Different arguments, same conclusions – how is action against invasive alien species justified in the context of European policy?

- 4 Ulrich Heink^{a*}, Ann van Herzele^b, Györgyi Bela^c, Ágnes Kalóczkai^d and Kurt
- 5 Jax^{a,e}

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- 7 aUFZ Helmholtz Centre for Environmental Research, Department of Conservation Biology,
- 8 Permoserstr. 15, 04318 Leipzig, Germany
- 9 bNature & Society research group, Research Institute for Nature and Forest (INBO), Kliniekstraat 25,
- 10 B-1070 Brussels, Belgium
- 12 ESSRG), Rómer Flóris street 38, Budapest, Hungary
- 13 dMTA Institute of Ecology and Botany, Centre for Ecological Research, Hungarian Academy of
- 14 Sciences, Vácrátót, Alkotmány u. 2-4. H-2163, Hungary
- ^eTechnische Universität München, Chair of Restoration Ecology, Emil-Ramann-Str. 6, 85354 Freising,
- 16 Germany

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- 18 *corresponding author: Ulrich Heink, ^aUFZ Helmholtz Centre for Environmental Research,
- 19 Department of Conservation Biology, Permoserstr. 15, 04318 Leipzig, Germany
- 20 e-mail address: ulrich.heink@ufz.de, Telephone: + phone +49 341 235 1648 / fax +49 341 235 1470

Abstract

- 23 The prevention and management of invasive alien species (IAS) has become a high priority in
- 24 European environmental policy. At the same time, ways of evaluating IAS continue to be a topic of
- lively debate. In particular, it is far from clear how directly policy makers' value judgements are linked
- 26 to the EU policy against IAS. We examine the arguments used to support value judgements of both
- 27 alien species and invasive alien species as well as the relation between these value judgements and the
- 28 policy against IAS being developed at European level. Our study is based on 17 semi-structured
- 29 interviews with experts from European policy making and from the EU member states Austria,
- 30 Belgium, Germany and Hungary. We found that our interviewees conceived of IAS in very different
- 31 ways, expressed a variety of visions of biodiversity and ecosystem services, and adhered to widely
- 32 different values expressed in their perceptions of IAS and the impacts of IAS. However, only some of
- 33 these conceptualizations and value judgements are actually addressed in the rationale given in the
- 34 preamble to the European IAS Regulation. Although value judgements about IAS differed, there was
- considerable agreement regarding the kind of action to be taken against them.

Key words

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- 38 perception of nature; biodiversity evaluation; ecosystem services; environmental policy; EU
- 39 Regulation; analysis of arguments

1 Introduction

Invasive alien species (IAS) are often regarded as one of the major threats to biodiversity (McGeoch et 41 42 al 2010; Simberloff et al. 2013, Rabitsch et al. 2016). Their impacts on ecosystem services are also 43 attracting greater attention (e.g. Peichar and Mooney 2009, Funk et al. 2014, McLaughlan et al. 2014). 44 While the capability to calculate the economic costs of IAS has existed for a number of years now 45 (e.g. van Wilgen et al. 1996, Pimentel et al., 2005), it is only more recently that the unwanted impacts of IAS on ecosystem functions (e.g. Maron et al., 2006, Scott et al. 2012, Gutiérrez et al. 2014) and 46 human health (Pyšek and Richardson 2010, Hanson et al. 2013) have come to the fore. In addition, 47 48 there is growing evidence that biological invasions have social impacts as well (Binimelis et al. 2007, García-Llorente et al. 2008). For all these reasons, the topic of IAS is increasingly being addressed by 49 environmental policy makers. As far back as 1992 Article 8h of the Convention on Biological 50 Diversity expressed the shared intention "to prevent the introduction of, control or eradicate those 51 alien species which threaten ecosystems, habitats or species". Target V of the European 2020 52 Biodiversity Strategy (EC 2011) states: "By 2020, Invasive Alien Species and their pathways are 53 54 identified and prioritised, priority species are controlled or eradicated, and pathways are managed to prevent the introduction and establishment of new IAS" (EC 2011: 15). These measures were specified 55 56 in the recent EU Regulation 1143/2014 on the prevention and management of the introduction and spread of invasive alien species (referred to in this paper as the "IAS Regulation" or simply "the 57 Regulation"). This Regulation came into force on January 1, 2015 and mandates preventive and 58 responsive action against a set of IAS that have yet to be defined. 59 However, the significance of IAS for biodiversity decline and harm to ecosystem services is a 60 61 contested issue. Some scientists challenge the empirical evidence of a link between IAS and impacts on biodiversity and ecosystem services (Gurevitch and Padilla 2004, Thomas et al. 2015). Others 62 maintain that the normative assumptions underlying concepts of harm are unclear (Sagoff 2005, Bartz 63 et al. 2010). The impacts of IAS cannot be evaluated properly, then, without making explicit what is 64

