Semiolinguistic analysis of 2004 press coverage of french Natura 2000 network

Key issues and objectives for the ministry

Bringing the network of Natura 2000 sites closer to users is an ongoing objective.

All information and communication efforts must contribute to the achievement of this goal by conveying the notion of a shared ambition.

In 2004, the Nature and Landscapes Directorate (DNP) established a series of guidelines in partnership with all partners : **Platform for communication and facilitation of networks.**

The Platform enables the definition of coherent, shared objectives which render our collective efforts coherent and legible while avoiding the pitfalls of an approach based exclusively on "advertising" or "propaganda".

The study presented in this document forms part of the tools builted by the DNP which are necessary for implementation of this **Platform**.

Is the message received, the one we are sending ?

The study entrusted to Université Paris V had twin objectives :

• **Identify the perception of citizens in the Natura 2000** network by examining press articles published in 2004.

• **Evaluate understanding of our objectives via our own information media**.

It also highlights the "problem" of relations between the press and the Natura 2000 project. Often idealised and/or demonised, relations between bearers of the Natura 2000 project and the press are hardly ever covered by a medium-term, sustainable strategy.

Yet the press is a key actor in the life of a region in the same way as the stakeholders : socioprofessional groups, associations, residents, scientists, etc.

It is also a tool, with its own rules, which disseminates information deemed more credible by our users than that coming from our own media.

Our aim is therefore to provide the network's actors with the keys to ensuring that our citizens understand us better while building "normal" relations with the press, local, regional and otherwise**.**

The Natura Project Team
MEDD / DNP

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Semiolinguistic analysis of 2004 press coverage of Natura 2000

Summary of final report - Valérie Brunetière - Université René Descartes - Paris V

1. PROBLEM SET AND CORPUS OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN 2004

1 - 1 SEMIOLOGICAL STUDY'S PROBLEM SET AND PERSPECTIVES:

ON THE BASIS OF THE PRESS CORPUS PROVIDED (221 ARTICLES) THE STUDY WILL EXAMINE:

• How the Natura 2000 network is presented through textual and visual discourses published in 2004 (press and documents originating from various issuers), as **a project / an ongoing achievement / an action which is completed** and perhaps already **in the past**?

• **How natural and environmental aspects of these discourses are** positioned in relation to **human interventionism**: on the one hand, directive, laws and various contracts. On the other, people working in the field, operators.

• What is the tone of these articles: critical, even alarmist, positive and serving to promote or even defend the project? Neutral and informative? Is any reference made to problems and if so which? Are solutions mentioned?
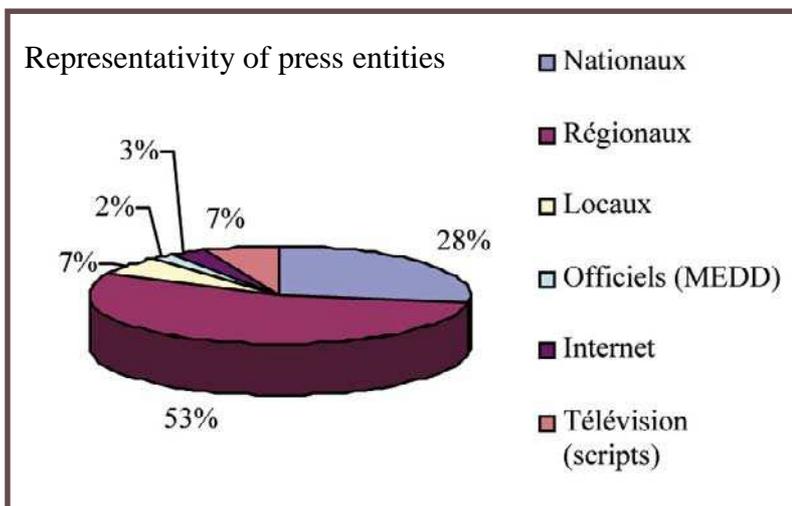
1 - 2 PRESENTATION OF "2004 PRESS COVERAGE" CORPUS

The corpus received presents press articles written in 2004 only. Sixty-one different French press entities are represented.

