (MacKinnon, 2013, p.146)

Rewilding's alignment with personal transformative action has made it appealing, so far mostly outside of the mainstream conservation industry. As it is increasingly recognised, and institutionalised it exists in a dangerous state. EM, and in particular conservation, involves large amounts of land, money, and power. Again, this is not exclusively a good or bad thing. However, conservation can no longer be the only, or even primary, form of EM. It must recognise its flaws and limitations. Nor can it, as an industry, remain so closed to recognising, and changing its own position. The wholesale destruction of the environment is suicidally short sighted, but so is continuing to build environmental management as an 'other' to everyday practice. Environmental management is the core of human action. We must be the ones to limit ourselves.

## 7.0 - Epilogue

I am unashamedly predisposed to like rewilding and its different approach.

We have quite clearly managed to create a rather extensive mess of things. Wherever you look, whatever stone you flip-over, things seem to be both figuratively and literally on fire. There is an immense theme of optimism or, as I have used it here, 'imaginative realism' in rewilding. It asks us to consider doing things differently, to make a change, to... well... here it seems to run out of steam.

In doing this project I find myself inextricably torn. This dissertation covers a tiny fraction of a tiny fraction. There is so much granularity and depth to such a changing subject, I suspect one could live an entire life plumbing its depths and never come close to touching stone. However, rewilding, like ecology itself, seems caught on a fulcrum. It has found itself the vanguard of a fight it was quite unprepared for.

Kingland (1994) describes the history of ecology as a school of thought founded as much in ethics, philosophy, and politics as empirical science. She writes: "*It is the way we impose order on the world, an order that helps us to understand our place and role in nature as well.*" (p.353) In much of its practice, ecology displays a view of the world in which it alone is capable of peeling back the curtain of mystery. Though it may be different in tone and rhetoric to many other, more active, sciences emphasising listening, connecting, enchanting; it maintains a connection to hidden knowledge that makes that knowledge the world. We must listen carefully; we must connect to nature and heed what it tells us.

Despite my chopping and changing of subjects and fields, at my core I feel I am an ecologist. But if I am that, I am likely a poor one. Ecology seeks to view biology in totality, as holistic, at the full scale of the object of study and its environment, and yet it seems doomed to always fail to reach this. Ecology seems to have stumbled upon<sup>13</sup> the framework of an age: systems thinking. It has either been swept up into or have been a forerunner of innumerable theories and frameworks. I started with zoology, then ecology, then geographies of development, then planning, and yet in all of them varying degrees of systems thinking.

Systems. Open, closed, hybrid, it doesn't seem to matter. There is a chink in systems armour. Even the more avant-garde of methodologies and descriptions of science: assemblage, actor-network, complexity et al. seem to be unable to bear the weight of expectation placed on them. Systems struggles with the enormity of its topic. Holistic. The word itself cannot disguise the lie within. How can one word contain the world? "*Concerned with whole rather than analysis or separation into parts.*" Such a grand idea, and yet it falls so radically short. No work deals with a single fraction of a whole; to even consider doing so is an exercise, not only of utter futility, but extraordinary arrogance. Rewilding, growing out of such a conception, carries with it many of systems' issues.

Rewilding, ecology, planning et al. seem to display an alarming lack of recognition of their own values and beliefs, often wrapped up in a bundle of 'science words' like invasive, ecosystem, functionality, keystone, apex. Once again this is not a new critique, Latour's *We have never been modern* (1991) sums it up quite nicely. I have moved, in total surprise to myself, into Katz's *The case against restoration* (2012) corner. I have developed a deep and overwhelming sense of dread that rewilding is not a change we will come to pine for. This is not to imply total rejection of such a concept; it is needed, wanted and hugely important. Nor is it to imply that we should only value the positive and ignore the negative or absent. In many ways the lack of such an acceptance is the critical issue here. The negative and the absent is buried. Squirrelled away behind self-evident fact and objective research.

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<sup>13</sup> Or been built by? Or perhaps more realistically emerged from, reproducing and transforming as it goes along.

Rewilding in its discourse displays much of the very worst of the now. Its stories are often resplendent with suddenly conscientious billionaires, individual brilliance, radical breaks, ceaseless momentum, the consolidation of enormous resources and land, growing ever larger and stronger in scale and ambition. It is presented as *the* new way we must impose order on the world. A radical new wave of optimistic fiddling. It has been in its reactionary seat for so long, had so many hopes, dreams, and ideas pushed into it, now it's in the driving seat it seems to have no idea where to turn. And so, it veers from one practice to another, swerving all over the road.

The 'rewilding side' pushes for communicative, consensus-based action while retaining a moralistic superiority for themselves and their science-backed plans. "Communicative consensus, yes please, just as long as we get our way and feel good about ourselves at the same time". The 'anti-rewilding conservation side' condemns rewilding as too artifactual or a waste of money that could be better spent elsewhere, once again retaining the science-backed moral high ground for themselves. In effect, "we are the true scientists, uncovering the secrets of nature; you and your imagination go too far". The 'other' lobby, seemingly composed of people "doing quite well enough without all this change thank you very much", fire off any number of complaints over food, productive land, cultural heritage, economic unfeasibility, rewilding's untested-ness, and its capacity to radically change, all while once again retaining the moral, science-backed, high ground.

I was, and still am, hesitant to join Pörksen's (1995) plastic word bandwagon, although my use of it might imply otherwise. I am not willing to decry some state of language as a metaphor for a totalising notion of societal degradation as he does. This is ultimately an expression that the future is uncompromisingly bleak and irredeemably worse than the past. I do not think such a conception accurate or helpful. I do however find a value, and indeed values, in plastic words. Exploring what they mean, and to whom, is an interesting proposition. Regardless of what rewilding actually means to you or me, the word is moving into the mainstream. This changing of meaning, and broader acceptance is not what worries me.

Overt values seem to get riddled with condescension from all sides; yet they are simultaneously the only way I can see of explaining definitions of, and reactions to, rewilding. Values are held to with the most vice like of grips, but always concealed lest they be attacked and found wanting. "We should do this" says everyone, "the science tells us to".

If the resulting consequences weren't so serious it would almost be comical. Everywhere locked in a standoff while those with the land and the money make out like bandits. Three hills of superiority resting on mountains of funding, land, and culture; sending forth papers, reports, and news flashes to do battle for the mind of the apparently uninitiated, uneducated, and unwashed masses. In writing such words I reserve the final, and most superior hill of all. As if I am looking down from some enlightened mountaintop, casting judgement from on high, over issues I cannot fathom, nor have experienced.

All I can say for sure is that rewilding is intimately, inextricably tied, not only to ecology but our perceptions of science and sociality. In its endeavour to remain wedded to a value-free view of science it is perpetuating histories of the haves and have-nots; creating and maintaining winners and losers; papering over the cracks in the ceiling just to keep the house standing a little while longer.

Rewilding is a set of practices developed out of a set of values, just like everything else. Whether they are the *right* ones? That remains to be seen.

