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Commentary The changing cultural dimensions of biodiversity conservation Les G. Firbank^{1,*} ¹School of Biology, University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT, UK *Correspondence: l.firbank@leeds.ac.uk

Standfirst

Agriculture involves the redirection of wild ecosystems to the production of food. This trade-off between farming and biodiversity conservation is often discussed in terms of land sharing, or land sparing and rewilding. However, this choice also reflects perceptions of ideal landscapes, which are partly based in culture and memory.

Main Text

Once upon a time ...

Once upon a time, in the 1990s, I was involved in a European Union-funded project on landscape ecology. There was an ongoing debate as to which was the more important determination of species distribution in agricultural landscapes; some people felt that it was really down to the landscape composition, while others felt it was more down to landscape history. I found this debate confusing; I thought both were important, and it would be down to the individual context and how the problem was framed that would determine which mattered the most. But then, as part of our working, we were taken to a field excursion to Belgian woodland, very close to the border with the Netherlands. Our Belgian host, who felt that history was the more important, pointed out historical features in the landscape. Here is a trench from the First World War. These plants show that this area is an ancient woodland. Then, we move forward to look across the flat landscape of the Netherlands, a landscape which has been redesigned over the centuries according to need, where space is more important than time. It was the Dutch scientists who were the most fervently in favour of the importance of contemporary landscape design. It struck me that the way they framed their view of their science seemed to reflect their cultural heritage, their different shared memories about the relationship between people and environment.

 Another snapshot. I am about 10 years old, walking in the fields of my family farm in northern England. I can hear birds and insects, and I can see primroses in the field and other flowers in the field margins. There are rabbits, occasionally hares and foxes. The farm landscape is pretty untidy, we have a few cows grazing the land and a few half-decent cereal crops, but it is noisy and insects and birds are moving around. I later moved away from farming to become an academic, but that 1960s farmed landscape never really left me. I ended up working on landscape ecology and land management policy, promoting a biodiverse but productive agricultural landscape for England [1], a vision shared by many of my friends and contemporaries who also had enjoyed a rural upbringing. Were we all trying to recreate the landscapes of our childhoods?

A final snapshot, just a couple of years ago, here in my office at Leeds University, back in northern England. I have a small group of ecology tutees, and the task is to get them to think about the potential impacts of Brexit on wildlife conservation in Britain (hint: many of our conservation laws and regulation are based within the EU). But this is going nowhere. So I try another tack. Where would you look for wildlife in Britain? They look at each other, starting to panic. Eventually, a tentative answer comes. "The zoo?" I ask my whole lecture group of undergraduates, how many have been on safari to see wildlife overseas? Around a third of them. I asked, how may go to see wildlife in the UK? Two out of around 150. Even the ones from small towns did not have the habit of enjoying the wildlife around them

(though admittedly these were small towns in the crowded and highly managed landscapes of southern England). In my experience, many potential students on open days want to help animals (ideally slightly ill, cuddly ones) rather than get to grips with the extinction crisis.

Across all of these examples, personal experiences are central to how views on conservation are formed. Whilst those like myself have experiences nature through our ties to the agricultural landscape, I wonder, for others has wildlife watching become an extension of TV documentaries, a sort of "Living Planet" theme park experience? If so, this is a huge cultural shift in the relationship between people and environment.

The need for popular support for conservation

Currently, the most important driver of global biodiversity loss is agriculture. As demand for food and other agricultural products have increased, agricultural land has moved into new lands to satisfied demands. The conversion of ecosystems to farmland has had the largest negative impact on global biodiversity since 1970, including the loss of 100 million ha of tropical forest from 1980 to 2000 [2]. But in many places, such as the UK and across many parts of Europe, there has been a shift to more homogenous, controlled and financially efficient forms of farming. This has led to further loss of biodiversity, including a 56% decline of farmland birds between 1970-2017 [3]. The diversion of land, a limited resource, to the production of food and other goods and services creates inevitable tension with the conservation of species and ecosystems. The increasing demands from agriculture are likely to result in yet more biodiversity loss, whilst people continue to call for better protection of biodiversity.

I argue that biodiversity conservation needs a broad degree of public support for it to happen at the necessary scale across agricultural landscapes. This is because utilitarian arguments for biodiversity conservation only go so far. Policies aimed at supporting habitats because of their provision of ecosystem services and public goods are not enough by themselves, as in practice many of these goods and services can be provided by ecosystems that are quite impoverished. The conservation of biodiversity needs to call on other, less utilitarian, values [4].