Of the 221 press articles received (all bodies taken together), we have selected **46** for exhaustive analysis on the basis of the following representativity criteria[1]:

• Classification of articles by press **category** (national, regional, local, official, Internet and TV scripts) and calculation of the number of articles received for each category;

• Type of discourse regarding Natura 2000, i.e. explicit or implicit reference to Natura 2000;

• Positive **articles** (conveying a positive or upbeat image of Natura 2000), **negative** articles (conveying a negative or critical image of Natura 2000) and **neutral** articles (generally informative without adopting a position either way).

Representativity of press entities
- Nationaux — 28%
- Régionaux — 53%
- Locaux — 7%
- Officiels (MEDD) — 7%
- Internet — 2%
- Télévision (scripts) — 3%

Representativity of press entities

The regional and local daily press account for 60% of the entire corpus (221 articles) ; whereas the proportion occupied by the national press is a mere 28%.
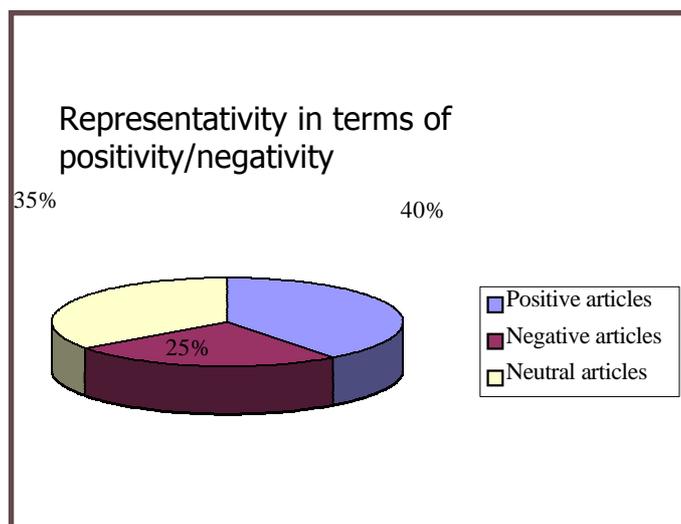
National/Regional/Local/Officials (MEDD)/
Internet/Television (scripts)

Representativity: positive/neutral/negative articles

There are more positive articles than negative ones. Articles which adopt a neutral or observational tone make up a third of the corpus. Significant variations exist between the regional

and national press with the former showing a preference for positive (40%) or neutral (38%) articles and with only a minority of negative articles (22%).

The trend is reversed for the national press: a majority of negative articles (44.5%), with positive articles only making up 30.5%,

the same is true for neutral articles (25%).

Representativity in terms of positivity/negativity

35%   40%

25%

- Positive articles
- Negative articles
- Neutral articles

"**The regional daily press
is more favourable to Natura 2000 than the national press**".

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1 - 3 **PRESENTATION OF THE CORPUS OF "ISSUER" DOCUMENTS**

The corpus is comprised of **21** documents in total.

The first corpus studied included **9** documents which were subjected to **extremely detailed analysis**: this is **corpus 1**. A connected corpus comprising **12** documents was included further to the intermediary presentation of the study : this corpus (2)[3] was not subjected to the same in depth analysis but sampling on the basis of markers identified by analysis of the corpus (1) with a view to confirming or refuting initial interpretations.

Corpus 1, which was subjected to detailed analysis, is relatively homogenous: 3 of the documents originating from sources termed "local operators"; the others originating from regional sources (DIREN – French regional environment directorate).

Connected corpus 2: for sampling and verifications.

The twelve elements studied originate from local operators or regional, national or international institutions (European Commission), **with a view to establishing whether or not there is a convergence between these types of source. This is not the case as will be shown below.**

(see § 3.2.).

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[1]Hence certain articles were excluded due to a problem of representativity, either they are extremely brief and contain minimal content or they are too wide-ranging (dealing with problems relating to the environment and biodiversity in general). In other cases, the articles in question do not date from 2004 (outside target corpus: 13 articles dating from 2005). Seven (7) articles were excluded from this analysis on the grounds that they were duplicates.

2. PRESS DISCOURSE CONCERNING NATURA 2000

We have adopted the readers' viewpoint by seeking criteria liable to come to their attention when reading the articles: admittedly, we have systematised the articles but it is unquestionably the case that the average reader taking an interest in Natura 2000 would also experience the same instinctive reactions which we have identified.

