Negotiating the Production of Space:

The implementation of Rewilding in North-East Portugal

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Photos title page (left to right): (1) herd of Garrano horses in Faia Brava, (2) the Faia Brava sign in the reserve, (3) shepherd with her sheep in Cidadelhe, by Lesley Walet

Photos this page (left to right): (1) abandoned typical granite house in Cidadelhe by João Romba, (2) shepherd fotographed by ATN's photo trapping camera in the Faia Brava reserve, (3) burned trees near Cidadelhe overlooking the Côa River and the Reserve by Lesley Walet, (4) cultivated and abandoned fields near Cidadelhe, by João Romba.

Abstract

Rewilding Europe is a new conservation vision for Europe that aims to turn the ongoing land abandonment into an opportunity to create large, new wilderness areas. The organization started in 2011 with several pilot areas in Europe, collaborating with local conservation partners for the implementation of *rewilding*. Natural processes, connectivity and the reintroduction of large herbivores are key principles. It envisions considerable socio-economic benefits through the exploitation of wildlife and wilderness, primarily through nature-based tourism.

In North-East Portugal, Rewilding Europe collaborates with the local NGO ATN for the implementation of this conservation vision. This study provides an analysis of the relation between Rewilding Europe, local conservation partner ATN and the local population. As Rewilding Europe's vision is based on a rather abstract representation of space, this thesis problematizes to what extent this is concurrent with what is conceived and experienced by the local population and ATN. It makes use of Lefebvre's spatial triad, distinguishing between a *rewilding rurality* and a *traditional rurality*. To examine what happens 'on the ground', the village Cidadelhe provided the setting for a case study. Data were collected in Cidadelhe and the surrounding Côa Valley between October 2012 and May 2013 through open interviews (n=33) and participant observation.

The findings of this thesis indicate that in the *rewilding rurality* ATN acts as a broker between the conceived abstract space of Rewilding Europe and the localized reality on the ground. It is argued that ATN and Rewilding Europe, although they collaborate to implement *rewilding*, should be seen as autonomous and internally heterogeneous organizations, whose collaboration is fluid, dynamic and negotiable. In the *traditional rurality*, conceived designations and consequent legislations of local institutions were found to clash with the spatial practices and lived experience of the inhabitants.

It subsequently argues that there are disparities between the *rewilding rurality* and the *traditional rurality*. Main points are that collaboration is primarily based on (financial) gains instead of shared values; that conceptualizations of wildlife and nature are discrepant; and that misconceptions persist due to a lack of open communication. The findings of this study furthermore indicate that the implementation of Rewilding Europe principles could induce a further dissociation from the lived space of the inhabitants. The results raise concerns about the need for local involvement, which hitherto has not been a priority.

Rewilding Europe assigns different values to the components of space and creates a whole new spatial narrative, which acquires its distinctiveness through confrontation with the traditional values that are usually assigned to the Côa Valley. Its potential derives from precisely from this distinctive way of looking at rural regions, i.e. turning the abandoned land, which others conceptualize as the problem, into a (potentially viable) resource. However, to increase the chance of successful implementation of rewilding, complementing this view with local perspectives is crucial.

Keywords:
Rewilding Europe, rural depopulation, land abandonment, local involvement, nature tourism, reintroductions, Lefebvre

Resumo (Português)

Rewilding Europe é uma nova visão de conservação para a Europa que tenciona revirar o crescente abandono das terras numa oportunidade para criar grandes áreas selvagens. A organização teve o seu início em 2011 com várias áreas piloto na Europa, colaborando com parceiros locais de conservação, para a implementação do *reabilitar*. Processos naturais, conectividade e a re-introdução de grandes herbívoros são princípios chave. Prevêem consideráveis benefícios sócio-económicos através da exploração da vida selvagem, primeiramente através do turismo baseado na natureza.

No Noroeste de Portugal, o Rewilding Europe colabora com a ONG ATN para a implementação desta visão de conservação. Este estudo providencia uma análise da interacção entre o Rewilding Europe, o parceiro local de conservação ATN e a população local. Como esta visão é baseada numa apresentação abstracta do espaço, esta tese problematiza até que ponto isso é concomitante com o que é concebido e experienciado pela população local e pela ATN. Faz uso do '*spatial triad*' de Lefebvre distinguindo uma *ruralidade tradicional* e uma *ruralidade rewilding*. Para examinar o que acontece "no terreno", a aldeia de Cidadelhe forneceu o palco para o estudo de caso. Os dados foram recolhidos em Cidadelhe e na área circundante ao Vale do Côa entre Outubro de 2012 e Maio de 2013 através de entrevistas abertas (n=33) e observação participativa.

As conclusões desta tese indicam que na *ruralidade rewilding*, a ATN actua como intermediário entre o espaço abstrato do Rewilding Europe e a localização do terreno na realidade. É argumentado que a ATN e o Rewilding Europe, apesar de colaborarem para implementarem o *rewilding,* devem ser vistas como autónomas e organizações internamente heterogéneas, cuja colaboração é fluída, dinâmica e negociável. Na *ruralidade tradicional* designações concebidas e consequente legislação das instituições locais mostraram-se incompatíveis com as práticas espaciais e experiências vividas dos seus habitantes.

Subsequentemente discute-se que existem disparidades entre a *ruralidade rewilding* e a *ruralidade tradicional*. Os pontos principais são que a colaboração é baseada primeiramente em ganhos financeiros em vez de valores partilhados; que conceptualizações da vida selvagem e natureza são discrepantes; e as ideias erróneas persistem devido a falhas de comunicação aberta. As conclusões deste estudo indicam mais ainda que a implementação dos princípios do Rewilding Europe podem induzir a dissociações do espaço em que vivem os habitantes. Os resultados levantaram algumas preocupações sobre a necessidade do envolvimento local, que até agora não tem sido uma prioridade.

Rewilding Europe atribui diferentes valores aos componentes do espaço e cria uma nova narrativa espacial, que adquire a sua distinção através de confrontos com os valores tradicionais que são normalmente atribuídos ao Vale do Côa. O seu potencial deriva de, precisamente, da distinta maneira de observar as regiões rurais, e.i. voltando para as terras abandonadas, que outros conceptualizam como o problema, num (potencialmente viável) recurso. No entanto, para aumentar a oportunidade de uma implementação de sucesso do *rewilding* complementar esta visão com as perspectivas locais é crucial.

Palavras-chave:

Rewilding Europe, despovoamento rural, abandono das terras, envolvimento local, turismo de natureza, Lefebvre

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Figures and tables

1. Introduction

Rewilding Europe is a new ambitious initiative that aims to turn the ongoing land abandonment in Europe into an opportunity to create large, new wilderness areas, and 'make Europe a wilder place'.[1] According to recent scenarios of land-use change, 16 million hectares of agricultural land in Europe may be released by 2020 (Keenleyside in Proença et al. 2012:1). In remote rural areas throughout Europe, agricultural activities are losing economic viability, and the lack of other economic opportunities induces a trend towards city growth and rural depopulation. Moreover, young generations are believed to increasingly desire a 'modern lifestyle' over the hard life of traditional subsistence farming of their parents and grandparents[2]. This trend of rural depopulation is caused by many complex socio-economic and ecological developments, as Rewilding Europe outlines:

> Today, everyone knows that the old agricultural economy in rural Europe, challenged by the competition from globalization, changes in lifestyle and ambitions in life and propped up by inefficient or perverse EU subsidies, is heading towards a period of rapid change. Subsidies will be replaced and restructured. Areas in Europe with less productive soils and longer distances to the cities are being abandoned at an alarming rate, c. 1 million hectares per year. What is Europe going to do with its most remote countryside?[3]

Rewilding Europe (2012:32-33) expects that a lot of the traditional land management on the Iberian Peninsula will soon be history. Due to the land abandonment, the vegetation cover is expected to change rapidly. Many species are dependent on the open and half-open landscapes sustained by extensive agriculture. From a nature conservation standpoint, land abandonment therefore constitutes a threat to biodiversity. Rewilding Europe sees an opportunity in the ongoing land abandonment however, to 'reclaim' some of the wilderness areas that Europe lost during the past centuries and to make Europe a wilder place[4].

Natural processes and passive management are key principles of Rewilding Europe, advocating that we should be *'[t]reating nature as something that is fully capable of taking care of itself, if given the opportunity to do so'*[5]. It considers natural grazing as one of the key factors in maintaining the open and half- open landscapes upon which a large part of Europe's biodiversity is dependent. Reintroductions and the accommodation of natural comebacks of large herbivores such as red deer, ibex, chamois, wild horse, wild boar and bovines are therefore an important part of the Rewilding Europe initiative[6].

Moreover, Rewilding Europe wants to help develop a new sustainable economy based on using wildlife, wilderness and wild lands in new, creative ways. It wants to explore the rapidly evolving nature tourism

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[1] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/the-messages/
[2] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/the-opportunity/
[3] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/the-opportunity/
[4] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/the-opportunity/
[5] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/vision/
[6] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/vision/

market, which they state is growing at three times the rate of conventional tourism.[7] Tourism is the world´s largest industry with 12% of global GNP with 4.4% annual growth, of which nature tourism makes up approximately 12% (Sandom 2014:28). The international demand for all kinds of nature experiences is thought to be booming and becoming 'a very serious industry' - of which wildlife watching has become the biggest of all outdoor recreational activities (Rewilding Europe 2012: 6-7). The introduction of wildlife and the 'rewilding' of nature could therefore help lay the foundation for a socially and economically more sustainable rural society, by providing more jobs and income in the region (2012: 6).

Rewilding Europe was launched in 2011 in the Netherlands by the organizations WWF, ARK Nature, Wild Wonders of Europe and Conservation Capital. Rewilding Europe's strategy is constituted by three main pillars: (1) conservation (2) communication and (3) business and investments (P15). Each initiating partner has its expertise and is in charge of one of these three components. WWF and ARK Nature, a Dutch nature NGO, are responsible for the conservation vision. 'Wild Wonders of Europe', a collective of wildlife photographers, is the communication partner and charged with mass communication initiatives that focus on the people of Europe's urban areas, who 'are waking up to the wonderful wildlife experiences available on their doorstep'. Lastly, partner Conservation Capital assists with their business development expertise in the project areas to create nature-based enterprises as the vehicle to allow 'people to earn a fair living from the wild'.[8] Rewilding Europe has several funding partners, among others the Dutch and Swedish Postcode Lotteries, Adessium Foundation and the Liberty Wildlife Fund.

Rewilding Europe started in 2011 with five pilot areas, the Eastern Carpathians (Slovakia and Poland), the Southern Carpathians (Romania), the Danube Delta (Romania), the Velebit Mountains (Croatia) and Western Iberia (Portugal and Spain).

The pilot area in Western Iberia covers Northeastern Portugal and Western Spain, where more than 1.3 million hectares of land have been set aside for conservation in the form of Natura 2000 areas[9] (see figure 1). It includes the *dehesa-montado* landscape, cliffs and mountain ranges and is home to among other vultures, eagles and otters. Rewilding Europe works with two local NGOs, Fundación Naturaleza Y Hombre (FNYH) in Spain and Associação Transumância e Natureza (ATN) in Portugal. In Spain FNYH owns and manages Campanarios de Azaba and manages Riscos del Águeda, and in Portugal ATN owns and manages the Faia Brava reserve, the first private protected nature area in Portugal.

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[7] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/boosting-economies/
[8] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/
[9] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/areas/western-iberia/local-situation/

Figure 1: Natura 2000 Area in Portugal and Spain (www.rewildingeurope.com)

Problem statement

Rewilding Europe formulates its vision based on abstract representations of space of rural regions in Europe, i.e. the presence of natural patrimony, the rural depopulation and the accompanying land abandonment. However, it has little knowledge of the lived space of inhabitants and socio-economic and cultural context of this specific region in Portugal. This is important however, as Rewilding Europe seeks to be embedded in the social and cultural fabric of the region[10] and aims to create new economic opportunities for the local population. To enhance local implementation, Rewilding Europe collaborates with local conservation partner ATN, which is responsible for the implementation of rewilding and communication with the local population. As Rewilding Europe's vision is based on a rather abstract representation of space, this thesis problematizes to what extent this is concurrent with what is conceived and experienced by ATN and the local population. It therefore scrutinizes the interaction between Rewilding Europe, ATN and the local population in the region. This is important as intervention based on an overly abstract representation risks lacking appropriate relation to the social space it concerns (Carp 2008:134).

More elaborately, knowledge of the local situation is important as both Rewilding Europe and ATN envision socio-economic benefits for the region. Rewilding Europe envisions helping develop a nature-based 'bold new economy'[11]. It seeks to support wilderness entrepreneurs in establishing innovative nature-based businesses. Moreover, it strives to *'work side by side with local communities, landowners, land managers, traditional land custodians, NGOs and other important stakeholders'.[12]* Also ATN states in its mission

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[10] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/the-messages/

[11] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/boosting-economies/

[12] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/the-messages/

that it strives to promote and conserve the natural heritage through community participation and to contribute to economic and social dynamism of the region[13].

However, the relation between nature conservation and local populations is often fraught with tension. As became clear from literature on Rewilding (cf. Margaryan 2012), local populations are often insufficiently involved and their interests insufficiently represented. In recent years, there have been an increasing number of comparative studies of development projects showing that local participation is one of the critical components of success (Pretty in Mowforth and Munt 2009: 225). As a result, community participation and similar terms have become part of the general discourse of many NGOs (ibid). Therefore it is not surprising that they are included in the discourse of ATN and Rewilding Europe as well. Research has extensively shown the importance of involvement of the local population for the success of conservation projects as well (e.g. Ferreira Soares 2010, Mowforth and Munt 2009).

A global concern for top-down approaches in nature conservation is that they have a tendency to become a crusade ('to think globally, and impose locally') that is devoid of social justice and a concern for local peoples' perceptions (Mowforth and Munt 2009: 172). The question is of course, as Kottak strikingly puts it: '*How does one get local people to support biodiversity conservation measures that may, in the short run at least, diminish their access to strategic and socially valued resources?*' (in Ferreira Soares 2010: 4). In order to plan for conservation in a way that resonates with local people's perceptions, it is therefore vital to understand how the environment is constructed, represented, claimed, and contested (Brosius 2006: 683).

This thesis uses Lefebvre's 'spatial triad', as it is thought to help provide a comprehensive account of the interplay between physical space and different spatial actors ranging from professional planners to rural residents and their conceptualizations of and claims to their spatial environment (this is elaborated in the theoretical framework). This thesis aims to contribute academic and practical knowledge by providing an analysis of the interplay between what is conceptualized by Rewilding Europe and ATN and what happens 'on the ground'. It uses the village of Cidadelhe as a case study to exemplify the local population. It focuses on Rewilding Europe, ATN, residents of Cidadelhe and local organizations that interact with them in Cidadelhe's physical space.

Outline thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. *Chapter one* first introduces the topic of research and the problem statement. It then provides general background information about ATN and the region that constitutes the setting of this study. *Chapter two* presents the theoretical framework based on Lefebvre and the research questions which guide this research. Subsequently, the methodology section of *Chapter three* gives insight into all aspects of how this study was conducted. *Chapter four* consists of three subchapters that present the findings. *Chapter 4.1* discusses the traditional lifeworld of the local population. *Chapter 4.2* discusses the spatial narrative that is produced by Rewilding Europe and ATN and examines their interaction. Subsequently,

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[13] http://atnatureza.blogspot.nl/p/quem-somos.html

Chapter 4.3 provides an analysis of the interaction between the two. In *Chapter 5,* this thesis concludes with answers to the research questions, a discussion of other aspects that emerged from the findings, the application of Lefebvre's theory and recommendations for further research.

Background information

This section provides relevant background information to the topic. It starts with an introduction of the Portuguese NGO ATN and then elaborates on the village Cidadelhe and the surrounding Côa Valley, covering geology, climate, land use, flora and fauna, human settlement and landownership situation.

ATN

ATN was founded in 2000 to protect the region's biodiversity against threats such as frequent fires, poaching, poisoning, fishing with explosives, the cutting of trees and illegal quarries (Gama and Romao 2010: 10). The name, Transhumance and Nature, is a reference to the extinct activity of transhumance, an old tradition in which shepherds conduct their herds of sheep a long way in order to take advantage of pasture land at different altitudes and times of the year[14]. ATN's mission is '*to conserve, value, study and promote the natural heritage of Northeast Portugal, through sustainability and community participation, by managing and protecting natural areas*', and is aiming to '*achieve species and habitat conservation in natural areas; to guarantee economic sustainability of nature conservation projects; and to contribute to economic and social dynamism of the region*'[15]. In 2011 ATN joined the Rewilding Europe initiative and became responsible for the local implementation of the vision of Rewilding Europe.

ATN is a small organization that employs between seven and ten people on average and regularly takes on (international) interns. The board of ATN is comprised of the founders of ATN and professionals that work in other (local) organizations in related fields. This way, ATN has established a small local network of relevant stakeholders.

ATN's main activities are (1) nature areas management; (2) ecological restoration; (3) rewilding processes; (4) biodiversity study and monitoring; (5) environmental awareness and education; (6) support to the elaboration and implementation of environmental projects for rural development (agriculture, livestock, forestry and game) consistent with nature conservation; (7) technical support in the production and sustainable forest protection on behalf of the joining forest producers; and (8) recovery, rehabilitation and promotion of the cultural, architectural and archaeological heritage of the region.[16]

ATN does not receive government subsidies and thus uses alternative ways to generate income. ATN receives funding from MAVA, the European Union's Life project, the regional organization Territórios do Côa (which is financed by PROVERE, a regional development fund of the European Union) and Rewilding Europe. Besides, ATN receives private donations and agricultural subsidies for some of the

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[14] http://atnatureza.org/index.php/atn
[15] http://atnatureza.blogspot.nl/p/quem-somos.html
[16] http://www.atnatureza.org/index.php/atn

land they manage. Furthermore, ATN generates income with the organization of tourism activities and sale of its own Faia Brava brand of regional products (among others olive oil, honey, jams and almonds).

Cidadelhe and the Côa Valley

There are three parishes that are in the buffer zone at the border of the Faia Brava reserve: Algodres and Vale de Afonsinho in the municipality of Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo, and Cidadelhe in the municipality of Pinhel. The most nearby inhabited houses belong to the village of Cidadelhe and are located only 125 meters from the reserve (see figure 2). As it was not feasible within the scope of this research to include all three villages, Cidadelhe was chosen as a case study, because this village has the most conflicted relationship with ATN. ATN's presence in the area moreover causes several practical restrictions for the inhabitants of Cidadelhe. Cidadelhe was therefore considered an interesting location where potential problems could manifest themselves most strongly. The village is of interest considering its aesthetic beauty and its location next to the Faia Brava reserve. It is important to stress here that Cidadelhe is not claimed to be representative for other villages in the region.

All three villages surrounding Faia Brava are subjected to depopulation, although in Cidadelhe it happens at a higher pace (see table 1). Cidadelhe is thus exemplary of the rural depopulation trend that Rewilding Europe outlines. Moreover, the large majority of Cidadelhe's inhabitants is over 65 years old.
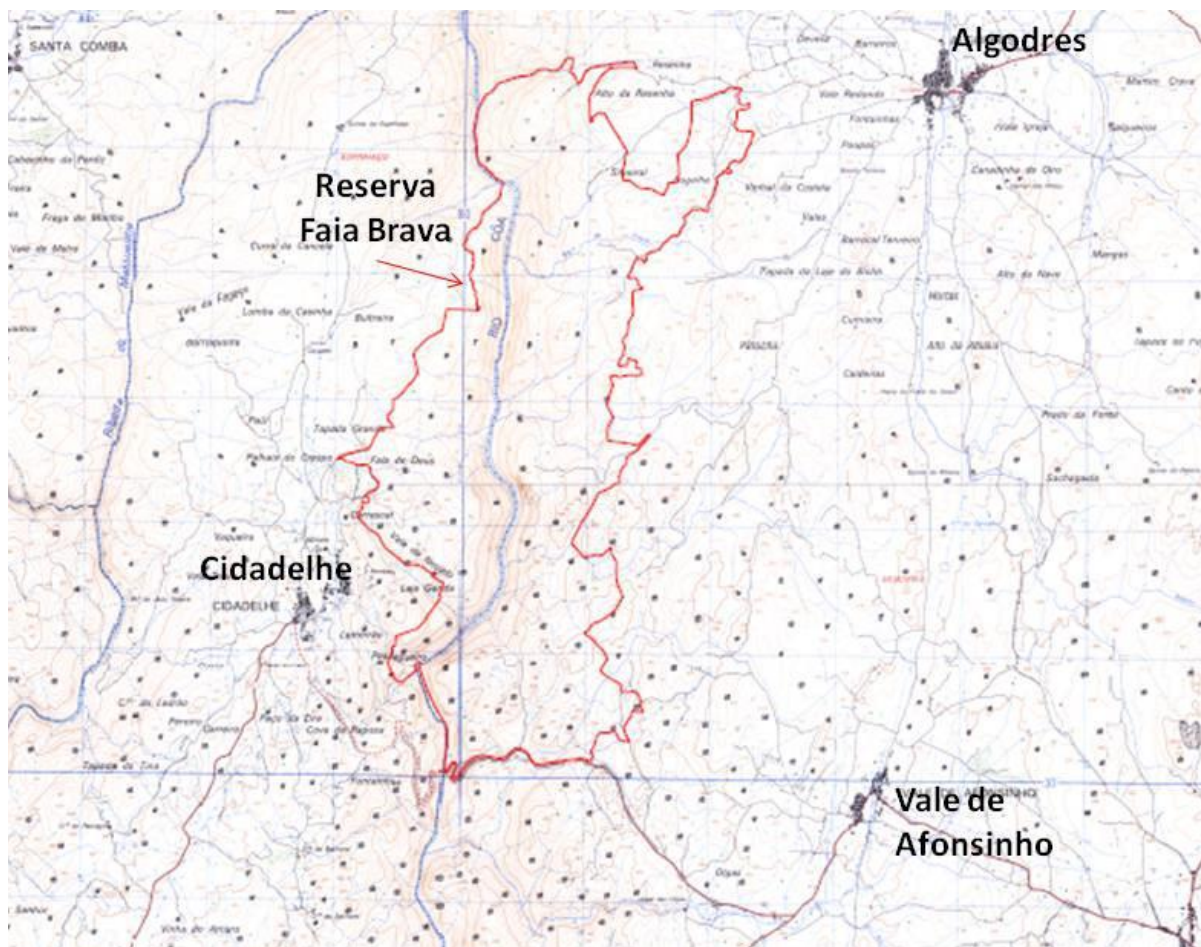
Figure 2: Map of the Faia Brava Reserve, adopted from Leuvenink (2013:19)

Cidadelhe is situated on the cliffs of the Côa River and overlooks the Faia Brava reserve. The village belongs to the municipality of Pinhel, which is one of the ten municipalities that comprise the Côa Valley. The prehistoric Rock Art Sites in the Côa Valley and the surrounding area, including Cidadelhe, are designated as a UNESCO world heritage site.[17] Moreover, Cidadelhe, together with 18 other parishes and the Faia Brava reserve, falls into the Special Protected Area of the Côa Valley (Tomé & Catry 2008: 11) which is governed by the governmental institution ICNF.

Table 1: Demographic data of the three parishes surrounding Faia Brava (data of INE – the Portuguese National Institute of Statistics).*non-official data (source: Mayor of Cidadelhe, P5)

	Algodres	Vale de Afonsinho	Cidadelhe	Total
Hectares per parish	3 216	1 379	2 680	7275
Population 1981	579	193	134	906
Population 1991	482	165	107	754
Population 2001	352	122	52	526
Population 2013*			25	
Nº inhabitants/Km2 in 2001	**10,95**	**8,85**	**1,94**	**7,23**

Geology

Cidadelhe is located on a rocky plateau between the river Côa and the smaller river Massueime, at 520 meters of altitude. The territory has a granite substrate, which was gradually caved in by the rivers, creating a landscape with steep cliffs along the river and rocky plateaus and many *barroco's*, the regional name for the huge granite boulders that are dispersed around (Saramago 1990:190). The granite is very characterizing for Cidadelhe although other types of stone, such as shale, can also be found (Gama & Romao 2010: 23). Granite dominates the landscape in Cidadelhe and played an important role in the development of the village.

Climate, land use, flora and fauna

The climate is characterized by little precipitation, hot summers and cold winters. The granite substrate and this climate makes that the vegetation is dominated by broom scrublands and stone oaks: vegetation that can grow on a rocky and dry surface. The dominance of the stone oak is not because of particularly favorable conditions for the species, but the fact that the soil is even more unfavorable for other species allows the stone oak to become dominant (Pereira dos Santos 2010:15, translated from Portuguese). The somewhat more humid soil features cork oaks as well. Around Cidadelhe they can be found on the uncultivated lands, with a painted number on them indicating the year they were last stripped of their cork bark. The corks form a key component of the multifunctional agro-sylvo-pastoral system known in Portugal as *montado*. Next to the different species of oak, there are some fruit trees to be found, such as almond trees, olive trees, fig trees, brambles and vines. Part of the Côa valley shares the microclimate with the Douro valley, which is large producer of (port) wine (Tomé & Catry 2008: 12). Accordingly, also in the

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[17] http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/866

Côa valley vines are cultivated commonly, as are olive trees. As can be seen in figure 3, the surroundings of Cidadelhe consists primarily of scrubland, holm and cork oak forest and permanent crops.
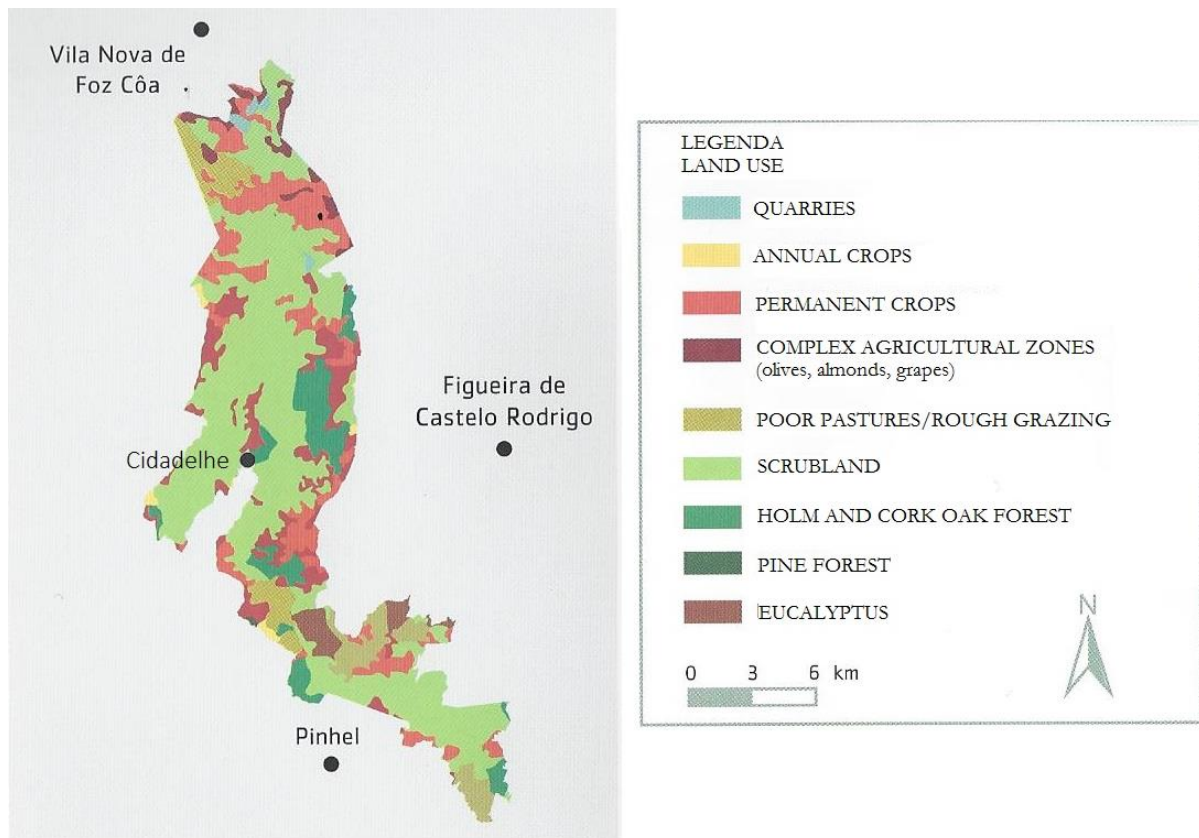
Figure 3: Map of land use of the Côa Valley SPA (Tomé & Catry 2008: 16)

The steep cliffs carved out by the Côa River are fundamental for the nesting of several species of birds, such as the Bonelli's eagle, eagle owl, alpine swift and black wheatear. Furthermore the valley and cliffs are home to the vulture, griffon vulture and golden eagle. The agriculture supports many species, such as the rabbit and partridge, which are in turn essential for predator species. The cobblestone walls enclosing the fields give shelter to several species of reptiles (Tomé & Catry 2008: 17).

Human settlement

The oldest indications of human settlement are the rock engravings near Cidadelhe that are part of the UNESCO World Heritage Site and which are managed by the Archeological Park of the Côa Valley (PAVC). They date from the superior Paleolithic and Neolithic, the oldest ones dating back to 25.000-18.000 BP (Lima & Baptista, year unknown). The engravings are punched into granite walls and depicture among others aurochs, a now extinct prehistoric ancestor of cattle (Lima & Baptista, year unknown). Just outside of Cidadelhe the ruins of the Castle of Moors can be found, a proto-historic settlement made of materials from the Bronze Age, Iron Age and the Roman Empire (Lima & Baptista, year unknown). Nowadays, you can find an engraved portal in the village, crowned with Cidadelhe's coat of arms, that originally belonged to the castle and dates back to 1586 (Gomes & Lima 2008:15). Less than a kilometer away, graves dug out in the granite testify the existence of a community dating from the period of the Iberian crusade to free the peninsula from Moorish reign (Gomes & Lima 2008: 14).

In the Low Middle Ages, the village of Cidadelhe began to grow around the parish church. Next to it, you find 'the Citizen' (*O Cidadão)*, a small human figure carved out of stone which dates back to 1656. The village expanded uphill, incorporating the seventeenth century chapel of Sao Sebastião (Gomes & Lima 2008:13) and some threshing-floors (*eiras)* and haystacks (Lima & Baptista, year unknown). This part of Cidadelhe is therefore known as '*As Eiras'* (the treshing-floors) (Saramago 1990: 193). The majority of the village was built in the eighteenth century, when the village counted some 111 dwellings. The church that is there today is an early eighteenth century reconstruction of the original building (Gomes & Lima 2008:14). Deducting from the number of steps at the foot of the medieval pillory on the square at As Eiras, the village was of moderate importance in the region.

Landownership

In its heyday, all the lands surrounding the village were used for cultivation or grazing. Nowadays, many of the fields in Cidadelhe and the surrounding villages are abandoned because of their remote location and the low economic performance. Typically, properties in Portugal are small because of their division over multiple heirs during generations. Moreover the landownership is often unknown, because of a lack of a functional registration system and multiple heirs who do not live on the lands anymore but reside in the urban areas. This situation can be seen in the plains on the east side of Côa River (see figure). 60-70% of the area consists of properties of more than 2 hectares that were used for pastoralism and cultivation of cereals. The other lands are divided in small parcels of under 0.5 hectares and were used as olive groves, cereal, vegetable gardens and orchards.