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## 9.0 - Appendices

### 9.1 - A study of plastic words using Pörksen's (1995) original criteria: Rewilding, Conservation, Preservation

Criterion	Rewilding	Conservation	Preservation
<b>Origin and usage</b>			
The speaker lacks the power of definition; the words do not acquire meaning or nuance from their contexts.	Any nuance is obliterated by the focus on Re (A past), wild (a goal), and ing (doing in the present).	Hugely broad definition, impossible to pin down 'what' it is specifically outside of generalised 'managed maintenance of a state'.	Does acquire some additional meaning in context but only to suggest stopping the loss/change of a specific thing.
As "context-autonomous" words that do not depend on their connections, they superficially resemble the terms of science, but lack the precisely defined meanings of such terms, and their freedom from associations. The use of the same word inside and outside science leads to the assumption of kinship, and to the words becoming independent norms. In the vernacular, these nephews of science become stereotypes.	Yes – No generalised precise meaning. Papers that use it often define how they wish to use it early on.	Yes – Conservation can be used in any context.	Has many associations coming originally from a medical term, often used in various areas to generally mean 'keep the same'.
As a rule, they originate in the vernacular, are adopted and reshaped by some brand of science, and then, like returning emigres, re-join the vernacular.	Originated in environmental advocacy, taken up by conservation biology, returned to wide use.	14 <sup>th</sup> cent. word from latin root: conservationem (a keeping, preserving, conserving). Word meaning 'preservation of existing conditions' from 15 <sup>th</sup> cent. onwards. Also used in physics e.g., Conservation of energy.	15 <sup>th</sup> cent. word 'protection from disease'. 13 <sup>th</sup> cent. French (preservation), medieval latin (preservationem). 'to guard beforehand' 'protection, act of keeping safe or sound' from late 15 <sup>th</sup> cent. onwards. Also used elsewhere e.g., preservation of [food].
They have the character of metaphors in as much as they link the heterogeneous spheres of science and everyday life. They are distinct from metaphors in that they no longer evoke any image; they do not, like other comparisons, indicate their origin.	Yes, evokes feelings of a return to something better in the future. Does not provide any specific image, will depend on an individual's presuppositions of a previous 'wild'-ness	Yes, evokes feelings of stability. That despite changes in the world a part of it can remain 'conserved'.	Yes, evokes feelings of active participation in stopping change.
This makes their capacity to alter and illuminate their objects even more powerful. The less obvious their metaphorical character, the less it is noticed, and the more effectively it works. These words become common sense, background concepts in our thinking.	Highly optimistic and future focused. Provides guidance in action via a person's presuppositions. Highly imaginative.	Capacity to alter is phenomenal, as long as something has changed. Provides a semi-static base line and set of ethics to judge consequences by. Very weak action in areas without natural 'heritage' to visibly conserve, cannot deal with issues of assured future change.	Huge capacity to spur action, but only to prevent change. Often (correctly) predictive in assumptions that a change should be stopped.
<b>Scope</b>			
The words surface in countless contexts. Their application is limited hardly at all by space or time.	Yes	Yes	Yes

<p>They squeeze out and replace a wealth of synonyms. Synonyms after all are not words whose meaning is the same but whose meaning is similar, words with as many delicate differences and shadings as there are contexts. Before plastic words one knew which synonym belonged in which factual or social context. Now there is a "jack of all trades," a word that serves the whole world.</p>	<p>Yes (this list could be very long a few context specific ones are given) Use in homes – Gardening. Use in urban – Landscaping. Use in farms – Farming, Cultivation, Abandonment.</p>	<p>Yes – conservation now envelops and subsumes all environmental management efforts (often including rewilding).</p>	<p>Yes Maintenance Stewardship Protection Conservation – often used as a shorthand for preservation</p>
<p>They squeeze out and replace the <i>verbum proprium</i>, which precisely "fits" in a given context, with a nonspecific word.</p>	<p>We planted meadow flowers -&gt; We have rewilded [the garden] We have introduced beavers -&gt; We have rewilded [the farm]</p>	<p>We have raised funds for buying land -&gt; We have raised funds for conservation. We have raised funds for culling -&gt; We have raised funds for conservation.</p>	<p>We have limited access to this area -&gt; we are preserving the area. We have painted the wood -&gt; we have preserved the wood</p>
<p>They fill silences and replace indirect ways of speaking, exposing delicacy and tact to the action of stereotyped generalities.</p>	<p>Yes – However I have taken this to mean that the words stand in for phrases through which meaning is delivered though innuendo or vague suggestion rather than as a bold proposition. The focus then becomes the perceived connotations a content of the plastic word rather than the indirect speech. I am not sure this is 'exposing delicacy and tact' which provides a very rosy view of indirect speech. It is a different form of indirect speech that generalises specifics rather than avoid them.</p>		
<p><b>Context</b></p>			
<p>When we seek to grasp the meaning of the words, through their content rather than their sphere of influence, it comes down to a single characteristic. They manifest the logical law of the inverse proportionality of extension and intention: the broader the application, the smaller the content; the poorer the content, the larger the application. They are words that reduce a gigantic area to a common denominator. They put forward a universal claim, with a reduced and impoverished content.</p>	<p>To actively change.  We are going to rewild Europe. Massive spatial scale, commitment to a general philosophy and vague methodology  We are going to rewild our garden. Highly specific scale replaces 'we are going to do X differently', implies connection to a specific vision of reality.</p>	<p>To actively maintain.  We are going to conserve the Amazon rainforest. Massive spatial scale, commitment to a general philosophy and vague methodology.  We are going to conserve that tree. Highly specific scale replaces 'don't cut down that tree', implies connection to that tree's greater importance than another.</p>	<p>To not act in.  We are going to preserve the countryside. Massive spatial scale, compresses all context, commitment to limit change.  We are going to preserve this house. Highly specific scale reduces available actions down to ones that do not change a decided intrinsic value. Implies houses greater connection to some other factor.</p>
<p>In other words, the object spoken about, the referent, is not easy to grasp; the words are poor in substance, if not altogether without substance.</p>	<p>We are going to rewild this area.  When, why, what is it like now, by doing what, etc.</p>	<p>We are going to conserve this area.  When, why, what is it like now, by doing what, etc.</p>	<p>We are going to preserve this area.  When, why, what is it like now, by doing what, etc.</p>
<p>They seem to resemble the concepts of postclassical physics: purely imaginary, meaningless, self-referential, and functioning only as stackable poker chips. Is language being undermined in parallel with the use of these poker chips in the thought structures of mathematics and physics?</p>	<p>In this question I have assumed the intended criticism is one of a reductive, positivistic conception of science as a whole, and while a bit hyperbolic it none the less retains its critical capacity. I disagree with the implication that this is a solely negative, or a recent thing. If we approach such terms as having no singular, specific meaning, then yes. That does not make them meaningless. If we approach them as ethically unloaded, then yes. That does not make their only function the undermining of thought. If we approach them as totalising, presenting the whole world in a word, then yes. That does not make their only function to collapse the world to a word.</p>		
<p><b>History as nature</b></p>			
<p>The words lack a historical dimension; they are embedded in no particular time or place. In that sense they are shallow; they are new and they don't taste of anything.</p>	<p>Embedded in the past only as a method of guiding selection. Generalised perception that wild is better state of affairs than the present circumstance.</p>	<p>Very old word, that has a timeless meaning. Rooted in the eternal present, that the way things are now must be maintained into the future while allowing use.</p>	<p>Very old word, that has a timeless meaning. Rooted in the eternal present. Mediated through no use rather than managed use.</p>
<p>They reinterpret history as nature and transform it into a laboratory.</p>	<p>The future is undecided. The experimentation is in setting up initial conditions.</p>	<p>The state that is selected for conservation is held up as the 'ideal'. Every action must get back to or maintain that ideal. Management methods (experiments) are tested against this.</p>	<p>The laboratory of nature has culminated in the present, 'we' should not touch it.</p>