2 - 1 NATURA 2000: DENOMINATION AND LEXICAL CONTEXTS

The official denomination is comprised of two different segments : a word "**Natura**" and a figure "**2000**", however **Natura 2000 has become indivisible in the press** and occurrences of Natura on its own are extremely rare.

Natura 2000 functions like a proper name (it is never used with a definite article: there is no reference to "Le" or "La" Natura 2000 in the corpus) and somewhat like a **brand** or even a **logo** : it has therefore acquired a certain reputation and any move to separate the two segments would be ill-advised.

The figure 2000 highlights the **futurist** nature of the project. It thus comes across as the "project of the century" aimed at protecting nature.

In terms of the denomination, the **European Directive**

provides little information on the specific nature of the project, i.e. the protection of habitats and rare species so as to preserve biological diversity; the project is over-arching and refers to **nature in general**.

Vocabulary specific to Natura 2000 can also be identified. These concern recurrent terms (words and expressions) which refer to Natura 2000, either through synonyms or terms with similar meanings. This is what is meant by the **lexical context**.

These three types of context operate like synonyms of Natura 2000, by means of which it becomes clear to the reader that the subject covered concerns Natura 2000 :

● **the spatial context**: site, area, sectors, milieus, habitats, "Indian reservations", sanctuary, etc.

● **the natural context** : biotopes, biodiversity, bio conservation, bio- logical, environment, naturalists, birdlife, etc.

● **the interventionist context :** Directive, Docob (document of objectives), conservation, protected sectors, protection, scope of protection, special protection areas, sustainable farming contract, Life Nature, steering committees, pilot sites, GOB (Breton ornithology group)

Note **the diversity of terms referring to the interventionist context**, including the numerous acronyms, compared to those of the other two contexts. This should be viewed alongside the **administrative and legalistic discursive tone** found in documents issued by national and European institutions (cf. § 3.2.).

Natura 2000 in 80 acronyms

The press articles are full of acronyms and abbreviations. Yet these are not always spelt out and explained, far from it. How can readers find their way through the maze of letters ? They may be left with the impression that they are not being given the tools to understand the ins and outs of Natura 2000 and, consequently, a sense of resentment may develop, not necessarily vis-à-vis the journalist who wrote the article but the issuer itself which is the source of Natura 2000.

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[2] Three documents dating from 2002 and 2005 have been excluded from this corpus.
[3] See appendix 1 for the presentation of these corpuses.

2 - 2 NATURA 2000, DETRACTORS AND DEFENDERS

Examination of the articles reveals a **consensual discourse which transcends all of the controversy created by the directive**. This discourse is presented in the form of an **observation**: nature is in peril and so action must be taken. In this respect, all of the players concerned by the protection of nature unanimously agree on the need to take action in order to save our natural heritage. **It is how best to go about it which is the source of conflict**.

The positive reaction to Natura 2000 is reflected in words and opinions which hail an "**original**" project which is beneficial for maintaining biodiversity and thus the biological equilibrium of the planet[5]. This notion is supported by the journalists themselves in

their interpretations of the various activities relating to Natura 2000, either – as in the majority of articles analysed – **by the official players** whose views are aired by the journalists, players charged with promoting the directive on the ground whether official representatives of the ministry of ecology (henceforth MEDD), members of the various regional environmental directorates (DIREN), DDAFs (departmental agriculture and forest directorates), prefects, mayors or local councillors, sometimes supported by scientists.

In other rarer cases these players are farmers, hunters, fishermen and other ecological associations which have adopted the Natura 2000 project and continue to support it.

In this latter case, it is important to point out that in the sites where the (docob) approach is just starting or well under way there is a favourable view of Natura 2000.

As for the **critical view** of Natura 2000, this is primarily conveyed by hunters, livestock breeders, farmers, fisherman and other private owners who are directly concerned by the designation and management of sites of community interest.

Certain mayors and local councillors also reject the Natura 2000 project, or at least, **the way in which it is being imposed on them by the political authorities, i.e. in the absence of due consultation.**

2 - 3 TIME AS A VECTOR OF DEFINITION RATHER THAN SPACE

Natura 2000 is defined much more in terms of **time** than in terms of space. Thus, **time can be considered as a "player"** in the definition of the European directive.