On Cidadelhe's west side of the river however, the situation is slightly different. The cliffs, known as Faia's, were public lands until the mid-nineteenth century, used by the population for small ruminant grazing and the collecting of firewood. Under pressure of wealthy and politically influential families, these lands were auctioned and bought by 2-3 owners (ATN 2010:79). Since the first quarter of the twentieth century these large properties have been breaking down as well, also due to division of the land to multiple heirs and disinterest of the owners due to the remote location and the low economic performance (ATN 2010:79). Between 2003 and 2008, almost 400 hectares were bought on Cidadelhe's west bank and the east bank of the Côa River (ATN 2010:68). ATN currently manages a continuous area of 800 hectare along the Côa River[18].

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[18] http://www.atnatureza.org/index.php/en/atn/2-uncategorised/28-historia

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter presents an overview of the main theories that provide the framework for this thesis. First, the ontological and epistemological approach of this thesis is shortly discussed. Then, the theory that guides my research, the conceptual framework and the operationalization and research questions that derives from it are presented.

Social constructionism

The ontological and epistemological approach of this thesis is grounded in social constructionism. This paradigm views reality as a social construct, as opposed to realist or positivist views that assume reality has some 'objective' quality that can be discovered. Constructionism is based on the idea that reality is a product of one's own creation; each individual sees and interprets the world and their experiences through personal belief systems (Etherington 2009). These beliefs, knowledge, prior experiences, values and attitudes constitute the way people understand reality and ascribe meaning to it. People create meaning through their interactions with each other and the objects in the environment (Kim 2001). Put simply: *'Two people looking at something together never actually see the same thing in the same way'* (Kim 2001). Knowledge is considered a human product, and is socially and culturally constructed (in Kim 2001). In making sense of the physical world, knowledge and knower are interdependent and embedded within history, context, culture, language and experience (Etherington, 2009).

As the conceptual framework and methodology of this thesis build on these premises, it is important to identify them explicitly. As this research seeks to demonstrate different ways a place is experienced, viewed, conceptualized and understood, an approach by Lefebvre (on the Production of Space, 1974) is thought to shed more light on the different realities that are being constructed.

Henri Lefebvre and *The Production of Space*

Henri Lefebvre was a French Marxist philosopher, whose creative work spanned most of the 20th century. He was a leading French intellectual who wrote on a wide array of subjects that transgressed the disciplines, especially the relation of philosophy to the social sciences and art (Aronowitz *year unknown:* 133). *The Production of Space* (1974/1991) was one of the most important books in Lefebvre's oeuvre.

In *The Production of Space* Lefebvre introduces a 'spatial triad' that can help to explore and understand the complexity of space. Lefebvre was the first to explicitly introduce space as an analytical category (Reijnen 2011:71), assigning it an active role. He views space not as a 'container' in which human activity takes place, but as actively interacting with human activity and actively produced by it. Lefebvre views space as a fluid, momentary social construct; a process. Lefebvre stresses the importance of process thinking, of conceiving reality in *fluid movement,* in its *momentary existence* and *transient nature* which necessitates 'exploring how space gets *actively produced'* (Merrifield 2006:105, original emphasis). Lefebvre's 'production of space' thesis effectively represents a spatialized rendition of Marx's conception of fetishism of commodities

(Merrifield 1993:520. Spatiality is not a 'thing' in isolation but a process as well as the outcome of that process (i.e. the produced social space).

Lefebvre's theory is chosen as it is thought to help provide an inclusive analysis of the interaction between physical space and different spatial actors and their conceptualizations of and claims to their spatial environment. It is one of the few theories that includes both spatial and social issues in planning, moreover encompassing both professional planners and rural residents. This spatial approach is believed to be useful because it assumes that space is a social product and thus more than the setting or frame in which activity takes place. In this study, the spatial context is of the utmost importance, as it is exactly that which (indirectly) provides the opportunity for Rewilding, because of its accompanying demographic trends and ecological conditions. It is believed to enable the recognition of divergent experiences that are related to the physical characteristics where intervention is being considered. This gives insight into the negotiation and the active social production of a 'new space' as Rewilding Europe envisions. The objective of using this theory is to demonstrate the complexity of the human dimensions of the Côa Valley and herewith help to enhance an appropriate implementation of rewilding.

The spatial triad is being used increasingly in the field of human and cultural geography, e.g. related to policy and planning (e.g. Buser, 2009; Carp 2008; Gatrell and Worsham 2008; Leary, 2009; Mee Kan Ng at al., 2010) rural studies (e.g. Bunce, 2008; Halfacree, 2007; Frisvoll, 2012; Johansson 2008), and some that deal specifically with leisure and/or tourism (e.g. Bunce, 2008; Frisvoll, 2012; Leary, 2009; Lengkeek 2002; Mee Kan Ng at al., 2010, Urry 1995). Their applications are incorporated in the discussion of the spatial triad and the operationalization for this research.

The Spatial Triad

Lefebvre's spatial triad exists of three realms, summarized shortly: the *spatial practices* entail how daily activities and practices are *'concretized over time in the built environment'* (Urry 1995:25); *representations of space* are the conceptualized and designed spaces of planners, architects and developers, the space of capital (Merrifield, 2006) and *representational spaces* concern the directly lived and socially produced and reproduced experiences and meanings of space by its inhabitants (Bunce 2008: 974)

Lefebvre's spatial triad attempts to integrate physical, mental and social space into a unitary theory of space (Lefebvre 1991:21). These elements are also denoted by the respective terms 'perceived', 'conceived' and 'lived' space, and in 'spatial terms' he calls them 'spatial practice', 'representations of space' and 'representational spaces' (Lefebvre 1991: 40). Lefebvre uses these terms interchangeably, as most scholars do subsequently (see table 2).

Table 2: The respective terms to describe the three realms of the spatial triad.

Spatial practices	Representations of space	Representational space
Perceived space	Conceived space	Lived space
Physical space	Mental space	Social space

Spatial practices

First, Lefebvre introduces spatial practices, which embraces production and reproduction and ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion (Lefebvre 1999:33). This field embodies the daily reality, i.e. the daily routine, and the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure (Lefebvre 1999:38). As Lefebvre says, '*from the analytical standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space'* (1999:38).

Spatial practice, which is perhaps the most 'straightforward' or 'tangible' field of the triad, is generally conceptualized in the same way by different authors. Spatial practices are concerned with production and reproduction (van der Duim and Caalders 2004: 381). Leary (2009) explains spatial practice by highlighting three main aspects. Firstly, there is the material environment, as Lefebvre described, including buildings, infrastructures, routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure. Secondly, there are the daily routine practices and thirdly, the socio-economic processes by which space is reproduced, or 'secreted slowly', in Lefebvre's words, in interaction with the other two fields of the triad (1991:38). Leary emphasizes it thus concerns both the processes of production of the physical built environment *and* the resulting built environment (Leary 2009: 195).

This element of space is related to the physical and empirically observable: it is '*tangible, textured, visible, audible, olfactory'* and '*demands that we accommodate its materiality by moving around, within, over, through or under it'* (Carp 2008:132). This physical space is perceivable; it can be seen, felt, touched, heard, tasted, manipulated, therefore it is 'perceived space'. The same places are perceived differently by different people, depending on personal characteristics such as age, socioeconomic orientation and activities, orientation to smell, visual capacity, and so on (Carp 2008: 132-133). Carp makes an important point regarding the significance of spatial practice/perceived space as a category of analysis:

> (…) people's perception of the world is linked to their patterns of movement: we know best those places that we frequent. Our knowledge of places depends greatly on our use of them, which includes the sounds, smells, and sights common to these places; their change over time; and their incidental characteristics such as other people who share intersecting spatial practices. We can recognize changes to the social spaces to which we belong within the depth and breadth of our perceptual experience of them. (Carp 2008:133)

Gaining insight into people's use of space and patterns of movement is thus essential to understand their views and knowledge of and attitudes towards a certain place but also into more general worldviews and perceptions.

Representations of space

Lefebvre's second realm is the representations of space, which is *a 'conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers'* (Lefebvre 1991:38). It is tied to the relations of production and the 'order' those relations impose, and thus to knowledge, signs and 'frontal' relations. Examples of these frontal relations are representations of the relations of production, which subsume power relations, occur in space in the form of buildings and monuments (Lefebvre 1991:33). The representation of space is the dominant space in any society, or mode of production (Lefebvre 1991:39). Representations of space are powerful in shaping spatial practice and *'must therefore have a substantial role and specific influence on the production of space'* (Lefebvre 1991:41).

In *The Production of Space*, the concept of representations of space refers to space that is conceptualized, defined or 'conceived', a rationally abstracted space where ideology, power and knowledge dominate. It refers to conceptualizing and conceptualizations, linked to tools, methods, models, discourses and strategies that are engaged in the materialization of ideas (Carp 2008:134). Carp distils three ways in which Lefebvre explains the representations of space (2008:134). Firstly, as the predominantly verbal activity of *'scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers'* (Lefebvre 1991:38). Secondly, as a unitary organizing principle such as (linear) perspective that organizes Western-built environments (ibid: 41), and thirdly as a code that is used in the practice of creating dominant representations of space, for instance the districting of land uses (ibid: 45).

Representational spaces

Representational spaces is space as 'directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of its 'inhabitants' and 'users', but also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who *describe* and aspire to do no more than describe' (Lefevbre 1991: 39). Lefebvre writes that this is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate (1991:39). This is 'lived space', a more unconscious way to experience space, felt through the heart rather than the brain. Representational spaces need obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness, are redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements and have their source in history – in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people (Lefebvre 1991: 41).

Carp (2008:135) explains that representational spaces evoke a deep sense of meaning. This aspect of the triad includes both collective places and experiences, such as a monument or a festival, and private places and experiences, such as a bedroom. She highlights Lefebvre's statement that it is *"highly complex and quite peculiar, because 'culture' intervenes here"* (2008:135). Furthermore she emphasizes that both societal representational spaces and personal ones are highly subjective and intersubjective experiences of living here and now in felt relationship to past, present and future (2008:135). She argues that places can evoke multiple lived experiences whose differences may be difficult to observe. She wonders whether the characterization of the representational space associated with a place is possible, and argues that inquiry

and open-ended questions may be better than defining it from a fictive, one and only 'true' standpoint (2008:135-136). Representational spaces refer to memories and feelings, are symbolic, qualitative, fluid and dynamic, and express and evoke social norms, values and experiences (Buser 2012: 284). A different epistemology may be implied, one that does not necessarily privilege rationality, science and technical expertise (Leary 2009: 195-196).

Interpretations and applications

Although the triad is considered by Merrifield (2001:109) the 'epistemological pillar' of *The Production of Space*, to which he would be 'returning again and again' (Lefebvre 1991: 33), Lefebvre only provides a preliminary sketch of the spatial triad. Moreover, there are some equivocations in his work which leaves a lot of space for free interpretation of the triad. As with most of Lefebvre's work on space, it is left to the user how to interpret it and adapt it to their research (Merrifield 2000). The next paragraph discusses two equivocations that are of particular relevance for this study and subsequently elaborates on how these are interpreted and adapted to this research.

First of all, a reason for confusion is that Lefebvre equates the realm of representation of space with 'mental space' (1991:21). Lefebvre describes the representation of space almost entirely in relation to a dualism of professional experts, working in the interests of state and capital, and "silent users" whose "*lived experience is crushed, vanquished by what is 'conceived of'*" (1991: 51). He writes that this lived space does not result in material change in spatial practice, their only product is 'symbolic works'. Having 'provoked incursions into the imaginary' they tend to 'run out of steam' (1991:42). Herewith the lived space i.e. the realm of the inhabitants of a space seems to be left disempowered a priori, framing them as 'silent users' intrinsically unable to provoke material changes in spatial practices. An explanation for this is the political and historical context in which Lefebvre's theory came to fruition. Some claim that Lefebvre saw the triad as existing in a dialectical relationship, in which the balance of influence between each will vary in time and space (see e.g. Bunce 2008:974). His statements expressing his ideas about the influence of representational spaces could thus be interpreted as a critique on capitalist society instead of being meant as being inherent to the realms of the triad itself.

In this thesis, the notion of representational space is broadened so that the lived space is not left disempowered a priori. This notion includes local knowledges in the representational spaces which can be subversive when they result in space being substantially (re)appropriated by marginal groups (after Halfacree 2007:126). Representations of space are not considered omnipotent and can be contested, subverted and appropriated in dialectical tension with the other two aspects of the triad (after Leary 2009:195). Representational spaces can be linked to the clandestine and can represent a terrain of struggle (after Simonsen 2012:284). Although Lefebvre raises power as a focal point, this thesis does not focus on power specifically. However, the importance of power in the interactions between the actors and realms is not dismissed and was kept in mind throughout this research.

Gatrell and Worsham (2002:336) argue that the inherent tension between abstract conceived space and lived space can be more fully appreciated in connection with the space–place dialectic. This demonstrates the potential tension between planned space (policy in theory) and lived spaces (policy as implemented) (2002:336). Space and place are seen as different aspects of a unity, i.e. two facets of a dialectical process. The physical and social landscapes of a place (the product) emerge through these processes that are operative simultaneously over varying spatial and temporal scales and may have a broader significance within the whole, i.e. they are operative over the domain of space (Merrifield 1993:520). According to Lefebvre (1991:110), every social space is the outcome of an internally heterogeneous process with many aspects and many contributing currents. As a moment of space (the conceived), place (the lived) is where everyday life is situated. And as such, place can be taken as practiced space (Merrifield 1993: 522). Spatial practices transform 'representations of space' (i.e. space) into the materiality of everyday life as constituted in 'representational spaces' (i.e. place) (Gatrell and Worsham 2002:335). Lefebvre attempts to render insight into the complex interplay between the different aspects of this process in its totality through the use of the spatial triad (1991:33).

Secondly, considering Lefebvre's proposition that (social) space is a (social) product (1991:26), and that this thesis discusses the social production of a space for *nature,* it is important to reflect on the role of nature in the spatial triad. In fact, there are equivocations in Lefebvre's conception of the role of nature and he conceptualizes it in different ways on different moments. This thesis assumes his approach that the natural and social production of space are intrinsically connected, and interact and overlap. This is not to imply that nature in its entirety has been colonized or that nature beyond human influence does not exist, but this conceptualization best illustrates the social production of 'wilderness' as envisioned by Rewilding Europe. This does not mean to rob nature from its productive capacities but rather acknowledges that allowing space for wilderness is part of the social production of space, at least in the current context of Western Iberia.

Operationalization for this research

In this thesis, an eclectic application of Lefebvre's spatial triad and subsequent applications is advanced to best fit the context of this research. Lefebvre's theory remains rather abstract on the conceptual level, but its application throughout the results of this thesis will give it the tangibility it needs. Furthermore, I add three theoretical concepts to provide this thesis a more tangible theoretical guidance.

After Halfacree (2007), I add the two concepts '*species of rurality'*, (after Perec (1997 [1974]) and '*structured coherence'* (after Cloke and Goodwin (1992) and Harvey (1985)). Species of rurality are spatial narratives that exist and intersect in a space and which compete for the production of an appropriate space. The original concept of structured coherence refers to the extent to which economy, state and civil society mesh together in a relatively stable fashion at a local level (Halfacree 2007: 127). The application of 'structured coherence' is designed to indicate to what extent 'harmony' is present within the species of rurality, and can thus demonstrate the extent to which the local population, local policy makers, and NGO's, 'are

singing from the same hymn sheet' (Halfacree, 2007:128).

Halfacree suggests three formats of structured coherence, which 'should be seen as dynamic conditions, whose duration and spatial reach remain inherently impermanent': (1) congruent and united, (2) contradictory and disjointed, and (3) chaotic and incoherent. In the first category, the elements of rural space come together in a relatively smooth, consistent manner, yielding harmony. The lived, the conceived, and the perceived internalize each other, whereas the spatial character is open for debate in the other two categories. In the second category, there is contradiction within and between elements of rural space. Although there is tension, an overall coherence (still) holds. In the third and last category, there are fundamental contradictions within and/or between elements of rural space. Fundamental conflicting ruralities co-exist and the elements of rural space fail to internalize each other (Halfacree 2007 in Frisvoll 2012). In a congruent and unified rurality a degree of stability is suggested: 'what is conceived is perceived is lived' (Halfacree 2007:128).

Third, I add the Lefebvrian concept *'Trial by space'* which refers to the process through which a notion about a geographical space becomes the notion that is commonly recognized as applicable to that particular kind of space (Frisvoll 2012:2). Lefebvre (1991: 416-417) writes:

> …nothing or no one can avoid trial by space … It is in space … that each idea of 'value' acquires or loses its distinctiveness through confrontation with the other values and ideas that it encounters there. Moreover— and more importantly—groups, classes or fractions of classes cannot constitute themselves, or recognize one another, as 'subjects' unless they generate (or produce) a space. Ideas, representations or values which do not succeed in making their mark on space, and thus generating (or producing) an appropriate morphology, will lose all pith and become mere signs, resolve themselves into abstract descriptions, or mutate into fantasies.

In other words, without an appropriate space nothing that is truly different can exist (Halfacree 2007: 128). Trial by space is thus about the productive aspect of the spatial triad, in which the conceived and material processes produce a certain space. If the trial is successful, it attains the position of 'a vital, productive member of the cast' (Merrifield 2000:173) in the overall reproduction and possible transformation of a particular society.

For analytical purposes, two spatial triads are elaborated in the results section, each providing insight into a respective species of rurality (see figure 4). Two species of rurality are distinguished in order to expose the interaction between the moments of the spatial triad *within* a species of rurality. One describes the representations of space, spatial practices and lived space of Rewilding Europe and ATN in Faia Brava, i.e. the *rewilding rurality*. The case study of Cidadelhe is used to exemplify a *traditional rurality*, describing the representations of space, spatial practices and lived space of the inhabitants of Cidadelhe. The three elements interact in dialectical tension and they are separated for analytical purposes. Lefebvre warns that the distinction should be handled with considerable caution, because '*there is a danger of introducing divisions*

and so defeating the object of the exercise, which is to rediscover the unity of the productive process' (Lefebvre 1991:42). This theoretical model is depicted in figure 4.
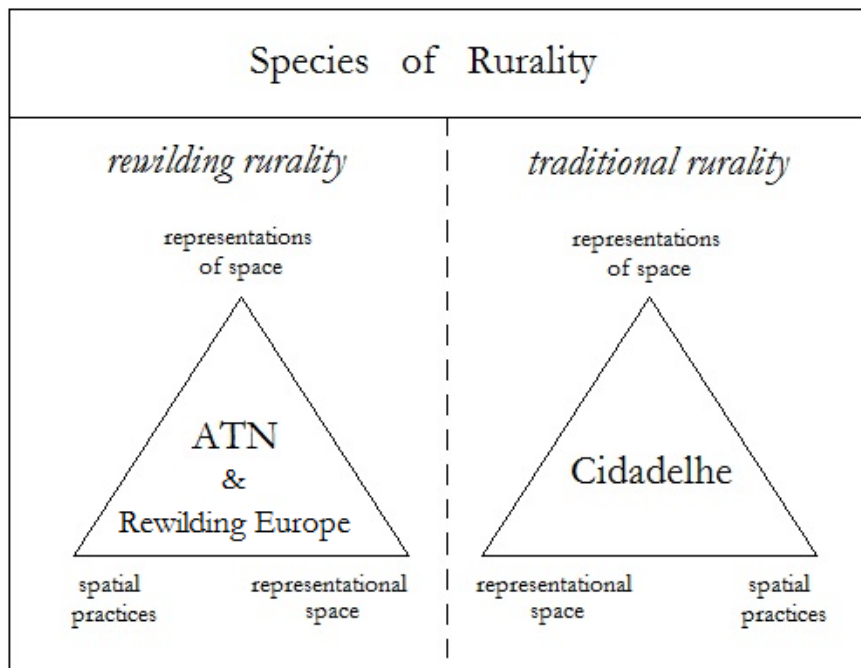
Figure 4: The conceptual model - Species of Rurality

The realm of spatial practices corresponds with the element of space that is physical and empirically observable, and which materiality has to be accommodated. This realm is thus directly perceived by people, each in their own way. The space of Cidadelhe and Faia Brava are deciphered by looking at the material environment, including the landscape, buildings, infrastructures, routes and networks which link up places with specific purposes. Furthermore, the daily practices and activities of residents and ATN and the socio-economic processes by which space is reproduced are object of inquiry. It focuses both on how actors are influenced by their spatial surroundings and how in turn they influence and construct the environment through their spatial practices. The respective spatial practices of ATN in Faia Brava and of the inhabitants of Cidadelhe are described in this field.

The realm of spatial practices interacts with the representations of space and representational space. Representations of space are conceptualised, defined or 'conceived', it is a rationally abstracted space where ideology, power and knowledge dominate. It refers to methods, models, discourses and strategies that are engaged in the materialization of ideas (Carp 2008:134). It thus refers e.g. to the vision of Rewilding Europe, and how this in turn materializes into spatial practices in Faia Brava. This is the realm of planners and scientists, as Lefebvre described, and included here are the NGOs ATN and Rewilding Europe. In the traditional rurality, it includes local politicians such as the mayors of Cidadelhe and Pinhel, and relevant local institutions such as the PACV, *Territórios do Côa* and ICNF. Basically, it will include actors that think about space in Cidadelhe and Faia Brava, who are engaged in the materialization of ideas professionally.

Then, the representational spaces are constituted by a subjective and intersubjective way to experience place, it is constituted by meaning that overlays physical space, which can be different for different users of this space. Memories, feelings, values and experiences play a role here and it is qualitative and symbolic. Local knowledge and traditions are more important here than rationality, science or technical expertise. In this thesis, the representational space is thus also the realm of local knowledge and the conceptualizations and abstractions of local inhabitants about Cidadelhe and their environment, i.e. their mental space. Representational spaces will thus inform how people experience a place and what meaning they attach to it, but also what knowledge and ideas they have about space and how this informs their actions in spatial practices. It pays attention to the inhabitants' conceptualizations of their surroundings and how attitudes towards nature and wildlife are perceived spatially. In the rewilding rurality, it examines the lived space of the ATN team.

The examination of these three realms for each species of rurality is thought to provide a comprehensive analysis of what constitutes the two ruralities. An analysis of the discrepancies and similarities in and between these spatial narratives provides us with an assessment of the extent to which Rewilding Europe resonates with the social space in the region. Through the concept of structured coherence it is examined to what extent 'harmony' is present within the species of rurality. This research is guided by the following research question:

How do the traditional rurality and the rewilding rurality interact in Cidadelhe and to what extent is structured coherence present?

To answer this question, the following sub questions are posed:

- What constitutes the traditional rurality?
- What constitutes the rewilding rurality?
- To what extent is structured coherence present in and between the ruralities?

This thesis aims to contribute academic and practical knowledge by providing an analysis of the interplay between what is conceptualized by Rewilding Europe and ATN and what happens 'on the ground' in Cidadelhe.

3. Research methodology

This chapter gives insight to how this study was conducted. After stating the research purpose, the research methods applied in this study, i.e. open interviews and participant observation are discussed, moreover reflecting on some ethical considerations. Subsequently it explains the choice of the setting, the choice for purposive sampling and the way access to the research population was gained. Then, it elaborates on the data analysis. Lastly, it reflects on the research quality, highlighting the issues of validity, cross-language research, the positionality of the researcher and the limitations of this study.

Research purpose

The purpose of this case study is to explore and describe the interaction between two species of rurality in the Côa Valley. It is mainly of applied value (Boeije 2010: 27-31) as the theoretical framework mainly functions to interpret the phenomena under study. However, the usefulness of Lefebvre's theory on space will be reflected on in the last chapter as well. The aim is thus to contribute academic and practical knowledge by providing an analysis of the interplay between what is conceptualized by Rewilding Europe and ATN and what happens 'on the ground'.

Research methods and data collection

Qualitative research methods were chosen as they are most apt for exploration and description. Qualitative research methods have a strong explorative power because of their flexible approach, which can be continually adjusted to emerging findings (Boeije 2010:32). Furthermore, they offer respondents to express their views and experiences in their own words and are not limited to preconceived categories (ibid). Qualitative research methods were therefore found to be most suitable for this study.

The primary data collection method was the conduct of open interviews. Open interviews are interviews of which the content, formulation, sequence and answers are at least partly dependent on the situation and course of every individual interview (Weiss in Boeije 2010: 62). A total of 33 interviews was conducted, of which fifteen interviews were informed by principles of narrative inquiry (as is elaborated below).

In addition, participant observation was carried out during a total of 5.5 months, which entails '*The process in which an investigator establishes and sustains a many-sided and relatively long-term relationship with a human association in a natural setting for the purpose of establishing a scientific understanding of that association*' (Lofland&Lofland in Boeije 2010: 59). It is highly apt to '*describe what happens, who or what are involved, when and where things happen, how they occur, and why things happen as they do from the point of view of the participants*' (Jorgensen in Boeije 2010:59). During these 5.5 months, 18 day trips to Cidadelhe were made.

This study is informed by Lefebvre's spatial triad which aims at exploring how social space gets produced. The spatial triad consists of three different fields of a different nature, and correspondingly the research methods were slightly adjusted to best fit the respective field. This triangulation of methods furthermore ensures better validity of the results.

To explore the first field, representations of space, open interviews were conducted. These were mainly expert interviews, i.e. interviews with informants who have expertise on a certain subject (Gubrium & Holstein in Boeije 2010:63). Interviews ranged from unstructured to semi-structured and topics and questions were prepared for each respondent individually. Furthermore, the findings of this field were informed by literature study.

To explore the second field, spatial practices, both open interviews and participant observation were conducted. For the rewilding rurality, the field's findings were mainly informed by unstructured expert interviews. For the traditional rurality these were mainly open interviews based on the principles of narrative inquiry, which is elaborated below. Both ruralities were moreover informed by data gained through participant observation, as this element of space is physical and empirically observable and allows for perception and interaction, for which this method of research very suitable.

Open interviews also informed the third field, representational space. To research the representational space of inhabitants of Cidadelhe, principles of narrative inquiry were adapted and applied. Narrative inquiry is an umbrella term that captures personal and human dimensions of experience over time, and takes account of the relationship between individual experience and cultural context (Clandinin and Connelly 2000). In this, a 'narrative' makes meaning of events through a particular kind of knowledge or understanding that the respondent has of them (Martin 2008). Because this realm is all about the 'lived' space of inhabitants, unstructured interviews were deemed most suitable to capture what is important to inhabitants, their experience and how they give meaning to their environment. The interviews were therefore carried out as flexible and unstructured as possible, although some themes were prepared to trigger the respondent to start talking. These were the same for all respondents in this field and were selected and adapted from Atkinson (1998) (see appendix). Because of the character of representational space, the aim is not to describe a truth but rather an experience. In this regard, the act of interviewing and the researcher writing it down is problematic because it immediately turns experience into a representation of that experience. Consequently, analyzing and writing about it implies abstracting it even further. To avoid this, this result chapter features many quotes and stories as narrated by the respondents, to keep to their experience as much as possible. Inquiry into a place in its representational, fluid nature may be more important than defining it from a fictive, one and only "true" standpoint, as places, as social space, can evoke multiple lived experiences whose differences may not be easily observed (Carp 2008:135-136).

The representational space of the rewilding rurality was mainly informed by participant observation, as living in the region for 5.5 months, working from the ATN office and participating in social life enabled a better understanding of this field through experience. Participation is considered essential in detecting meanings, feelings and experiences (Boeije 2010:59) and thus key for gaining insight in the representational space.

Ethical principles were followed in the conduct of this study to prevent conflicts or other problems. First, all interviews were conducted with informed consent, i.e. the respondent was explained what the nature of data collection was and the purpose for which the data would be used (Boeije 2010:45). The researcher made the deliberate choice not to ask or inform respondents in Cidadelhe about Rewilding Europe, as it is hitherto unknown and informing them was not considered appropriate for the researcher. Second, privacy was respected and participant observation was done openly. Third, respondents were given the opportunity to participate anonymously, which some informants consequently preferred. Last, respondents were offered the option of member validation. This procedure of presenting the findings to participants and asking whether they recognize the results is a way to both verify the research and ensure no data, that the respondents are uncomfortable with, are published. In effect, none of the local residents desired member validation. The findings will be presented to the involved local organizations, although only in English.

Setting, sampling, access

The village of Cidadelhe provided the main setting for this research. Initially, this village was chosen because it could *'serve as an interesting pilot to transform an abandoned medieval village in an eco-touristic top location'*[19]. However, as it became clear that neither Rewilding Europe nor ATN currently has any plans for tourism development in the village, a different approach was chosen. Still, Cidadelhe remained the primary location for the case study, because of the villages surrounding Faia Brava, Cidadelhe has the most conflicted relationship with ATN. Based on Morse and Fields' (in Boeije 2010: 34) principle of maximization, Cidadelhe was therefore considered an interesting location where the potential discrepancies between species of rurality could manifest themselves most strongly. Moreover, ATN indicated that of the surrounding villages it had the least knowledge of Cidadelhe, which gives this study more added value.

Therefore, Cidadelhe was taken as the starting point. From there, the relevant scale and other relevant stakeholders were identified. Of course, Cidadelhe's relative location with respect to the Faia Brava reserve is very important in this, as this constitutes the main focus of this study. The execution of the research did not only take place in Cidadelhe but also in other places, because the processes that are of influence on what happens in Cidadelhe are not necessarily limited to or researchable in the village. Relevant organizations, local government institutions and entrepreneurs are scattered around different villages in the region. For instance, ATN is located in Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo, 15 km from the Faia Brava reserve and 20 km from Cidadelhe. Therefore, it was decided to limit the scope of research to the region of the Côa Valley. This region comprises ten municipalities along the Côa River and are conceptualized as a coherent separate region by local government institutions.

Respondents were selected through purposive sampling, which was largely informed by Lefebvre's theory. For each species of rurality, respondents were selected to give insight in one or more spatial moments. Of

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[19] Student Project Topics 2012: Rewilding Enterprises, version 10 Feb 2012

course, respondents often provided insight in the other species of rurality as well. Emerging knowledge led to the selection of more respondents to fill in gaps in the findings. In the case of Cidadelhe, respondents were randomly approached and selection was therefore based on their availability and willingness to participate. Considering the small population of the village this method enabled the researcher to interview approximately 50% of the population.

Access to the research population, apart from the residents of Cidadelhe, was mostly gained through ATN, which functioned as a gatekeeper. ATN offered support with the identification of relevant respondents, contact details and, being an established and well-known organization in the region, 'a way in'. A disadvantage of this is that it in a few cases it provided access to the persons in local organizations with whom ATN has established contact already. For instance, people who are part of the ATN board, are a business partner of ATN, or have a personal relation with one of the ATN employees. Although these informants were very valuable, the researcher has been very careful to take the impact of this connection into account in the analysis of the data, and not to claim one's opinion as representative for a whole organization. In case of the people that are also in the ATN board, the advantage was of course that these interviews further informed the data about ATN and the rewilding rurality.