regarded as beneficial or detrimental. Evaluating IAS is made even more complicated by the fact that perceptions of IAS differ according to the knowledge, stakeholder groups and visions of nature involved (García-Llorente et al. 2008, Verbrugge et al. 2013). An increase in knowledge about the impacts of IAS has led to more support for management measures (Bremner and Park 2007, García-Llorente et al. 2008, Lindemann-Matthies 2016) and a greater engagement with issues of non-native species (Verbrugge et al. 2013). Similarly, it has been shown that perceptions of risk increase if a species is perceived to be non-native (Humair et al. 2014b), indicating that knowledge of the origin of a species indirectly influences risk perception (e.g. Binimelis et al. 2007, Andreu et al. 2009). Evans et al. (2008) therefore suggest that the management of IAS should be subjected to regular participatory evaluation by the stakeholder community. 'Visions of nature' refers principally to ideas about the properties and functions of nature (e.g. whether or not there is such a thing as a 'balance of nature') and views regarding the value of nature (Verbrugge 2013, Heink and Jax 2014). For example, respondents who considered nature to be unstable were generally more concerned about non-native species than respondents who considered nature to be stable (Fischer and van der Wal 2007, Verbrugge et al. 2013). Or alien species are excluded from the concept of biodiversity, as Patten & Erickson (2001: 817) maintain: "...our collective goal in conservation biology is to protect biodiversity. That term is by necessity restricted to native species richness..." There are two reasons why IAS might be judged negatively: first, because they are alien - some authors suggest that conservationists reject alien species per se as valuable components of biodiversity (e.g. Peretti 1998, Woods and Moriarty 2001, Davis et al. 2011) – and, second, due to their negative impacts on biodiversity and ecosystem services, in other words, those effects which establish the status of an alien species as "invasive" (e.g. Clavero and García-Bertou 2005, Simberloff et al. 2011). While invasive species are selected from the pool of alien species, van der Wal et al. (2015) suggest that a species' abundance and the damage it does to nature and the economy – rather than its origin – are the factors that inform the judgement of a need for conservation action. There is abundant evidence that the way IAS are perceived and judged has a great impact on public support for their management (Fischer and van der Wal 2007, Bremner and Park 2007, Selge et al. 2011, Schüttler et al. 2011, Verbrugge et al. 2013, van der Wal et al. 2015). Most of these studies refer

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notable exception of Selge et al. 2011). We are not aware of any studies which consider arguments for the prevention and management of IAS on a national or supranational level.

Our aim in this study is to explore how arguments put forward to support the value judgements of people involved in developing the IAS Regulation are reflected in policies dealing with IAS at a national and EU level. In this way we examine how the IAS Regulation frames the issue of IAS and identify the arguments used in the IAS Regulation to justify action against IAS. We also explore the value judgements about both alien and invasive alien species expressed by those involved in the development of the Regulation. We then examine how these people conceptualize the adverse impacts of IAS and how these perceptions lead to support for or criticism of the prevention and management of IAS. By comparing the arguments found in the IAS Regulation itself and those expressed by the people involved in developing the Regulation we hope to discover which of the arguments formulated against IAS are actually taken up in policy. In a subsequent step we discuss the possible reasons why these arguments are deemed to be valid.