In fact, Natura 2000 can be approached via three key visions as follows: "**directive**" referring to a law which has been passed and is already the subject of a decree; "**network**" evoking the current status, the situation

of activities related to Natura 2000; and finally "**projet**" which underlines the fact that the programme is unfinished and in the process of construction i.e. a programme of the future. These three visions correspond to what might be termed "**moments in the sites' lifetimes**" bearing in mind that most articles are event focused and **embody** Natura 2000 at precise "moments" in time.

The first vision, **Natura 2000 as a European directive**, appears as a reference to the undertakings made by France following the various international events for the protection of nature. Natura 2000 is thus the equivalent of two directives: the "Birdlife" European directive and the "Habitat" directive.

At this point, reference to Natura 2000 is presented as a

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4   See appendix for further details..
5   See appendix for details of arguments put forward by the defenders.

programme with **a twenty-five year history** made up of stages, some of which featured more events than others. This may explain why the expression **Natura 2000 directive** is sometimes used, although it has no meaning in legal terms.

When reference is made to the various activities relating to Natura 2000 across France (or sometimes even in Europe, in the event of inter-country comparisons), it is the concept of the "**network**" which serves as the directive's vector of definition.

In this context, it is about everything being done on the ground but primarily **the current status of the site designation procedure** since this is the current priority. Also, a time-related parameter which has proved to be of crucial importance in the life of sites is the fact that France is lagging behind in terms of the procedure to designate areas for protection.

Finally, Natura 2000 as a "**pro- ject**" takes up a major part of the corpus examined and corresponds to the various goals

assigned to the directive. Projection into the future can already be noted in the DOCOBs (documents of objectives) intended to be a key part of the start-up and development of the Natura 2000 programme on the ground. From a strictly grammatical viewpoint, the definition of Natura 2000 as a **project of the future** is reflected in the **frequent use of the future and conditional tenses or the present tense in terms of the future.**

2. 4 NATURA 2000 AND THE REALITY ON THE GROUND

Despite the delay in designating and managing sites, **Natura 2000 is nonetheless viewed as a "reality on the ground"**. As evidence of this, there are sites (often called pilot sites) which "work" and serve as examples to others. **Regional and local newspapers focus on this aspect more** since national newspapers tend to discuss Natura 2000 in the more general context of preserving biodiversity.

In fact, when there is consistent communication between the various players on the ground, the dialogue works better and Natura 2000 becomes something concrete.

It is clear that although **the contractualisation approach chosen by France** for

designating and managing sites is a **factor to be exploited** in taking Natura 2000 forward, the condition for a "genuine" partnership between the players involved seems too **considerable** for the effective success of the project. **A site where everyone is concerned** (owners, farmers, hunters, communes, tourism managers, etc.) and where everyone exchanges views, is a site **which has every chance of succeeding and the press discourse reflects this**.

The articles in the press corpus[6] are often accompanied by visuals, maps or diagrams[7]. Yet, contrary **to the corpus of the "issuer" documents (see § 3.1.),**

the press corpus highlights man's presence on the ground.

It should be pointed out that among the photos representing **landscapes**, some highlight man in two ways: either the landscapes dominate or the proportions are equal. In any case, **human beings are never represented as dominating the landscape**.

Essentially, **the variable we have identified and which serves as a leitmotiv for the presentation of illustrations is the "event" variable.** Indeed, the decision to produce an article is often justified by a local event in some region or other;

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[6] All articles (i.e. 221) were taken into account for analysis of visuals.

[7] Four visual referents are highlighted: landscape (75 photos), humans (51), species (34 – animal species principally, then some plant species), maps, diagrams and graphics (24).

whether it concerns preparing the ground for a possible designation of sites to be protected, an update on progress of a Natura 2000 site or designation of a new site of community interest.

In general, **man's presence is primarily portrayed in closed environments** (meetings, groups).