Wild – cultural – intensive - urban landscapes

Where I was brought up, I would often look across my home landscape north to Middlesbrough in the distance, with its docks and factories, through the farmed landscapes and into the uplands of the North York Moors, beautiful but (as I now see) ecologically degraded. There was no such as thing as wild nature anywhere in my direct experience, but it had existence value to me even as child from my books and TV programmes. Much of temperate Europe and many parts of Asia are characterised by agricultural land use that has similarly gone back centuries, in which biodiversity has not been actively promoted for its own sake. But certain species did thrive in these landscapes, whenever their traits have been in synchrony with the structure and management of the landscape at the time [5]. The challenge across much of Europe is that so many changes associated with farming from the 1970s-1990s reduced the resources and habitats for non-cropped species [6], inspiring in Europe the development of agri-environment schemes to try to conserve the best of the traditional landscapes and their associated biodiversity. Unfortunately biodiversity declines have continued despite these efforts, with important exceptions when there have been large inputs of enthusiasm, knowledge and resources. My concerns that agricultural landscapes would become cleaner but more sterile [1] are sadly being borne out in fact.

Land sparing - land sharing

The practices of my childhood farm would now be considered as extensive, and lend themselves for both biodiversity conservation and food production (land sharing). But recent decades have seen new innovations, increasing farmland productivity, but often in conflict with even the biodiversity that had previously flourished in agricultural landscapes. For example maintaining habitats used by insect pests does not typically complement a strategy of maximising short-term profits. It has been suggested that it may be better for biodiversity if farmland is managed to increase food production per unit area, enough to meet demands for products, so that excess land may be left for biodiversity (land sparing) [7]. To a natural scientist like myself, the desired balance depends on which taxa are being addressed, on the levels of food production under a land sharing or land sparing system, the spatial and ecological relationships between taxa, habitats and food production and on the efficiency of exchange between farmland and wild areas – whether or not 'spared' areas are actually made available for wildlife. It also depends on whether land sparing creates conflicts at the boundaries, for example with large predators and livestock [8], or whether it encourages management practices that are unsustainable over time.

But such assessments neglect the cultural dimension to conservation. For those who grew up with agricultural landscapes with 'land-sharing' and passive 'land-sparing', there is a cultural desire to conserve these systems and their biodiversity. It may be telling that the new narrative on large scale areas for biodiversity is not the passive 'land sparing' but the much more active concept of rewilding. Rewilding is the "large-scale restoration of ecosystems where nature can take care of itself"; it is "not geared to reach any human-defined endpoint" [9]. A quick search through the refereed literature shows that rewilding barely existed as a concept in the 20th Century, but in 2018 there were 76 publications and over 1100 citations of rewilding papers. Rewilding represents a rejection of the managed agricultural landscapes of my childhood; such a rejection can easily be seen as a cultural loss, even in agricultural areas that have been abandoned [10]. But it can also represent a rejection of the formal conservation manager's view that biodiversity management should entail active efforts to meet certain conservation objectives [11]. Indeed, the rapid uptake of rewilding is part of a broader shift in conservation thinking that reflect individual's ethical values, that vary with gender, age, educational background and other social factors [12]. I wonder if urbanisation has brought with it a detachment from the farmed landscapes of the past, and increased accessibility of wild nature experiences has brought closer engagement with the rewilding agenda.

It strikes me that the rewilding movement represents a way of creating new cultural landscapes in which people can link with nature. And so to be successful, rewilding areas must be accessible to people, and able to conserve biodiversity and habitats. Attention is now being paid to the complex, interacting factors that shape human-nature interactions [13], providing the evidence needed to plan areas that show different levels of wildness and remoteness, integrated urban wildlife arks through to large areas of remote wilderness. Participatory land use planning can help reconcile different visions of landscapes [14]. However, such areas will not remove the threats to biodiversity; climate change will remain important, and I worry that some of the global drivers of insect declines might be more ubiquitous and difficult to manage than currently thought. But it neglected the social and cultural aspects of conservation, which could be included through participatory land use

planning [14]. Perhaps it is too much to expect biodiversity to thrive in typical contemporary, intensively farmed landscapes (Sutherland [15]).

Where next?

The world is changing, and as the demand for land increases, reconciling agriculture and conservation remains as vital as ever. To me, the land-sparing land-sharing debate opened up a valuable dialogue about priorities for conservation in a changing and increasingly crowded world. Cultural connections to biodiversity are important for public support of conservation, and should be fostered over the long term through the ongoing creation of new forms of contact between children (and their parents) and the natural world. These cultural connections, often rooted in childhood experiences, may need to evolve with, and draw upon, digital media. This could mean a scaled approach to rewilding, with small, accessible urban parks, zoos and gardens, all the way to larger and more remote areas, some of which perhaps should only be visited virtually after appropriate technology for tracking and visualisation has been installed. Expertise in public engagement and innovation will rank alongside expertise in conservation biology as being vital for effective conservation.

Whatever route we take, we need to defend and augment our connections with nature, and help shape a culture that benefits from nature, and recognises the need to conserve biodiversity. Doing this will help us in our question of 'how' to conserve biodiversity. Sounds challenging, but fun.

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