Data analysis

Interviews were transcribed by the researcher, and in case of Portuguese interviews, translated to English. In some cases, the researcher took the liberty to improve the formulation of some quotes, in order to make it more understandable. Data were consequently analyzed with Atlas.ti, a scientific software program for qualitative data analysis. Whereas some codes were informed by theory a priori, open coding was also used. Although theory informed this study a priori and the induction of new theory was therefore not an objective, the process of selective coding did lead to an addition to the theoretical framework to enable a better understanding of the data. The theoretical concepts of structured coherence, trial by space and species of rurality were found to represent findings well, to render more explanatory power to the theory and to offer significant guidance for the structure of this study.

Research quality

The research was conducted between October 2012 and May 2013. Considering the dynamic conditions of the topic under study, this time frame should be taken into consideration with regard to the findings.

Validity

A main indicator for the quality of research is validity[20]. Validity refers to whether the measure that is formulated for a particular concept really reflects the concept that it is supposed to be measured (Bryman in Boeije 2010: 169); i.e. do you measure what you intend to measure? During the process, the research

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[20] Another main indicator for the quality of research is reliability. Reliability refers to the consistency of the measures, i.e., repeated observation should lead to comparable outcomes (Boeije 2010: 169). However, reliability is a concept that is more applicable to quantitative research, as the nature for unstructured open interviews complicates repeatability. Considering the flexible research approach taken in this study no claims to reliability of the study can be made.

instruments were checked with face validity by supervisors and interpreters. Triangulation of methods furthermore ensured a higher validity of findings. By using interpreter triangulation a potential bias was reduced.

Cross-language research

The interviews with residents of Cidadelhe and three expert interviews were in Portuguese, constituting more than 50% of the interviews (see appendix I). For these interviews, interpreters were used, as the researcher does not command the language as fluent as was considered essential to be able to conduct in-depth interviews. The interpreters were elaborately briefed about the topic and research objectives before the interviews took place. Their immersion in the topic was essential for the interviews to take place in an informal, flexible and unstructured matter. Still, the need for interpretation led to several considerations. First of all, based on a constructivist approach, stories of lived experience are always co-constructed and negotiated between the people involved (Etherington 2000). The involvement of both the researcher and interpreter therefore has an influence on the co-construction of narratives. Furthermore, interviews were focused on personal experiences and attribution of meaning. To make a respondent comfortable to share this information, it helps of course if one can establish a positive trustworthy relationship during the interview. The need for an interpreter complicated this relationship that could be established between the researcher and the informant, as the latter two could not communicate easily with each other. In establishing a good relationship with the informants the interpreter therefore played an important role.

Besides, in some interviews ATN employees were used as interpreters. As this was not withheld from respondents, in some cases this may have had an influence on the attitude of the respondents and the course of the interview when ATN and/or Faia Brava were being discussed. In fact, it produced some very interesting data as the researcher could experience first-hand how people respond to employees of ATN, which was informative for ATN as well. Last but not least, the positionality and interest of the translator play a role as well. For instance, in two interviews in which someone of ATN interpreted, the interview was also used to establish contact between ATN and the person of the respective organization. Here, the interpreter thus had a personal interest in the interview as well.

To overcome these considerations and to avoid systematic errors to some extent, five different interpreters were used, of which three worked at ATN and two were independent. To provide full transparency, all interviews and the respective interpreters and translators are listed in appendix I.

Reseacher positionality

Adhering to the belief that research is never value-free and that the research process should not be de-humanized, this section will offer a succinct reflection on the researcher's positionality. In being reflexive, the researcher '*understands that research is an interactive process shaped by his or her personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and those of the people in the setting* (…) [and] *knows that science is power, for all research findings have political implications*' (Denzin and Lincoln 2000 in Ateljevic et al., 2005: 9). Because of this belief,

a constructivist approach was chosen, as it acknowledges research and interpretation is always subjective, instead of feigning scientific objectivity.

First of all, my academic background in Cultural Anthropology and Sociology of Development influenced the approach taken in this study. Studying development issues taught me the complexity of Western-initiated development projects, which often have unintended consequences and do more harm than good. This convinced me of the importance of viewing a subject from different perspectives and taking into account local perspectives. These personal and academic values have influenced my choice for the approach I took in this research, which is a typical anthropological approach.

Furthermore, in my education I was highly influenced by the interpretivist paradigm: the belief that as a true anthropologist, one does research by 'going native', which means that one immerses oneself in a society, living there for significant amount of time and become acquainted with a culture from an emic perspective (Phillimore & Goodson 2004:36). Although 'going native' was not a feasible objective for this research, it did influence my choice for the aforementioned qualitative research methods and the decision to live in the region for 5.5 months. However, in the context of this study which aimed to shed light on different lifeworlds of different stakeholders, an etic perspective was believed to be a valuable asset.

Moreover, Rewilding captured my interest because it combines several of my academic interests; tourism, nature conservation, entrepreneurship and local communities. Having a slight aversion of capitalist consumer values, the traditional rural livelihoods of the region and the alternative lifestyle of the 'rurals by choice' appealed to the romantic and idealist part of me. Moreover, being a Dutch person with a typical Dutch appearance influenced the way informants responded to me. My appearance and limited ability to speak Portuguese made it impossible to be perceived as 'one of them', and in some occasions even made me to be perceived as an 'exotic Other'. This has had an influence as well of course on the interaction with and relations with respondents.

Besides, it is important to stress that this research has been conducted in collaboration with ATN, which simultaneously constituted a research subject as well. Throughout the research, I have been careful to reflect on the consequences of this ambiguity and remain as impartial as possible. The same accounts for Rewilding Europe, as they collaborate with the University of Wageningen, which supervises this study. At all times the researcher has strived to be impartial and take a critical approach to all stakeholders involved. The researcher has no financial interest or otherwise, other than enabling a better understanding of the topic of research. Last but not least, these collaborations are believed to have had an influence on the information that ATN informants were willing to give. As the ATN team obviously has an interest in the collaboration with Rewilding Europe and was very aware of my position as a researcher, it is believed that some were hesitant to share their personal opinions on Rewilding openly. However, several different ATN employees were interviewed, of which some did not have a stake in concealing critical considerations of themselves or others. Therefore, it is believed that this research does provide a veracious account of the

situation within ATN. The researcher has strived to treat sensitive data as responsible and ethical as possible not to discomfit any of the informants.

Research limitations

This research was subject to several practical limitations. First of all, as was aforementioned, the researcher did not master the Portuguese language fluently. Fluency in the language would have helped with establishing contacts, conducting the interviews and gaining rich and in-depth data from both participant observations and interviews. This limitation was largely overcome by the use of interpreters, although this accounted for several considerations that were discussed above. It is believed that triangulation of interpreters helped to overcome these considerations and that the language deficiency did not alter the results of this research.

A second limitation was the dependence of the researcher on the team of ATN. The researcher partly depended on the cooperation of team members for instance for translation, access to some of the informants and transportation to other research locations such as Faia Brava, Cidadelhe and Pinhel. As a public transport network is practically absent in the region, private transportation was essential. Although the researcher is most grateful for the support the team could give, their busy schedules sometimes accounted for delays in the research and missed appointments. More independence on part of the researcher would have accounted for a more efficient research process.

Lastly, and related to the practical limitation of transportation, the researcher regrets that it was not possible to spend more time in Cidadelhe. Preferably, the researcher would have lived in the village for at least several weeks, with the objectives of 'going native', more elaborate participant observation and establishing closer relationships with the research population. Unfortunately, this was not possible due to time and other practical constraints. Although the regular visits, interviews and field notes were very informative, it is believed that this would have provided even richer data.

4. Results

This chapter presents the findings of this research. For analytical purposes, the assumption is made that a *traditional* rurality and a *rewilding* rurality can be distinguished. The traditional rurality is exemplified by inhabitants of Cidadelhe and relevant local institutions, i.e. the municipality of Pinhel and Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo, the parish of Cidadelhe, the Côa Valley Archeological Park (PACV), the Institute for Conservation of Nature and Forest (ICNF) and Côa Territories. The rewilding rurality encompasses both ATN and Rewilding Europe, as they enact and implement one strategy in the region. They are taken together for analytical reasons, to demonstrate the internal dynamics of how this strategy is negotiated.

The first results chapter examines the three spatial moments – representations of space, spatial practices and representational space- that make up the traditional rurality internally. The case study of Cidadelhe is used to exemplify this rurality, demonstrating how the representations of space of local institutions interact with the spatial practices and lived space of Cidadelhe. Then, the second results chapter presents the rewilding rurality, demonstrating what is conceived by Rewilding Europe and how this interacts with ATN's vision, practices and lived space. Finally, the interaction between the traditional and rewilding species of rurality is examined in the third results chapter, analyzing the extent of structured coherence.

4.1 The *traditional* rurality: Cidadelhe

This chapter presents the results of the data collection researching the life world of inhabitants of Cidadelhe. This chapter scrutinizes the three realms that make up the *traditional* spatial narrative; the conceived, perceived and lived spaces. These are separated mainly for analytical purposes but they in fact interact and overlap. The chapter is concluded by an assessment of extent to which there is structured coherence in the traditional rurality.

Representations of space

In this paragraph the representations of the region and Cidadelhe specifically, are discussed. The main designations of the region, which conceived on a national and international scale, interact with spatial practices and lived space in the village. Moreover these designations inform the way local governmental institutions conceive the region.

Cidadelhe falls in a Natura 2000 area, which is an ecological network of protected nature areas in Europe. The village therefore has the official status of a protected area. The implementation is locally enacted by the Portuguese governmental Institute of Conservation and Forestry (ICNF)[21]. Next to this, the Côa Valley is classified as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. It is one of the world's most significant rock art sites and the most important Palaeolithic open air rock art.[22]. The rock art was discovered when a large

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[21] http://www.icnf.pt/portal/icnf (in Portuguese only)
[22] http://www.igespar.pt/en/patrimonio/mundial/portugal/117/

dam was to be built in the Côa River in the beginning of the 1990s. As the dam would flood most of the rock art sites, this put to a controversial stop to the project (Batarda Fernandes et al. 2008: 330). The Côa Valley Archaeological Park (PAVC) was created in 1996 by the Portuguese Institute for the Management of the Architectural and Archaeological Heritage IGESPAR (*Istituto de Gestão do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico*), with the aim of managing, safeguarding and exhibiting the rock art[23]. The Côa art was listed as a National Monument in 1997, and was inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1998. In Cidadelhe there is the site 'Faia', where eighteen rock art panels have been found. In contrast to the other sites, painted motifs are predominant over engraved ones. Seven of the known panels have some of the best examples of Late Prehistory painted schematic art in the Côa[24]. However, the site is not open to visitors, because of its relative inaccessibility.

The designations entail a certain valuation of the natural and archaeological patrimony, deeming it 'worthy of protection'. This protection in turn is prioritized over other interests that actors may have in the territory. These designations, established in national and international legislation[25], transcend local and regional policies. They imply it is heritage of a certain 'universal value', for which local interests, such as economic exploitation of the area, have to give way. These representations of the territory thus have a large influence on the ground; for instance, the designation of the Côa Valley as a World Heritage Site prohibited the building of a dam, which would have provided employment and income for the local population.

By local government institutions the region is largely conceptualized based on its cultural, natural and archaeological patrimony. There is no substantial industry, nor is this seen as a possible way to boost the local economy (P13, P20). The municipalities of Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo and Pinhel and the parish Cidadelhe all envision tourism as a prime way to generate alternative income for the region. They see potential in the combination of traditional agricultural life, the archeological park and the natural reserves that the region offers to attract tourism. They stress that it is exactly this combination that can make the region attractive for tourism. The vice-president of Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo evens claims he views tourism as the only viable option for the region: *'There's no other way. No industry, no money. But there's patrimony'* (P13:38).

The Côa Valley falls in the jurisdictions of both tourism promotional agencies Turismo do Centro (Tourism of the Center) and Turismo do Norte (Tourism of the North), although this will be reorganized shortly (P13: 23). However, these regional tourism offices offer little support to the Côa Valley, or as the vice president of Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo puts it: '*Support for tourism until now: zero.*'(P13: 25). On a

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[23] http://www.igespar.pt/en/patrimonio/mundial/portugal/117/
[24] http://arte-coa.pt/index.php?Language=en&Page=Gravuras&SubPage=ArteRupestre&Sitio=12
[25] Plano Sectorial da Rede Natura 2000 – Resolução do Concelho de Ministros nº115-A/2008; Rede Natura 2000 Zona de Proteção Especial do Vale do Côa (Decreto-Lei nº 384-B/99 de 23 de Setembro de 1999); Classificação do Vale do Côa como Sítio Património da Humanidade (WHC-98/CONF.203/10Rev. Kyoto, 29 November 1998).

regional or national level there is not much interest in the Côa Valley, and most money is invested in the popular coastal regions. Tourism is, in the words of the mayor of Pinhel, 'practically inexistent' in the region (P20). The province of Pinhel attracts 20.000-30.000 tourists per year (P20:28). The Douro river cruises account for some tourism influx, but since these are all-inclusive packages, tourists do not spend any money in the region (P13:14). Over the last decade many partnerships and agreements have been attempted, but none of them worked out properly (P13, P20). All the local government representatives seem to adhere to the same narrative; the region has tourism potential, but there is no money to develop anything. The municipalities focus on preservation and maintenance of the patrimony and creating a good climate for investments; private entrepreneurs have to do the rest (P13, P20).

The general consensus seems to be that creating a network and a strong brand for the region will help to attract more tourism to the region, although some are more optimistic than others. The ten different municipalities that constitute the Côa Valley joined efforts in the organization 'Territorios do Côa' (Côa Territories). The organization aims to create networks between local entrepreneurs, stimulate local identification with the territory and improve the visibility of the range of tourism products that is on offer (P21). Côa Territories manages the EU fund 'PROVERE' which is designated for investment in tourism and although some are somewhat more positive about the results, according to the mayor of Pinhel this was 'very little money', and 'nothing happened' (P20:28).
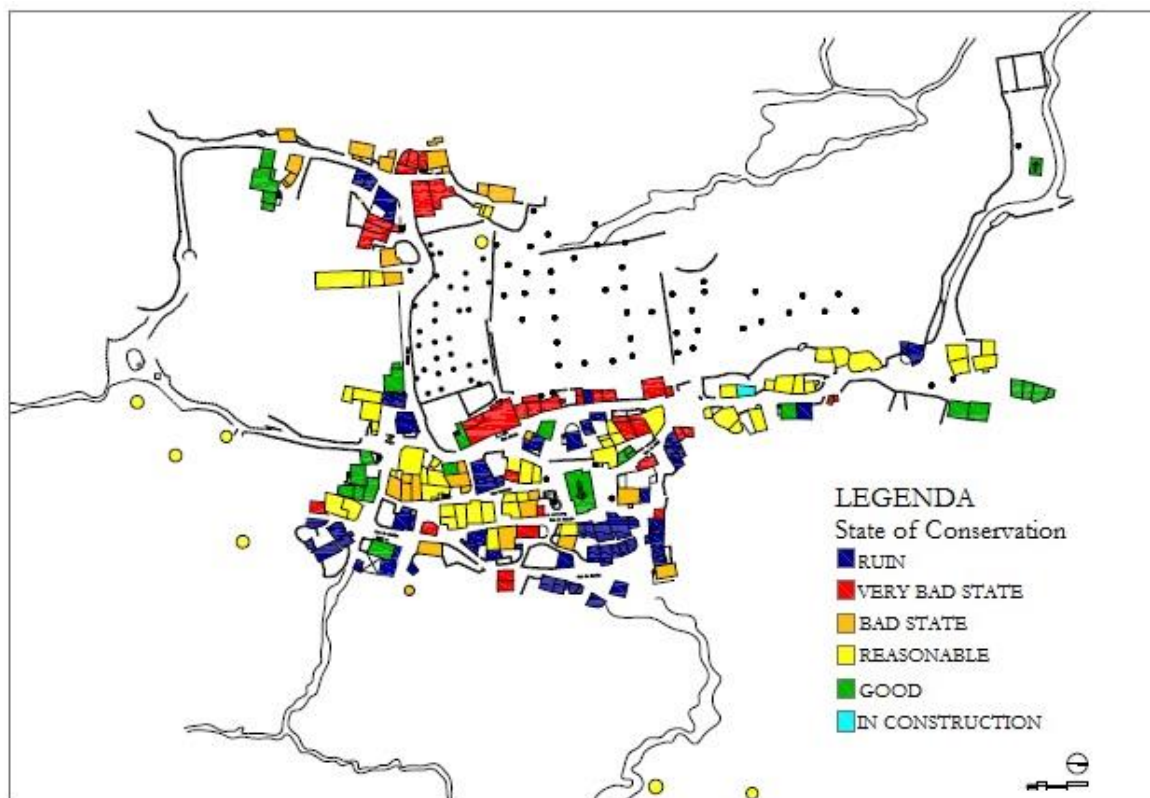
Figure 5: Cidadelhe - State of Conservation (courtesy of the Municipality of Pinhel)
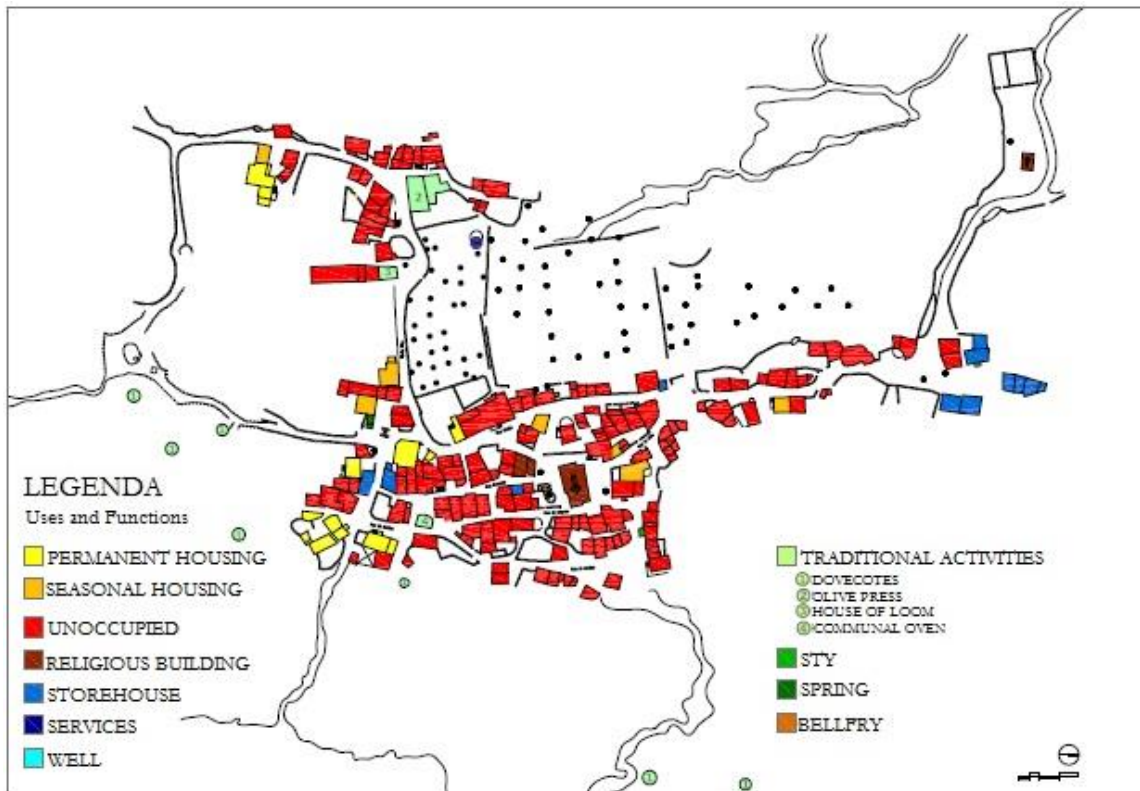
Figure 6: Cidadelhe - Uses and functions (courtesy of the municipality of Pinhel)

The mayors of Pinhel and Cidadelhe see high potential in Cidadelhe to develop rural tourism, the former even calling the old part of Cidadelhe 'the crown jewel of this county' (P20). The protective status of the area limits the economic possibilities but increases the attraction of the area for recreational purposes, which makes resorting to tourism a logical step. The mayor of Cidadelhe states that he views Cidadelhe as becoming a touristic village as the only solution for the future (P5:70)

Throughout the years, many projects and plans to exploit Cidadelhe's potential have been conceived, but they never passed from abstract ideas into practice (P20). To name a few; there was the idea to set up a 'Paleoparque' in Cidadelhe, the idea to brand it as one of the 'Aldeias do Côa' ('Côa villages', an envisioned regional network of villages of interest) and a project in collaboration with the architecture department of the University of Lisbon. In figures 6 and 7 the products of the latter project can be seen, which offer representations and classifications of the state of conservation of the dwellings and its uses. As can be seen, many houses are in ruins or bad states, and the majority of houses is unoccupied. This provides opportunities: for instance, the municipality owns eleven ruins in the old part, which are available to entrepreneurs to develop (P20:9).

Although there are many parties interested according to the mayor of Pinhel, nobody invested yet:

> There were various intentions of making projects in Cidadelhe with concrete proposals, but there isn't the money to back it up, the financial or economic means... and that is what worries us. That there is no money to develop projects that are extremely interesting to me, to develop Cidadelhe. There were many parties interested to do something but none of them came through. (…)The persons in Cidadelhe say: we are tired of promises. (P20:29).

In short, local governments conceive of the region in terms of patrimony and view tourism as an important –if not the only- viable option for future development for both the Côa Valley and Cidadelhe. They stress that the combination of cultural, natural and archeological patrimony is what renders the region its potential. Although a lack of money is problematic they are dedicated to create a good climate for investment.

Spatial practices in Cidadelhe

'The spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space' (Lefebvre 1999:38). In a rural space the landscape is particularly determining for the spatial practices of its inhabitants when comparing it to urban environments. Deciphering the landscape in Cidadelhe is essential to understand historical and current spatial practices of its people. This subchapter provides a reading of the environment, which elucidates how spatial practices interact with representations of space and representational spaces. Five main spatial practices can be distinguished in Cidadelhe: (1) dwelling, (2) extensive agriculture, (3) pastoralism and the usage of fire, (4) hunting and (5) tourism. Furthermore, attention is paid to the spatial practices that cannot take place in Cidadelhe because of the special designations of the area.

Dwelling

Although the Portuguese National Institute for Statistics states Cidadelhe had 39 inhabitants in 2011 (INE), according to the mayor of the parish it currently hosts only 25 inhabitants. The population is aging; all people that live here permanently are at least fifty years, the majority a lot older. In addition to the people that live in Cidadelhe permanently, some people own a second house there and come only in the weekends or holidays. Most of the latter group inherited the family house or grew up in Cidadelhe but went to live somewhere else in the region. Fernanda, a middle-aged woman who is born in Cidadelhe and comes occasionally in the weekends, explains: '… *there's no one here… Now it's weekend, but tomorrow or the day after you can walk the streets in the village and not find anyone here. People that live here work in the field and are always busy'* (P10:27). In many cases, their children come in the weekends to help out. Many of them live in Guarda, which is the district's capital and the largest town nearby. *'There are more people from Cidadelhe living in Guarda than in Cidadelhe itself'*, as someone remarks (P3:16). Others live in Pinhel, Lisbon, Porto or abroad. The outlook is that there will be nobody to continue the work when this generation becomes too old. Dona Silvina (90) captures the situation simple but strikingly: *'The young people leave and the old people die; so Cidadelhe is dying.'(P16: 28).*

Cidadelhe exists of a few streets, the main one running in a circle from the upper part of As Eiras to the lower part. There is one road passing through Cidadelhe, making it reachable from the side of Meda and Pinhel and Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo. Driving the steep and curvy asphalt road from Rio Côa up to the village, one of the first things in sight is the large brown sign of the Côa Valley Archaeological Park, indicating the presence of rock engravings. Entering the town, you arrive at the new part, with white-plastered houses that are relatively new or renovated. It features a large cobblestoned square, with in the middle a big stone monument with three crosses and a large granite slab with an engraved map of the village. Bordering the square, there's *quiosque a gruta* ('kiosk the cave'), a miniscule café, with a small playground and some olive trees providing shade for the granite benches next to it. The old school opposite of it is turned into a visitor's center.

Cidadelhe has hardly any amenities; no school, restaurant or supermarket. The inhabitants are dependent on weekly visits of merchants in a pick-up truck to buy the groceries that they cannot grow or make themselves. Even this service may be in jeopardy however, because of the small amount of customers. The butcher already stopped including Cidadelhe on his route; it was not profitable for him anymore. Now, villagers ask each other to bring meat back when one of them goes to Pinhel. The priest visits Cidadelhe's church on some weekends, but not all. *Quiosque a gruta* opens occasionally after lunch and dinner, and serves a handful of people a coffee. There are three people in the village who have a key to the cafe, taking turns in bartending. In the weekend, especially on Saturday, it draws more people. Then there is more life in the village, with children that come to visit their parents.

The village always seems deserted at first sight, but at a second glance there is usually some movement going on; a shepherd arriving with his herd back in the village, somebody crossing the street on the way home, or someone rearranging things in the small chapel. Parked cars indicate that more people might be at home. Some cats and dogs keep guard, while sheep curiously stare at you and some chickens potter about in a garden. Descending passed the square to the lower part, the village is different and older. The modern street lights seem terribly out of place. The sound of silence is interrupted only by the occasional barking of a dog. The drastic changes that Cidadelhe underwent in the past decades are evident. There are more than a hundred dwellings in Cidadelhe, but the large majority is abandoned. Some of the old cobble stone houses are renovated and in a habitable state, but most of them are on the verge of collapsing. Even entire parts of the town are abandoned; walls without roofs, houses with fallen trees in them, houses with entire vegetable gardens growing inside them - deliberately or not; that's not quite clear. The Nobel prize winning Portuguese author José Saramago visited Cidadelhe for his novel Journey to Portugal (1990) and was struck by the depopulation of the village:

> The village is entirely of stone. The houses are of stone, and so are the streets. The landscape is of stone, a lot of the dwellings are empty, many walls have collapsed. Where people used to live, now weeds grow.

Extensive agriculture

The primary livelihoods in Cidadelhe are extensive agriculture and pastoralism, which are important spatial practices in the entire Côa Valley. The landscape and the livelihoods of its inhabitants have always been intrinsically connected. During centuries, the human activities exercised a large pressure on the territory and transformed and shaped the landscape. In the 1930s and 40s, population growth induced an increasing pressure on the territory. The need for more food led to an efficient use of all available space; based on soil fertility a hierarchy of the land was created. For maximum productivity, the fields with best soil were cultivated, interspersed with vast areas of uncultivated poor land on the plateaus, with grass and scrublands that are used for pasture of sheep and goats. The few marshy meadows that are around were used for the pasture of cattle. This diversified landscape, with plots with different agricultural uses, is also known as a mosaic landscape. It was a subsistence economy, predominated by small properties, often just large enough to sustain the family. The parcels were generally used for the cultivation of rye, corn, wheat, vines, olive trees and close to the village as *hortas* – little vegetable gardens, e.g. with potatoes, pumpkins and cabbages. The intensive use of the land during this period can still be recognized in the mosaic landscape and the remnants of kilometers of low granite cobblestone walls.

The residents of Cidadelhe are still farmers or shepherds, the traditional occupations of the village. The majority lives from agriculture; most people have a *horta* next to their home and some fields with vines, cereals or olives outside of town. Furthermore, some traditional crafts are practiced: the village has an active wine press and the couple Maria Alice and Manel (80) keep bees and produce honey. Agriculture cannot provide a sufficient income for most people in the region and the need for employment and education drives many to move to larger villages or cities. Cidadelhe is one of many villages in this rural part of Portugal where the population has dwindled. Currently, most of the farmers that remain receive subsidies from the government to sustain their livelihoods. The produce of this small-scale agriculture is often so little that it is used only for own consumption. Despite the population's high age and the harsh conditions, most are still working on the fields. Mario (72) tells about his daily routine: *'I woke up at 6 today, I just stop for lunch. I don't eat breakfast. I just stopped ten minutes before and now I am on my way to another field because I planted some potatoes there. For me that's resting, to be working on a different field than usual...'* (p17:24).

Pastoralism and the usage of fire

Next to extensive agriculture, pastoralism constituted an important livelihood. Nowadays there are five shepherds active in Cidadelhe; each with a flock of about 100 sheep. Man modified the landscape and the vegetation cover considerably by frequently burning land for the pasture of sheep and goats. This can be recognized all around Cidadelhe and determines to a large extent what the landscape looks like today. Fire has always played an important role in Mediterranean ecosystem. Moreover, given the low productivity of the territory, it is commonly used as a tool to accelerate natural regeneration. Grazing is incompatible with large forest areas, as domestic herbivores are unable to curb the dominance of trees. Consequently shepherds have been resorting to fire to open clearings and create pastures of better grazing quality. Many abandoned agricultural parcels are used for pasture. The more distant fields, that previously functioned as

pastures, are now abandoned and rewilding. This nourishes larger fires that can be harder to control, and fires are still common practice. Outside Cidadelhe, near the cliffs for instance, there are patches of burned land with blackened trees – remains of a shepherd induced fire in March 2012.

The attitudes of people towards the usage of fire are generally positive; although some are afraid fires might pose a risk to their houses and olive groves: '*I can see that in certain places, only the fire can clean the land, but it is dangerous and can burn everything in a second*' (P26:63). A woman explains: '*The fires are sometimes bad. In the past, we could burn the bushes and not get injuries because people gathered together and controlled the fire. Some started the fire and others controlled it. Now I'm afraid the fire can reach the village. (...) It is to clear the land, because you can't go anywhere. The fields are full of bushes. The grounds are full of crap and we and the cattle cannot pass. The way everything is, no one can enter the fields*' (P3:66). The shrublands have no value to them, except as pastoral land. Antonia says: '*In the past, when we would go to the fields, we saw rye and wheat, now we see only broom and brambles. It hurts me to see that, but what is there to do?*' (P28:52). When asked if something burnt last year, one seemed to dismiss all the unproductive land that burnt, by simply stating: '*No, the olive groves didn't burn*' (P17:6). A shepherd, when asked if there were too many fires, answered: '*No, but there should be [more]*' (P19:29). For them it is the most efficient way to clear shrublands and turn unproductive, useless land into fertile pastoral grounds. They feel it should be allowed to burn land, and feel aversion towards the cumbersome Portuguese bureaucracy that prohibits them many things already: '*If it wasn't for the match, as we say in here, then there would be paths where we cannot walk. Like the brambles that were up to our middle so we could not get through. We had to cut them every time, more than once in a year. That's it, we cannot get through. What I think is that we should have permission to burn. This way we can get a group and make a controlled fire. And be careful with the olive trees and now we have no permission to burn anything. Now people burn in secret, getting more disadvantages than benefits*' (P4:53).

Hunting

There is a municipal hunting association in Cidadelhe, which means that it is by definition allowed to hunt on properties within its borders, unless land owners object (P20:7). Part of Faia Brava falls within the municipal hunting territory, but there is no regular hunting because of the difficulty of the landscape, with its steep cliffs and rocks (P22: 17). According to the mayor of Cidadelhe, nowadays there are four men that hunt sometimes (P5:113). In 2007/2008 there was an estimate of fifty hunting members of the association (ATN 2010) although according to an ATN employee, by now this is probably half (pers.comm. João Quadrado). Occasionally the village hosts larger hunting parties as well (P5). Besides, there are only two habitual fishing sites, and these are not used often because of the inaccessibility of the river (ATN 2010). The Cidadelhians welcome the hunters to come, as they usually have lunch afterwards and it brings some life to the village (P20:62). Although hunting is a popular activity in the country side, in Cidadelhe specifically its frequency is not very significant.