3. IMAGES OF ISSUERS IN THE CORPUS OF 2004 DOCUMENTS

3 - 1 NATURE WITH A CAPITAL "N", NO HUMAN PRESENCE IN VISUALS

Nature which is real and yet mythified

The dominant photographic presentation is characterised by specific decors and colours. The most convergent colours are thus blue and green, highlighting representations of **water and vegetation**. The natural locations presented are "**open air**" and, most often, photographed in all of their magnitude, thus ascribing a degree of **power** to nature. Certain images taken underwater or others with blurred edges give the landscapes a certain **idealistic and poetic quality (myth of "Mother nature").**

Photography (as opposed to drawings, graphics, etc.) establishes a sense of authenticity and truth, especially when systematic as in this case.

A somewhat bygone, untamed and prehuman representation of nature is therefore pushed centre stage and made credible and authentic by systematic use of photographic visuals.

Conversely, the **inner element** which is this time graphics-

based, is manifested in numerous mappings enabling display of protected sites within a region. The fact that the **regional location is** systematically represented by **graphics,** is in itself worthy of interpretation: where sites have to be specified, it is not photography which is used but graphics: **i.e. a fictional or simulated representation** as opposed to the vivid and authentic representation of nature in an untamed and bygone form.

Nature without crops

This is undoubtedly the area of meaning which is the most present in the corpus.

In most of the corpus, **Nature is expressed freely without interference from neither humans nor crop-growing activities**. The numerous landscapes devoid of man[8] or even traces of human civilisation are the most obvious proof. **Animals**, which are very numerous in the corpus with a particular focus on **birdlife**

(original purpose of the directive) seem to live in their environment free of all constraints.

The corpus therefore contains few images of men and women. Certain documents do not even contain a single human representation. Man's role is minimal. Is he a friend or enemy? A help or hindrance? In fact, neither one nor the other.

Man is sidelined so that Nature can express itself freely in all of its diversity.

Moreover, when humans are represented, it is more likely to be a walker or tourist than a specialist or an operator on the ground and in any case individuals are presented as being subject to Nature which holds the upper hand[9].

⁹ Elements relating to crop growing are few and far between (buildings, machines, etc.) and when they appear it is in a secondary role.

3 - 2 THE ISSUERS AND THEIR DISCOURSE: DIVERGENCES ACCORDING TO ISSUER

This time, the focus is on linguistic aspects of the documents. Moreover, the corpus being split in two in terms of issuers (local-regional operators versus national and European institutions), the divergence of the discourse noted should be highlighted.

The administrative and legalistic discourse in the institutional corpus

The linguistic tenor of the majority of documents in the institutional sub-corpus is largely administrative and legalistic: there are a lot of terms from this semantic field of administrative and technical vocabulary. Similarly, the numerous figures and mapping representations are very much in keeping with this field.

The scientific and technical discourse in the local and regional corpus

The linguistic tenor of this corpus is predominantly scientific and technical since the sites and their specific features are raised and discussed in more detail: **the countless species** (fauna and flora) are detailed as well as conservation methods, which concerns **technical, biological and scientific language.**

This divergence of tones creates an effect at reception of the message: the scientific and technical referent being almost exclusively understood by the local and regional discourse, and the administrative and legalistic referent by the institutional discourse, the stereotype giving a certain legitimacy to the former and applying a bureaucratic connotation to the latter is strengthened.

This feeds into the discourse from opponents: either with regard to the obstructions concerning administrative, economical and financial aspects or with regard to nature which is viewed as being "wrapped in cotton wool"[10].

3 − 3 THE PARADOX OF VISUAL DEHUMANISATION AND TEXTUAL HUMANISATION

Although the visuals are free of human presence, it is however clear that the content of articles ascribes considerable importance to this presence, particularly under the auspices of the administrative and interventionist discourse. This paradox allows a number of conclusions to be drawn:

• Although the text in the corpus makes reference to man, humans are rarely present in a personal or inter-personal capacity but are more likely to be shown in the public, abstract and stigmatised sphere. Just as in parallel the human referents are rare in the visuals, **dehumanisation is at its peak and a certain distance, not to mention a barrier, is clearly established between the institutional issuer and its receivers.**

• Although the visuals in the local and regional corpus are no more numerous or humanised than in the institutional corpus, the texts' scientific and technical referents are however, most often anchored in and embodied by the joint evocation of operators' conservation and preservation practices : to this extent their role is more to do with eliminating the distance between the issuer and receivers.