They dispense with questions of good and evil and cause them to disappear.	Yes – generalised feeling that the present is bad and we must change it.	Yes – generalised feeling that change outside of the baseline is bad.	Yes – generalised feeling that all change though human action is bad.
<b>Power of connotation and function</b>			
Connotation dominates, spreading out in expanding waves. In place of the power of denotation, they provide an experience of counterfeit enlightenment.	Yes – that humans can choose to get back to something better.	Yes – that humans can manage use and non-use of the environment.	Yes – that people can have a deeply negative impact on their surroundings.
Their connotation is positive; they formulate a property or deliver the illusion of an insight.	Yes – ‘nature changes and can take care of itself once we give it the right tools’.	Yes – ‘we are the stewards of nature and must protect it against ourselves/change’.	Yes – ‘nature knows what’s best we just need to listen to it and not act’.
In their usage the <i>function</i> of the discourse dominates, not its <i>content</i> . These words are more like an instrument of subjugation than like a tool of freedom.	Yes – Aligns users with a sense of narrative purpose, makes humans the central character choosing to give up power over the non-human.	Yes – Presented as an eternal fight against an ‘other’ that seeks to destroy though overuse.	Yes - Presented as a bastion against the endless horrors of humanity though total exclusion.
<b>General function</b>			
By means of their limitless generality they give the impression of filling a gap and of satisfying a need that had not previously existed. In other words, they awaken a need. They reduce all domains to a common denominator and sound an imperative and futuristic note. The words seem to demand that these domains adjust themselves to the words and not vice versa. They draw attention to deficits. Their asocial and ahistorical naturalness reinforces this demand.	Yes – Targets its own highlighted need for an imaginative, optimistic, change focused methodology.	Yes – Creates a conception of self as good and acts as an all-encompassing ‘other’ to generalised human derived environmental abuse.	Yes – Create a requirement for an area with a lack of human derived change. Create a sense of stability, certainly, and powerful themes of the eternity of nature.
Their powerful aura of associations demands action.	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Yes – associations with constrained presents, ‘wilder’ pasts, and optimistic futures.	Yes – association with countering uncertainty and preventing human derived destruction.	Yes – associations with stability and the non-human demand attention, particularly in times of great human change or social upheaval.
Their many-sided generality brings about consensus.	Yes – Many sidedness can bring about consensus among very different methodologies. Generalised internal consensus however comes at the cost of developing a strong reaction.	Yes – Strong capability to force consensus. Works at a range of levels from the individual right up to international.	Yes – Strong ability to force consensus. Consensus however is highly focused on preventing use by substituting in a generalised stability and a connection to something larger than the individual.
<b>Social and economic usefulness</b>			
Their use distinguishes the speaker from the unremarkable world of the everyday and raises his social prestige; they serve him as rungs on the social ladder.	Yes – cast as a novel and progressive movement, going beyond conservation and into a stylised new world.	Yes – cast as more receptive to ‘the environment’, directly in opposition to anthropocentric worldviews while itself being utterly anthropocentric.	Yes – cast as bastion of stability beset on all sides by rapid and uneven change.
They carry the authority of science into the vernacular: they enforce silence. (in the gdr marxist-leninist science was already monumentalized by being the explicit foundation of the state structure. In the federal republic the scientific vocabulary pushed itself into a comparable position as an instrument for awakening economic needs.)	Yes – large amounts of its authority derives either directly or tangentially to scientific disciplines. With focus on abstract commitments and opaque ethics it avoids issues of implementation and methodology.	Yes – large amounts of its authority derives either directly or tangentially to scientific disciplines. With focus on abstract commitments and opaque ethics it avoids issues of implementation and methodology.	Yes – preservation is not a new ideal. Plato explaining change through difference and the creation of the ideal types is preservation. It also has a huge amount of necessity in it, the precautionary principle often called for is a weak form of preservation.
These words form a bridge to the world of experts. Their content is actually no more than a white spot, but they transmit the "aura" of another world, in which one can obtain information about them. They anchor, in the vernacular, the need for experts. They are pregnant with money. They command resources, and, in the hands of experts, become resources.	Yes – connects to a huge array of differing expertise. In transition much of this is assumed expertise. Often anti-expertise in portrayal, but implicitly requires significant justification and knowledge for initial set up to be successful.	Yes – A massive, expert driven industry in its own right.	Yes – But now subsumed into conservation.

<p>They can be freely combined, and they are eager to increase themselves through derivation and the creation of compounds. This modular capacity makes them an ideal instrument in the hands of experts interested in the speedy manufacture of models of reality.</p>	<p>Links to use of [re]word. Not limited to rewilding. Rewilding itself does not seem to have many derivative compound words but is compounded in meaning.</p> <p>Development of a rewilded network of conservation areas. Rewilding the relationship to progress. Production of rewilded human relations software.</p>	<p>Harder to compound than say, social-ecological, or technodevelopmental. However, conservation's combination potential may not be in its combining with other words, but in combining concepts.</p> <p>Conservation of basic needs. Conservation for education of consumption. Raw materials for the service of the future through conservation.</p>	<p>Similar to the previous two, harder to compound directly, but modular in use.</p> <p>Preservation of the technodevelopmental ethic. Development of internal preservation mechanisms.</p>
<p><b>Time and place of dissemination</b></p>			
<p>Their scientifically authorized objectivity and universality make the older words of the vernacular appear ideological. A word like "communication" makes alternatives - conversation, discussion, gossip - suddenly appear out of date.</p>	<p>Yes Gardening &amp; Conservation (etc.) appear both anthropocentric and static rather than dynamic and focused on the non-human.</p>	<p>Conservation has been around for such a long time in the vernacular it is itself subject to appearing ideological. However, conservation has subsumed almost every form of environmental management under its banner. It becomes an ideological gatekeeper for methods.</p>	<p>Preservation has been around for such a long time like conservation it itself appears ideological. Has been subsumed under the conservation banner.</p>
<p>The words appear as a new type. In recent history such newcomers have evidently been introduced in each epoch. The type in vogue in the 1930s is not the type in vogue in the 1990s.</p>	<p>Cast as an alternative to conservation. Changes from [post]-Word, to [re]-word. Retains connection to past, but is explicitly future oriented.</p>	<p>Conservation has been around so long; it has a history all of its own. It requires periodic re-invention to remain relevant.</p>	<p>Preservation has been around so long; it has a history all of its own. It requires periodic re-invention to remain relevant.</p>
<p>This vocabulary, even if it appears at slightly different times indifferent places, is international.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>
<p><b>Connection to making oneself understood without words</b></p>			
<p>The words cannot be made clearer by tone of voice, pantomime, or gesture, and cannot be replaced by these.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>