to people's attitudes towards individual IAS and specific management options at a given site (with the

2 Framing of issues related to biodiversity and ecosystem services in the EU Regulation on invasive alien species

The IAS Regulation "sets out rules to prevent, minimize and mitigate the adverse impact on biodiversity of the introduction and spread within the Union ... of invasive alien species" (Article 1). In Article 3 (1) alien species are defined as any live specimen of a species or lower taxonomic level introduced outside its natural range. The preamble to the Regulation states by way of clarification that species migrating "naturally" in response to environmental changes should not be considered as alien species in their new environment. "Invasive alien species" means an alien species whose introduction or spread has been found to threaten or adversely impact upon biodiversity and related ecosystem services (Article 3 (2)). Interestingly, IAS are considered not only to cause damage to ecosystems but also to reduce the resilience of those ecosystems (Preamble, paragraph 26).

In the course of developing the Regulation, policy makers wrestled to find the right definition of IAS.

It needed to be in line with the CBD definition, which reads as follows: "'Invasive alien species'

means an alien species whose introduction and/or spread threaten biological diversity" (UNEP 2002: 257). Further, the definition needed to reflect the European Biodiversity Strategy (European Commission 2011), which highlights the protection of ecosystem services as a conservation target. The 2013 proposal for the IAS Regulation (EC 2013) therefore introduced ecosystem services in addition to biodiversity as entities in need of protection from IAS. But it also cited human health and "the economy" as dimensions which might be negatively affected by IAS. However, in order to better align the Regulation with the CBD definition, human health and the economy were not taken up in the version that was finally brought into law. The definition of IAS already implies which entities are considered to be adversely affected, namely, "biodiversity and related ecosystem services". Article 5 (1f) specifies that impacts on biodiversity and ecosystem services include impacts on "native species, protected sites, endangered habitats, as well as on human health, safety, and the economy". With regard to impacts on species, it is worth noting that the Regulation seems to consider "native species" as conservation objects both in their own right and in instrumental terms (for their role in providing ecosystem services), whereas alien species are acknowledged only indirectly in their contribution to ecosystem services, if at all. In essence the Regulation addresses the prevention, early detection and rapid eradication of a species at an early stage of invasion as well as the management of IAS which are already widespread on EU territory. However, the articles relating to the prevention and management of IAS refer only to species listed as IAS of Union concern ("the Union list"); these are to be determined by means of a risk assessment. Thus the Regulation prioritizes action against those species that are most likely to have significant adverse impacts or that have already led to such impacts. The focus on a finite number of IAS arises out of the principle of proportionality. At several places in the Regulation it becomes clear that the costs of action taken against IAS should be lower than the costs of inaction, also taking into account the benefits from use of the species. Further, the Regulation clearly states that prevention is more desirable than rapid eradication or containment and control, and that it is more efficient to eradicate a population of IAS as soon as possible when the number of specimens is still limited.