Tourism

Generally, the Cidadelhians like and welcome visitors. The village has become so quiet that they are very open to the possibilities of tourism, as this could create some movement and alternative income. Tourists,

of whom the large majority is Portuguese, visit Cidadelhe occasionally: *'They come over during religious parties and at other times, almost every day there are tourists. Sometimes I wonder the reason that makes them come up here, because this is just about stones. But they like to come. Of course I think [it's important]. They come because they like it and that's good. I'd like to see more tourists, the more the better'* (P3:40). They consider themselves to be a hospitable people, which is confirmed by one of the regular weekend visitors: *'People that come from outside the region usually like it, and the few people that are here are very good at receiving visitors, something that you don't see everywhere'* (P10:29). Only Maria is somewhat more reticent: *'I even gave some olive oil, herbs and eggs to one of these ladies that own a house [for weekends and holidays]. I think it's important that people come here but we have to be careful that they come with good intentions'* (P27:32). Some see opportunities to exploit the tourism possibilities further*: 'They could make the promotion of the village and also contribute for the animation. This is a historical village; in addition, an attraction could be created. Such as a pool for the kids, some animal ridings for children, like a park. We have here conditions and land use for that purpose. We could make a picnic area for those who visit us' (P26:52).*

There are people interested in developing tourism in the village, but no one seems willing or able to make the first move. For instance a couple from Porto bought several ruins in the old part. They renovated one and use it for weekend and holidays and would like to renovate and rent out the others, but they wait for others to invest in Cidadelhe as well. Moreover, they feel the municipality should invest in the village to push things forward and stress that they feel there is a lack of political will. The old olive oil press was bought several years ago by a private entrepreneur but remains in ruins due to a lack of money, much to the despair of the Cidadelhians.

The prohibition of spatial practices

As a result of the special designations for the area, some spatial practices and activities are prohibited. Most economic alternatives for the low profit agriculture are prohibited under the designations, which constitutes a source of frustration to the population. For instance, when some villagers constructed a stone mine for the extraction of granite, this was stopped by ICNF to avoid disturbance to the cliff breeding birds. The mayor of Pinhel explains: *'There are a few economic activities that cannot be carried out in Cidadelhe because of this special protection. The people protested, they were furious because there was a way to get some money and it was not allowed. Another thing was the sale of the stones, of the walls, they were taking these down to sell the stones to Spain, the people were very offended that we did not authorize this, because they could not sell what was theirs. They didn't get this'* (P20: 47). One villager captures the dominant sentiment in the village strikingly, by stating: *'It is more important to have jobs here than vultures'* (P18:17).

Many people in Cidadelhe are frustrated with the legislation that applies in the village, much of which is resulting from the designations as a Natura 2000 area and a World Heritage Site. Fernanda explains where she thinks that frustration comes from: *'I think that "Vale do Côa"* [actually referring to the PACV and/or ICNF] *created some limitations on things that people could do or not, for example on constructions and recovery of the houses. They only created limitations but didn't help at all and we don't see any benefits. It's not allowed to prune a tree without a permit; these kinds of things usually demotivate people'* (P10:40). Another consideration is the time and

money it costs and the fact that other villagers dodge this: *'There are some things that I think are okay but others I don't agree. For example we have to ask for permission to cut a tree in our own field and I don't agree with that. We have to go from here to Guarda because in Pinhel we cannot do this. You spend money and time (…) but then I said; why are we taking these papers to Guarda if all of our neighbors are cutting without a license and we are the only ones that keep paying?'* (P4:53). Silvina implies that the usage of fire serves to circumvent the mandatory permit to cut oaks: *'For me, the use of fire is normal in these conditions because the law doesn't permit to cut the oaks but the shepherds need places to let the sheep eat. So they use the fire to clear the areas. In these conditions the shepherds made fire and burnt all the things that they needed to burn and more, the olive yards as well'* (P16:21).

Representational space

This subchapter centers on the experience of space, and is thus intrinsically subjective. It is about feelings, associations and memories related to places and spaces and can be both personal and shared. Because of this character of representational spaces, this subchapter features quotes and stories as they were narrated by the respondents as much as possible.

'Saudades'

The consequences of depopulation dictate the lived experience of its inhabitants to a large extent, who long for the old times when Cidadelhe was alive and full of people. Their experience of Cidadelhe is strongly shaped in relationship to the past. One of the youngest permanent inhabitants of Cidadelhe, shepherd Valdemar Aleixo (57) describes his village: *'Cidadelhe is a small, very quiet town, and it's very good to go to bed at night and not hear anything. Only the birds singing in the morning. It's really, really quiet. No movement at all. At least for now, but because it's so quiet I can be afraid of being robbed'* (P19:23). Someone else expresses a similar sentiment: *'I'm living on a farm, and I'm afraid to be here. I live here with my husband but without neighbors. There are days when no one passes here. In the past, everything was sowed and the people could live here. Now everyone complains about everything'* (P3:32). Valdemar: *'' At weekends we still gather some people around but during the week days not even old people. That house still has one person, that house still has a person... in the weekend, someone comes there... only in the weekend, we have some movement. But during the weekdays it's monotonous. Can you imagine Cidadelhe busy? (P19:57).*

They often express their *'saudades';* a word that only exists in the Portuguese language and entails a nostalgic longing for, or missing someone or something. Fernanda exclaims: *'My god, I remember that all of these homes had people in it and now it's a complete desert. There were more people, everyone knew each other… Now people are more individualists, each one for himself. In the old days no one would do anything without the help of the neighbors, [the harvest of] the cereal crops were a party, everyone together helping all the people, I miss that time. I remember when I was a little girl, going in the end of the day taking the dinner to my father that was sleeping in the field. I would like to have that back again'* (P10:21). Maria Amalia says: *'I would really like Cidadelhe to be like in the past again, with more people, more life, and that's it, nothing more. And I would like that it was possible to have more people around, more movement, and more alternatives for young people. And to keep them [the young people] here, so that it would be possible to have a village full of life'* (P12:41). All seem to miss the presence of younger generations, as Antonia expresses: *'I*

like everything. I like the people, I like what's here, what was left from our parents, our grandparents. Only the village has stopped. I just wish that one day our children could come here and say they are happy here' (P28:104).

Important to their conceptualization of the village, is the idea that Cidadelhe exist from an upper part and a lower part: 'o povo de cima' and 'o povo de baixo'. The lower part is 'the main part', where 'Cidadelhe was born'. It is very different than before, as one woman explains: '*For 50 years all the houses were filled with people, 7 or 8 children and sometimes 10 children. The largest families were the people from 'o povo de baixo'.* (P3:13) Most people lived in this thriving part, with the church as the center, and '*in all the holes lived persons*' (P16: 15). Currently, only two couples live there, which increases the sense of abandonment for the Cidadelhians: this part was the 'real' Cidadelhe. Some people that used to live in the lower part now live in the upper part 'As Eiras', because the houses are newer and in better conditions there, but it is almost as another village to them. The older low part is considered to be most beautiful and interesting. Fernanda says: '*…I was born here. I'm proud of being from Cidadelhe, and mainly this older part... I like it for being so quiet and peaceful, birds singing in the morning, no traffic…' (*P10:37). People take pride in being 'born and raised' in Cidadelhe. One lady tells: '*Many people come out here to see our church. The entire roof is composed of frames with holy images, it is very beautiful. And we have a 'palium' embroidered in gold. Now he is carefully maintained in the Pinhel National Guard office because people get afraid to keep him in their houses'* (P27:44). When talking about the village, spontaneously Valdemar begins to cite:

Cidadelhe terra linda	Cidadelhe beautiful land
com sua igreja matriz	With its matrix church
igreja mais bonita,	The most beautiful church
que tem o nosso país (P19:55)	That our country has

And, subsequently he says; '*Cidadelhe is a village full of heritage. Full of traditions, and historical value, cultural heritage. For example the palium'* (P19:60). It was custom that when a man would pass a cross or one of the many 'alminhas' in town (literally 'little souls', little chapels) they would take off their hat out of respect (P16:12). They tell religion is very important to the people of Cidadelhe (P26:44), which is apparent from the fact that there is a church, two chapels, many alminhas, several crosses and depictions of saints on the houses. Silvina, Hortencia and Maria all remember well that '*there were around 400 people in Cidadelhe, there was no more space in the church, it would always be full'* (P16:29). The religious parties that were held twice a year were very important and popular, Felisberto tells: '*we have the "Nossa Senhora de Fátima" at 17th and 18th of May, but formerly we had the traditional celebration of "Santa Bárbara" in August or September. This celebration is more popular, but it began to die because people started to emigrate, that was the biggest party that we ever had' (*P26:38). Others blame the lack of money for the dying out of the celebration (P28:66). Still, the celebration *'Nossa Senhora de Fátima'* attracts many visitors to Cidadelhe and accounts for the busiest day in the village.

'The heel of the world'
A motivation for tourists to visit Cidadelhe is that it features in the famous novel 'Journey to Portugal' of Portuguese author and Nobel Prize winner José Saramago. In the book, he calls it '*o calcanhar do mundo'*,

'the heel/end of the world'. Whether Saramago picked up on this characterization during his visit, or he coined it and it became gradually internalized by the population; there is hardly any formal or verbal representation of Cidadelhe in which it is not mentioned. Silvina tells: *'The history of Cidadelhe is very old, it was known as 'calcanhar do mundo'. The reason is very simple. We are in the middle of two rivers, Massueime and River Côa. When I was a child, two old ladies like me now, they said, 'the first time when the worlds end it was with water. And now, the next time it will be with fire'. And me as a child, I thought: it's no problem, we have the rivers on both sides; we can control the fire'* (P16:6).

The seclusion of the village plays an important role in villagers' experience of the place. Even though it is only ten minutes by car to the next village nowadays, they experience the place as being very remote. In the old days, Cidadelhe was hardly reachable, being on the heights between two rivers. To go to Figueira, for instance, they had to take a small mule track, cross the river by barge, then walking for hours through shrublands and forest to get there (P17:16). Silvina reminisces*: 'In the old times we had 'trilho de barca'* (the barge trail). *In the middle of the river there were two big rocks. On those rocks they installed the barge, a rectangular boat that you pull. When the river grew a lot, the people in Cidadelhe say, the river it covered 'seixo' a certain rock. When the level passes 'seixo' the barge can be used. When the water level passes 'fraga de pomba'* (another boulder) *that was too high water to use the boat and nobody could pass to the other side. When this happens and it rained a lot, a few men tried to fix the barge on the shore because if they wouldn't do nothing the barge would get lost in the river. Near the barge pass there was a house where the man of the barge lived with the family. The name is 'Casa do Barceiro'* (the house of the boatman). *The house was two big rocks next to each other with a roof made in between. And they waited for people to pass the river. It was the most beautiful place in Cidadelhe. In the other river, Massueime, there was also a boat. This is the reason that they call it 'calcanhar do mundo'* (the heel of the world)*, because when the water was too high nobody could reach Cidadelhe. When the man of the boat left with the family to find another life Cidadelhe was completely isolated. In Massueime the boat stopped also and this is the reason for the name'* (P16).

There were no roads for a long time, only animal tracks or small tracks that were carved out with hoes. The following tragic history from Saramago's book is illustrative of this isolation and its consequences for the people of Cidadelhe:

> Senhor Guerra (for that is his name) says: "I'm from Cidadelhe, a village in the district of Pinhel. Are you thinking about going there too?" The traveler replies truthfully: "I intended to. I'd like to see it. What's the road like?" "The road is bad. It's at ends of the earth. But it used to be worse." The waiter paused then repeated: "Much worse". (…) "I can imagine." "Perhaps you can. What I can't do is remain indifferent when I hear that places like mine are condemned to disappear." "Who told you that?" "The mayor of Pinhel, years ago. They're condemned, he said." "So you like it there?" "A lot." "Do you still have family there?" "Just one sister. I used to have another one, but she died". (…) "My other sister died when she was seven. I was nine at the time. She had the croup, and it was getting worse all the time. It's twenty-five kilometers from Cidadelhe to Pinhel, and in those days it was nothing more than a stony track. The doctor never came to the village. So my mother asked to borrow a mule, and the three of us set out in the hills". "Did you get there?" "We didn't even get halfway. My little sister died. We turned back for home, with her

in my mother's arms on the mule. I walked along behind, in tears". (…) "My sister died because there was no doctor and because there was no road." (Saramago 1990: 184-185).

At some point, people from the village took matters in their own hands and decided to build a bridge over the Côa River, later known as 'O Ponte da Uniao' (the union bridge). Silvina remembers: *The road that we used to take to Cidadelhe, I remember that it was a very small trail for goats. It was difficult for the animals and people to cross each other. Therefore someone started to make a road and to construct a small bridge in Rio Côa. To construct them, this guy, senhor Albano, asked for money in other villages to build the bridge. With this money he paid some guys that were able to work with rocks to construct the bridge. And also he paid a woman to cook for the workers. They constructed the bridge, but in the winter when it rained a lot and the river grew, the bridge got destroyed, many times. Another guy started to construct the road to the bridge but for those workers there was no money and it was the population of Cidadelhe, the women that cooked for the workers in the field* (P16). The plaque next to the bridge is in remembrance of Albano José Matias and José Joaquim Guerra, 'two brave men with great enthusiasm and without money, only with help of the population, friends and neighbors and despite the ferocious Côa River taking the first piers down many times, were never discouraged to reconstruct the bridge'. Later, the bridge deck was cemented and the bridge and road officially opened by the parish council, finally 'making Cidadelhe passable'. It made a large difference for the population, as Mario illustrates: *In the past when I was 16 years old, you're nobody, you don't visit anything... Now when you're 12, you have a bike, a cellphone, you can go around.... In the past, I don't miss that time because I know some people that are 30 years old and have never even visited Pinhel or Figueira. (…) Now there's a new bridge (…) it's better, people have cars; you can travel more easily...* (P17:16).

Mario is the only one who has his reservations about the old days, most remember it to be a happy time. Silvina stresses the large difference with the present: *There was a lot of work but all the people were happy. And now people are not happy, just work, work. Now you go home and you use the television and the radio and you don't talk with people. (…) After the work, we would sing and dance. We didn't have instruments; we used two hats and the tools we used in the field as a violin. Now people just go to the cafe, watch television, football* (P16:17). With joy Valdemar tells about the games they did and the pranks they used to pull: *In the old days we used to play 'ferro', with stone iron that you use to break stones, a very heavy thing, we made bets to see who can throw it as far as possible and have it landing it standing up. Sometimes during Carnival we still do it. (…) We have lots of traditional games: malha, raeola, sueca. It was common to have lots of people playing, with a big lunch in the end. (…) …when I was younger, we used to prank around a lot. Like tie the church bell to the door of the houses, so when people open the door in the morning they would hit the bell. There are more stories like that, but of when there were people around... not now. For example, at Christmas, we used to steal firewood and make a big fire with stolen wood. Sometimes when we have lots of lambs we* [the shepherds] *usually kill one and eat it with friends, it's a great excuse to drink some wine. That's something not very common in the bigger villages or cities* (P19:57).

"I worked more than 30 days 12 hours per day in a row in the field"
The village life was thriving, and so was agriculture. Halfway through the previous century, everything was cultivated around Cidadelhe, including lands that are now the Faia Brava reserve. José António Marques

(94) describes: *'It was all the same, because everyone did the same, work in agriculture. The land near the borders of Côa river were all produced and reachable, and that amount of land was not enough. Even the other side of the river was rented by the people from Cidadelhe. When August came, we had to pay rent to the owners, and many people exchanged goods to pay the rent'* (P25:14). But the land was poor and the living conditions were harsh, as Silvina remembers: *'Only the Sunday was to rest. Every other day of the week was to work. … I worked a lot during my life, in some years for cereal I worked more than 30 days in a row 12 hours per day in the field. People are saying that it's very difficult now with the crisis, but they should have been raised in the time I was' (*P16:7-20). Every family was self-sufficient for its food, keeping chickens, rabbits, cattle, goats, sheep, and in the vegetable garden all the vegetables. Apart from farmers and shepherds, there were two blacksmiths in the village, a shoemaker, millers and a barber, and people made their own bread, wine, cheese and olive oil. There were no markets in Cidadelhe, so they relied on themselves to produce everything. Silvina explains: *'I have seven children, all of them raised with the things from the field. I never spent money on things in the supermarket, I never gave them presents, because I had nothing to offer… but it doesn't matter, because they turned out healthy and strong'* (P16:7-20).

It was common to work on fields in other villages in the region as well, such as Escalhão, Freixeda do Torrao, Malpartida, Vermiosa and Nava Redonda. For instance, they would walk over 25 km to Escalhão, and pick olives for a week in exchange for a bottle of olive oil (P4:48). At a young age, with twelve or thirteen years old, some were sent by their parents to work somewhere in the region, for instance in Guarda or at a *quinta* near Barca d'Alva. One woman tells: *'I've always lived here during 74 years, my age. Never got out of here. I always worked in agriculture. I did the school until the 3rd grade and then went to work for the olive crops in Escalhão, near Almendra. We worked with a contract of a month and we were returning to the village for Christmas. Our life was just agriculture, prune some vines and work the land for rye. These slopes were all worked from the river Côa to the village. … At 13 years old, I went to Guarda to work. The money earned was spent to pay the shoes that the shoemaker made for me, I earned 300 escudos'* (P3:7) (Escudo is the former Portuguese currency, 300 escudos would now be about €1,50).

The majority worked their whole life in agriculture, although some have done other work for brief periods of time, for instance as a housekeeper or in a factory, like Maria: *'I have left the village for a while, but I have never emigrated from Portugal. Life was hard, we had to help my father in the rye crops. We did everything. A cousin of mine, who worked in the house of a physician in Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo, she asked me to go work there. And I went, I was there 2,5 years and then, with the money I earned there, I went to learn sewing for three months. Then I went to work in a teacher's house and after that, I got married. My husband went to France and has been there for 21 years, leaving me here with our daughters. When he returned, we stayed here. My parents were not rich, so I haven't inherited much. My husband was left without parents at 11 months old and was raised with his grandparents who had sheep, which are now kept by my husband and another shepherd. We have here some generous land, and some cows. Now we also have a tractor. We planted some vines, some wheat for the chickens, some potatoes and we also have a little vegetable garden. That's how we live'* (P27).

As Maria's husband, many people from Cidadelhe emigrated in search of a better life or to earn some money to remit back home. Felisberto Guerra (77) explains: *'All of these fields and slopes that are abandoned*

today were all produced, inch by inch. Everything is abandoned today, because people didn't have conditions to live here and tried to emigrate. In that time, there was no electricity, water and sanitation as we have today. People went to France, Brazil, and Africa. Also I went to Africa with my brothers and father in search of better conditions. Nowadays, we have better conditions in the village, but progress came too late' (P26:22). Many migrated to Portuguese colonies, such as Mozambique and Angola. They continued in agriculture there, or did work in factories or as a bus driver for instance. With the revolution on 25 April 1974, they were forced to go and leave everything there behind. Many found opportunities in other villages or cities in Portugal; few people returned to Cidadelhe. For the people that did come back, family ownership of a house in Cidadelhe was a common reason to return. Mario: '*I came from Africa with nothing. During revolution I talked with some people and we decided to wait it out here in Portugal, but the idea was to return to Africa. But it was not possible, and I lost everything. After working a lot I earned some money. In one year I spent 60.000 euros on land and machines, tractors. The land is the most valuable thing that you can have. But nobody wants to come back to Cidadelhe. It's difficult to find people to work in agriculture. It's very expensive to buy new tractors and machines. My investments in machines and tractors; I will never get a return on this. But without it you can't work'* (P17:26).

The large majority of Cidadelhe's current inhabitants is born in the village and went to primary school here. The oldest generation remembers there were around 45 children and one professor in the school when they grew up in the 1920s. When school started, up in As Eiras, the professor would tell one of the children to run down to the old part and fetch the other children (P16:16). Many were in school only until the third or fourth grade, i.e. the age of eight to nine years old, and started working the land after that. The required knowledge and lessons were taught in the field, and passed on from generation to generation. Valdemar explains: '*…in here everyone that lives in the village knows how to use shovel, a pair of scissors, an axe; any tool. And we always have something to do with agriculture. Even if we didn't need to [we learned]. (P19:32)* When asked about school, Mario (72) points at the hoe in his hand: *Thís is the pencil of my life. (…) When I was a kid, I worked in the fields. Catch the cows, bring them to the village for example'* (P17:10).

They regret that younger generations know nothing about the skills that were important for them to survive. Silvina exclaims: '*Today, the women don't know how to do anything!'* (P16: 30). Furthermore, Valdemar wonders about the usefulness of the extensive higher education system nowadays. '*I only have the fourth grade done here. Now they make the students study until 18, 20 years and most of them can't finish. What are these people going to do after spending their whole life in school and they don't know anything about the rural world?'* (P19:32).

"What's the value of an oak?"

The view of Cidadelhe's residents on nature becomes apparent from the following statements: '*To clear an oak tree you need a license. And to have this license you need to travel to Viseu. I can't travel so I cannot do anything with the trees. By law you are allowed to cut an olive tree. But you can't cut an oak tree. This is stupid, the olive tree you can produce olive oil, olives and the goats and sheep eat the leaves. What's the value of an oak? With an oak, you can just have wood for the campfire. I think that the law is stupid, because it protects a tree that just produces tree and doesn't protect a tree that is better for production'* (P16: 21). The underlying conception is that flora is merely seen as a resource.

The same accounts for livestock; wildlife, consequently, is mainly assessed on whether it poses a threat to or interferes with human livelihoods. Their perspective on the landscape is dominated by their spatial practices and knowledge. They see the landscape, flora and fauna from an anthropocentric and utilitarian perspective and generally do not seem to attach an intrinsic value to nature. This anthropocentric view is illustrated for instance by what children did for fun: '*When I was kid, with a friend who's now in Brazil, we went to the fields with some dogs, just to have fun, and around 50 years ago there were a lot of rabbits, and in one day with the dogs, without weapons we killed 5 or 6 rabbits (…) and other things that you do there with your friends, like climbing the trees and drinking the eggs from bird nests'* (P17:5).

Furthermore, it is evident that there is a discrepancy between the villagers' inherited knowledge of the land and scientific knowledge. Scientific knowledge constitutes the basis for legislation that interferes with common practices on the ground in Cidadelhe, such as the prohibition of fire and cutting oaks without a license. The discrepancy between the conceived and lived space becomes clear for instance from the perspective of the mayor of Cidadelhe, a born and raised Cidadelhian, who says: '… *Of course they [the ICNF] cannot say that we can't do a road to the river Côa because vultures will go away, because that's not true. When man worked there every day, they were used to the noise and they didn't go away. … Some people come and tell us that animals need quiet but we know, because we have the knowledge of the lands and of our ancestors that vultures are used to man. Between studies and reality there's a big difference'* (P5: 106). Not surprisingly, the villagers trust in their inherited knowledge, accumulated over generations working the land and the local reality that they have known their whole lives, over abstract scientific studies. Because the legislation is consequently something that is imposed on the residents but not something that is lived or agreed of, they resort to maintaining their practices secretly and illegally. Examples of these illegal practices are the continued usage of fire and illegal hunting, which is elaborated further in the next chapter.

Structured coherence

Throughout this chapter, some of the discussed issues already indicated a discrepancy between representations of space and the spatial practices and representational spaces of Cidadelhe's inhabitants. This paragraph further examines to what extent the three spatial moments produce a consistent or contradictory traditional narrative. The results are depicted in table 3, showing on which topics institutions and inhabitants are divided and on which they are congruent. As the representational space of (people working in) the respective institutions is not included in this research this is left empty.

Table 3: Consistencies and discrepancies in the traditional rurality

Traditional rurality	
Institutions	Inhabitants
Representations of space	
Special designations, e.g. UNESCO, SPA	Challenging the restrictions
Rural depopulation	
Patrimony	
Rural tourism	
Spatial Practices	
	Dwelling
	Subsistence farming
Prohibition of fire	Pastoralism and usage of fire
Hunting	
Tourism	
Representational space	
	Depopulation, emigration
	Saudades
	Hardship
	Seclusion Cidadelhe
	Utilitarian view on nature
	Local knowledge

The conception of the area as of valuable natural and archeological patrimony is informed by two designations; Natura 2000 and UNESCO World Heritage Site. These confirm the conception of the region of local government officials, who translate this into tourism potential. However, for Cidadelhe's residents the designations have a more negative significance. Considering they do not gain any benefits of the designations in the form of tourism income or otherwise, they mainly view the designations for obstructing their spatial practices. As was discussed above, the protective status of the area prohibits them to explore economic alternatives and produces other limitations and requirements.

The lived space of Cidadelhe's residents can be characterized by *saudades* for the old times. All respondents regretted the ongoing depopulation of the village and wish young generations could and would want to build a life there. Residents of Cidadelhe have a traditional lifestyle based on subsistence farming and pastoralism. This largely determines their lived space and spatial practices, which are informed by local knowledge about the land that is passed on for generations. They are used to a life of hard work and limited resources, which explains their anthropocentric utilitarian view on nature, i.e. viewing flora and fauna primarily as a resource.

Viewing the envisioned development of tourism from a Lefebvrian perspective, rural tourism does not seem to accomplish its trial by space. As Lefebvre (1991: 417) warns: *'Ideas, representations or values which do not succeed in making their mark on space, and thus generating (or producing) an appropriate morphology, will lose all pith and become mere signs, resolve themselves into abstract descriptions, or mutate into fantasies'.* The idea of rural tourism development in Cidadelhe seems to be at the point that it is slowly mutating into a fantasy, and with all the

failed and stalled projects for Cidadelhe both government representatives and residents seem to lose faith that the idea will materialize. However, both groups remain open to the potential and possibilities of tourism, but are waiting for outsiders to make it happen.

In conclusion, assessing the traditional rurality on the extent of structured coherence, it is best defined as somewhat contradictory and disjointed. Although both institutions and inhabitants conceptualize the region based on the depopulation, the presence of heritage and the potential for rural tourism, there is tension and contradiction between the conceived designations and consequent contesting lived space and spatial practices of Cidadelhe's inhabitants. An overall coherence holds however, in which what is conceived is perceived is lived with regard to the envisioned future of rural tourism development in Cidadelhe. However, this idea still has to go through ongoing trial by space and generate an actual materialization.

4.2 The *rewilding* rurality: Rewilding Europe and ATN

Besides the traditional rurality, a relatively new spatial narrative emerged in the Côa Valley: the rewilding rurality. This chapter scrutinizes the three realms that make up this spatial narrative; the conceived, perceived and lived spaces and focuses on the interaction between Rewilding Europe and ATN. The three realms are separated mainly for analytical purposes but they in fact interact and overlap. The chapter concludes with an assessment of extent to which there is structured coherence in the rewilding rurality.

Representations of space

The most important representation of space in the *rewilding rurality* is of course the large scale vision of Rewilding Europe, which forms the basis of this spatial narrative. Lefebvre raises our attention to the historical, political and economic situation in which the production of space comes to fruition. Many global trends and processes seem to have an influence on the creation and nature of Rewilding Europe and it is very much a product of this time.

Lefebvre argues how processes that are operative over space, which in this context are processes such as neoliberalism, the economic crisis and the cutbacks in governmental budgets for nature conservation, take on meaning through their outcome in a place. The involvement of the private sector in conservation and development has been increasing since the late 1990s, a trend which can be framed in the larger shift from government to governance (van der Duim, 2011:83). For instance, the governmental cutbacks for nature conservation induce the need for civil involvement and private initiatives in nature conservation The establishment of ATN in the Côa Valley and the creation of Rewilding Europe can be seen in this broader trend.

In addition, tourism development is increasingly advocated as a strategy in the conservation-development nexus. Tourism is often considered to be able to create a win-win situation for all involved parties and to 'seal the deal between people, planet and profit'. As stated earlier, tourism is considered a main strategy in generating revenue from nature conservation in the Rewilding Europe initiative. The neoliberalist zeitgeist furthermore permeates Rewilding Europe's discourse through its economic arguments for nature conservation. It portrays nature and wildlife as a source of profit, stating sanguinely that *'Soon maybe even wildlife will have a market price'[26]*. The involvement of the private sector in nature conservation and the subsequent commercialization of nature and wildlife that Rewilding Europe seeks to establish to pay for their conservation, are thus part of larger trends that constitute the spirit of this age.

Rewilding Europe presents itself as a new conservation vision for Europe[27]. The vision builds on an abstraction of spaces in Europe, boiling it down to two main characteristics: rural depopulation and the presence of natural heritage. On this macro level it views the same trend throughout Europe, in which

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[26] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/boosting-economies/
[27] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/vision/

they recognize an opportunity for nature conservation and rewilding. The Côa Valley in North-East Portugal, together with adjacent area in Spain, was selected as one of the areas with potential to realize the establishment of a rewilded nature area. But where does this vision of Rewilding come from? This subchapter first scrutinizes Rewilding's academic context and where the notion of rewilding derives from. It then continues with an elaboration of its cooperation with ATN and its practical implementation in Portugal.

Rewilding in its academic context

Rewilding Europe does not stand alone in envisioning rewilding as a conservation management strategy. The concept of rewilding is increasingly popular since its coining by Soule and Noss (1998) and Rewilding Europe is part of a growing number of rewilding proponents internationally. In Europe however, Rewilding Europe is a pioneer in advocating rewilding and it positions itself as a novel, alternative discourse on nature conservation. In her discourse analysis of a broad range of academic and popular publications on rewilding, Margaryan (2012) analyzes what the key components of the discourse are, its main promises and potential constraints. These are succinctly discussed below as they identify informative aspects worth paying attention to, and subsequently this study offers an interesting insight how these aspects apply to Rewilding Europe and its practical implementation in Portugal.

Margaryan (2012) distinguishes three key principles that are shared by practically all proponents of Rewilding; natural processes, connectivity and keystone species/megafauna. Natural processes are the physical, chemical and biological processes that maintain natural ecosystems (Galatowitsch 2011 in Margaryan 2012:55). The second component is connectivity between different core protected areas, to allow wildlife to cross human-made obstacles. This connects natural processes over national borders, which can have a politically unifying aspect as well (Margaryan 2012:57-58). The third main principle of the rewilding discourse is the importance of keystone species or megafauna. Keystone species are species whose influence on the ecosystem function and diversity are disproportionate to their numerical abundance (Soule and Noss 1998 in Margaryan 2012), and are often megafauna representatives.

Margaryan distinguishes three perspectives on the implementation of Rewilding that differ substantially; Pleistocene, American and European rewilding. In European rewilding, the keystone species are primarily large herbivores. She writes that according to Dutch Rewilding visionary Frans Vera (2000), the European lowlands boasted open and half open landscapes and grasslands, instead of the endless forests as is commonly thought. Vera states that the demise of large herbivores such as bison, deer and auroch led to the encroachment of forests and that grazing and browsing are key natural processes that need to be restored. According to him it is therefore essential to reintroduce these keystone species.

In all publications on rewilding, tourism appeared as a very important factor for the rewilding vision (Margaryan 2012:64). These keystone species are essential in facilitating wildlife tourism. The primary role for tourism is as a source of income, but it is also envisioned as a facilitator of environmental education and connection to nature (ibid). Margaryan warns however, that in rewilding literature 'there is a general

agreement that Rewilding as a tourism-boosting initiative can and should be implemented as an additional source of income to an already more or less viable community but never sold as a primary source of income and remedy to a "dying" community (2012:67).