## 9.2 – Dataset with article number

Article no.	Source	Title	Date	URL	Author	Original publisher
1	Guardian	'It is strange to see the British struggling with the beaver': why is rewilding so controversial?	Mon 3 Jul 2017	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/jul/01/rewilding-conservation-ecology-national-trust">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/jul/01/rewilding-conservation-ecology-national-trust</a>	Barkham, P	The Observer
2	Guardian	Rewilding made simple, an animated guide - video	Thu 30 May 2013	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/blog/video/2013/may/30/rewilding-animation-george-monbiot-video">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/blog/video/2013/may/30/rewilding-animation-george-monbiot-video</a>	Monbiot, G; Hill, M; Boyd, P;	Guardian
3	Guardian	A rewilding triumph: wolves help to reverse Yellowstone degradation	Sat 25 Jan 2020	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/jan/25/yellowstone-wolf-project-25th-anniversary">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/jan/25/yellowstone-wolf-project-25th-anniversary</a>	Randall, C	Guardian
4	Guardian	Dutch rewilding experiment sparks backlash as thousands of animals starve	Fri 27 Apr 2018	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/apr/27/dutch-rewilding-experiment-backfires-as-thousands-of-animals-starve">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/apr/27/dutch-rewilding-experiment-backfires-as-thousands-of-animals-starve</a>	Barkham, P	The Observer
5	Guardian	Rewilding will make Britain a rainforest nation again	Wed 25 Sep 2019	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/sep/25/rewilding-britains-rainforest-planting-trees">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/sep/25/rewilding-britains-rainforest-planting-trees</a>	Monbiot, G	Guardian
6	Guardian	Rewild a quarter of UK to fight climate crisis, campaigners urge	Tue 21 May 2019	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/may/21/rewild-quarter-uk-fight-climate-crisis-campaigners-urge">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/may/21/rewild-quarter-uk-fight-climate-crisis-campaigners-urge</a>	Carrington, D	Guardian
7	Guardian	Rewild to mitigate the climate crisis, urge leading scientists	Wed 14 Oct 2020	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/oct/14/re-wild-to-mitigate-the-climate-crisis-urge-leading-scientists">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/oct/14/re-wild-to-mitigate-the-climate-crisis-urge-leading-scientists</a>	Harvey, F	Guardian
8	Guardian	UK nature projects to be celebrated on World Rewilding Day	Fri 19 Mar 2021	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2021/mar/19/uk-nature-projects-to-be-celebrated-on-global-rewilding-day">https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2021/mar/19/uk-nature-projects-to-be-celebrated-on-global-rewilding-day</a>	Parkes, L	Guardian
9	Guardian	Rewilding our cities: beauty, biodiversity and the biophilic cities movement	Sun 4 Apr 2021	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/apr/05/re-wilding-our-cities-beauty-biodiversity-and-the-biophilic-cities-movement">https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/apr/05/re-wilding-our-cities-beauty-biodiversity-and-the-biophilic-cities-movement</a>	Sturgeon, A	Guardian
10	Guardian	My manifesto for rewilding the world	Mon 27 May 2013	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/27/my-manifesto-rewilding-world">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/27/my-manifesto-rewilding-world</a>	Monbiot, G	Guardian
11	Guardian	New rewilding project teaches tour guides to offer fresh look at travel	Fri 22 Jan 2021	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2021/jan/22/new-rewilding-project-teaches-tour-guides-to-offer-fresh-look-at-travel">https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2021/jan/22/new-rewilding-project-teaches-tour-guides-to-offer-fresh-look-at-travel</a>	Yeo, S	Guardian
12	Guardian	Rewilding success stories	Sun 3 Jun 2018	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/jun/03/rewilding-conservation-bison-wolves-beaver-giant-tortoise-tigers">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/jun/03/rewilding-conservation-bison-wolves-beaver-giant-tortoise-tigers</a>	Lewis, S	Guardian
13	Guardian	How to rewild your garden: ditch chemicals and decorate the concrete	Wed 30 May 2018	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/may/30/how-to-rewild-your-garden-ditch-chemicals-and-decorate-the-concrete">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/may/30/how-to-rewild-your-garden-ditch-chemicals-and-decorate-the-concrete</a>	Barkham, P	Guardian

14	Guardian	From rewilding to forest schools, our attitude to nature is changing for the better	Sat 21 Nov 2020	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/nov/21/rewilding-forest-schools-nature-uk-habitats">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/nov/21/rewilding-forest-schools-nature-uk-habitats</a>	Harrison, M	Guardian
15	Guardian	From dolphins to rewilding: 11 environment-friendly holidays for 2021	Sun 17 Jan 2021	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2021/jan/17/dolphins-to-rewilding-11-environment-aware-holidays-2021">https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2021/jan/17/dolphins-to-rewilding-11-environment-aware-holidays-2021</a>	Dunford, J	Guardian
16	Guardian	There is an antidote to demagoguery – it’s called political rewilding	Wed 18 Dec 2019	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/dec/18/demagogues-power-rewilding-party-trust-power-government">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/dec/18/demagogues-power-rewilding-party-trust-power-government</a>	Monbiot, G	Guardian
17	Guardian	Restore UK woodland by letting trees plant themselves, says report	Tue 15 Dec 2020	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/dec/15/restore-uk-woodland-trees-report-rewilding-britain">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/dec/15/restore-uk-woodland-trees-report-rewilding-britain</a>	Barkham, P	Guardian
18	Guardian	Pioneering rewilding project faces ‘catastrophe’ from plan for new houses	Sun 21 Mar 2021	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/mar/21/pioneering-rewilding-project-faces-catastrophe-from-plan-for-new-houses">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/mar/21/pioneering-rewilding-project-faces-catastrophe-from-plan-for-new-houses</a>	Ferguson, D	The Observer
19	Guardian	Let’s make Britain wild again and find ourselves in nature	Thu 16 Jul 2015	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/16/britain-wild-nature-rewilding-ecosystems-heal-lives">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/16/britain-wild-nature-rewilding-ecosystems-heal-lives</a>	Monbiot, G	Guardian
20	Guardian	The Guardian view on rewilding Scotland: an immodest proposal	Thu 21 Mar 2019	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/mar/21/the-guardian-view-on-rewilding-scotland-an-immodest-proposal">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/mar/21/the-guardian-view-on-rewilding-scotland-an-immodest-proposal</a>	Editorial	Guardian
21	Guardian	Rewilding Britain: bringing wolves, bears and beavers back to the land	Fri 19 Sep 2014	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2014/sep/19/-sp-rewilding-large-species-britain-wolves-bears">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2014/sep/19/-sp-rewilding-large-species-britain-wolves-bears</a>	Vaughan, A	The Observer
22	Guardian	Ice baths and deep breaths: How ‘rewilding’ myself left me feeling superhuman	Tue 10 Dec 2019	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2019/dec/10/ice-baths-and-deep-breaths-how-rewilding-myself-left-me-feeling-superhuman">https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2019/dec/10/ice-baths-and-deep-breaths-how-rewilding-myself-left-me-feeling-superhuman</a>	Samadder, R	Guardian
23	Guardian	Rewilding: How Trees for Life are renewing the Highlands	Sat 14 Dec 2019	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/dec/14/rewilding-how-trees-for-life-are-renewing-the-highlands">https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/dec/14/rewilding-how-trees-for-life-are-renewing-the-highlands</a>	Barkham, P	Guardian & Observer charity appeal 2019
24	Guardian	I’m sorry if rewilding hurts farmers, but we need it	Sat 3 Sep 2016	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/03/rewilding-countryside-national-trust">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/03/rewilding-countryside-national-trust</a>	Cohen, N	Guardian
25	Guardian	Make way for the lynx and the bear as ‘rewilding’ projects gather pace across Britain	Sun 3 May 2015	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/may/03/lynx-rewilding-britain-wildlife-countryside">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/may/03/lynx-rewilding-britain-wildlife-countryside</a>	McVeigh, T	The Observer
26	Guardian	The word-hoard: Robert Macfarlane on rewilding our language of landscape	Fri 27 Feb 2015	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/feb/27/robert-macfarlane-word-hoard-rewilding-landscape">https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/feb/27/robert-macfarlane-word-hoard-rewilding-landscape</a>	Macfarlane, R	Guardian
27	Guardian	Make rewilding the focus, not rebuilding	Sun 20 Sep 2020	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/sep/20/make-rewilding-the-focus-not-rebuilding">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/sep/20/make-rewilding-the-focus-not-rebuilding</a>	Scharf, D	Guardian