• Although in an interview on Natura 2000, Michel Huet talks of the "wealth of landscape and nature closely linked to human activity" and "complex man-landscape-nature relations", a message which he hopes to get across in "Grandeur nature", it has to be said that this is far from the case in our corpus :

the relationship between man and **nature is abandoned due to disembodiment of the former and mythification of the latter.**

On the contrary, the notion of "natural heritage" needs to be argued, contextualised and explained.

4 RECOMMENDATIONS AND TOOLS

Both with a view to rapid analysis of messages (from the press and elsewhere) and producing messages themselves, the analysis conducted has made it possible to build a number of tools with a view to **realignment of communications.**

The proposals which follow are based on the analysis previously conducted (on documents from 2004). This analysis highlights findings vis-à-vis existing elements and is not intended to criticise them, hence the taking into account of the continuity of the discourse surrounding Natura 2000 ; the future directions and tools presented take account of existing elements and are not intended to create a break with the past. It is therefore a question of directions to favour and advice offered rather than any particular revelations or instructions to follow.

4 - 1 PRODUCTION OF AN "ISSUERS" DOCUMENT

Making man visible

The representation of the **human-nature** link must be particularly favoured in the visuals, not from the perspective of one side subordinated by the other but rather in a spirit of **cooperation**.

This will require :

● **Rebalancing of landscape visuals**, which will naturally show biodiversity while also featuring some elements of human civilisation as a minimum. Not all landscape visuals need to satisfy this rule: it may be possible to **alternate** landscape visuals showing no trace of mankind and landscape visuals with traces of mankind: fields, bridges, roofs, bell-towers, ditches, fences, railways, etc. are the kind of visual referents which highlight human civilisation.

● **Man himself must also be represented**, and not merely as a rambler or tourist. He is also an operator on the ground, local councillor, farmer, representative of an association, etc. Here again, it is not about replacing all landscape visuals without human representations. Alternation may be a satisfactory compromise.

● **The various categories of players in the project must be represented:** local operators, naturally, but also two categories which are underrepresented in the corpus: representatives of associations and volunteers. Not only does this allow the local dimension to be restored but the joint presence of these various players makes it possible to anticipate their possible cooperation on a shared project by visualising it.

Making the text legible, reembodying a word

The institutional discourse is too charged with administrative and legalistic vocabulary, acronyms and technical terms. The result is that the text is also disembodied and comes across to the reader as bureaucratic. Here again it is important to rebalance the message so as to make the text not only comprehensible but allow it to be delivered by an issuer who appears less distant.

This requires:

• Adjustment between the discourse issued by the administrative source and **other types of source** like local operators (such as interviews), representatives of associations, elected representatives, etc.

The documents can thus borrow certain **codes found in in-house magazines** which are based on this **enunciative polyphony**.

• **The discourse of bulletins and newsletters by local operators**

also contains elements which should appropriate the institutional discourse: messages from elected representatives, local initiatives, preservation and conservation practices, including by volunteers, etc. Once more, it is not a question of replacing an administrative and legalistic discourse with one from the field but rather ensuring their **alternation** and making their **articulation** concrete.

• **The systematic elucidation of the acronyms used**, including reflexively: why not, for instance, ensure the widespread distribution of a glossary explaining all acronyms relating to Natura 2000 with informative explanations? Similarly, the scientific and technical discourses should be maintained but used in alternation.

• Alternate with an **allocutive discourse**

(i.e. addressed to another), by establishing communication vectors using personal pronouns: *we, you*.

The inclusive use of "we" can also contribute to creating an **interpersonal link between issuers and receivers**. In fact, although science and the law lend themselves well to the delocutive discourse (without addressing another, i.e. only using "it" which is the symbol of objectivity par excellence), the same cannot be true, especially systematically, with messages whose role to inform must also include the educational dimension, the consultation dimension, etc.

4 - 2 ANALYSIS AND PRODUCTION OF A PRESS ARTICLE

Thus, reading parameters concerning articles received and/or issued can enable a press analyser or a writer to gauge the parameters present or incorporate them when receiving or drafting a press message relating to Natura 2000 :
Presentation of parameters

Source (Issuer)

• daily, monthly, quarterly…

• review: specialised,
  for a lay public

• bulletin

• radio / TV

• official body

Target (Receiver)

• general public

• well-informed public

• specialist public

Type of information

• text: long (analysis, report, interview) / short (agency release)-image: fixed / moving

• photo, drawing, logo, etc.