Last but not least, an important point Margaryan makes, which is of particular relevance to this study, is that the Rewilding discourse showed insufficient representation of the local population's interests and mechanism of their involvement, which is one of the strongest and longstanding critique on nature conservation in general (Margaryan 2012:100). These three components, plus the role of tourism and the local community are discussed with regard to how they apply to Rewilding Europe in particular and are implemented in the local context of the Côa Valley.

The terms 'wilderness' and 'rewilding'

First however, it is worth paying attention to the term rewilding itself. Rewilding Europe's discourse is permeated with the words rewilding, wild(life) and wilderness, which shows also from its main slogan: *'Rewilding Europe wants to make Europe a wilder place, with much more space for wildlife, wilderness and natural processes'*. But what is rewilding, what is wilderness, where does this notion derive from and what does it imply? In its promotional material, Rewilding Europe does not define what is meant by either wilderness or rewilding, which is remarkable considering that the concept of wilderness has been sparking a fiery debate in environmental sciences over the last decades.

Because of this debate surrounding the concept of wilderness, the Conservation Director of Rewilding Europe Wouter Helmer mentions that he personally avoids using the term as it provokes the majority of debates with fellow conservationists (in Margaryan 2012: 47). Furthermore confusing may be that the concept of wilderness is both approached from a positivist viewpoint as an area that fulfils a certain number of objective criteria (usually the absence of visible traces of human activity and a visible abundance of animals) and from a constructivist viewpoint, viewing wilderness as a social construct, a subjective experience (Margaryan 2012: 48-49). The concepts of wild and wilderness are not necessarily used objectively by Rewilding proponents, but they acknowledge that they are in the eye of the beholder (ibid:48).

Etymologically, the word wilderness can be traced back to the old English 'wildeor', which means wild animal or wild beast (Henderson 2009: 418). Subsequently, joining with the suffix –ness, it forms the noun wilderness, meaning that what consists of/is characterized by wild animals, or as Roderick Nash formulates it in his classic study: 'the place of untamed beasts' (Henderson 2009: 418). Over the years, the connotation of the word wild changed thoroughly, as Cronon (1995:8) writes:

> Go back 250 years in American and European history, and you do not find nearly so many people wandering around remote corners of the planet looking for what today we would call "the wilderness experience". As late as the eighteenth century, the most common usage of the word "wilderness" in the English language referred to landscapes that generally carried adjectives far different from the ones they

attract today. To be a wilderness then was to be "deserted", "savage", "desolate", "barren" – in short, a "waste", the word's nearest synonym. Its connotations were anything but positive, and the emotion one was more like to feel in its presence was "bewilderment" or "terror".

A shift in thinking about nature associated with the Romantic Movement in the 19th and early 20th centuries in reaction to the pollution and alienation from urban industrial society sparked a new meaning for wilderness as an ideal of pure, pristine, unspoiled nature. Most influential in the general conceptualization of wilderness in the contemporary western hemisphere was the Wilderness Act in the USA in 1964. Providing the legislation for the protection of wilderness, it is essentially characterized by the absence of human influence in the landscape:

> A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain (Wilderness Act Section 2(c) in Henderson 2009:416).

To exclude any human influence from the concept of wilderness demonstrates a dualistic thinking that is evident in thinking about nature in general, as was discussed before. This dichotomist thinking, evident in conceptualizations of wilderness, received substantial critique. One of the most prominent critics of the 'wilderness myth' is Cronon (1995). He argues that wilderness as a place free of human influence is a myth, as it is profoundly a human creation, a product of culture and a product of the history it seeks to deny (Cronon 1995). He uses the example of the removal of Native Americans to create uninhabited wilderness –as it was never before- to stress how artificial and constructed the concept is.

Another important point Cronon makes, is that the dualism of human versus nonhuman at heart of the concept of wilderness leads to conceiving nature conservation as a conflict between those who value 'the nonhuman' and those who do not. This, he argues, blurs the understanding of the crucial differences among humans and the complex cultural and historical reasons why different peoples may feel very differently about the meaning of wilderness (Cronon 1995:20). He states that *'Ever since the nineteenth century, celebrating wilderness is an activity mainly for well-to-do city folks. Country people generally know far too much about working the land to regard unworked land as their ideal'* (Cronon 1995:15). Besides being insufficiently represented, this points again to an uneasy relationship between wilderness and local populations. To further illustrate his point, Cronon asks:

> Why, for instance, is the "wilderness experience" so often conceived as a form of recreation best enjoyed by those whose class privileges give them the time and resources to leave their jobs behind and "get away from it all"? Why does the protection of wilderness so often seem to pit urban recreationists against rural people who actually earn their living of the land (excepting those who sell goods and services to the tourists themselves)? (…) What are the consequences of a wilderness ideology that devalues productive labor and the very concrete knowledge that comes from working the land with one's own hands? (Cronon 1995:21).

The concept of wilderness is thus controversial in academia, as it conceals the human influence in the production of wilderness and blurs understanding of the relation between wilderness and rural people that actually live from the land.

Then, the term rewilding emerged out of a partnership in the 1980s between the conservation biologist Michael Soule and the wilderness activist Dave Forman, which formed the Wildlands Project. Rewilding was defined as the scientific argument for restoring big wilderness based on regulatory roles of large predators (Donlan *in press*:2). An interesting aspect to the term *re*wilding is the reversibility that is inherent to it. It implies a return to a previous wild state, 'to make wild again'. As Margaryan argues, this distinguishes Rewilding from other conservations paradigms which revolve around the irreversibility of biodiversity loss, and runs the risk of giving the impression that rewilding can be postponed to later (2012:51). The Wild Europe initiative, of which Rewilding Europe is also part, states that 'rewilding' is effectively another term for restoration, meaning '*the return of an area to its wild natural condition*'[28]. The term rewilding thus seems to imply that it is somehow 'natural' to return to a previous wild state, but considering the dynamic nature of nature, what state should be aimed for? Besides, the actual return to a previous state is of course impossible, and rewilding would always entail the creation of something *new*.

All in all, the terms wild and wilderness are far from unproblematic and are subject of debate in environmental sciences. The connotation in popular speech is different, which leads Margaryan (2012:52) to conclude that: '*…it can almost be assumed that the concepts of "wild" and "wilderness" are primarily utilized for their long-standing positive emotional charge within the English language'.* The terms do catch on with their target audience, as Donlan argues for instance: '*Rewilding has also captured the imagination of the general public. The concept is increasingly present in the popular media, and the term is evolving as the public and conservation practitioners have become captivated and motivated by the pro-active nature of rewilding'* (Donlan in press:2). In the Netherlands for instance, the Rewilding Europe initiative featured in several newspaper and magazine articles and television programs already.

As was discussed above, for many people wilderness stands for pristine nature, largely untouched by civilization, able to counter the sentiment of alienation from everyday life. It is exactly these sentiments that Rewilding Europe seeks to respond to by using these terms, which becomes clear from the following statement: '*Ever increasing numbers of people are looking for opportunities to escape their frenetic city lives during their free time and are seeking to explore large natural areas for peace, quiet and adventure. Consequently nature travel is growing exponentially, worldwide. This is a tangible economic opportunity for many European rural areas.*'[29] However, one of the problems with the term is that this conceptualization is primarily one of urban middle and upper class western citizens. Wild appeals mainly to those who have 'lost' their connection to or interaction with nature, whereas for people actually living in these areas, they either would not conceptualize it in this way

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[28] http://www.wildeurope.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3&Itemid=10
[29] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/the-messages/

or wild has a negative connotation: dangerous or not taken care of. By choosing those terms for its communication Rewilding Europe thus focuses on the consumer of the product, the urban visitor. To what extent does Rewilding Europe appease the concerns raised about the involvement of the local population? How do local residents in Portugal feel about wilderness and rewilding and does Rewilding Europe run the risk of herewith excluding them beforehand? This will be discussed more elaborately in the following chapters.

Rewilding Europe in Portugal

The three principles of natural processes, connectivity and keystone species can be recognized as key components in Rewilding Europe's vision for Western Iberia. The historical vision of Vera is very important for the vision of Rewilding Europe, which aims to establish a balanced ecosystem maintaining open and half-open landscapes upon which biodiversity is dependent, through the use a low maintenance, passive management strategy based on natural grazing through the introduction of herbivores. These ideas of natural processes and passive management are essential to their thought and vision for the region. In their perspective, any intervention should always serve to prevent further interventions (P15: 24).

Rewilding Europe states that a self-sustainable and balanced ecosystem that manages itself can only be possible on a large scale (P15:8). Rewilding Europe builds on the expectation that the region will depopulate to such an extent, that it will offer this scale. However, considering the large presence of human infrastructure in the region, the ideas of zoning and connectivity between different core protected areas are essential. By connecting the core protected area of Faia Brava in Portugal to the core area of Campanarios de Azaba in Spain and building on the Natura 2000 protective status of a number of areas, a large scale, cross border opportunity for rewilding of 1.3 million hectares is envisioned[30]. How this plays out locally is elaborated below.

The (re)introduction of herbivores plays two important roles in their vision, as they serve not only for their ecological role but in the attraction of tourists as well. Rewilding Europe stresses the enormous potential of nature based tourism and even *'seeks to help develop a bold new economy based on using wildlife, wilderness and wild lands in new, creative ways, other than just ploughing the fields, cutting the trees and shooting the wild animals'*[31]. Keystone species thus play a vital role not only to sustain the wilderness but to enable the 'wonderful wildlife experiences' that Rewilding Europe envisions.

In short, Rewilding Europe offers a bold and optimistic vision on the region and promises that the rewilding management strategy will offer an alternative source of income, and even 'a bold new economy' for the region. In this the reintroduction of herbivores plays an essential role for both ecological and financial reasons. The vision is conceived on an abstract international level, combining knowledge and experience from different organizations and can be considered a top-down vision. Rewilding Europe

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[30] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/areas/western-iberia/local-situation/
[31] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/boosting-economies/

works with ATN to implement this macro-vision on a regional scale. As is elaborated below, ATN's vision is stooled on their knowledge of local issues and was conceived in response to local spatial practices, in other words, a more bottom up approach. How these visions came together when ATN joined the Rewilding Europe initiative in 2011 is elaborated in the following paragraph.

ATN and Rewilding Europe

The main reason for ATN to join Rewilding Europe is of course because they see potential in the rewilding vision, as Antonio Monteiro, the founder of ATN says: *'I'm a big fan, it's good moment to go wild, to go for wild habitats, to the wild strategy'* (P30:10). Another reason to opt for Rewilding is the cost reduction they achieve through cutting certain active management practices[32]. Moreover, the substantial financial support that is involved provides another incentive for ATN to collaborate with Rewilding Europe. Rewilding Europe furthermore offers promotion and is an interesting partner in general, considering its international recognition and large international network.

This paragraph elaborates on the vision of ATN and Rewilding Europe and the corresponding strategy and practices. First of all, it is important to stress that before joining efforts with Rewilding Europe, ATN had been working in the region for over ten years already. The conceived ideas that ATN and Rewilding Europe have for the region are largely compatible but contain some differences as well. There are many similarities but also differences in their views on management of the land. The following quote illustrates this, in which Rewilding Europe states about ATN and its Spanish counterpart:

> Both NGOs were working in the area, but previously in more traditional ways, however, through their nomination they showed interest in the rewilding concept. Western Iberia is now in a transition from traditional ways of biodiversity management, over to rewilding approaches and rewilding enterprise development. This can be seen in the reserves, where on one hand trees were being planted until recently, while on the other hand large herbivores are being introduced.[33]

The partnership with Rewilding Europe therefore induced a period of transition management, in which it is assimilating with Rewilding Europe's vision of passive management (see also Ruano Rodrigues 2013:12). To scrutinize what is at stake with regard to the local implementation of Rewilding, the three key principles of Rewilding, the communication with the local population and tourism are discussed. This chapter will moreover pay attention to the differences between Rewilding and ATN, the changes in management and the compromises both parties are making.

ATN started in 2000 and took an active management approach to protect the natural heritage in the Côa Valley. The non-governmental organization strongly defines the space in the Côa Valley for its high

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[32] Interview with J. Quadrado, conducted by A. Leuvenink 21-06-2013
[33] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/areas/western-iberia/achievements-to-date/

natural value and opportunities for nature conservation. They view nature as the most important value and as a critical factor for the socio-economic and cultural development of the region[34].

At the end of the 1990s, there were several threats to the region's biodiversity, such as frequent fires, poaching, poisoning, fishing with explosives, the cutting of trees and illegal quarries (Gama and Romao 2010: 10). These practices were conceptualized as the most important threat to the natural values of the area, and a group of academic conservationists decided to form ATN to protect it. They recognized that despite the threats man posed, the long presence of man and agriculture in the region is also the reason for the abundance of many species; as the diversified mosaic landscape sustains a rich biodiversity. ATN's initial focus was consequently on maintaining this agricultural diversity. Until 2011, ATN therefore had an active management strategy with a strong agricultural component (Ruano Rodrigues 2013:12). This view translated into agricultural practices and other active management tools which are discussed more extensively in the subchapter 'spatial practices'. Next to this, it was an objective to create spaces with less human intervention and areas for wildlife and natural recovery of fauna.

ATN built on the designation of the area as a Natura 2000 area, which grants it special protection. Natura 2000 is an ecological network of protected nature areas in Europe, governed by the European Union, which is an important and influential representation of space. Its creation is based on the Habitats Directive of 1992, complementing the Birds Directive of 1979[35]. The Birds Directive requires the establishment of a Special Protection Area (SPA, in Portuguese *Zona de Protecção Especial, ZPE)*. Special Protection Areas (SPAs) are classified under the Birds Directive to help protect and manage areas which are important for rare and vulnerable birds because they use them for breeding, feeding, wintering or migration[36]. Cidadelhe, together with 18 other parishes and the Faia Brava reserve, falls into the SPA of the Côa Valley (Tomé & Catry 2008: 11). The unique landscape, with its rocky cliffs and wild slopes and the farmland mosaic, created an ecosystem with a high biodiversity. Especially the existence of endangered rupiculous birds, such as the Bonelli's eagle, golden eagle, Egyptian vulture and griffon vulture, warranted the designation of the area as a SPA (Tomé & Catry 2008: 11). The implementation is locally enacted by the Portuguese governmental Institute of Conservation and Forestry (ICNF)[37]. The Faia Brava reserve falls within the boundaries of the SPA and therefore has the official status of a protected area.

In 2011, ATN joined the Rewilding Europe initiative, incorporating the ambition to make Europe a wilder place, with more space for wildlife and for the natural processes. Whereas ATN initially focused on local human-induced threats, in their official communication ATN now frames land abandonment, depopulation, deforestation, risk of fire and climate change as the most important challenges[38]. This is attuned with the discourse of Rewilding Europe. The collaboration with Rewilding Europe requires the

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[34] http://www.atnatureza.org/index.php/en/atn/2-uncategorised/28-historia
[35] http://www.natura.org/about.html
[36] http://www.natura.org/about.html
[37] http://www.icnf.pt/portal/icnf (in Portuguese only)
[38] http://atnatureza.blogspot.nl/p/quem-somos.html

dedication of ATN to move towards a more passive management strategy, embracing the key pillar of rewilding; natural processes. On the other hand, ATN demands flexibility of Rewilding Europe as well to allow for adjustments that better fit the local context, as the Rewilding manager of ATN explains: *'The ideas and objectives of Rewilding Europe are based on an 'average' of the different Rewilding areas in Europe. Western Iberia is very different in many aspects than the other areas and most far away from this average'* (P35:11). Rewilding is open to temporary adjustments to the overall philosophy of Rewilding to better fit the local context (P15:24). In effect, the management practices are therefore often negotiated over by ATN and Rewilding Europe, the former usually arguing for more traditional practices. The topics that are subject to negotiations are discussed in the following chapters.

Spatial practices of ATN in Faia Brava

The spatial practices of ATN in the Faia Brava reserve can be seen as a negotiation between the visions of ATN and Rewilding Europe as discussed above, and restraints of the local reality on the ground. This chapter demonstrates how the interaction between these factors translates into spatial practices, based on the three aforementioned key principles of rewilding. First, it describes how ATN materialized its ideas through the acquisition of land and gave a first stepping stone towards the key rewilding principle of connectivity. Second, it shows the transition practices that result from the move towards natural processes in the local implementation of Rewilding. Third, it discusses some main issues regarding reintroduction of keystone species. Then, the involvement of and interaction with the local population and finally the development of tourism activities and businesses are discussed.

Connectivity

ATNs ideas are materialized in the 800 hectare nature reserve of Faia Brava. Over the years, ATN created the Faia Brava reserve through the acquisition of properties along the Côa River. Herewith they gained physical existence, arguably undergoing a trial by space: their mission turned into a tangible project with physical existence and ATN into stakeholders in the region. Initially, the acquisition of land was just a result of the acquisition of traditional pigeon houses, which ATN restored to increase the population of pigeons, one of the principle preys of the Bonelli's eagle (Gama and Romao 2010: 64). Because of the advantages of owning the land, e.g. the guaranteed tranquility of vulnerable zones and the possibility for cultivation for the financial sustainability of the project, ATN increased the acquisitions (Gama and Romao 2010: 64).

Between 2003 and 2008, ATN purchased over 380 hectare on the right bank (Algodres) and on the left bank (Cidadelhe) of the Côa River, with the support of Dutch NGOs (STN, FIN), domestic and foreign donations and the revenue from organic Faia Brava olive oil sales.[39] These 384,1 hectares constituted 62% of the Faia Brava reserve and was bought from 64 different owners (i.e. an average of 6,2 hectares per acquisition). In 2012, 200 hectares were acquired in the parish of Vale de Alfonsinho, with the support of the MAVA Foundation, STN and Rewilding Europe. The remaining land is owned by an estimate of 39

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[39] http://www.atnatureza.org/index.php/en/atn/2-uncategorised/28-historia

proprietors, owning 231,7 hectares, of which 142 hectares is managed by ATN (see figure 5). ATN currently manages a continuous area of 800 hectare along the Côa River[40]. The acquisition of land is a slow and demanding process, as the properties are very small and the owners often unknown or living elsewhere.
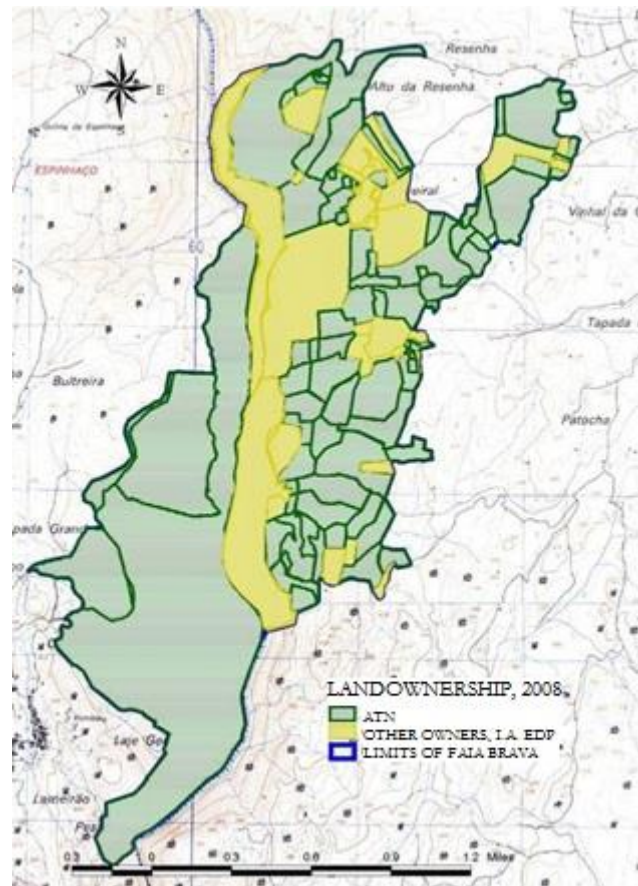
Figure 7: Landownership ATN, 2008

This complicates Rewilding Europe's objective to create a wilderness area of 100.000 hectares considerably and is considered by ATN to be one of the main challenges to implement the program in Portugal (P22:94). Another important difficulty to them is that despite the huge land abandonment there are still many people using the fields, for non-productive or low-productivity agriculture. To illustrate this struggle, the Rewilding manager of ATN stated: *"So it is people just pointing at a map and saying 'around here, we will have 100.000 hectares' for rewilding. But it is very difficult to find a continuous area of 100.000 hectares, even to have plots of 20.000 hectares."* (P22:71). Also the CEO of ATN is skeptical, stating: *'I don't think it's realistic. I understand it's a goal, I don't say too much about that, but in this time it's unrealistic. But in any case I think the central team of Rewilding Europe knows and it's ok, we can talk about 100.000 hectares like a rewilding area but they know you*

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[40] http://www.atnatureza.org/index.php/en/atn/2-uncategorised/28-historia

cannot have it in a moment, we are not Finland or something, there's a lot of people' (P31:109). Also the founder of ATN, who declares himself 'completely pro-rewilding' says, considering the objective that *'we have to create this 100.000 area of pristine wild habitats in ten years; it's not possible at all. Not in 20, more... I don't know. If you are talking about more than 20, 30 years it's quite a question mark, what will happen, you will never know'* (P30:10).

Assessing 'wilderness' based on objective criteria, it is therefore difficult to reach Rewilding Europe's goal of a 100.000 hectare wilderness area. It does not fulfil the criterion of absence of visible traces of human activity, as throughout the region there are villages scattered around, and even though their populations might be decreasing, the larger villages will be inhabited for at least some generations to come. Furthermore, human infrastructure is omnipresent e.g. in the form of roads, electricity networks, dams, houses and villages. Because of this and people using the lands, the idea of zoning is key to the local implementation of Rewilding. As the rewilding manager of ATN noted: *We had a huge discussion with the central team of Rewilding. The rewilding model, the ideal model, doesn't work here in Western Iberia. We still have lots of villages and agriculture'* (P23). The idea to create core, transition and buffer areas helps surpass this problem and is supported by both ATN and Rewilding Europe. As the landownership situation in neighboring Spain is less complicated, ATN expects that together, they can create a large enough wilderness area in Western Iberia to ensure the benefits of connectivity.

Towards natural processes

As described earlier, the alliance with Rewilding Europe induced a transition management period for ATN, in which it works towards a more passive management style to give way to natural processes, one of the key principles of the rewilding vision. This constitutes a change for ATN, whose roots in agricultural traditions show from their practices as well. For instance, a main practice was the renovation of the traditional pigeon houses (*pombais*) as described above. Other management actions included tree plantation, cereal cultivation and the installment of feeding stations for partridges and rabbits, as these are also essential prey species for cliff breeding birds. Last, the maintenance and harvest of the olive groves and the production of organic olive oil was an important practice.

Now, in consultation with Rewilding Europe, ATN gave up on most of these practices (P23: 12). However, the management strategy still includes some transition and active conservation measures next to the passive Rewilding strategy. An important active management action is the supplementary vulture feeding at the vulture feeding station, which is inevitable as European directives demand the clearing away of carcasses in nature. Since 2004 ATN made an effort to recuperate a burned area by starting a reforestation project. Until 2010, 20.000 trees and over 50.000 seeds were planted, using a tree nursery, where seeds are reared to improve their chances of survival. ATN still works with the tree nursery and does tree plantation, for instance with its project 'One Million Seeds for the Côa Valley'. However, it is now considered a transition action and is only done in specific places (P23:15). In 2007, ATN set up the Faia Brava brand, under which they produce local products such as organic olive oil, almonds, jams and honey. Rewilding Europe advocated to stop maintaining olive groves inside Faia Brava and only harvest in

buffer zones for the production of the olive oil (P31:33). An advantage for ATN would be that this is easier and cheaper logistically.

Strikingly, ATN receives agricultural subsidies for maintaining the olive groves, exactly the 'inefficient and perverse EU subsidies' that Rewilding Europe deems untenable[41], (P15:14). This moreover nicely illustrates the nature of negotiations between ATN and Rewilding Europe: as an employee of ATN explains, there was a discussion with Rewilding Europe, as this was 'obviously conflicting', but they reached 'a balanced solution' where ATN agreed to abandon the olive yards in the core area but still produce olive oil in nearby areas, as olive oil is an important communication tool for ATN (P31:33). As ATN is in a transition process and it is not an intensive practice, Rewilding Europe chose not to oppose receiving these subsidies (P31:35). As an employee of ATN explains: *'There are some actions of ATN, especially transition processes, of which Rewilding Europe says: 'we not fully agree with these actions, we certainly don't finance them, but if you think that you need to do this for your management we don't oppose. There are some things we oppose, some actions we support and eventually finance, and some actions that we don't oppose totally but don't support'* (P31:35). For instance, a practice that Rewilding strongly opposed and which ATN has therefore stopped, is the cultivation of cereal to sustain the partridge population (P31:37).

Practices that ATN has always conducted are studies and monitoring. The fauna populations are monitored by trapping cameras that are placed around the reserve. Furthermore, in collaboration with several universities, (monitoring) studies are undertaken by students, interns and volunteers. With the transition to Rewilding, ATN aims to set up a strong monitoring program to see how the change in management affects the biodiversity. As the high biodiversity is due to the diversified mosaic landscape, ATN is prepared to lose species because of the Rewilding strategy, as long as there is a rise in others or in the region as a whole (P31:15).

Also in fire management, the trend from active to passive can be distinguished. ATN approached the problem tackling different occasions simultaneously. First, they aimed to sensitize shepherds about the use of fires. Second, they aimed to keep fires from spreading through the active practice of fire surveillance. Because of a major fire in 2003 that affected 90% of what is now Faia Brava, fire prevention became a priority to ATN. Forest fires are a huge and complex problem in Portugal. In spite of a national law prohibiting the use of fire between May and October, there are many fires each summer. For instance, in 2012 there were 800 fires in the municipality of Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo alone (JQ pers. comm. 23-11-2013). Fires are considered by some to be part of the Mediterranean ecosystem, a natural process. However, their high frequency is due to shepherds who use it as a tool to clear scrubland and renew pasture land. Even though this commonly known, it is subject of taboo in Portugal and not openly discussed. Over the last 5000 years, the landscape had been managed through an alliance of shepherds, small herbivores and fires (P31:9). The use of fire by shepherds is thus a generation long tradition. Now

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[41] http://rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/boosting-economies/

that the pressure on the land decreases, the vegetation starts to grow which enables large fires. Some see this is as the reason why fire is now merely a problem instead of a tool to clean the land (P31: 9).

Within ATN there is controversy on the strategy how to manage fires. This controversy is partly because they conceptualize the cause of the problem and the role of fire in the ecosystem differently. Some view the people that make the fires as the origin of the problem, and emphasize that sensitizing the shepherds is the most important. Others believe that fires cannot be avoided; only managed. They view fires as an intrinsic part of the ecosystem which has (had) its benefits as well. For them, the problem is not how a fire starts, but why it does not stop (P31:81), based on the assumption that fires cannot be avoided. Consequently, for them the main solution is vegetation management, by creating buffer zones or use target grazing. Rewilding Europe envisions the prevention of fire by natural grazing through the introduction of herbivores. This should naturally create a balanced ecosystem with open and half-open landscapes which is not vulnerable to fires. Although ATN supports this idea, it still deems surveillance necessary, at least for now.

(Re)introduction of keystone species

In the implementation of Rewilding, the use of keystone species plays an important role. Already before joining Rewilding, ATN worked with this idea. In order to clear spaces in a natural way, reduce scrublands and to keep fires from spreading, ATN introduced a herd of Garrano horses in 2005. This idea of introducing a keystone species constitutes the main resemblance in the vision of ATN and Rewilding Europe before they joined efforts (P23: 12). In December 2012, a herd of Maronesa cows was introduced with the support of Rewilding Europe. However, it became clear that these grazers need to be complemented with browsers species that eat shrubs, such as roe deer and ibex, to have a more complete ecosystem. Now, open spaces are still created mechanically with a tractor for the grazers to pass, so this is currently also still in a transition phase (P23:42). Moreover, the herds are kept in fenced areas, in order for the introduction to be quicker and more demonstrative to the public (P23:48). Furthermore, the fences serve to protect the surrounding agricultural fields from being destroyed by the herds and prevent confrontations with the local population (P23: 61). Within Rewilding Europe this is considered 'temporary fencing' and the plan is to take out the fences in 10-15 years (Ibid). This was topic of discussion, as Rewilding Europe was at first 'absolutely against the fences' (P31). Although they still not support the fences, according to the ATN CEO they understood that it is impossible to release the cows instantly and communicate to the people in the *villages 'be careful if you go somewhere because you can find a bull, because that day the project will be dead'* (P31). This illustrates how ATN takes a mediating position between the vision of Rewilding Europe and the restraints of what is acceptable with regard to the local population.

Employees of ATN have several concerns with regard to the introduced species, the first being the food and water scarcity in summer and the fact that the horses cannot migrate in their search for food due to the fences (P23:45, P31:51). One explains: "*We are prepared and we accept that animals change their condition a lot during summer and winter so we are prepared for animals to be a little thinner during summer. We hope that animals don't*

die. But if a horse or cow dies during summer because of a lack of food, it's a part of natural ecosystem. We usually joke that animals will not die, they will become vulture food". He adds however that supplementary feeding can be considered, *"because we purchased the horses and cows and don't want to lose our money"* (P23:45). Supplementary feeding is not favored by Rewilding Europe however, which stresses that the animals will create too much grazing pressure which can cause erosion of landscapes (P15:22). Someone else of ATN tackles another dilemma that comes with it, next to the financial aspect: *"Yeah, well, from a Rewilding Europe point of view they would die. But from a social point of view and visitation point of view it's unacceptable, so... it's hard to deal with those kind of things"(P31: 51).* The underlying problem is the seasonal difference in carrying capacity for the horses and the difficulty to determine the most effective size of the population. The subsequent difficulty for ATN is to determine how to deal with this, whether to prioritize rewilding or the other above mentioned considerations.

The second complication is that the horses and cows do not eat the dominant scrublands, and will have to be complemented by other species. Since the envisioned species are not introduced yet, open spaces are currently created mechanically with a tractor for the grazers to pass (P23:42). In this transition phase, the passive management strategy thus induces the necessity for active management interventions, i.e. supplementary feeding and maintaining open spaces mechanically.

ATN considers the introduction of ibex to fulfil this role in the ecosystem, but employees stress the risk of unintended consequences of their reintroduction because this species is not existent in the region anymore (P31, P23). To be able to make a well-informed decision, ATN signed a contract for a feasibility study with the University of Aveiro on the reintroduction of ibex, red deer and roe deer (P23). Roe deer is expected to pose fewer problems as they are still existent in the region, albeit in low numbers. Within ATN some question the use of the reintroductions and the scientific basis for them: *If you ask; why should we reintroduce? (…) Is there any space for those kind of experiences? Most of the people don't see the usefulness of taking the risk of having a problem, with something that is unknown, just because in our idea it must be interesting to have a certain species. (…) [the purpose would be to fulfil the role of grazers] but this is an abstract idea. Never proved with hard data. It's an idea. The idea that cows and horses and ibex and things like that need to be reintroduced in the system it's something that's just abstract. There's people that think about that, but there is not very strong scientific evidence for that (P31).* Furthermore, he adds: *I don't see any evidence that releasing sheep or goats is less natural than reintroducing ibex (P31).* Another employee also acknowledges the efficiency of sheep and goats as grazers and stresses the important role they played in the ecosystem for a long time. He adds however that wild animals would complement sheep and goats, as the former would go to the worst places from an economic viewpoint, whereas shepherds take their herds to the best (P23). As Rewilding Europe intends to bring up the number of wildlife for tourism purposes, they see more potential in ibex, roe deer and red deer to fulfil this role in the ecosystem.