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3 Methods

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3.1 **Approach: expert interviews** 147 Our aim was to elicit the widest range of views and value judgements of IAS as possible. Since our 148 aim was to examine the way in which interviewees reasoned rather than to obtain a representative 149 150 overview of the attitudes they held, a qualitative approach was required. Qualitative research methods 151 are by now well-established ways of capturing the diversity and complexity of biodiversity-related issues, the underlying concepts that inform policy options as well as the participants' views on these 152 issues and concepts (Fischer and Young, 2007, Menzel and Bögeholz, 2010, Selge et al. 2011). 153 154 We conducted semi-structured interviews to explore how IAS and the impacts of IAS are understood and evaluated with regard to biodiversity by policy makers from different sectors and by individuals 155 156 working at the interface between environmental science and policy. The main professional occupation 157 of the interviewees from the science-policy interface is to provide scientific advice to policy makers. 158 At the European level, these include members of the Joint Research Centre (JRC) Institute for Environment and Sustainability and of the European Environment Agency (EEA), while at the 159 national level they belong, for example, to the German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation. 160 161 We also conducted interviews with stakeholders who were consulted in the process of developing the 162 IAS Regulation but were not closely involved with IAS as an issue. The stakeholders were recruited 163 from among the participants of a stakeholder consultation organized in Brussels in 2010, including 164 representatives from the areas of sustainable development and plant protection, animal rights, the pet trade, crop seed production, as well as landowners and hunters, among others. The Hungarian 165 166 stakeholder was selected on the basis of a recommendation by another expert. Our intention in the interviews had been to delve more deeply into the connections between knowledge of IAS, value 167 judgements, and options for acting against IAS; it turned out, however, that our prepared interview 168 guide expected too much from the stakeholders in some respects. For this reason, we only conducted a 169 few interviews with this group. 170 The interviews were held between autumn 2013 and winter 2014 and involved a total of 17 171 interviewees (Table 1). The interviews lasted about 1-1½ hours. They were quite extensive, the aim 172 173 being to ascertain not only the interviewees' basic perceptions of nature but also their practical ideas about managing IAS. Although our aim was not to account systematically for differences between the lines of argumentation used by different groups (stakeholders, policy makers, individuals at the science-policy interface) or countries, we did seek to include a broad range of viewpoints on the conceptualization, perception and evaluation of invasive alien species. Our purpose, then, was to cover all the groups of interviewees (mentioned above) and to explore the views held by people from different countries at least once.

Table 1: Composition of the interviewee sample (n=17). Interviewees were affiliated to institutions acting on different political levels (European and national).

	Policy making	Science-policy interface	Stakeholders
European level:			
European Union	3	-	2
National level:			
Austria	-	1	-
Belgium	1	1	-
Germany	2	4	-
Hungary	-	2	1

By selecting individuals who were involved in developing the European IAS Regulation, we were able to assume a high level of knowledge about IAS. However, our interviewees' specific expertise and personal experience with biological invasions differed. Depending on the institutional and educational background, most interviewees had expertise either in scientific knowledge or in policy-related or strategic knowledge, or both. While researchers in invasion biology tended to have a detailed insight into biogeographic patterns and ecological processes, policy makers had a deeper understanding of legal issues and of politicians' acceptance of action against IAS.

3.2 Conducting the interviews

All the discussions and interviews started with two general questions about the relation between the interviewee and the issue of IAS and about his or her understanding of the IAS concept. These rather broad questions gave them the opportunity to relax and direct their thoughts to the issues to be discussed, and to express their observations, concerns and views with respect to IAS in their own words. The focus of the discussions and interviews was subsequently narrowed down by the interviewer picking up on those arguments used to support value judgements of alien species and IAS

and their relation to EU policy. An interview guide (Box 1) was used to make the conversations broadly comparable. We began with a clarification of the key concepts used in the debate about IAS and interpretations of the invasion process. Then the conversation drew on issues of perception and evaluation of IAS. In the last phase of the interview we focused on arguments which have been used to justify or prevent action against IAS and which determined the course of development of the EU Regulation.

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Box 1: Interview guide

- 1. In what way are you involved in the IAS issue and, specifically, in the development or implementation of the IAS Regulation?
- 208 2. What does the term "invasive alien species" mean to you?
- 3. How would you describe the ecological behaviour of an IAS? How do ecosystems react when invaded?
- 211 4. How important is the issue of IAS for environmental policy?
- 212 5. How would you judge the value of alien species?
- 6. Which parts of nature can be negatively affected by IAS? Why do you think the respective effect is negative?
- 215 7. What are the reasons for you to protect biodiversity or ecosystem services?
- 8. How should negative effects of IAS be addressed at a European level?
- 217 9. Would you like to add anything?