• text + image + sound

Layout (text and/or image)

Text:

- boxed

- full page, several pages (special report)

- arrangement (proportions on page)

- title, strap head, subtitle

- heading (yes/no)

- signed/unsigned

- illustrations (images, diagrams)

Image:

- colours, size, position

- arrangement (proportions on page)

- photo/diagram: graphs, maps, tables

- referent: nature, man, man in nature/in enclosed environment

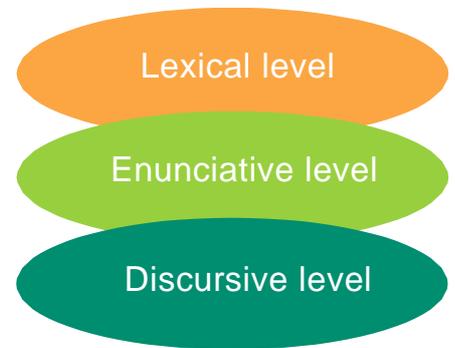- captions

Level of analysis

(to be viewed in form of stratums, see diagram above):

- lexical: synonyms, antonyms, related terms, modalities

- lexical and/or key terms, scientific lexicon? explained/unexplained

- enunciative: who's speaking? to whom?

quotes? objective (personal pronouns, adjectives) / subjective (personal pronouns, adjectives)

- discursive (tones): positive / neutral negative

Diagram: Stratums of analysis

Application of the reading grid to an article headed "Farmers and elected representatives hold talks on the Natura 2000 protected area", Ouest-France on 04/06/2004 (unsigned article).

Source (Issuer)	**Target** (Receiver)
Internet (regional online daily)	General public
Type of information	
report on meeting + illustrations	
Layout (text and/or image)	
text	**image**
Full page + title + heading Unsigned	Black & white photo of working meeting (type of printing) Small in relation to Caption text (additional information to supplement image)
cont'd page 12...	

... cont'd	Level of analysis	
Lexical level	**Enunciative level**	**Discursive level**
- Natura 2000 synonyms : European directives - related terms : Docob, protection of the environment, nesting birdlife, naturalists, GOB, species living in colonies, wild birds, special protection areas, protection of habitat, species, OGE (ecological engineering association), interregional park, heritage species, Natura 2000 site - key terms : farmers, DDAF, concertation, specifications, voluntary actions, financial assistance, subsidies, cost overruns, profitability, working time overload, skills, risks, financing solutions, new outlets, maintenance and renewal of hedges - scientific lexicon : "saproxylophagous" (but explained)	- Who is speaking ? journalist + farmers + official representatives - to whom ? (target) = general public - comments from farmers + comments from officials - objective comments : definition of Natura 2000, data and figures on trees hosting the hermit beetle -subjective comments : comments from farmers + comments from officials (OGE and DDAF) - personal pronouns : "one", "it"	- Predominantly positive tone (site already labelled) - presence of objective viewpoint (discourse reported by journalist without stating an opinion) - critical viewpoint (farmers' comments : **"it seems that there are contradictions between the protection of nature and certain funding and subsidies granted for the crop-growing methods (…) Has funding been set aside for voluntary approaches?"** - observation + targets to reach + solutions envisaged observation : concertation meeting between farmers, mayors, the DDAF and representatives of the OGE targets : concertation and sharing of viewpoints in order to establish specifications for the protected area of north-Perseigne solutions proposed : find funding solutions and new outlets, using wood from hedges for heating or timber to win over farmers.