Another reason to opt for the latter animals is because they resemble species that are believed to have occupied the region in the Paleolithic. The Paleolithic rock art managed by the Archeological Park of the

Côa Valley (PAVC) portrays for instance ibex and aurochs. The auroch is an extinct wild bovine species which is believed to have played a key role for Europe's biodiversity[42]. In November 2012, Rewilding Europe and the Taurus Foundation signed a long-term agreement to establish a breeding programme to bring back a functional, wild version of the aurochs[43]. Faia Brava is one of the pilot areas where this breeding programme is first implemented, and the introduction of Maronesa cows, which are genetically close to Aurochs, is a first step in this process. However, within ATN its purpose is questioned by an employee: *There is one thing I think is controversial and personally I cannot understand, is the attempt to 'make' species that have disappeared, like the auroch or something. I really don't understand that, because from my point of view you don't need to do that. Even if you want wild cows. If you just release cows, they will evolve in a way that I cannot exactly predict, but still probably more adapted to the conditions that we have now. Trying to make a flashback to aurochs because somewhere in the past there was this species in a different context… I don't see the purpose of that. I understand it's interesting from an intellectual point of view, it brings a lot of communication, but from a technical point of view I think we are choosing Frankenstein instead of Darwin.(P31)*

Rewilding Europe states: *The motifs of the earliest engravings (40,000–10,000 BC) are mostly ibex, wild horses, aurochs and red deer, which indicate the crucial importance of these animals in bringing back the natural heritage of the landscapes here.[44]* The assumption here seems to be that the indication of the presence of these species in the landscape millenia ago, implies that it is 'natural' to reintroduce these species. However, it is questionable whether the observation that these animals were present millennia ago necessarily proofs the crucial importance of these animals in the landscape of today, which is, needless to say, completely different.

Involvement of the local population

As became clear from literature on Rewilding (Margaryan 2012), the local populations are often insufficiently involved and their interests insufficiently represented. Moreover, the complex historical and cultural reasons for rural people to view wilderness differently than nature conservationists are often blurred by dichotomist nature of the concept of wilderness. Rewilding Europe offers guidelines, but ATN is responsible for handling communication with the local population. In this a clear division can be recognized; Rewilding Europe is responsible for the vision, ATN for the local implementation and adjustments to the local context. As the Conservation Director of Rewilding Europe quite rightfully mentions: *'that cannot be done from behind a desk in Sweden'* (P15).

In its official communication Rewilding Europe states that *'[t]he areas should be embedded within the social and cultural fabric of their respective region'[45]* and that *'Rewilding Europe will work side by side with local communities, landowners, land managers, traditional land custodians, NGOs and other important stakeholders in order to reach these targets. Around 80% of all land in Europe is privately owned and the land owner group is in most locations the most*

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[42] http://rewildingeurope.com/programme/publications/the-aurochs-born-to-be-wild/
[43] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/news/articles/a-new-born-maronesa-cow-calf-in-the-faia-brava-reserve/
[44] http://rewildingeurope.com/areas/western-iberia/vision-and-objectives/
[45] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/

important of all groups to work together with[46]. Rewilding Europe does not further elaborate how to go about this however, and it does not receive a lot of attention in its publications and promotion material. This can be explained also by the fact that it differs significantly per area and that in effect they 'outsource' the involvement of the local population to local conservation partners.

However, apart from stakeholders that they depend on for the successful implementation of their project, Rewilding Europe seems to foresee a quite passive role for the local population. The conservation director of Rewilding Europe considers local involvement necessary, but not for envisioning a potential future for the region (P15:46). *"You have to involve them, but in a way that actually serves them. Not by asking them; 'Hey, how would you do it?' Because strange as it may seem, that is not their role"* (P15:46). In its annual review of 2012, Rewilding Europe acknowledges also that on the local level, it has not been able *'to give communications quite the right priority and attention needed'*[47]. Instead of first creating public support among the local population, they prefer to start acting and see how people respond (P15). *'People can have a positive or negative attitude based on certain ideas or prejudices, but they understand better what you are doing when they see it'* (P15:45).

However, it is important to Rewilding Europe to find the entrepreneurial and younger people that are the driving forces in the region and actively involve them (P15:48). This constitutes a clear distinctive approach towards different groups of people; Rewilding Europe focuses on progressive entrepreneurial people that already adhere to the rewilding narrative but does not prioritize involving or creating support among the more traditional local population that is unaware of or against Rewilding. A similar argument is made by Leuvenink (2013) in her study on the facilitation of social learning to increase the level of local involvement in the Côa Valley, who recommends to ATN*: 'Spend time and energy in finding people that want to be active, instead of losing time and energy in making people become active'* (2013: 102).

However, research has extensively shown the importance of involvement of local population for the success of conservation and reintroduction projects. Local involvement can range from the passive receipt of information to consultation, collaboration and even self-mobilisation (after Leeuwis & Van der Ban 2004 in Leuvenink 2013: 21). With regards to reintroductions of species for instance, it is argued that considering the socio-economic factors that influence attitudes and opinions *'may increase the probability of success of recovery efforts' (...) 'and survivorship of a species'* (Morzillo et al., 2010: 1300). Correspondingly, the IUCN stresses: *'If the attitude of local people is unfavourable an education and interpretive programme emphasizing the benefits to them of the re-introduction, or other inducement, should be used to improve their attitude before re-introduction takes place'* (IUCN, 1987: 8).

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[46] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/the-messages/
[47] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/assets/uploads/Downloads/Rewilding-Europe-Annual-Review-2012.pdf (p27).

Johansson (2008:88) furthermore raises a relevant ethical consideration that stresses the importance of their involvement:

> Rural people play the most central role in the conservation of large mammals in rural landscapes because they are the ones who have to bear the costs of living with these animals and should consequently benefit from doing so. They manage forests and pastures, which are also wildlife habitats. Without their participation and commitment, wildlife conservation is not sustainable in the long run (Johansson 2008:88).

The importance of involvement becomes clear from the following quote from the founder of ATN as well, who states that even though the situation is better than before,: *'…you can have a problem tomorrow. Someone that sees a wolf or eagle owl and kills it. And a case of poisoning could kill half of the vultures of Côa Valley.'* (P30: 53). He is moreover very aware of the power the local population can exert in this regard, explaining that ATN is managing conflicts in the village of Cidadelhe: *'that were quite problematic and that could really harm nature and harm the project'* (P30:18).

ATN has an ambiguous relationship with the local residents of surrounding villages. Also on a more abstract level, they relate to it in an ambiguous manner as rural depopulation is conceptualized by ATN as both a challenge and opportunity. It is challenging because the present biodiversity can no longer be sustained by the agricultural mosaic landscape created by local people. On the other hand it is an opportunity, as the abandoned land constitutes the space and thus the possibility for nature conservation. On a more concrete level, the relation is also ambiguous. On the one hand, they envision a positive and fruitful relationship, based on the cooperation, exchange of knowledge and traditions. The Rewilding manager of ATN states for instance:

> ATN is not just about nature conservation. That is our main goal, but it's also related to people creating value, knowing the traditions, knowing the people that use the land and if you want to get more information about nests of eagles or vultures, where they hunt, we usually go to shepherds and ask because they spend a lot of time in the field. If you want to know about the population of wolf or roe deer, you go to hunters. (P23:155)

On the other hand, the traditional practices of the villagers are damaging to nature and strict enforcement of their prohibition can lead to clashes. In their conception of space, the interaction between demographic trends, the local population and nature thus plays a central role. ATN realizes that a good relationship with the people in the surrounding villages of Faia Brava is vital in order to avoid damaging practices. These practices are part of traditional ways of working the land and stem from a period of hardship and survival in the region.

Someone of ATN explains that he understands the origin of these practices, but stresses the different situation nowadays:

> "Between the 30s and 50s it was starvation for many people, it was really the complete use of the whole system. So you cannot say they were criminals in the 40s or 50s, they killed otters, they killed badgers, eagles, owls, rabbits, they killed everything they could get, they put bombs in the river. (…) We have aerial photos of the fifties and everything was really like desert, rocky, no trees, everything was used for cereal, and they were not criminals at all, they were just surviving and they were more or less the best way and the most proud way to live in that area. But in 40-50 years things changed completely. The population decreased a lot, so the few people that are there have the same habits that they had 50 years back, because they are the same people but now adults. They grew up in those conditions, but the situation is quite different now. (P30:18)

From the side of ATN, there is thus a certain degree of empathy and understanding for these traditional practices of the local population. However, it is hard for ATN to accept that some still continue with these practices despite the area's depopulation and the change in legislation that prohibits them. For ATN it is difficult what stance to take. On the one hand they realize that these practices will disappear with this generation, and -harsh as it may seem- that this will largely solve the problem automatically. ATN realizes that these habits are deeply rooted, that the population is reluctant to change and strict enforcement would lead to clashes. On the other hand, they feel they simply should not tolerate any illegal practices that can harm Faia Brava substantially. The founder of ATN explains the approaches he considered:

> One is not saying anything and accepting that these are traditional uses: fire, poisoning, shooting, killing, going to nests, that are traditional things you have to wait for one generation or more to change and their children or grandchildren will learn in school. Or, you can act in a more strong way. (…)I saw people putting bombs in the river, I saw people burning not in an intelligent, acceptable way in the middle of the summer. Then you have fires that can kill people; that can go for miles. And then I decided; I worked here for many years; there are things that I cannot shut my eyes for. And that was when some conflicts arose with those people (P30:20).

An important notion in ATN's view on local involvement is to show the local people nature is a resource: *'The best way to explain to local communities what we are doing is just explaining that we are creating, managing and protecting what we believe is a resource. Resources are also farming and sheep-raising, but nature is also a resource'* (P30). Rewilding Europe reasons in a similar way, stating for instance: *'Wildlife needs to become more valuable in society as a whole. A clear economic value could be placed on wildlife species'*[48]. However, the obvious risk of this argumentation is that when local populations do not see any financial benefits, there is no reason for them to care for nature either.

Furthermore, ATN hopes to show the local population that they bring people, movement and money to the region, for instance by visiting the local café with a tour group. The idea is that the tourism that Faia

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[48] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/the-messages/

Brava attracts could have economic benefits for the local population as well. In fact, the relationship with the local population improved considerably already in comparison with ten years ago, but this differs per village and per person. In Algodres for instance, ATN made an effort to make regular chats with people in the fields and step by the local café during every visit, to show what ATN is doing and herewith create understanding and support for the project. ATN has been doing this in Algodres since the beginning and they slowly start to see the effects of their efforts. However, this is not the case for all the villages, which is elaborated in the third chapter.

In spite of the apparent importance of involving the local population, local communication and involvement is currently not a main priority to ATN. There is no clear strategy set out on community involvement and it happens in a very informal way, and although 'raising awareness and training of the local population' are mentioned as management actions in the management plan, this is not further specified. This led Leuvenink (2013) also to conclude with the advice for ATN to:

> (…) develop a more clear communication strategy that targets at clearly defined groups and a specific goal for each. Also, it is strongly recommended to start negotiating with local people (…) it is advised to organize information meetings since all participants were interested in that and many misperceptions exist. (Leuvenink 2013:4)

Because of clashes between ATN and the local population, ATN has a negative reputation among some villagers. As they are aware of this, ATN is sometimes hesitant to act in its own name and may approach the local population differently. This was a point of discussion for instance with the workshops that Leuvenink organized in cooperation with ATN to involve the population. It was feared by some that communicating ATN's name would skew the perceptions of the residents and that less people would participate. The focus was consequently put on Faia Brava, as the reserve was expected to be less controversial than ATN, as the latter is made up of people (Leuvenink 2013:55).

Moreover, the Rewilding Europe initiative is deliberately not presented in communication with local residents either. According to the Rewilding Europe manager of ATN, this is not because they expect resistance, but mainly because it is too abstract for the local population to understand (pers.comm. João Quadrado). Other ATN representatives do expect more problems: *'I think it's not the time to do it [a progressive idea such as Rewilding] in Portugal in a larger scale, also because problems with local communities will arise'* (P30:12). In any case, they prefer to talk about Faia Brava, as this has a physical expression and is therefore more tangible and easy to comprehend. In general however, ATN also chooses to first focus on the project and results, and consequently having something to show, instead of communicating about rewilding to local residents in this stage already. In this, it is in fact congruent with the approach Rewilding Europe takes towards the local population. However, the philosophy of Rewilding is being presented in presentations and workshops for organizations and institutions that ATN participates in, such as municipalities, other nature conservation organizations and cattle breeders.

Tourism

Tourism plays an important role for both ATN and Rewilding Europe. ATN aims to receive approximately 10% of its total income from tourism activities by 2017 (P31:31). The objective is to finance the day to day running of ATN with membership and tourism activities, support the growth of ATN with the 50% coming from funds such as Rewilding Europe, and use the private donations for optional purchases and actions (ibid). These objectives mainly require investments in the development of tourism activities, which is discussed more extensively below.

The organization of several tourism activities in Faia Brava is an important spatial practice of ATN. First, they offer guided visits and packages upon request, in which people learn about the flora and fauna of Faia Brava and ATN. The packages range from guided walks to school camps, tours by jeep, bird watching and overnight stays in a safari tent. Second, theme activities are organized. For instance, every year in December there is a mushroom search in the surroundings of Cidadelhe, where mushrooms are identified, picked and later used to cook a meal for all the participants. Third, several volunteer activities are organized, such as a tree plantation and olive harvesting weekends.

On average, ATN hosts approximately 1000 visitors annually (see table 4). The three types of activities usually attract young high educated people from the region and larger cities and occasionally foreigners who acquainted with ATN already. School groups make up a significant part of the total amount of visitors (app. 25% per year, in 2011 almost 50%, see table 4 - environmental education). Most significantly, there was a rise in the number of guided visits over the last four years. It is remarkable that despite a setback in the number of activities and visitors in 2011 and 2012, the turnover has been growing steadily since 2010 (see table 4). Prices differ per activity (ranging from €20 to €120) and volunteer activities are free. Next to the income it generates, the activities serve for people to get to know and identify with ATN's objectives and create a larger base of members. Moreover, it is an important tool for environmental education, especially for children from the region (both primary schools and high schools). This is an important way to create environmental awareness and involve the local population, stimulating a change of attitude compared to the older generations as was discussed above.

Furthermore, in collaboration with the region's development organization 'Territórios do Côa', the 'Côa Valley Grand Route' is developed[49]. The trail will cross 220 km, linking the Côa river spring to the river mouth, ending at the Côa Museum. ATN is responsible for the identification of the trail and for its marking, cleaning, maintenance and the promotion plan. The currently existing trail is 26 kilometers, of which 15 kilometer is in Faia Brava and runs from Cidadelhe to Castelho Melhor.

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[49] http://www.atnatureza.org/index.php/en/projects-hidder/2-uncategorised/83-gr-projecto-en

Table 4: Number of visitors and activities in Faia Brava per year.

	Nº VISITORS				Nº ACTIVITIES			
YEAR	2010	2011	2012	2013	2010	2011	2012	2013
Theme activities	155	63	76	234	23	13	5	12
Guided visits	94	38	77	333	14	12	19	37
Vulture hide	13	12	12	9	7	9	6	3
Volunteers	169	27	46	100	16	4	2	20
Environmental education	270	474	248	255	12	4	8	18
Environmental formation/internships	204	47	20	56	7	2	-	11
Events	50	177	28	0	2	3	1	0
Tour operators	13	60	51	24	2	5	5	2
Camps	-	27	65	28	-	6	8	4
Others (independent)	-	11	38	91	-	-	-	9
Technical visits	80	62	125	22	-	-	-	10
Total	**1048**	**998**	**786**	**1152**	**83**	**58**	**54**	**126**
Total turnover in Euros					**2346,49**	**4430**	**5454,40**	**9020,54**

Besides, ATN collaborates with several tourism accommodations, such as Casa da Cisterna, Quinta de Pero Martins and Estalagem Falcão de Mendonça. These accommodations are included in ATN tourism packages, offer discounts to ATN members and they mutually promote each other. However, hitherto these accommodations do not receive many guests through ATN, as ATN does not have a good connection to the market (yet) and is not well-known (P9:74). Conservation Capital, the enterprise financing division of Rewilding Europe, investigates further collaboration and investment with some of these partners.

As we saw before, tourism plays a key role in the vision of Rewilding Europe. Considering the economic crisis and the decreasing budget of European governments for nature conservation, Rewilding Europe aims to be independent of government subsidies and generate enough income through tourism and other nature based businesses to provide for the management of the nature reserve. The idea is therefore to keep management costs low and create exclusive tourism products with a high turnover. They stimulate ATN to move from their activities with modest pricing towards more luxurious offers, such as the vulture hide for €80,- per person. The movement towards higher turnover activities can be seen from ATN's 2010-2013 data already, which showed a steady increase whereas the number of activities/visitors did not increase (see table 4). Wildlife and wilderness should constitute the main tourism attractions. Together with the already existent species, the (re)introduction of keystone species and the facilitation of the comeback of other species should establish a large and readily viewable number of wildlife. This potential is to be exploited through a partnership with experienced tour operators and the development of other nature based enterprises. Conservation Capital aims to support and invest in the set-up of conservation

enterprises: *'Any commercial activity that generates economic benefits in ways that support one or more conservation outcomes'* (P40). Apart from financial profits, another benefit of nature based enterprises could be the avoidance of harmful practices, e.g. by offering alternative employment.

Next to ATN's own activities, the first step towards partnerships with external tourism operators was made, a core objective of Rewilding Europe. In 2013 ATN and Rewilding Europe launched an opportunity to develop and operate a boutique lodge/camp in Faia Brava. The construction, development and operation of this wilderness tented camp/lodge would be outsourced on a minimum 15 year leasehold basis. ATN will not invest any financial capital into the development of the facility itself but would receive income on the lease fees. Rewilding Europe Capital (REC), a rewilding enterprise financing division of Rewilding Europe, may offer co-investment finance however. Sensitivity to the environment and the development of positive linkages between the facility and the conservation and rewilding context within it will operate are principal requirements[50].

These plans may be complicated by the lack of entrepreneurial attitude in the region. Hitherto, the director of Conservation Capital, who has set up and invested in many successful nature enterprises in Africa, is disappointed with the mentality in the region and the difficulty of finding suitable entrepreneurs (P40). This lack of entrepreneurial attitude in the region is a shared perception by many people. A tourism entrepreneur explains: *'All the people that do something, that start some businesses, they are not from here. It's a pity, but no. You see everybody who has some small tourism business, is not from here. Or is from here but not living here. I think that the people that live here, don't believe in here. It's a problem. And they are going away, everybody.'* (P9:88) Also ATN's Rewilding Europe manager remarked: *"For example, in Rewilding Europe, there are a lot of questions; 'who are the entrepreneurs? Who are moving the region?' In the end, we have to say, we are."* [51]

Conservation Capital works with a set of criteria to assess the potential for successful conservation enterprises. As they were not yet involved in Rewilding Europe when Western Iberia was selected as a pilot area, it is not clear to what extent the Côa Valley fulfils these criteria. Hitherto the tourism influx in the region is rather insignificant and local government institutions have difficulty generating more tourism and promoting the region (P20, P15), which is elaborated in the next chapter. Tourism entrepreneurs struggle with low occupancy rates of 30-40%, with months that they do not have any visitors, and stress that the climate and location further complicate attracting tourists (P8, P9). The focus on nature and wildlife tourism might offer an interesting new product that differentiates the region from the many other regions in Europe that offer rural tourism. However, the CEO of ATN is still reserved, as according to him there are only three protected areas worldwide that manages to sustain itself with only tourism (P31:25) and they therefore have a modest goal to have 10% of the income out of tourism.

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[50] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/assets/uploads/News/Wilderness-tourism-opportunity-in-the-Faia-Brava-reserve/Faia-Brava-call-for-expressions-of-interest.pdf
[51] Interview with J. Quadrado, conducted by A. Leuvenink 21-06-2013

As aforementioned, there is a general agreement in literature that Rewilding as a tourism-boosting initiative can and should be implemented as an *additional* source of income to an already more or less viable community but never sold as a primary source of income and remedy to a "dying" community (Margaryan 2012:67, my emphasis). Moreover, in this story it is not yet clear how local people exactly will benefit economically from Rewilding. Although at this point one can only speculate, the 'bold new economy' that Rewilding seeks to help develop based on nature-based enterprises seems a rather bold promise in itself in this stage.

Another concern that should be raised in this regard is the risk of tourism compromising the conservation objectives. Financial gains run the risk of being prioritized over conservation objectives, e.g. by exceedence of the reserve's carrying capacities or disturbance to species, a consideration that was made for instance with the organization of a school camp near birds' nesting places.

Representational space

As was addressed in the previous sections, ATN has strong roots in the region. Their vision originated in in interaction with spatial practices they recognized on the ground and their representational space. As the majority of people active in ATN grew up in the region, they have a strong personal connection with and knowledge of the region as well. They spend their leisure time in the region and know the traditions, culture and people there. They therefore view the region from an emic perspective and besides having a vision for the region and spatial practices, they have a representational space as well. In their production of space, these three elements interact and influence each other.

Rewilding Europe on the other hand, because of its international nature, does not have roots in the region. The vision originated in the Netherlands from behind a desk and is subsequently applied to the region. The rewilding narrative is thus a predominantly conceived rurality in which their visions and ideas play the predominant role, translating into specific spatial practices. Although representatives of Rewilding Europe visit the region occasionally, they do not have this connection with and lived experience of the region. For knowledge and understanding of local spatial practices and representational spaces, they are therefore largely dependent on ATN.

Besides, the agency of individuals within ATN plays an important role. As the board consists of members of other organizations, such as the PAVC, other nature conservation organizations and enterprises, everyone has their own values, beliefs and stakes. There are people from both the board and the staff of ATN who have their reservations about Rewilding Europe (P31:99). Some view the objective of wild nature as a contradiction to the agricultural life that still persists in the villages, therefore deeming it unfeasible (P41). Another consideration is that the concept is good, but that the recipe should be more adjusted to the different countries in which Rewilding Europe operates (ibid). The financial incentive to participate in Rewilding is of course of importance for ATN. However, some people are thought to have difficulty with the way Rewilding Europe uses the financial incentive to influence management decisions

(P41). Some are pro Rewilding acknowledging that it enabled for instance the introduction of cows, but this does necessarily not mean they adhere to the philosophy of passive management. Others regret that ATN is becoming more commercial and focuses more on tourism activities than their traditional activities such as monitoring of species. Because of this, some may want to advocate a reconsideration of ATN's participation in Rewilding Europe after this contract period (P41)[52]. Apart from the negotiations between ATN and Rewilding Europe, opinions differ and negotiations take place within ATN as well. However, it important to emphasize in this regard that ATN, as an organization, does support Rewilding Europe fully.

The majority of the people that work in ATN are university educated people that studied in one of Portugal's larger cities. Some of them grew up in a village in the Côa Valley and came back, others grew up in villages or on farms relatively nearby. In this, they are an exception to the rule in Portugal; most seek to escape 'the dull country life' as soon as possible. After studying, when expressing that he wanted to go back to Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo, one of the employees of ATN was consistently met with disbelief and perplexity of his fellow high school colleagues, who want to leave more than anything. This is general feeling among local people, as a tourism entrepreneur explains: *We have here many people that say: why did you choose our region, to have your business? Why? We don't have anything! But you have everything! You have the landscape, the people, the restaurants, the wine, the products - the agricultural ones, they're very good- you have everything! ... Just the people that live here, don't know it'* (P9:44).

Leaving the country side temporarily then almost seems a prerequisite to be able view the potential and entrepreneurial opportunities in the country side – the local people do not see it. In this regard they are different from the rest of the local population. It was exactly the rural depopulation and land abandonment that gave the founder of ATN the opportunity and incentive to establish Faia Brava, which would not have been possible in an urban area, as he explains: *I did this because of pleasure and also because I believe that we can make a difference, this is a good place for people like me to make a difference'* (P30:48). Precisely because it is a marginal region, not many plans are conceived of by the authorities, which leaves space for private initiatives.

The people that work in and with ATN can be considered to form part of an initiating countermovement to rural depopulation, as 'rurals by choice'. They choose deliberately to live in the country side, each for their own reasons; because nature appeals to them, the traditional agricultural life, or the higher quality of life that they feel it offers. A tourism entrepreneur who collaborates with ATN explains how it feels for her: *It's a different way of life. Because I was raised in Lisbon, and it's completely different. You have more quality of life here. You have some things lacking here, like education, health care, and cultural activities, too. (…)You have to balance the three...; the business, the quality of life, and the things that you don't have, and that you would have in the city. So you have to balance these things and see if the balance is positive. And I think it's positive.'* (P9). As aforementioned, people that voluntarily stay or come back to this rural region of Portugal are generally an exception. However,

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[52] It is important to note in this regard that the composition of staff of ATN has changed significantly over the last year and that these opinions solely represent a snapshot of the period between October 2012 and May 2013.

naturally it also works the other way around, because even if people would like to stay, it is rather difficult. For instance ATN is the only employer offering jobs on a university level in the village Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo, next to the small hospital and the local government offices. Creating an influx of young people and international interns is remarkable for such villages. Rewilding Europe's conceptualization as a region without many economic prospects, high depopulation and a lack of major industries and dwindling agricultural production is thus definitely a representation of space that is lived by ATN's people as well.

In their leisure time, staff members of ATN undertake activities strongly connected to what the country side offers, e.g. mountain biking, cycling, hiking, nature photographing, cultivating vegetables in their own *horta*, and learning traditional crafts such as making cheese or weaving. One bought her own farm to produce olive oil, another is setting up a goat farm to produce among others cheeses. These spatial practices illustrate how they might experience their environment, as their connection with the country side and the traditional agricultural life is apparent. Although they do not share the knowledge and the ideas of the old generation of the local population, they do have a strong affinity with the lifestyle. This makes it easier for them to connect to them, despite the differences of opinion on the use and management of the land. This affinity of the staff, their strong connection with the region and their knowledge of the culture and traditions, expounds how and why ATN takes a position as a broker between the Rewilding vision and the local reality on the ground.

Structured coherence

This chapter elaborated on the rewilding rurality. Antonio Monteiro, the founder of ATN, says with respect to Rewilding, that '*we have to think big but act with our feet on the ground*' (P30:10). This quote symbolizes the relation between ATN and Rewilding Europe very well, as Rewilding Europe inspires the 'big thinking' and ATN, through its roots in and knowledge of the local context provides the feet on the ground. The discussion of the key principals of the rewilding philosophy, the involvement of local people and tourism development, showed that even though Rewilding Europe and ATN established a fruitful partnership, there are some points of discussion and negotiation. The congruencies and disparities on the different aspects are depicted in table 5 on the next page.

First of all, joining Rewilding induced a transition from active to passive management for ATN, to give way to natural processes, the first principle of rewilding. Both partners are flexible in their approach and dissension on specific topics is usually solved with regard to what is possible in the context of the Côa Valley. In effect, this often entails that ATN is arguing for more active management practices to better endure the transition period. Although there are some points that Rewilding strictly opposes a compromise is usually reached.

Table 5: Consistencies and discrepancies in the rewilding rurality

Rewilding rurality	
Rewilding Europe	ATN
Representations of space	
Rural depopulation & land abandonment offers space for rewilding	
Natural heritage	
Commercialization of wilderness and wildlife	
Spatial Practices	
Natural processes	Tree plantation, fire management, olive harvest
Keystone species	Fencing, sup. feeding, unintended consequences
Connectivity	Landownership, amount of land users
Local involvement:	
	Avoid damaging practices and antagonism
Involve entrepreneurial people	
Demonstrate results instead of informing	
Stress nature as a resource	
Exclusive wildlife tourism to pay for conservation	
Representational space	
	Affinity with rural agricultural lifestyle

Second, regarding the rewilding principle of connectivity, ATN has serious concerns about the feasibility of reaching a 100.000 hectare rewilding area in the foreseeable future. Considering the amount of people that still use the land and the extent and spread of human infrastructure, they deem this objective unrealistic. However, by conceptualizing 'wilderness' more freely and working with the idea of zoning, objectives have become more realistic. Last but not least, the land ownership situation in Spain is less complicated which might help to create a large rewilding area in Western Iberia after all.

Third, the principle of keystone species constituted the main similarity in the strategy of ATN and Rewilding Europe before they joined efforts. Both parties view this as an important aspect of Rewilding, to allow for natural processes and to attract tourism. Even so, Rewilding Europe might envision things somewhat more fundamentally with regard to issues such as supplementary feeding and fire prevention. Moreover, ATN took a brokering position between Rewilding Europe and the local population with regard to the fencing for the cows and horses, which ATN deemed unacceptable otherwise at this stage. Finally, ATN is cautious for unintended consequences with the reintroduction of certain new species and some employees question the use of the Auroch Program. Generally however, on all three principles ATN and Rewilding Europe share the same vision, although its implementation is constantly negotiated and ATN is somewhat more reserved in its objectives and more restricted by the current local limitations.

With regard to the involvement of the local population, there is some discrepancy between Rewilding Europe and ATN in their ideas, but not necessarily in practice. ATN envisions a reciprocal collaboration with the local population and deems local involvement important, in spite of *and* because of their conflicted relationship with some of the local residents. Rewilding Europe foresees a passive role for local

residents and focuses on entrepreneurial people that already share their perspective. Both ATN and Rewilding Europe anticipate further depopulation and expect certain problems to resolve themselves within one generation. Both furthermore aim to promote nature as a resource and to stress the economic value of wildlife. In practice, their approach is very similar; both advocate demonstrating tangible results afterwards over involving or informing the local population beforehand.

In conclusion, the extent of structured coherence in the *rewilding* narrative can be defined as somewhat contradictory and disjointed. ATN's conceptualization of the region is grounded in a local approach and they remain convinced of the necessity for some active management interventions. Rewilding Europe conceptualizes the region for its land abandonment and ecological conditions and is less concerned with local constrictions. ATN therefore can be considered to act as an intermediate between the conceived vision of Rewilding Europe and the local reality on the ground. This dialectical tension exerts itself through the spatial practices in Faia Brava, which are subject to constant negotiations and limitations. From a Lefebvrian perspective, this is exemplary of spatial practices, which transform conceived space into materiality of everyday life as constituted in the lived space. Although there is thus some tension in the production of the rewilding rurality, an overall coherence holds.

Rewilding Europe acquires its legitimacy and morphology in the Côa Valley through ATN. Although relatively new in the region, ATN is recognizable as a subject that produces a space, and has a clear distinctive physical existence with the Faia Brava reserve. Although the values that ATN embodies are different from the dominant traditional rurality of rural people, it has generated a space through which it can physically exist and can confront other values and ideas (Lefebvre 1991:417). ATN can be considered to have undergone its trial by space and attained the status of a stakeholder that produces a certain rurality. Although Rewilding Europe is a physical organization and network of people, locally it merely exists in theory and is transmitted through ATN's physical existence to 'localize' its values and vision on space. Although its values inform the production of space by ATN, Rewilding Europe remains an unknown actor in the region.