28	Guardian	Universal basic income and rewilding can meet Anthropocene demands	Tue 12 Jun 2018	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/jun/12/universal-basic-income-and-rewilding-can-meet-anthropocene-demands">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/jun/12/universal-basic-income-and-rewilding-can-meet-anthropocene-demands</a>	Lewis, S; Maslin, M	Guardian
29	Guardian	Feral: Searching for Enchantment on the Frontiers of Rewilding by George Monbiot – review	Fri 24 May 2013	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/may/24/feral-searching-enchantment-monbiot-review">https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/may/24/feral-searching-enchantment-monbiot-review</a>	Stonor Saunders, F	Guardian
30	Guardian	The end of farming?	Tue 25 Feb 2020	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/feb/25/the-end-of-farming-rewilding-intensive-agriculture-food-safety">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/feb/25/the-end-of-farming-rewilding-intensive-agriculture-food-safety</a>	de Bellaigue, C	Guardian
31	Guardian	Otters, badgers and orcas: can the pandemic help rewild Britain?	Fri 22 May 2020	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/news/audio/2020/may/22/otters-badgers-and-orca-whales-can-the-pandemic-help-rewild-britain">https://www.theguardian.com/news/audio/2020/may/22/otters-badgers-and-orca-whales-can-the-pandemic-help-rewild-britain</a>	Humphreys, R; Monbiot, G; Watson, C	Guardian
32	Guardian	Rewilding project aims to give Thames its flood plain back	Thu 27 Feb 2020	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/feb/27/rewilding-project-aims-give-thames-flood-plain-back">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/feb/27/rewilding-project-aims-give-thames-flood-plain-back</a>	Murray, J	Guardian
33	Guardian	Welsh woman declares vindication after 'guerrilla rewilding' court case	Sat 29 Feb 2020	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/29/welsh-woman-sioned-jones-found-guilty-biodiversity-sitka-spruce">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/29/welsh-woman-sioned-jones-found-guilty-biodiversity-sitka-spruce</a>	Carroll, R	Guardian
34	Guardian	Born to rewild: why now is the perfect time to make your lawn an eco-paradise	Thu 9 Apr 2020	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2020/apr/09/how-to-rewild-lawn-garden">https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2020/apr/09/how-to-rewild-lawn-garden</a>	Mayhew Bergman, M	Guardian
35	Guardian	Can the world's most ambitious rewilding project restore Patagonia's beauty?	Wed 30 May 2018	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/may/30/can-the-worlds-largest-rewilding-project-restore-patagonias-beauty">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/may/30/can-the-worlds-largest-rewilding-project-restore-patagonias-beauty</a>	Franklin, J	Guardian
36	Guardian	Tasmanian devils released into sanctuary north of Sydney in step towards 'rewilding'	Mon 5 Oct 2020	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/oct/05/tasmanian-devils-released-into-sanctuary-north-of-sydney-in-step-towards-rewilding">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/oct/05/tasmanian-devils-released-into-sanctuary-north-of-sydney-in-step-towards-rewilding</a>	Cox, L	Guardian
37	Guardian	Missing lynx: how rewilding Britain could restore its natural balance	Sun 12 Jul 2020	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/jul/12/missing-lynx-how-rewilding-britain-could-restore-its-natural-balance">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/jul/12/missing-lynx-how-rewilding-britain-could-restore-its-natural-balance</a>	Moss, S	The Observer
38	Guardian	Conservationists turn tiny New Zealand island into bold wildlife experiment	Tue 21 Apr 2015	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/radical-conservation/2015/apr/21/rotorua-new-zealand-birds-wildlife-rewilding">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/radical-conservation/2015/apr/21/rotorua-new-zealand-birds-wildlife-rewilding</a>	Hance, J	Guardian
39	Guardian	Why are Britain's conservation groups so lacking in ambition?	Fri 18 Oct 2013	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/environment/georgemonbiot/2013/oct/18/uk-carnivores-rewild-wolves-bison-conservation">https://www.theguardian.com/environment/georgemonbiot/2013/oct/18/uk-carnivores-rewild-wolves-bison-conservation</a>	Monbiot, G	Guardian
40	Guardian	Danish billionaires plan to rewild large swath of Scottish Highlands	Thu 21 Mar 2019	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/21/danish-billionaires-anders-and-anne-holch-povlsen-say-plan-is-to-restore-scottish-highlands">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/21/danish-billionaires-anders-and-anne-holch-povlsen-say-plan-is-to-restore-scottish-highlands</a>	Carrell, S	Guardian
41	Daily Mail	WHAT IS REWILDING?	06-Sep-19	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/fb-7435541/WHAT-REWILDING.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/fb-7435541/WHAT-REWILDING.html</a>	MailOnline	Mail