APPENDIX 1: **LEXICAL CONTEXTS OF NATURA 2000**

The spatial context:	The natural context:	The interventionist context:
Natura 2000 **site**, natural sites, Natura 2000 **zone**, wetlands, ZPS (areas of special protection), ZSC (areas of special conservation), protected areas, biogeographical areas, national area of ecological interest, areas under sustainable protection, areas of community importance, mixed development zone (ZAC), protected **sectors,** environments necessary to conservation, **habitats**, natural habitats, biological heritage **sanctuaries**, "Indian reservations", natural **region**, regional nature **parks**.	**Natural** sites, natural region, natural world, natural habitats, natural community heritage, natural environment, regional nature parks, nature reserve, preservation of **nature**, **biogeographical** areas, **biotope** reservations, **biodiversity**, **bioconservation**, **biological** heritage sanctuaries, biological diversity of environments, protection of **the environment**, **naturalists**, **wild birds**, wild **species**, **the environment**, national area of **ecological** interest, protected **animals**, rare plants.	the European Natura 2000 ecological **network**, biological heritage **sanctuaries**, **models** of conservation, "Birdlife directive "Indian **reservations**", Habitat Directive, **Docob** (document of objectives), **protection** of endangered species, **protected sectors**, **protection** of habitat, **scope** of protection, **areas** of **special** protection (ZPS), protection of the environment, **sustainable preservation**, areas under sustainable protection, **sustainable development**, sustainable farming contract, areas of **community importance**, **national** area of ecological **interest**, **mixed development** zone (ZAC), **outstanding** sites, **listed** sites, **registered** sites, environmental **standards** fixed by Brussels, "good farming and environmental **conditions"** (BCAE), **Life Nature**, **steering committees**, **pilot sites**, **GOB**, **OGE**, **interregional park**, **national park**, **regional** nature parks, CTE (land management contracts), **management** contracts, general interest **project** (PIG).

APPENDIX 2: THE ARGUMENTS OF NATURA 2000 DEFENDERS

It should be stressed that all players concerned by the protection of nature unanimously agree on the need to take action to safeguard the wealth of natural resources. It is how to go about it which is the source of conflict.

To justify their favourable discourse vis-à-vis Natura 2000, the project's defenders use arguments which can be summed up as follows:

Protection-preservation of nature for its own sake:

• Protecting rare species as well as habitats since the latter are under threat of extinction due to ongoing deterioration of biodiversity and the ecosystem balance;
• Preserve outstanding sites.

Protection-preservation in a perspective of political commitment:

• Contributing to preserving the biological diversity of the European Union;
 • Honour France's commitments in protecting species and habitats
   (the environment in general) via global summits and international statutory texts;
• Ensure sustainable development (at national and international level).

Link protection-preservation in with the economic context:

Protect biodiversity which is reliant on the maintenance of man's economic and social activities in the environment.

The arguments of Natura 2000 opponents are focused on fears related to financial and economic, administrative or even legal vectors :

Administrative and legal aspects:

• Natura 2000 is a complex and complicated project ;

• Over regulated ;

• Legal insecurity of Natura 2000 (imprecise legal framework meaning certain disputes cannot be resolved);

• Owners' fears that their property may be taken away from them ;

• Fear of losing freedom to act among livestock breeders, hunters, farmers and other private owners.

Economic and financial aspects:

• Difficulty in reconciling protection of rare species and economic activities ;

• Inadequate financial coverage ;

• Working time overload ;

• Difficulty in reconciling the general interest and private interests.

Others:

• Lack of dialogue and concertation ;

• Constraints on time (backlog in designating sites) ;

• Lack of scientific data ;

• Sanctuarisation of nature.

APPENDIX 4: **SIX "PRESS RELATIONS" TIPS FOR OPERATORS**

The press is an (independent) actor in local life, in the same way as elected representatives, stakeholders, public services, etc.

The press is always on the look out for information concerning its territory (it's yours too). It is important to build ongoing relations on the basis of an overall strategy and not a series of media splashes.

Provide information on facts "on the field" so as to highlight the approach, the key issues. Exploit or even encourage "events" so as to place them at the service of defined targets: inform, get people on board, highlight the approach, build awareness of good practices among residents and users.

Press releases must be informative (what precisely is the new information or the event ?); present facts so as to deal with journalists' questions in advance: Who ? What ? Where ? When ? How ? Why ?

Your relations with the press do not end when an article directly related to Natura 2000 is published. It is important to assess your actions on a regular basis by separating the form (legibility, presentation, organisation) from the underlying message you wish to get across.

Surveys conducted over many years have shown that information given out by the press is considered to be more credible by readers than the same information issued by our own media.

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