4.3 Interaction between the *traditional* and *rewilding* ruralities

In the previous two chapters, two existent species of rurality in the Côa Valley were discussed. This chapter examines how actors enacting these species of rurality interact with each other. Values and ideas encounter each other and intersect in space, in which the different spatial moments can internalize, co-exist or contradict each other. The focus will be both on the existent relationship as well as perceptions and attitudes to the other spatial narrative, exposing (potential) cooperation and conflicts.

ATN considers Cidadelhe to be the most problematic village of the ones surrounding Faia Brava, mainly because there were some clashes with its residents. The relation between ATN and Cidadelhe has been complicated since the beginning. Leuvenink suggests that the 'conflict-frame' that ATN therefore has towards Cidadelhe might be unnecessary (2013:102). Although this presumption is not necessarily confirmed in this thesis, the idea is interesting. Applying the Thomas theorem here - a fundamental idea in sociology which supposed that if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences – raises the concern that *because* ATN defines the relationship with Cidadelhe as conflicted and problematic, this persists, for instance by obstructing open communication. Therefore it is important to scrutinize which issues are at stake in the interaction between ATN and the residents of Cidadelhe and what the nature of the issues is.

Although the relationship is thus commonly defined as problematic, ATN and the residents in fact collaborate on some issues as well. This chapter discusses the respective spatial practices of ATN and residents of Cidadelhe that account for interaction with each other: (1) hunting; (2) tourism; (3) purchase of land; (4) the enforcement of legislation and the usage of fire; (5) reintroductions of keystone species. Then, it dissects the underlying reasons for these respective interactions.

Hunting

First of all, the rewilding narrative and the traditional narrative intersect with regard to hunting. Hunting is generally accepted as something that is part of the culture of the country side (P22, P32). It is subject to regulations that should ensure sustainable hunting practices. ATN made agreements with hunting associations from Algodres, Vale de Alfonsinho and Cidadelhe that frequent Faia Brava to hunt. The associations agreed not to hunt in the reserve and to treat it as a shelter for wildlife, except for 20 of the 800 hectares of the reserve (P23:32). With the agreements, the hunters can profit from a larger population outside the reserve as well. As was discussed in the previous chapter, there are not many active hunters left in Cidadelhe, although the village sometimes hosts larger hunting trips (P5:112). Even though the hunting pressure is thus relatively low, collaboration is important because the two most hunted species, the partridge and rabbit, are important prey species. Besides, although the relationship between ATN and the hunting associations is considered positive, there are several practices that could affect wildlife, namely the occurrence of mounts during the nesting period of cliff breeding birds, poaching and the illegal repopulation of wild rabbit and partridge (ATN 2010:105). Moreover, there are hunters that feel threatened because of the restrictions (P30:9).

The basis for collaboration between ATN and the local population is that they share a common objective; i.e. more wildlife, which for the hunters constitutes more game outside of the reserve. Creating a larger no hunting zone may proof difficult for ATN as it is cheaper to hunt within the own municipality, which makes it probable that every village will want to keep its own hunting zone. Moreover, the general individualistic approach is expected to complicate collaboration between the different hunting associations (P22, P23). This may complicate ATN's objective to create a large core area in which there is no hunting.

Tourism

Another spatial practice on which the ruralities interact is tourism. As was elaborated before, the Cidadelhians are very open for the possibilities of tourism and welcome visitors, because they are happy with some movement in the village now that it has become so quiet. Someone of ATN affirms this with the following example: *'I remember one day, when we did the walk of the Grand Route and we ended up in Cidadelhe at the end of the day. We had music and people sitting at tables and eating. Lots of people started to show up and bringing their own cheese, their own wine, sausages. You see, if people look at it as a source of people, movement, income, it's much easier'.* (P23). ATN uses the tourism activities in Cidadelhe as a way of involving the residents and as such tourism can provide a common ground between them. Through their spatial practices, ATN thus responds to the lived space of the Cidadelhians.

In the above quote, ATN also stresses the financial benefits that tourism may bring Cidadelhe. As was discussed in the previous chapter, Cidadelhe's residents generally have a utilitarian view on nature. Therefore it is a plausible assumption that the economic argument to care for nature concords with their lived space, as tourism is a way to exploit nature as an economic resource, which would make it an understandable and convincing argument for them. However, as was stated before, the danger here is that when local populations do not see any financial benefits, there is no reason for them to care for nature either. As Adams (2003:108) warns: *'On one hand, if it can be shown even on economic grounds the case for conservation makes sense, all to the good. On the other hand it might not often be so. The economic argument analysis might also argue against conservation and if it does it is no good if conservation-economists suddenly asking the rules to be changed back so that the game can be replayed on stronger grounds'* (in Margaryan 2012:66).

Rewilding Europe currently has no plans to develop tourism projects in Cidadelhe. ATN will continue using the village as a start and ending point for guided visits, but in this stage it is not expected that this will exceed a few groups per month. Moreover, this does not yield substantial financial benefits for the villagers. Local government institutions feel their role should be limited to providing a good climate for investment and good infrastructure and that private entrepreneurs should do the rest. Moreover they do not have the financial means to exploit Cidadelhe's potential themselves. Even though many private parties are in fact thought to be interested, nobody dares to take the risk yet.

It is plausible that local governmental organizations will be very welcoming towards the Rewilding Europe plans for tourism development. As was discussed in the previous chapter, there have been continuous attempts to boost tourism over the past decades, but without (substantial) success. Although the region is

believed to have potential because of its cultural, natural and archeological patrimony, hitherto it has not been able to market itself as a popular destination. Rewilding Europe could mean a great opportunity for the region to profile itself in an innovative way that differentiates them from other European regions that offer similar products. Because of the expertise Conservation Capital offers in creating exclusive high turnover wildlife tourism it could prove a valuable partner. On the other hand however, the local organizations' struggle to promote tourism in the region can also serve as a warning towards Rewilding Europe that tourism should not be seen as a quick fix solution to boost the economy.

Purchase of land

A more problematic spatial practice of ATN is the purchase of land. Ever since its establishment, misunderstandings related to the purchase of land led to distrust and antagonism towards ATN. Because of the aforementioned complex landownership situation in Portugal, the acquisition of land takes time and effort and often it requires research first to determine who the legitimate owner is before negotiations can even start. During the start of Faia Brava, ATN therefore inquired and negotiated with landowners in Cidadelhe which lands were for sale and encouraged them to set a price. However, this created confusion and discontent among some landowners as ATN 'disappeared' in their eyes after they had stated their price. ATN was inquiring for future consideration, whereas the landowners thought they intended to buy the land straightaway. In some cases, ATN was furthermore using the land they inquired for but never bought, which led to more resentment. At first sight, the cause of the problem thus seems to lie in a lack of proper communication from ATN's side.

However, there is more at stake here. ATN believes owners overstated their prices, and tried take advantage of people who in their perspective were 'people from the outside who don't know what they're doing': *'We know what the real value of the land is. If you don't pay what the people ask, they usually get a little bit mad with you. And if that happens with five, six, ten persons, it's a big problem.'* (P23). This moreover has to do with their evaluation of what ATN consequently does with the land, as they are blamed that *'…we [ATN] abandoned agriculture and not cultivate anything. Not allowing to make fires. (…) she said 'you're forbidding things, you are abandoning the land'.* People attack ATN: *'why are you putting birds of prey here? Why are you not allowing hunting? Why you don't cultivate?'*[53]. The lands that ATN inquired for are their abandoned fields, and the purpose of owning fields has always been cultivation. What they want more than anything is for their traditional lifestyle to persist, so when ATN does not use the fields for production, this easily equals 'doing nothing' and 'abandoning' them. The conflict is thus grounded in a different conceptualization of the fields that arise from their different lifeworlds: the villagers conceptualize them as agricultural fields, whereas ATN conceptualizes them as 'nature'.

Enforcement of legislation

As became clear from the previous chapter, many inhabitants of Cidadelhe are frustrated with the legislation that applies in the village. This accounts in particular for the aspects that interfere with their

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[53] Interview with J. Quadrado, conducted by A. Leuvenink 21-06-2013

daily lives and spatial practices, such as the necessity for permits to prune and cut trees, the prohibition of the usage of fire, the prohibition of sale and extraction of granite and the construction of roads and houses. The legislation is based on the conception of the space as a nature protected area and interferes with common practices on the ground in Cidadelhe that are potentially harmful.

As aforementioned, the local population generally does not attach an intrinsic value to nature, which constitutes a discrepancy between their values and those of authorities. Moreover there is a discrepancy between the villagers' inherited knowledge of the land and scientific knowledge upon which legislation is based. As the residents usually do not comprehend the use of this legislation and hold different values with regard to nature, it clashes with the conceived space. Several representatives of different organizations emphasized the difficulty to cope with this: "*they don't really know, they know things but not scientifically, just 'ah, this guy told me that rabbits do that and wild pigs do this', so it's difficult if a technician goes to this guy and tells him, 'no you have to do this and this', then the reply will be 'no but my father did this and my grandfather did this'*" (P22:16). People do not accept new and other information easily and challenge other views or legislation based on these views.[54]

Much of the legislation that applies in the village is actually not imposed by ATN but is determined by national law or by other governmental authorities such as the ICNF. However, these things are relevant to discuss here because of two reasons. First, the vision of Rewilding Europe and ATN builds on these designations, and in the Faia Brava reserve ATN is looking after its enforcement as well, so in this particular space they intersect. Second and more importantly, ATN is in many cases held accountable for these limitations by the residents of Cidadelhe, because the latter do not seem to have a clear view of the respective organizations, their jurisdictions and functions. As the different organizations usually only imply interference with their spatial practices, they are lumped together for being bureaucratic obstacles more than anything else. The ICNF, the Douro National Park, Antonio Monteiro, ATN, the national government and the PAVC are all lumped together (P23).

This confusion is worsened because the founder of ATN works for ICNF as well, and dealt with the local population both on part of ICNF and ATN. According to him, because he was the face of the organization, the population held him personally responsible for policy interventions, even if this was decided on a national level (P30). To avoid further confusion and because there were some conflicts between him and the local population, he does not act on behalf of ATN anymore towards local residents. Even so, ATN is still equated with his name for almost everybody in Cidadelhe, often with a negative connotation as an employee explains: '*every time people from ATN go to Cidadelhe, (…), people always connect to Antonio [Monteiro], not directly to ATN, but to Antonio. (…) In the region, in this area he's the most well-known face of the government organization. Regardless of whether the decisions are made in Lisbon or Porto, people will only blame the people they know. That's a problem. (P23).* ATN is thus mistakenly held accountable for national policy interventions, that it is not specifically responsible for.

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[54] Interview with J. Quadrado, conducted by A. Leuvenink 21-06-2013

The usage of fire

The imposition of legislation which does not adhere with the population's lived space, leads to colliding practices in which locals challenge the authorities. One particular practice deserves extra attention here, which is the usage of fire, as it is considered to be most conflicted. As discussed earlier, the attitude of the local population towards the use of fire is generally positive. ATN aimed to sensitize shepherds about the use of fire, the advantages of controlled fire and land management without fire (ATN 2010: 135). Besides, agreements were made with local shepherds to frequent specific places to create natural firebreaks (Gama and Romao 2010: 54). Although most shepherds agreed to ATN's conditions, one shepherd continues to break the law by making illegal fires. In 2008, ATN took this shepherd to court when he was caught making another fire, resulting in a fine and court-sentenced community service.

This dispute with a shepherd over the usage of fire is what ATN seems to consider as the most defining conflict in the relation with the residents of Cidadelhe. This incident did not only affect the relation between ATN and this shepherd, but also put the relationship between ATN and the rest of the village under pressure. Someone of ATN explains why: '*In this kind of villages, an important farmer or hunter, a guy with more land than the others, is a huge stakeholder. An opinion maker. If he decides to say 'I don't agree', then most likely most of the people will follow (…) People connect ATN immediately with that guy that needed to pay a fine. That's still a barrier on communication*' (P23). But there is more to it, acknowledges another person from ATN: '*…you're trying to impose a management of land that people don't understand. That's it. For most of the people he was just making his life. They were opposing to him without purpose. Fire was a tool for everybody everywhere. All of them, generations long. Why should somebody who's not from here, who does not make a living from this land, why should they impose a point of view to someone who is just trying to feed his children? That's the point*' (P31).

This problem originates in the different views on the land ATN and the Cidadelhians have. People see the abandoned and overgrown fields as valueless and see it actually as a positive thing when it burns, as it turns the impassable scrubland into fertile pastoral ground. They do not see the 'nature' that ATN is trying to protect. They challenge the authorities because they impose values which they do not share.

(Re-)introductions of keystone species

The (re-)introduction of keystone wildlife species is crucial to the vision of the rewilding narrative. However, as we saw before rural residents may have a very different attitude towards wildlife and wilderness. With regard to reintroductions in Faia Brava, there are several issues at stake between ATN and people in Cidadelhe which are discussed below.

First, an incessant misconception is that ATN is releasing certain animals in Faia Brava. A few years ago, this led to a spontaneous discussion in the café in Cidadelhe, when villagers addressed ATN about the increase in numbers of e.g. wild boars and vultures in the reserve. The villagers believed ATN was releasing these animals, whereas in fact the reduced pressure on the land allows a natural increase in wildlife numbers. *'[T]hey were just discussing and saying it was because of Faia Brava, but it is the opposite way. Because the numbers are increasing, we decided to create Faia Brava.'* (P23:258). However, despite this discussion, the

misunderstanding still persists, at least among some villagers. For instance, when asked if he knew ATN, one man answered: *'It is an association that bought horses, they also have cows, they are the Associação Transumância e Natureza, the former ICNF* [sic]. *They put there all the birds of prey and other things.'* (P26:66). Another answered*: yes I know it [ATN], but they don't do nothing here. They just put the birds here* (P17:18). These statements illustrate the misconceptions; not only do they confuse ATN and ICNF, but they also believe ATN is actively releasing birds of prey in the reserve.

The comeback of species is generally not thought of as a natural process, but people assume that they are actively released. As people have difficulty to accept this, they look for someone to blame. An ATN employee tells about an illustrative moment during a meeting in a nearby village on the comeback of wolfs:

> At first the shepherds and cattle producers were just pointing the finger at us; 'you are releasing the wolfs' (…) One guy asked 'if you didn't release the wolves, who did?' Then Henrique [Pereira, the former CEO of ATN] had a presentation about changes in landscape and (…) [he] asked the guy 'so, you're a shepherd? For how long?' 'Almost all my life.' 'Twenty years ago, how many sheep did you have?' 'I had almost 300.' 'And ten years ago?' 'I had around 150.' 'And now, how many sheep you have?' 'I have 80'. 'So, you are the main responsible for the comeback of the wolf.[55]

The misconception that wolves are being released is not specific to Cidadelhe or the Côa Valley, but appears to be widespread. Based on his research in several districts in North and Central Portugal, Espírito-Santo (2007:228) states:

> Today, a new myth concerning the release of captive wolves into the wild has been causing anger among various sectors of the population. (...) No one seems to agree on who is responsible for such "reintroductions". It seems that each one believes in what is most convenient. In Portugal, such reintroductions have never happened, but nobody shows any willingness to accept the correct information.

Although the reintroduction of these species is a misconception, the return of wildlife is not considered a negative development per se, but depends on the species and the person: *'for example the wild boar, the hunters love it. The vultures is completely different. They don't care about it. But there is a kind of mongoose (…) that enters places where people have chicken or rabbits and kill. That is a problem for them of course. (…)the wolf is a terrible thing, no one wants the wolf around. The vulture, they don't have a problem, and the eagle, only the hunters.'* (P23). These different perceptions of different animals by different users was also found by Ferreira Soares (2010) in her study on social perceptions of the wolf, golden eagle and griffon vulture in the nearby Serra de Estrela Natural Park. This suggests that people base their opinion on the comeback of certain species on the extent to which they pose a threat or have a certain function, i.e. reasoning from an anthropocentric and utilitarian perspective, as aforementioned.

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[55] Interview with J. Quadrado, conducted by A. Leuvenink 21-06-2013

What is furthermore interesting is that certain species are conceptualized in dualistic notions of 'bad' and 'good' animals. For instance, an old farmer states ATN forgets to repopulate prey species, and feels repopulation could be an option, but: '*also thinking about the good and bad things. The reserve only thinks of the evil things, they only protect the predators, and the rest? A few years ago they rebuilt some dovecotes, but that is not enough*' (P26:25). Maintenance of dovecotes is thus considered a good thing, probably because they were used traditionally in agriculture. It helps to keep up the pigeon population, a species that is conceptualized as a functional and domestic, and therefore a 'good' species. These conceptualizations are not intrinsic to certain species, but depending on the local context and thus in the eye of the beholder: (In urban areas for instance, pigeons are generally conceptualized in the opposite way, as a vermin out of place.)

Galhano-Alves (2004) found this dualistic thinking also evident in adjacent province Tras-os-Montes, and asserts it is common throughout rural Europe that 'animals and plants are defined as "*useful and useless,*" or "*good and bad.*" (...) He states: '*That traditional western representation of Nature is anthropocentric, dichotomic and Manichean. And, fundamentally, it is non-systemic, because it does not view natural and cultivated vegetation, wild and domestic herbivores, wild carnivores and humans as complementary elements of the ecosystem. (...) In the case of European rural societies, their non-systemic representations of wildlife and nature reflect their conflicted relationship with biodiversity*' (Galhano-Alves 2004:228).This is illustrated for instance by his findings on local people's perception of wild boars: '*most villagers ignore the social and ecological usefulness of wild boar, and say it is useful only "because it can be eaten" or "because hunters might want to hunt it"* '. (Galhano-Alves (2004: 227). Cidadelhe's inhabitants seem to reason in a similar way, neglecting or ignorant of their ecological role but emphasizing its functionality to humans. For instance with regard to hypothetical repopulation of wild goats, they only say; '*I would not mind seeing mountain goats here, it could be an attraction to the hunters.*' (P26:25)

Arluke and Sanders (1996) explain this with the concept of a sociozoologic scale, which assumes a hierarchal ordering of nature, placing humans on top. Sociozoologic systems rank animals according to '*how well they seem to "fit in" and play the roles they are expected to play in society.*' (Arluke and Sanders 1996:169) On such a scale, there are 'good animals', such as pets or farm animals, which have a higher moral status because they are seen as subordinate, domesticated, not harmful, a resource and useful. 'Bad animals' do not assume a subordinate place, are wild, harmful, do not constitute a resource and are useless and thus have a low moral status (Arluke and Sanders 1996). Consequently, they are perceived as both symbolic and real threats to the social order (Arluke and Sanders 1996:170).

In the nearby Serra de Estrela Natural Park, Ferreira Soares (2010) found that wolf, golden eagle and griffon vulture are considered locally as 'bad animals', as they can be considered harmful species due to possible conflicts of interest with the local population, especially livestock owners, hunters and pastoralists. This rivalry or antagonism between humans and 'bad animals' typically arises from '*territorial proximity, and involve reliance on the same resources or a threat to human wellbeing or safety*' (Knight 2000: 3). According to Knight, conflicts between humans and wild animals take two forms, indirect 'horizontal'

competition over a third (plant or animal) species, or direct 'vertical' competition; predation. In Cidadelhe, conflicts are generally indirect and horizontal in character, and predation is merely a fear.

Human-wildlife conflict

One form of horizontal competition that occurs in Cidadelhe is competition over crops. As was discussed in a previous chapter, ATN introduced herds of Garrano horses and Maronesa cows in Faia Brava. ATN is being criticized by the people in Cidadelhe for the introduction of the Garrano horses (P20:58).

Not everyone supports the presence of the horses because they can pose a danger to the crops and people. Some villagers fear that during summer, scarcity of food will bring the animals to the village: *Here we could have a risky situation (…) There comes a time when the animals will starve and so they will come near the village searching for food, and they will eat the few crops that we have here. You protect the animals but at the same time you will harm other things. It is good if things were balanced (P25:39).*

Because of these difficulties with the use of horses, people from Cidadelhe believe that sheep or goats are more efficient grazers. In the perspective of an ATN employee, the reason that the local population favors sheep and goats is because they look at the animals from an economic point of view rather than ecological. As was discussed before, ATN does not dismiss the efficiency of sheep and goats as grazers and stresses the important role they played in the ecosystem for a long time, but merely view wild animals as a complement to sheep and goats as the former would go to the worst places from an economic viewpoint, whereas shepherds take their herds to the best (P23).

There were incidents with the Garrano horses damaging an orchard and a fence already. This was solved relatively easy, by compensating the owner with seeds and manure, and in the latter case by fixing the fence (P23). In this case, it worked in ATN's advantage that the local people see horses still as a predominantly domestic animal, something that they can identify with: *'People see it as a natural thing. A herd of sheep can enter the orchard. (…) It's still difficult for people to understand we are treating horses and cows as wild animals.'* (P23).

One man exclaimed: *"Poor horses, they will die without food! The most important thing is the water in Faia Brava. It's hard for the horses to go to the river and drink and go back to the fields. (…) It was a bad thing to introduce horses and cows in Faia Brava. It would be better to introduce 500 goats. These lands are better for goats because the goats can eat the shrubs and the horses can't."* (P17:32-36).

It is noteworthy that villagers empathize with the fate of the horses and moreover reflect on the ecological role these animals fulfil, which they generally do not with wild animals. This difference may derive from the conceptualization of horses as domestic animals as discussed above, of which they furthermore have knowledge and experience, enabling them to reflect on the ecological role. Generally, the local population simply does not possess sufficient knowledge of wild species to do so (Ferreira Soares 2010:40-50).

Crop raiding by wildlife is a common problem throughout rural Portugal, not only by horses and cows but primarily by wild species, such as wild boars and deer (Galhano-Alves 2004). According to Arluke and Sanders (1996:170), as these wild species are perceived as a threat to the social order, 'they may be killed'. Johansson (2008: 51) argues that: '...*wild animals which cross the borderline between nature and culture or the domesticated and the wild enter into space controlled by humans and temporarily break up the order, norms and structures of that space. A wild animal out of place suddenly becomes an object in the landscape which does not match with local inhabitants' perception of that place and a conflict arises. (...) the inhabitants whose domesticated space the wild animals enter may regard an animal out of place as an object which can metaphorically be similar to dirt (...), which must be removed in order to restore the order of that place'*. For instance, in Tras-os-Montes, Galhano-Alves (2004:227) found that '75% of the people say, "wild boar should be exterminate" [sic], primarily because "it destroys crops"'.

To deal with human-wildlife conflicts, several types of compensation schemes exist. For instance, wild boar is a popular game species and the population is often kept up by hunting estate owners. Therefore it is usual for them to compensate farmers for any crop damage, as an estate owner explains: '*If my wild boars destroy someone's field I have to pay. Because I'm considered responsible. Even though they are wild. But it's the Portuguese law that requires me to.*' (P32:7). For wolf attacks on sheep, a governmental compensation scheme exists, although people are generally unaware of this.[56] Generally, the level of depredation of livestock by carnivores is low, often less than 10% of their diet but the impact at the level of the livestock owner can be high (Wilson in Navarro and Pereira 2012: 908). As ATN is held responsible for the existence of some of these species, logically, the population might antagonize ATN in case of any conflicts.

The second form of competition is between hunters and predator species over prey. In the following statement of a villager this is directly linked to ATN as well: '*They [ATN] put all the birds of prey and other things there. They like to see that, but they forget to also repopulate the land; these animals have to eat to survive. Here, we have a hunting and fishing association, and we are the ones that make the animals repopulate. We don't like that they put the predators here. In fact, the Faia Brava reserve, means nothing to me*' (P26:25). They seem to consider predator species as a competitor for the limited amount of game, released there by ATN without increasing the amount of game.

Villagers see in wild cows the threat of predation. They express fear for the 'wild cows' that have been introduced, asking: "*How about the horses and cows in Faia Brava, are the cows dangerous? What if the cows jump the fence? It's dangerous! Because in some places the fence is too low, and they can jump from a rock to the road!*" In fact, in the winter of 2013 two calves did jump the fence and ended up on the road to Cidadelhe. The villagers called ATN and the police, and it caused anger with Antonio and ATN (P41). The fear for wild cows may have been enlarged by a recent incident in which a herd of cows killed a shepherd and was covered extensively in the Portuguese media (P23). The herd was abandoned, escaped from the farm and became

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[56] Interview with J. Quadrado, conducted by A. Leuvenink 21-06-2013

wilder over the years. *[When we talk about wild cows, people] think it could be a fighting bull. What they hear, is that they are wild animals, so then it doesn't matter whether it is a cow or a horse, dog, rabbit. It's wild. (…) But wild is a difficult word for people around to understand. Also, when the horses escape, they look at it as domestic cattle. Even if it is the biggest bull in the world* (P23). Using the word wild seems to create fear and misunderstanding, whereas the conceptualization as domestic cattle seems to induce identification and acceptance of the associated risks. This is somewhat ambiguous, as 'wild' remains an abstract discursive concept to the local population that generates fear. In the case of the horses raiding the orchard however, they were not conceptualized as wild anymore but as domestic. As the animals are fenced, ATN now uses the word semi-wild in its communication. However, as they acknowledge themselves, this concept is not less laden for the local population (P23).

Johansson makes an interesting argument about the perception of human-wildlife conflict and its spatial character. He states that *'The closer a wild animal out of place moves to the core of the circle, the more probable will the appearance of a conflict be. The most often perceived nature-culture borderline is located between the forest and the fields of the farmers of the villages. The wild animals were considered to be out of place when they moved to the fields from the forested area'* (Johansson 2008: 52). The spatial aspect of the conflict is highlighted here because for outsiders, whose attitudes towards nature are conservationist, perceive the particular wild animal naturally belonging to that particular space so it is not considered being out of place at all (Johansson 2008:51).

It is important to realize that these conceptualizations of fields and forest are considerably different for the inhabitants of Cidadelhe and ATN. Where ATN sees forested areas and 'nature' where wild species belong, inhabitants of Cidadelhe see a domesticated space, former fields that are now overgrown. For the latter, the comeback of wildlife in these spaces could be seen as an intrusion rather than a natural situation.

These results raise attention to the importance of local involvement. This is also stressed by the mayor of Pinhel, who captures their difficult relation and some of the issues at stake very well, arguing that their objectives are not compatible:

> (…) already on first sight you see they are not. There's a clash. Because the shepherds are doing exactly the opposite of what ATN is defending. Which are the burnings, the fires in summer. So there is quite a big clash. If the farmers for instance want to renovate the pathway to feed the cattle, ATN will not agree with this because it is damaging for the flora and fauna. Therefore it is simply not compatible. So there needs to be some sort of understanding between what ATN is doing and the farmers. So what is possible? Possible is a normalization of the shepherds… what we see with people with a certain age, is that they are very reluctant to change… They don't want change. What they know, their knowledge, young people do not share. And what we see in ATN is that it's all young people, who think in another way than the older people. Therefore there's a conflict of interest between ATN and the population. But I think it is a peaceful conflict, over the past few years it improved, in the beginning it was more complicated. So for the people to recognize the work of ATN, ATN has to offer something to the people. This is important, that ATN starts

to sensitize the people to this. ATN is being criticized for having the Garrano horses which have nowhere to eat. … the population does not understand these kind of the things. Therefore it is important to sensitize, to organize for example tours and bring a group to the village, to bring to familiar terms, to converse, this says something for the population. (…)It is important to have a strong link with the local population. To make them understand that there are forms of preservation, other dynamics that they are not familiar with, it's very important to come on familiar terms with them to get them to accept these changes. With very practical things on the ground; do tours, bring the people to the park, take them to see the Garranos. To have them participate, invite them to participate. Make them feel important, talk with them, organize activities for them. We have to give importance to the people that live in the territory. Now they feel ignored; revolted. (P20)

Considering the difficult relation, ATN aims to be sensitive in its approach to the residents and involve them on other grounds, such as tourism activities:

We are doing activities in Cidadelhe, we are showing that we are not against what people in Cidadelhe do, we are against going against what *we* are doing. We are working for nature conservation; we don't want people to start a fire in our land. Or people to cut trees in our land. That is what we are against. It is not general. We are not pointing fingers. We are not saying 'I don't like what you are doing'. It is a sensitive subject. We are doing activities in Cidadelhe, and most of the people are interested. We have some friends over there, we already have good connections, but still there are some things difficult to manage.

Structured coherence

This chapter focuses on the interaction between the rewilding and the traditional narrative. Both Rewilding Europe and ATN realize that their conceived space is not what is lived by the local population. Rewilding Europe therefore chooses to focus on the people who do share their conceived vision for the region and who are progressive and innovative in that sense. ATN is more aware that interaction with the local population is inevitable and cooperation necessary, as they depend on the local population for some aspects of the project to succeed and the local population can exert power and challenge the project through their spatial practices. Most of their spatial practices that conflict with the rewilding vision are rooted in their lived space. Over the years, ATN established some agreements with these actors with the objective to avoid conflicts. Even so, the relationship is conflicted and many quarrels over space have taken place between Cidadelhe's residents and ATN.

With regard to hunting, the interaction is reasonably constructive, as both parties have a shared objective: a large number of wildlife (i.e. game). Even though there are several practices that could affect wildlife, the relationship between ATN and the hunting associations is considered positive.

Tourism could provide a common ground between the rewilding and traditional narrative, as in both it plays an important role in the conceptualization of the future. At this point however, tourism is not expected to yield substantial financial benefits for Cidadelhe nor a large influx of visitors. Rewilding Europe might prove an interesting partner for local organizations to market the region. On both hunting

and tourism the spatial narratives are thus relatively congruent and unified, as even though they reason from different perspectives, they can be unified under common goals.

With regard to laws and designations, ATN is (sometimes erroneously) held accountable for many. The local population is frustrated with the legislation that applies, as they usually do not comprehend its use and hold different values with regard to nature. Consequently, they resort to illegal practices and thus clashes with the conceived space of ATN and local institutions. One of these practices is the usage of fire, a problem which originates in the different views on the land ATN and the Cidadelhians have. People see the abandoned and overgrown fields as valueless and see it actually as a positive thing when it burns. The imposition of values which they do not share nor understand, is challenged. These two aspects are therefore best assessed as chaotic and incoherent. There are fundamental contradictions in the way the different narratives conceptualize space which consequently accounts for clashes.

Finally, the reintroduction of species is problematic and conflicted. There are many misconceptions about the species ATN is introducing. Moreover, ATN protects species that are conceptualized by the local population as 'bad species'. Villagers fear an increase of human-wildlife conflict and are startled by the concept of 'wild' animals. Because of this conceptualization and a perceived intrusion in the cultured space of the village, these species might be at risk in case of actual human-wildlife conflict.

Looking at the discussion of these practices more closely, the nature of interactions can be characterized in the following ways: (1) different conceptualizations; (2) collaboration based on shared objectives but not shared values; and (3) misunderstanding and lack of communication. These are succinctly discussed below.

First of all, an underlying reason for disparities between ATN and residents is the difference between how the two ruralities perceive the world and make sense of it. They view nature and each other's spatial practices in a very divergent way. To illustrate this, the different conceptualizations that were derived from the discussion in this chapter are depicted in table 4 below.