42	Daily Mail	Dettori delight as Rewilding takes the Dubai Sheema Classic	26-Mar-11	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/racing/article-1370251/Dettori-delight-Rewilding-takes-Dubai-Sheema-Classic.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/racing/article-1370251/Dettori-delight-Rewilding-takes-Dubai-Sheema-Classic.html</a>	Sportsmail reporter	Mail
43	Daily Mail	'Rewilding:' One California man's mission to save honey bees	24-Oct-19	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-7609041/Rewilding-One-California-mans-mission-save-honey-bees.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-7609041/Rewilding-One-California-mans-mission-save-honey-bees.html</a>	Ross	Reuters
44	Daily Mail	Follow Frankie Dettori and bank on Rewilding for the St Ledger	11-Sep-10	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/racing/article-1310950/Follow-Frankie-Dettori-bank-Rewilding-St-Ledger.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/racing/article-1310950/Follow-Frankie-Dettori-bank-Rewilding-St-Ledger.html</a>	Turner, S	Mail
45	Daily Mail	Farm pioneers mixture of 'rewilding' and sustainable agriculture	17-May-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8327617/Farm-pioneers-mixture-rewilding-sustainable-agriculture.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8327617/Farm-pioneers-mixture-rewilding-sustainable-agriculture.html</a>	Press Association	Mail
46	Daily Mail	Rewilding throws his Hat into Derby ring for Dettori	24-May-10	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/racing/article-1279741/Rewilding-throws-Hat-Derby-ring-Dettori.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/racing/article-1279741/Rewilding-throws-Hat-Derby-ring-Dettori.html</a>	Townend, M	Mail
47	Daily Mail	Rewilding schemes boost jobs and volunteering while helping nature, study says	12-Mar-21	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-9353213/Rewilding-schemes-boost-jobs-volunteering-helping-nature-study-says.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-9353213/Rewilding-schemes-boost-jobs-volunteering-helping-nature-study-says.html</a>	Press Association	Mail
48	Daily Mail	Male beavers released to join females as part of 'rewilding' scheme	30-Sep-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8790443/Male-beavers-released-join-females-rewilding-scheme.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8790443/Male-beavers-released-join-females-rewilding-scheme.html</a>	Press Association	Mail
49	Daily Mail	Funds raised after Greta Thunberg protest in Bristol to create rewilding project	28-Feb-21	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-9309645/Funds-raised-Greta-Thunberg-protest-Bristol-create-rewilding-project.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-9309645/Funds-raised-Greta-Thunberg-protest-Bristol-create-rewilding-project.html</a>	Press Association	Mail
50	Daily Mail	'Rewilding' areas of land is a danger to Britain's rich habitats and puts wildflower meadows at risk of being overpowered by forests, warns charity	05-Jul-19	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-7213677/Rewilding-areas-land-danger-Britains-rich-habitats-puts-wildflower-meadows-risk.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-7213677/Rewilding-areas-land-danger-Britains-rich-habitats-puts-wildflower-meadows-risk.html</a>	Fernandez, C	Daily Mail
51	Daily Mail	Pair of golden eagles successfully rear a chick at a 'rewilding' estate in the Scottish Highlands for the first time in 40 years	13-Aug-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-8624257/Pair-golden-eagles-successfully-rear-chick-rewilding-estate.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-8624257/Pair-golden-eagles-successfully-rear-chick-rewilding-estate.html</a>	Morrison, R	MailOnline
52	Daily Mail	'Rewilding' the countryside by introducing large animals like buffalo and rhino could stop global warming and cut forest fires, new studies claims	23-Oct-18	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-6304089/Rewilding-countryside-introducing-large-animals-stop-global-warming.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-6304089/Rewilding-countryside-introducing-large-animals-stop-global-warming.html</a>	Weston, P	MailOnline
53	Daily Mail	Alice Vincent presents a beguiling bouquet in Rootbound: Rewilding A Life, her hopeful memoir of self-discovery and horticulture	29-Feb-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/event/article-8051127/Rootbound-Alice-Vincent-review-hopeful-memoir-self-discovery-horticulture.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/event/article-8051127/Rootbound-Alice-Vincent-review-hopeful-memoir-self-discovery-horticulture.html</a>	Anderson, H	MailOnline

54	Daily Mail	Environment minister Zac Goldsmith backs rewilding - as his brother Ben faces claims he released red deer and wild boar from his land in breach of rules	29-Jul-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8573861/Environment-minister-Zac-Goldsmith-backs-brother-Ben-rewilding-breached-Defra-rules.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8573861/Environment-minister-Zac-Goldsmith-backs-brother-Ben-rewilding-breached-Defra-rules.html</a>	Ellicott, C	Daily Mail
55	Daily Mail	War of the wild: How trendy metropolitan eco-zealots with close ties to Boris Johnson are set on driving out traditional farming and 'rewilding' the land	28-Feb-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8057699/How-trendy-metropolitan-eco-zealots-set-driving-farming-rewilding-land.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8057699/How-trendy-metropolitan-eco-zealots-set-driving-farming-rewilding-land.html</a>	Adams, G	Daily Mail
56	Daily Mail	Ecologist, 54, is returning his Devon farm to the Stone Age with radical rewilding scheme that includes Nazi-engineered cows and English wildcats - all to get ready for Brexit	01-Oct-19	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7525085/Ecologist-returning-Devon-farm-Stone-Age-Nazi-engineered-cows.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7525085/Ecologist-returning-Devon-farm-Stone-Age-Nazi-engineered-cows.html</a>	Martin, H	MailOnline
57	Daily Mail	Lies of the 'rewilding' toff: Defra board member Ben Goldsmith is probed by police over claims he broke rules over the release of deer and wild boar at his farm, writes GUY ADAMS (as financier admits bullsh**ing local farmers)	24-Jul-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8558127/10-11-rewilding-toff.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8558127/10-11-rewilding-toff.html</a>	Adams, G & Fernandez, C	Daily Mail
58	Daily Mail	Deer oh deer, MORE porkies from the posh Pinocchio: GUY ADAMS investigates how rewilding toff Ben Goldsmith bullied a female farmer with false threats of jail after being rumbled for lying about the deer that invaded his neighbours' land	28-Aug-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8675257/GUY-ADAMS-investigates-rewilding-toff-Ben-Goldsmith-bullied-female-farmer-false-jail-threat.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8675257/GUY-ADAMS-investigates-rewilding-toff-Ben-Goldsmith-bullied-female-farmer-false-jail-threat.html</a>	Adams, G	Daily Mail
59	Daily Mail	Danish ASOS billionaire who tore a chunk from Britain's High Street: Rise of £6.1bn tycoon, 48, who is Scotland's biggest private landowner with '200-year rewilding plan' for his 11 estates - but lost three of his four children in 2018 Sri Lanka bombings	01-Feb-21	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-9210361/The-Danish-Asos-billionaire-tore-chunk-Britains-High-Street.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-9210361/The-Danish-Asos-billionaire-tore-chunk-Britains-High-Street.html</a>	Robinson, Martin	MailOnline
60	Daily Mail	Network to help landowners 'rewild' hundreds of thousands of acres	22-Jul-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8546833/Network-help-landowners-rewild-hundreds-thousands-acres.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8546833/Network-help-landowners-rewild-hundreds-thousands-acres.html</a>	Press Association	MailOnline
61	Daily Mail	Wildlife Trusts launch £30m appeal to kickstart moves to help nature recover	28-Sep-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8779265/Wildlife-Trusts-launch-30m-appeal-kickstart-moves-help-nature-recover.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8779265/Wildlife-Trusts-launch-30m-appeal-kickstart-moves-help-nature-recover.html</a>	Press Association	MailOnline
62	Daily Mail	John Gosden fears Mahmood Al Zarooni's star turn at the St Ledger	10-Sep-10	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/racing/article-1310933/John-Gosden-fears-Mahmood-Al-Zaroonis-star-turn-St-Ledger.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/racing/article-1310933/John-Gosden-fears-Mahmood-Al-Zaroonis-star-turn-St-Ledger.html</a>	Townend, M	Daily Mail

63	Daily Mail	Lynx could roam our woods again: Experts want wild cat reintroduced after 1,300 years to help control the deer population	09-Mar-15	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2985727/Lynx-roam-woods-Experts-want-wild-cat-reintroduced-1-300-years-help-control-deer-population.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2985727/Lynx-roam-woods-Experts-want-wild-cat-reintroduced-1-300-years-help-control-deer-population.html</a>	Hull, L	Daily Mail
64	Daily Mail	Release the wolves! Strategically reintroducing predators into the wild could help reverse climate change by managing herbivore populations and promoting plant growth to absorb greenhouse gases	06-Feb-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-7971519/Strategically-reintroducing-carnivores-wild-help-reverse-climate-change.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-7971519/Strategically-reintroducing-carnivores-wild-help-reverse-climate-change.html</a>	Thomsen, M	MailOnline
65	Daily Mail	Restore natural habitats or 'face wildlife catastrophe', campaigners warn	29-Oct-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8891141/A-wildlife-catastrophe-imminent-unless-urgent-action-taken-warn-Rewilding-Britain.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8891141/A-wildlife-catastrophe-imminent-unless-urgent-action-taken-warn-Rewilding-Britain.html</a>	Leatham, X	Daily Mail
66	Daily Mail	Spectacular images of the wilds of Scotland in book that argues the benefits of them becoming even WILDER, with the country's once-colossal forests restored	04-Feb-21	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/escape/article-9210707/Book-Scotland-Rewilding-Journey-contains-amazing-images-argues-wilder-Scotland.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/escape/article-9210707/Book-Scotland-Rewilding-Journey-contains-amazing-images-argues-wilder-Scotland.html</a>	Thornhill, T	MailOnline
67	Daily Mail	Chris Packham unveils raft of proposals to save Britain's declining wildlife	19-Sep-18	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-6182849/Chris-Packham-unveils-raft-proposals-save-Britain-s-declining-wildlife.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-6182849/Chris-Packham-unveils-raft-proposals-save-Britain-s-declining-wildlife.html</a>	Press Association	MailOnline
68	Daily Mail	RICHARD LITTLEJOHN: Here come the Werewolves of London again	07-Mar-14	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2575220/RICHARD-LITTLEJOHN-Here-come-Werewolves-London-again.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2575220/RICHARD-LITTLEJOHN-Here-come-Werewolves-London-again.html</a>	Littlejohn, R	Daily Mail
69	Daily Mail	White storks are released in the wild in the hope they will breed in Britain for the first time in more than 600 years	07-Sep-19	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-7437247/White-storks-released-Britain-hope-breed-600-years.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-7437247/White-storks-released-Britain-hope-breed-600-years.html</a>	Fernandez, C	MailOnline
70	Daily Mail	Young sea eagle reintroduced into wild on the Isle of Wight takes up residence in landlocked Oxfordshire where he thinks he is a red kite	18-Jan-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7901853/Sea-eagle-reintroduced-wild-takes-residence-Oxfordshire-thinks-red-kite.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7901853/Sea-eagle-reintroduced-wild-takes-residence-Oxfordshire-thinks-red-kite.html</a>	Eckersley, P	MailOnline
71	Daily Mail	Growing petunias on the balcony healed my broken heart: Journalist takes solace in plants when her long-term relationship fails	27-Feb-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/books/article-8052913/Growing-petunias-balcony-healed-broken-heart.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/books/article-8052913/Growing-petunias-balcony-healed-broken-heart.html</a>	Craig Smith, C	Daily Mail
72	Daily Mail	Baronet's DJ son reveals plans to rewild his 750-year-old family seat Elmore Court to 'allow nature to flourish'- despite disgruntled local farmers urging him to use it for crops	26-Jan-21	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-9188169/Party-loving-aristocrat-looks-rewild-garden-750-year-old-family-seat.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-9188169/Party-loving-aristocrat-looks-rewild-garden-750-year-old-family-seat.html</a>	Green, J	MailOnline
73	Daily Mail	My wildest investment yet: Deborah Meaden tells how turning her 16-acre Somerset property back over to nature has reaped rich rewards	28-Feb-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/gardening/article-8043297/Deborah-Meaden-tells-turning-16-acre-Somerset-property-nature-reaped-rich-rewards.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/gardening/article-8043297/Deborah-Meaden-tells-turning-16-acre-Somerset-property-nature-reaped-rich-rewards.html</a>	Barber, R	Daily Mail

74	Daily Mail	See nature by the seat of your pants: Simon Barnes offers 23 'spells' designed to make wildlife visible again - including sitting on the damp ground	03-Sep-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/books/article-8695525/See-nature-seat-pants-Simon-Barnes-offers-23-spells-make-wildlife-visible-again.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/books/article-8695525/See-nature-seat-pants-Simon-Barnes-offers-23-spells-make-wildlife-visible-again.html</a>	Craig Smith, C	Daily Mail
75	Daily Mail	Why ARE wild boar on the rampage next to a millionaire's farm? Terrorised villagers speak of their distress as financier Ben Goldsmith continues to deny releasing the animals	01-Aug-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8582225/Why-wild-boar-rampage-millionaire-Ben-Goldsmiths-farm.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8582225/Why-wild-boar-rampage-millionaire-Ben-Goldsmiths-farm.html</a>	Leafe, D	Daily Mail
76	Daily Mail	Restored landscapes could teem with wildlife, conservationists say	20-Nov-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8969611/Restored-landscapes-teem-wildlife-conservationists-say.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8969611/Restored-landscapes-teem-wildlife-conservationists-say.html</a>	Press Association	MailOnline
77	Daily Mail	Bid to increase bee and butterfly numbers by letting gardens overgrow is hitting property prices and sparking rows between neighbours, experts warn	28-Oct-19	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7620381/Bid-increase-bee-butterfly-numbers-letting-gardens-overgrow-hitting-property-prices.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7620381/Bid-increase-bee-butterfly-numbers-letting-gardens-overgrow-hitting-property-prices.html</a>	Daily Mail Reporter	Daily Mail
78	Daily Mail	Restoring habitats could save a fifth of species from climate risks, says report	29-Oct-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8891139/Restoring-habitats-save-fifth-species-climate-risks-says-report.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8891139/Restoring-habitats-save-fifth-species-climate-risks-says-report.html</a>	Press Association	Daily Mail
79	Daily Mail	Replace warm words with hard cash for natural flood management, Government told	21-Nov-16	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-3955608/Replace-warm-words-hard-cash-natural-flood-management-Government-told.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-3955608/Replace-warm-words-hard-cash-natural-flood-management-Government-told.html</a>	Press Association	Daily Mail
80	Daily Mail	Lynx set to return to Britain for the first time in 1,000 years: Big cat could be introduced into forests in a bid to boost tourism and control deer numbers	15-Feb-19	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6707087/Lynx-big-cat-introduced-forests-bid-boost-tourism-control-deer-numbers.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6707087/Lynx-big-cat-introduced-forests-bid-boost-tourism-control-deer-numbers.html</a>	Daily Mail Reporter	Daily Mail
81	Daily Mail	Overgrown gardens could be the big horticultural trend of 2020 as more homeowners are opting for a natural looking green space, experts predict	30-Dec-19	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7835727/Overgrown-gardens-big-horticultural-trend-2020-experts-predict.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7835727/Overgrown-gardens-big-horticultural-trend-2020-experts-predict.html</a>	Daily Mail Reporter	Daily Mail
82	Daily Mail	Back to the wild: how 'ungardening' took root in America	04-Aug-19	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-7318693/Back-wild-ungardening-took-root-America.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-7318693/Back-wild-ungardening-took-root-America.html</a>	AFP	MailOnline
83	Daily Mail	'Rush to rewild' could put wildflower-rich meadows at risk, experts warn	05-Jul-19	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-7215109/Rush-rewild-wildflower-rich-meadows-risk-experts-warn.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-7215109/Rush-rewild-wildflower-rich-meadows-risk-experts-warn.html</a>	Press Association	MailOnline
84	Daily Mail	Back wilder areas in national parks to boost wildlife, Government urged	15-Apr-21	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-9474067/Back-wilder-areas-national-parks-boost-wildlife-Government-urged.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-9474067/Back-wilder-areas-national-parks-boost-wildlife-Government-urged.html</a>	PA media	MailOnline
85	Daily Mail	Wildlife expert cuddles hand-reared cheetah before they say goodbye	03-Feb-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-7962129/Wildlife-expert-cuddles-hand-reared-cheetah-say-goodbye.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-7962129/Wildlife-expert-cuddles-hand-reared-cheetah-say-goodbye.html</a>	Press Association	Mail