Table 6: Different conceptualizations of the rewilding and traditional rurality

Rewilding rurality	Traditional rurality
Valuable "nature"	Valueless abandoned agricultural fields
Natural space	Domesticated, cultural space
Ecological role of species & market value	Functionality of species to humans
Wild = good, the objective	Wild = bad, danger
"rewilding"	Abandoning land, "doing nothing"
Protecting	Prohibiting
Illegal fires that threaten nature	Traditional way of clearing the useless scrublands

These different conceptualizations are connected to different values and obviously complicate collaboration based on shared values, which is the second issue I wish to raise here. Collaborations that are established with local stakeholders are generally based on shared objectives or the promotion of its benefits. With regard to hunting, the common objective is more wildlife, which for the hunters constitutes more game outside of the reserve. With regard to tourism, the promotion of its financial benefits and movement in the village provide the main common ground. Concerning the land purchases, the financial gain is the obvious motivator. Although in essence there may be little wrong with using these gains as the basis for collaboration, it is important to note that this does not imply an assimilation of values between local stakeholders and ATN. This especially important as Rewilding Europe states in their guiding principles:

> Creating local pride and sense of common ownership and responsibility for wild nature and the natural resources is a key concept for Rewilding Europe. This will be achieved through working with the local stakeholders – such as land owners, communities, and resource users – in developing new uses of land and sea with the values of wild as core basis. Individuals, groups of landowners and communities have joined based on common management principles. Wildlife and wild animals again become icons and draw cards for these regions. This should result in new jobs and sources of income, leading to a growing pride in the wild nature[57].

Hitherto, the cooperation that is established is not based on 'wild values' however, but rather on the promotion of what the stakeholders can get out of it. Land owners wonder why sold land is still left 'abandoned'; wildlife is rather seen as a threat than an icon to be proud of. They have a very different and negative understanding of the concept which leads only to fear and antagonism. The findings suggest that wild is a concept that appeals to the romantic idea of urban middle classes, but that does not work at all for rural residents.

Thirdly, in some cases problematic interactions between ATN and residents could be accounted to a lack of (proper) communication. For instance concerning the purchase of land, a more transparent way of doing business could have avoided antagonism. Furthermore, there are many misconceptions about the natural comeback and (re)introductions of species. Open communication and provision of information about e.g. the respective species that will be introduced, and compensation schemes in case of damage, could help to avoid problems.

In general, a chief representation of space on which the rewilding vision is built is the rural depopulation and land abandonment in rural regions throughout Europe. The situation that Rewilding Europe sketches of North-East Portugal with large land abandonment and rural depopulation, is also lived by the local population and congruent with the perception of local organizations. However, as discussed before, despite the huge land abandonment, there are also still many fields that are actively used by the local population in the Côa Valley. This representation of space thus resonates with the lived experience of the

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[57] http://www.rewildingeurope.com/programme/background-and-goals/the-messages/

local population, but not necessarily with their spatial practices. In the conception of space upon which ATN and Rewilding Europe build, the value attributed to nature is moreover dominant over these traditional practices of the local population, in the specific areas designated as natural reserves. The consequences of this conception are discussed below.

In conclusion, there are fundamental contradictions within and between elements of the spatial narratives. The rewilding and traditional species of rurality co-exist but the elements of rural space fail to internalize each other. The narratives are competing in a trial by space to become a dominant representation that is commonly recognized as applying to the Côa Valley. As Lefebvre (1991) argues, each idea of 'value' acquires or loses its distinctiveness through confrontation with the other values and ideas it encounters there. Specific values of the Rewilding vision are encountering the traditional values of the rural residents, and confront each other in their respective spatial practices. What is valuable to ATN and Rewilding Europe, e.g. the abandoned lands that it values as nature, are valueless to the local population in their current state. This idea of value of land thus acquires its distinctiveness through confrontation with the other values and ideas it encounters there. Besides the confrontations that this leads to, it is exactly this distinctiveness what renders Rewilding Europe its potential. Because it assigns value to things that are valueless to others and offers a new perspective on how to turn the region into a resourceful space.
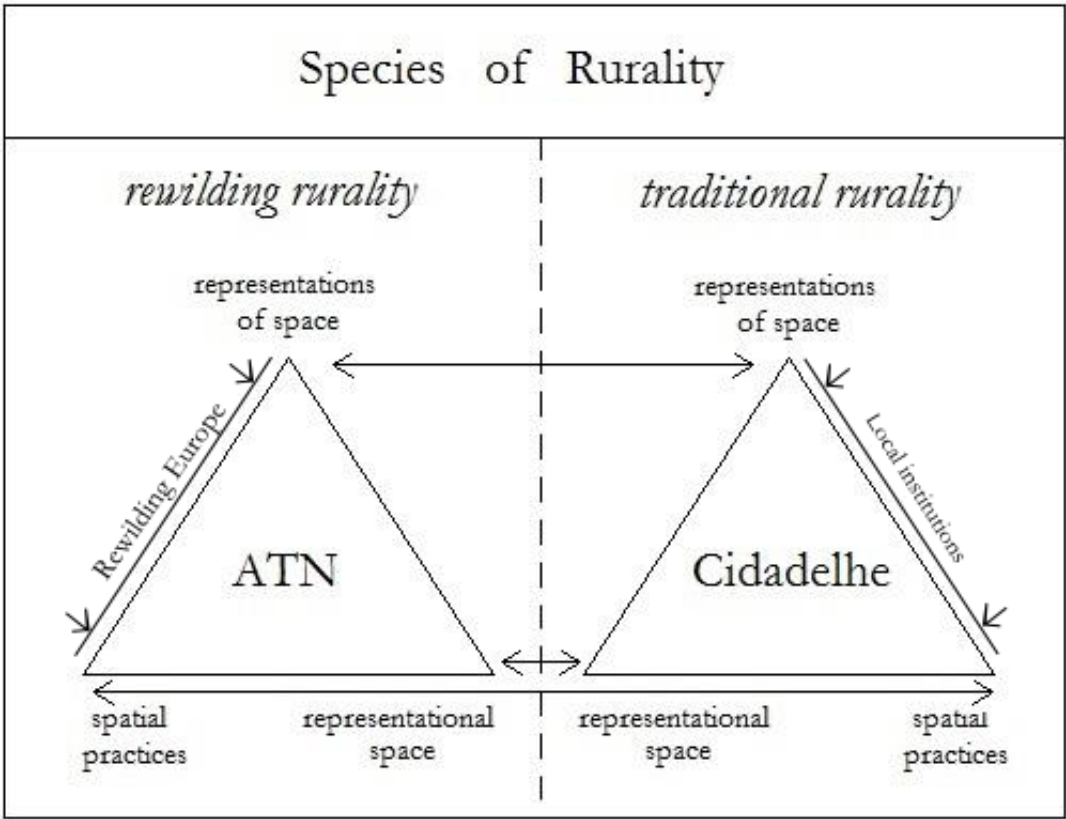

Figure 8: Interaction in the conceptual model - Species of Rurality

In figure 8, the nature of interaction within and between the species of rurality is depicted. In the rewilding rurality, ATN produces a spatial narrative that is constituted by its conceived space, spatial

practices and a lived space. Rewilding Europe is active in the conceived space and influences spatial practices, and it thus depicted as exerting pressure on ATN in these realms. In the traditional rurality, Cidadelhe produces a rurality of which representations of space and spatial practices are under influence of local institutions. Of course, both Rewilding Europe and local institutions exert influence on the lived space of the ruralities as well. The figure depicts the largest disparity between the spatial practices of both narratives, as the findings demonstrated. The representations of space of the rewilding rurality and the traditional rurality are somewhat more congruent, and the representational spaces of ATN and Cidadelhe are least distant.

5. Conclusions

This concluding chapter answers the main research question that guided this thesis: How do the rewilding rurality and the traditional rurality interact in Cidadelhe and to what extent is there structured coherence? To answer this question, three sub questions were formulated: (1) What constitutes the traditional rurality? (2) What constitutes the rewilding rurality? (3) To what extent is structured coherence present in and between the ruralities? First, it presents the conclusions to the respective ruralities and their internal structured coherence. Then, it discusses the interaction between the ruralities, after which the final conclusions are given. Subsequently, this chapter reflects on several issues that emerged from this study that prompt further discussion. Lastly, it suggests recommendations for further research.

Conclusion

The traditional rurality

This thesis started with an analysis of what constitutes the *traditional* rurality. The village of Cidadelhe exemplified rural local populations in the Côa Valley, complemented with the visions of relevant local institutions. The inhabitants of Cidadelhe have a traditional lifestyle based on subsistence farming and pastoralism. This characterizes their spatial practices and lived space, which are informed by local knowledge about the land that is passed on for generations. Moreover they are used to a life of hard work and limited resources, which helps to explain their anthropocentric utilitarian view on nature, i.e. the view of flora and fauna as a resource predominantly. Although lived spaces are inherently subjective, *saudades* for the old times appeared to be paramount in the lived spaces of all respondents. The land abandonment and rural depopulation in the region is as a source of grief to them and they wish young generations could and would want to sustain the traditional lifestyle in the village. The spatial practices that characterize the traditional rurality are largely informed by this lived space of the inhabitants. This narrative can therefore be described as a chiefly lived rurality.

Tension and contradictions exist between the conceived designations of local institutions and the lived space and spatial practices of Cidadelhe's inhabitants. The special protection status of the area limits their access to resources, which is a source of frustration and contest for them. They share an envisioned future scenario however, as all seem to view rural tourism development as the most viable response to the decline in agriculture. The exploitation of Cidadelhe's alleged tourism potential does not pass from ideas into practice however. Local government institutions are willing to provide a good climate for private investments, but hitherto no one invests. Although the traditional narrative thus has some internal discrepancies with regard to the access to resources, an overall coherence holds.

The rewilding rurality

The rewilding rurality is constituted by Rewilding Europe and ATN, who for analytical reasons were scrutinized as producing one spatial narrative. However, many nuances and disparities were found. Key to

the rewilding narrative is the value it assigns to nature. It is mainly the conceived space that plays an important role, which in turn informs spatial practices. It conceptualizes the land abandonment and rural depopulation in the region as an opportunity for rewilding, a form of passive nature management in which natural processes, connectivity and reintroduction of keystone herbivores and other wildlife species play central roles.

An important conclusion that derives from the findings is that ATN acts as a broker between the conceived abstract space of Rewilding Europe and the localized reality on the ground. Rewilding Europe inspires the 'big thinking' and ATN, through its roots in and knowledge of the local context provides 'the feet on the ground'. Joining Rewilding Europe induced a transition phase from active to passive management for ATN, which in effect entails continuous negotiation and redefinition of its spatial practices. With regard to several active management practices, ATN is convinced of the necessity to maintain these at least for now, such as with fire surveillance and the fencing of the introduced cows and horses. Increased perceived risks for the local population provide an important incentive for ATN to restrict the rewilding principles.

For both Rewilding Europe and ATN the development of tourism plays an important role in their strategy. Although this is still in a start-up phase, Rewilding Europe's vision of a new nature-based economy might be bold, especially considering the perceived lack of entrepreneurial attitude in the region. As argued before, with its objectives to develop high turnover wildlife tourism in Portugal's first private nature reserve in order to pay for conservation and boost the local economy, the rewilding narrative is exemplary of the spirit of this age. It embodies broader trends such as the shift from government to governance and the involvement of the private sector in nature conservation, the promotion of tourism in the conservation-development nexus and the commercialization of nature and wildlife.

The findings indicate that ATN and Rewilding Europe, although they join forces to implement rewilding in the region, should be seen as autonomous and internally heterogeneous organizations, whose collaboration is fluid, dynamic and negotiable. Some of the staff of ATN has their reservations about the feasibility of some objectives of Rewilding Europe, especially regarding the envisioned size of the rewilding area. This is deemed untenable by the ATN team in the foreseeable future, considering the landownership situation and the amount of people still using the lands. Because of this and the negotiation of management actions, the internal structured coherence was therefore defined as somewhat contradictory and disjointed.

In conclusion, both the traditional rurality and the rewilding rurality have some internal discrepancies but overall form a coherent whole. The main conclusions on the interaction between these two narratives in the context of Cidadelhe are discussed next.

Structured coherence between the *traditional* and *rewilding* rurality

The structured coherence between both ruralities was assessed on different topics that constitute the most important aspects of these species of rurality. As aforementioned, the traditional narrative is a chiefly lived rurality which translates into specific spatial practices. The rewilding narrative is a predominantly conceived rurality in which their visions and ideas play the predominant role, translating into specific spatial practices.

The interaction between the species of rurality was found to be contradictory and disjointed. This paragraph therefore discusses the most important conclusions regarding the interaction within and between the spatial narratives.

First of all, the predominantly anthropocentric and utilitarian view of Cidadelhe's inhabitants complicates their understanding of the legislation that is imposed. The relationship between ATN and residents of Cidadelhe is considered problematic after disputes over (fire) legislation. Their different ruralities account for different conceptualizations of the land, which explain the disparities between the actors. For instance, most inhabitants of Cidadelhe have no affinity with ATN's land management, as the main point of view is that land should be used for production. The absence of agricultural practices leads them to believe that ATN is abandoning the land, 'just like everybody else is'. As land abandonment and rural depopulation are a source of grief already, this affects their attitude towards ATN negatively. Where ATN sees forested areas and 'nature', inhabitants of Cidadelhe see a domesticated space, former fields that are now overgrown. The natural comeback and reintroductions of species that ATN facilitates, may account for perceived intrusion in the villagers' domesticated space. ATN moreover protects species that are conceptualized by the local population as 'bad species', i.e. which either pose a threat or are worthless from a utilitarian perspective. Villagers fear an increase of human-wildlife conflict and are startled by the concept of 'wild' animals.

The findings of this study indicate that the implementation of Rewilding Europe principles could induce a further dissociation from the lived space of the inhabitants. Before joining Rewilding Europe, ATN conducted some traditional practices that were close to the agricultural practices of the local population, such as the cultivation of cereal and the renovation and maintenance of the dovecotes, which created affinity towards ATN. However, rewilding inherently means 'doing nothing'[58] with the fields, which residents deplore. Moreover, the reintroduction and the facilitation of the natural comeback of wild species are essential in Rewilding Europe's vision, which is, as argued in this thesis, expected to be perceived negatively by the local population. Considering the misconceptions that exist among the local population, it is important to be sensitive with regard to future reintroductions. Future reintroductions might not only affirm their idea that ATN is also responsible for the presence or comeback of other (unwanted) species, such as wolfs and predator birds, but might also increase human-wildlife conflict.

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[58] As was demonstrated in this thesis passive management may still entails interventions. However, this style of management is likely to be perceived by the local population as 'doing nothing'.

With the potential reintroductions of ibex, roe deer and red deer, increased crop raiding is a plausible threat.

Communication with regard to the comeback and reintroduction of species, for instance on compensation schemes, their ecological role and the hunting possibilities may help to prevent problems and avoid the persistence of certain misconceptions. This is especially important considering that a lack of proper communication created (unnecessary) antagonism towards ATN already in the past. In general, the findings raised concerns about the need for local involvement, which is elaborated in the discussion section.

Local government institutions envision developing rural tourism in the region and Cidadelhe and see potential in nature tourism as well. The situation that Rewilding Europe sketches of North-East Portugal with large land abandonment and rural depopulation, is also lived by the local population and congruent with the perception of local organizations, although it does not necessarily resonate with residents' spatial practices. The approaches of local organizations, 'rurals by choice' and Rewilding Europe share the conceptualization of the region as a post-productivist country side that should be reoriented at consumption of the rural: The traditional narrative may have an agricultural background, but the spatial practices that are envisioned for the future are consumption-orientated: rural tourism, small scale regional products, counter urbanisation of the 'rurals by choice' and dwelling. This is congruent with Rewilding Europe's vision for the future, although that is more focused the consumption related to nature and wildlife. Both representations capitalize on versions of a rural idyll however (cf. Halfacree 2007: 131).

The results of this research suggested that the interaction between the traditional and rewilding species of rurality is contradictory and disjointed. Rewilding Europe's conceived space is not concurrent with what is lived by the local population and collaboration with ATN demands a continuous redefinition of spatial practices. A better understanding of the interaction between the ruralities is suggested to be able to help enhance the most appropriate implementation of rewilding in the Côa Valley.

Rewilding Europe challenges the dominant species of rurality that exists in the Côa Valley, which is rooted in the traditional agricultural society. Rewilding Europe assigns different values to the components of space and seeks to create a whole new spatial narrative, which acquires its distinctiveness through confrontation with the traditional values that are usually assigned to the Côa Valley. Its potential derives precisely from this distinctive way of looking at rural regions, i.e. turning the abandoned land, which others conceptualize as the problem, into a (potentially viable) resource. However, to increase the chance of successful implementation of rewilding, complementing this view with local perspectives is crucial.

Discussion

This section reflects on some interesting aspects that emerged from the findings and that provide interesting discussion points. First, it discusses some issues related to local involvement. Then, the potential for tourism development in the region is reflected on. Subsequently, the ambiguous role of the concept 'wild' and other discursive issues are discussed. Last, it reflects on the application of Lefebvre as a guiding theoretical framework.

Local involvement

First of all, the unawareness about Rewilding Europe in the region is striking, since Western Iberia is well-known as one of Rewilding Europe's pilot areas among its international audience. The Rewilding Europe vision is a notion that is commonly recognized as applying to this space by outsiders, but not at all by the users of this space. This conception of space is not relevant (yet) in the representational space of the local population because they are not at all acquainted with the concept and simply not aware that they live in one of Rewilding Europe's 'pilot areas'. This raises concerns for instance about the volatility of Rewilding Europe's position in the region and the ethical concerns that should be taken into account with regard to provision of information and communication towards the local population.

The results moreover raised several other concerns with regard to local involvement. Hitherto ATN and Rewilding Europe have no tangible strategy or planning on whether and how to inform and involve the local population. Rewilding Europe is rather exclusive, as it focuses primarily on involving the progressive entrepreneurial people that already adhere to the rewilding narrative. However, this mentality was found to be hardly present among the rural residents. Both ATN and Rewilding Europe seem to think of the disparities with the local population as an issue that will disappear automatically within one or two decades anyway, and do not give priority to local involvement.

ATN deems the economic argument most important to involving local population in Cidadelhe, but one can wonder if this should be put forward, considering that, at least on the short term, it is not expected that tourism will bring them substantial financial benefits. Moreover, the danger of viewing nature as an economic resource is of course that when it turns out not be profitable after all, the willingness for conservation might decrease.

Experience shows that involvement of the local population increases the probability of success of conservation projects (cf. e.g. Ferreira Soares 2010, Mowforth and Munt 2009). With reintroductions specifically, it has been demonstrated that local involvement greatly improves the chances of survivorship of the species (cf. e.g. Morzillo et al., 2010). Moreover, as the local people are the ones who have to bear the costs of living with the animals and complying with restrictions on their land, it seems only fair to inform and involve them.

Tourism development

The region's potential, but lack of capital and spirit to put ideas into practice, is a recurrent discursive theme for the representatives of local organizations. The mentality of local people is believed to be individualistic and competitive, which complicates their objective of creating a regional brand and network. The region's tourism influx is currently relatively insignificant and hitherto no plans for development exist. Rewilding Europe could mean a great opportunity for the region to market itself in an innovative way that differentiates them from other European regions that have a similar offer. Because of the expertise Conservation Capital offers in creating exclusive high turnover wildlife tourism it could prove a valuable partner. On the other hand however, the local organizations' enduring struggle to promote tourism in the region can also serve as a warning towards Rewilding Europe that tourism should not be seen as a quick fix solution to boost the economy. Moreover, Rewilding Europe and ATN should be careful to ensure that tourism does not compromise their conservation objectives.

Go wild in the country?

The concept 'wild' takes on an interesting and ambiguous role in Rewilding Europe's discourse. As was argued before, the concept has been challenged in academic debate for decades, as it conceals the human influence in the production of wilderness and blurs understanding of the relation between wilderness and rural people that live from the land. Still, it features prominently in the discourse of Rewilding Europe, which can be explained by the fact that in tourism and popular use the concept is widespread and actually has a positive and enticing connotation.

However, one of the problems with the term is that this connotation is primarily one of urban western citizens. Rewilding Europe envisions stimulating local pride in and common responsibility for 'wild nature' but the cooperation that is established so far is rather based on the promotion of what the stakeholders can get out of it. The findings of this research suggested that wild is a concept that appeals to the romantic idea of urban middle classes but does not work at all for the local population.

Because 'wild' generally has a negative connotation for the local population and induces fear and misunderstandings, Rewilding Europe might in fact run the risk of alienating the people living in the rewilding area a priori by embracing this term. ATN therefore uses the term 'semi-wild' in its communication about the introduced cows and horses, but this concept is not less laden for the local population. This raises questions on whether the use of the concept wild is sensible in local communication as it is likely to be an impediment. Although hitherto introducing Rewilding Europe has not been part of the communication with the local population, experiences so far indicate that in future communication a reconsideration of the use of the term 'wild' might help to avoid misunderstandings and antagonism.

Next to the concept 'wild', there are several other terms in the discourse of Rewilding Europe that are ambiguous. First of all, the prefix *re*-wilding seems to imply a 'natural' return to a previous wild state, but considering the dynamic nature of nature, what state should be aimed for? As was argued before, the

actual return to a previous state is impossible and rewilding would always entail the creation of something *new*.

Furthermore, the use of the term 'passive management' is ambiguous too. It is being used as Rewilding Europe strives to let nature govern itself, by allowing for natural processes. However, as aforementioned, currently this objective induces rather active management interventions, such as the reintroduction of species. Specific natural processes, such as natural grazing, are deemed especially important. Before we can let nature run its course, apparently nature needs to be brought to a certain 'starting point', from which the *desired* natural processes can commence. From a Lefebvrian perspective, this demonstrates how nature is also entailed in the social production of space, instead of being something external to culture.

The concept of zoning seemingly solves the problem of the presence of human infrastructure with regard to the objective to create a large wilderness area. However, as we saw before 'wilderness', appeals to certain romantic notions of pristine, unspoiled nature and the absence of human influence. From a constructivist perspective, wilderness is a subjective experience, rather than a specific place that fulfills certain criteria. Rewilding Europe deploys the term to entice the urban tourist to experience wilderness in Europe, similar to wildlife experiences in Africa. However, it is in the eye of the beholder whether they are experiencing 'true wilderness'. The presence of villages, roads and other infrastructures could spoil this perception of 'being in the wild' rather easily. Can the Côa Valley generate this sense of wilderness, considering the amount of villages and the extent of human infrastructure?

Application of Lefebvre

This thesis is based on the Henri's Lefebvre's work on space, specifically his spatial triad. This thesis applied his conceptual model to offer an insight into the workings of the production of space. In doing so, the model has shown exploratory power to illustrate how space actively gets produced. It is especially suitable to analyze places for planning purposes, as it brings together abstract political processes, planning and concrete practices and lived experiences. The theory proved highly relevant to the topic of this research, as space is such a determining factor for both species of rurality, having condemned the Cidadelhians to a life of hardship, reinforcing depopulation and providing an opportunity for ATN and Rewilding Europe to envision rewilding. For both identified species of rurality, space thus plays a determining role in the narrative they produce.

However, the lack of elaboration of the different concepts in Lefebvre's work is problematic, as it hardly offers any tangible guidance for research. Moreover, Lefebvre's works shows equivocations on several topics. This complicates a tangible operationalization of his theory and the interpretations of Lefebvre's work are consequently divergent. Halfacree's addition of the concepts of species of rurality, structured coherence and his interpretation of Lefebvre's trial by space have therefore proven a valuable addition to apply the theory in a more guiding and tangible matter. Furthermore, as Lefebvre stresses, the spatial moments of the triad interrelate and overlap. It is hard to separate the moments, even if only for analytical purposes. This complicates the use of the triad for research applications and structuring of the research.

Recommendations for further research

This exploratory study provided a first insight into local implementation of Rewilding in Portugal, and constitutes one of the first concrete field studies into the local implementation of Rewilding in Europe in general. Some interesting topics and questions emerged that could not be covered in the scope of this research, and which could serve as inspiration for further research.

First of all, this study only included the Portuguese side of the pilot area of Western Iberia. To gain a more exhaustive account of the implementation of Rewilding Europe in Western Iberia, which acknowledges the interaction between the supranational collaboration of both local NGOs and other organizations, a study that encompasses the entire region is suggested. Furthermore, in the scope of this research a complete account of stakeholders was not feasible. It would be interesting to research whether there are more spatial narratives that compete in the production of space and if so, what they envision for the region.

Secondly, tourism plays an important and interesting role in the vision of Rewilding Europe. The findings of this research gave rise to the question whether tourism is able to fulfill its promises to boost the local economy. An in-depth study into the tourism potential of Western Iberia, including an assessment of aspects such as the entrepreneurial incentive in the region, ecological and socio-economic consequences is therefore relevant. Moreover, it would be interesting to elaborate on the comparison that Rewilding Europe makes between African examples and Western Iberia (and other European pilot areas). To what extent is Europe comparable to Africa, and how can African successes be translated to a European context or vice versa?

Third, the findings indicated that the importance of local involvement has been largely overlooked by ATN and Rewilding Europe. This was also found in the study conducted by Leuvenink (2013), who recommends ATN to develop a clear communication strategy. Moreover, she concluded that the workshops which were organized to increase local involvement hardly reached their goal. A study that researches to what extent the results from Cidadelhe can be extrapolated to other villages and which informs a tangible strategy for local involvement in all surrounding villages would be highly relevant.

Last but not least, the concept 'wild' plays an ambiguous role in Rewilding, as it raises several, different concerns in academic debate, in popular and tourism use, and for rural populations. Considering the concerns raised in the discussion, a more thorough understanding of its operational significance in nature conservation and its meaning for both rural and urban residents would be enlightening.

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Appendices

Appendix I: List of respondents

	#	Name	Profession	Relation	Language	Interpreter	Trans-lation
1	P2	Anonymous woman	Retired farmer	Resident Cidadelhe	PT	Nadine Oliveira	NO
2	P3	Anonymous woman	Retired farmer	Resident Cidadelhe	PT	Nadine Oliveira	NO
3	P4	Anonymous woman	Wine producer, retired farmer	Resident Cidadelhe	PT	Nadine Oliveira	NO
4	P5	Rui Pacheco	Mayor of Cidadelhe	Resident Cidadelhe	PT	Nadine Oliveira	NO
5	P8	Ana Berliner	Owner tourist accommodation, founder ATN	Board ATN	ENG	n/a	
6	P9	Sara Noro	Owner tourist accommodation	Collaborates with ATN	ENG	n/a	
7	P10	Fernanda Guerra	Weekend visitor Cidadelhe	Owns a house in Cidadelhe	PT	João Quadrado	JQ
8	P11	Anonymous couple	Weekend visitors Cidadelhe	Own a house and several ruins in Cidadelhe	PT	João Quadrado	JQ
9	P12	Maria Amalia	Shepherd	Cidadelhe	PT	João Quadrado	JQ
10	P13	Carlos Condessa	Vice-president of Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo, head of Tourism Department	Local institutions	ES/PT	João Quadrado	LW
11	P15	Wouter Helmer	Conservation Director Rewilding Europe	Rewilding Europe	NL	n/a	n/a
12	P16	Silvina	Retired farmer	Resident Cidadelhe	PT	João Ruano	JR
13	P17	Mario	Farmer	Resident Cidadelhe	PT	João Ruano	JR
14	P18	Anonymous man	Shepherd	Resident Cidadelhe	PT	João Ruano	JR
15	P19	Valdemar Aleixo and Ana Maria	Shepherds and farmers	Residents Cidadelhe	PT	Ana Pinto	JQ
16	P20	António Luis Monteiro Ruas	Mayor of Pinhel	Local institutions	PT	Alice Gama	LW
17	P21	Dulcineia Catarina	Head of Territorios do Côa	Local institutions	PT	Bárbara Pais	BP
18	P22	Jorge Amaral	Technician in hunting, fishing and agriculture in ICNF,	Local institutions	ENG	n/a	

			hunter				
19	P23	João Quadrado	Rewilding Europe manager in ATN	ATN	ENG	n/a	
20	P24	Anonymous couple	Weekend visitors Cidadelhe	Own a house in Cidadelhe	PT	David Homem	DH
21	P25	José António Marques	Former mayor Cidadelhe	Resident Cidadelhe	PT	David Homem	DH
22	P26	Felisberto Guerra Nunes	Retired farmer	Resident Cidadelhe	PT	David Homem	DH
23	P27	Maria	Farmer	Resident Cidadelhe	PT	David Homem	DH
24	P28	Antonia do Rosário Nunes Guerra	Retired farmer	Resident Cidadelhe	PT	David Homem	DH
25	P30	António Monteiro	Founder ATN, president of the board	ATN	ENG	n/a	
26	P31	Henrique Pereira dos Santos	CEO ATN 2012-2013	ATN	ENG	n/a	
27	P32	Paulo Meirelles	Hunter, owner private hunting estate		ENG	n/a	
28	P40	Giles Davies	Founder Conservation Capital	Rewilding Europe	ENG	n/a	
29		Dalila correia		PAVC/ATN	ENG	n/a	
30		Mafalda		Miles Away	ENG	n/a	
31		Rui Torres		Farmer/ATN	PT	David Homem	
32		Filomena Cardoso Martins			ENG	n/a	
33		Elsa Coimbra			ENG	n/a	
34	P41	Anonymous respondent		ATN	ENG	n/a	

Appendix II: Narrative inquiry themes

(selected and adapted from Atkinson 1998)

Introduction

- Name
- Born here? (which year?) how many generations of your family have lived here?
- What was going on in the community at the time of your birth?
- Occupation and cultural background parents
- What was growing up in Cidadelhe like?
- What did a normal day look like for you and your family members?
- Where did you go to school and what was it like?
- To which other places did you go?

Work

- What is/was your main occupation?
- Has your work been satisfying to you? (or something you had to do?)
- What is important to you in your work? What do you like about it?
- What is most difficult about your work?
- How would you describe your relationship to the landscape?
- Did you ever leave Cidadelhe? Why (not)? If yes, why did you come back?
- What do/did you do in your leisure time here?
- Do you still work now? If yes, do you enjoy it? If not, do you miss it?
- Do you feel your work should be continued by somebody else? Why/how?
- How would you feel if your work stops after this generation?

- Are you married?
- Do you have children? Do they live Cidadelhe? Why (not)?
- If no, do you think they will live here again at some point in time?

Community

- How would you describe your community?
- How is it different now than before?
- What is different or unique about it?
- Is a sense of community important to you? Why? How?

- How does/did your occupation relate to that of other community members?
- What family- or cultural celebrations, traditions, or rituals were important in your life?
- Was religion important in the community/your family? Is it now?
- Do you recall any legends, tales, or songs about people, places, or events in your community?
- Are you aware of any traditional ways that families did things? (built their houses, prepared food, cultivated the land, managed the sheep, etcetera?)

Changes

- When did the traditional lifestyle start to change? How?
- How do you feel about that?
- How do you feel about the abandoned agricultural lands on the other side of the river?
- How do you feel about the empty houses in Cidadelhe?
- Would you like people (from outside) to come and live there?
- How would an ideal future for Cidadelhe look like for you?
- What would be possible in your opinion to stop the depopulation in Cidadelhe?

- Do you know ATN/Faia Brava?
- What do you think of their work?
- How does their work impact you/cidadelhe?

- Is there anything you would like to add?