86	Daily Mail	Majestic white-tailed eagles could be re-introduced to southern England for the first time in nearly 250 years	13-Nov-18	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6386483/White-tailed-eagles-introduced-time-nearly-250-years.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6386483/White-tailed-eagles-introduced-time-nearly-250-years.html</a>	Daily Mail Reporter	Daily Mail
87	Daily Mail	Giant tortoises slowly but surely rescue tropical island's ebony forest	22-Apr-11	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-1379484/Giant-tortoises-slowly-surely-rescue-tropical-islands-ebony-forest.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-1379484/Giant-tortoises-slowly-surely-rescue-tropical-islands-ebony-forest.html</a>	Daily Mail Reporter	Daily Mail
88	Daily Mail	Argentine jaguar cubs born to rare wild-captive parents	10-Feb-21	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-9246847/Argentine-jaguar-cubs-born-rare-wild-captive-parents.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-9246847/Argentine-jaguar-cubs-born-rare-wild-captive-parents.html</a>	Reuters	MailOnline
89	Daily Mail	Scottish clan chief plans to rewild his Isle of Skye estate with 370,000 native trees, red squirrels and beavers to transform island from man-made moonscape	01-Dec-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-9004873/Scottish-clan-chief-plans-rewild-Isle-Skye-estate-370-000-native-trees.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-9004873/Scottish-clan-chief-plans-rewild-Isle-Skye-estate-370-000-native-trees.html</a>	Ridler, F	MailOnline
90	Daily Mail	Reintroducing wild animals such as beavers and giant tortoises can 'help stop climate change', experts claim	23-Oct-18	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-6305367/Rewilding-animals-boost-environment-help-protect-habitats.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-6305367/Rewilding-animals-boost-environment-help-protect-habitats.html</a>	Fernandez, C	Daily Mail
91	Daily Mail	Oh deer! Tory donor Ben Goldsmith keeps his government job as Defra board director - despite breaking his own department's rules over release of deer from his land	03-Oct-20	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8800421/Oh-deer-Tory-donor-Ben-Goldsmith-keeps-government-job-Defra-board-director.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8800421/Oh-deer-Tory-donor-Ben-Goldsmith-keeps-government-job-Defra-board-director.html</a>	Groves, J	Daily Mail

## 9.3 – Additional dataset comparisons

### 9.3.1 – Dataset by initial publisher

<b>Source</b>	<b>Count</b>
Guardian	33
Observer	6
Guardian & Observer	1
Daily Mail	20
MailOnline	16
Reuters	2
Press Association	13
Total	91

### 9.3.3 – Authors of multiple articles

<b>Author</b>	<b>Publication</b>	<b>Number of articles</b>
<i>Adams, G</i>	Daily Mail	2
<i>Adams, G &amp; Fernandez, C</i>	Daily Mail	1
<i>Fernandez, C</i>	Daily Mail	2
	MailOnline	1
<i>Craig Smith, C</i>	Daily Mail	2
<i>Daily Mail Reporter</i>	Daily Mail	5
<i>Townend, M</i>	Daily Mail	1
	MailOnline	1
<i>Press Association</i>	Press Association	7
<i>Barkham, P</i>	Guardian	2
	Guardian & Observer	1
	Observer	2
<i>Humphreys, R; Monbiot, G; Watson, C</i>	Guardian	1
<i>Monbiot, G</i>	Guardian	5
<i>Monbiot, G; Hill, M; Boyd, P;</i>	Guardian	1

### 9.3.2 – Categorisation by Source

<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Category</b>
<i>Guardian</i>	Architecture	<i>Daily Mail</i>	Home
	Climate change		News
	Conservation		Richard Littlejohn
	Environment		Science
	Environment blog - wildlife		Sport
	Flooding		Weekend magazine
	Gardens	<i>MailOnline</i>	Femail
	George Monbiot's blog		Home
	Green Travel		News
	Ireland		Science
	Letter		Sport
	News		Travel
	Opinion		Wires
	Radical Conservation	<i>Press Association</i>	Wires
	Science and Nature books	<i>Reuters</i>	Wires
	Scotland	<i>Observer</i>	Conservation
	The Long Read		Wildlife
	This land is your land - wildlife	<i>Guardian &amp; Observer</i>	Trees and Forests
	Trees and Forests		
	Wellness or hellness		
	Wildlife		
	Wildlife holidays		

### 9.3.4 – In-vivo and conceptual codes

<i>In-vivo code</i>	<i>Conceptual code</i>
Catastrophe / Optimism Get involved Our own lives (emotions, worldview) (Dis)Enchantment Rallying Cry / Divisive	Enchantment
Aesthetics Alternate landscape / urban visions: instead we could have Exemplar Key player	Aesthetics
Functionalism Reversal, restoration Food security Economic: revive struggling farms / subsidies / divestment Definitions	Function
Billionaire/Millionaire Farmer Landowner/Aristocracy	Landowner

### 9.3.5 – Introduced Organisms by Political Status

<b>Environmental Management Strategy</b>	<b>(re)Introduced Organism’s Political Status</b>
<b>Preservation</b>	Wild sovereign Full autonomy.
<b>Recovery</b>	Managed sovereign Supplementary feeding, medical care, culling etc may be required.
<b>Conservation</b>	Managed sovereign Supplementary feeding, medical care, culling etc may be required.
<b>Restoration</b>	Service provider – co-citizenship Commitment to care for and look after animals used in this way.
<b>Rewilding</b>	Preparations should be made as if the organism had co-citizenship. Every effort must be made to provide suitable habitat and provide necessary support for introduction success. This will change as project transitions to another framework. This may be directly after initial (re-) introduction if appropriate.