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3.3 Data coding and processing

All the interviews were recorded on tape and were transcribed verbatim. The interviewees were anonymized by listing the country (A: Austria, B: Belgium, G: Germany, H: Hungary), the professional background of the interviewee (S: scientist; S/P: science-policy interface; St: Stakeholder) and the chronological order of interviews. For example, Interviewee G-S-1 is the first interview with a German scientist. The data were analysed in several coding processes, namely, open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Corbin and Strauss 1990, Corbin and Strauss 2008). First,

we conducted an exploratory analysis of the transcripts and identified recurrent themes, which were coded according to broad categories discussed and validated by all the authors in an iterative process. Using axial coding we systematically explored the full range of variation in the categories under scrutiny, developing a detailed coding framework on this basis. The concepts addressed by the categories and subcategories were then related to other concepts that cropped up; this proved important for the analysis of arguments. Finally, the codes were related (where possible) to theoretical concepts such as 'value in itself' or 'pragmatic conservation approach'. These main categories were used as a guide for structuring the "narrative", from ways of defining IAS through to suggestions for how to deal with the IAS issue. We conducted the analysis using MAXQDA 10 (VERBI GmbH) and NVivo 11 (QSR) software packages, which are specially designed for qualitative data analysis. The main coding categories (a) refer to perceptions of alien species and IAS and of affected ecosystems or components of ecosystems (b), reflect how the interviewees linked these perceptions to normative values (Fischer and van de Wal 2007) and (c) exhibit how these evaluations are connected to action against IAS, especially at a European level. These coding categories form a structural framework that helps to illustrate the arguments of individual interviewees. They show how arguments in favour of a specific policy against IAS are interlinked and can be traced back to what are, in some cases, very fundamental assumptions (e.g. ideas about biodiversity).

4 Results: Arguments used to frame the concept of invasive alien

species, to evaluate them and to justify action

4.1 Perceptions of alien species and invasive alien species

- 246 The IAS Regulation focuses on species which are at once alien and invasive. We therefore asked
- participants in the first part of the interviews about their understanding of the terms "alien" and
- 248 "invasive".

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- All the interviewees agreed that the geographical origin of a species is an important factor in
- determining whether a species is alien. Many of them conceded that there is a grey area between
- native and alien species (e.g. A-S/P-1, B-P-1, G-S/P-4) and many had a concept of alien species in
- 252 mind which differed from the definition contained in the IAS Regulation (e.g., E-P-3, E-St-2, G-S/P-

4). We additionally identified three criteria where ideas about "alien species" differed from that in the 253 IAS Regulation (Fig. 1). 254 One criterion is the residence time of a species in its new range. Many interviewees tended to regard 255 alien species with a long residence time as native (e.g. B-S/P-1, G-S/P-2, G-S/P-4). One interviewee 256 257 mentioned the example of the fallow deer (Dama dama) (B-S/P-1) which was introduced in the 16th 258 century in the Netherlands, and now could be found on the Red List. In Flanders, by contrast, it is categorized as a released or escaped alien species (Maes et al. 2014). Archaeophytes, i.e. alien plants 259 introduced before 1500 AD (cf. Pyšek 1998), were also frequently mentioned as being native. 260 One reason why archaeophytes in particular were regarded as native is that they were considered to be 261 262 "fitting in well" (G-P-1) in an unspecified way. Another interviewee expressed this more clearly, regarding a species as native if "it is a member of the local life community" and "has interactions with 263 264 other species" (H-St-1). Another interviewee (A-S/P-1) also regarded geographically native species 265 which reproduce in habitats where they do not originally occur (such as the common spruce in Central 266 European lowlands) as alien. 267 A further criterion used to determine an alien species is the role of human agency in its dispersal. How 268 natural dispersal is to be distinguished from human-mediated dispersal was regarded by some 269 interviewees as unclear (A-S/P-1, B-P-1). One interviewee (A-S/P-1) was critical of the fact that species which expand their range due to human environmental change (e.g. the Eurasian collared dove 270 Streptopelia decaocto inhabiting agricultural and urban landscapes) are not considered alien, whereas 271 272 species which expand their range due to the connection of river systems by canals are generally 273 considered alien: this struck the interviewee as inconsistent. 274 All the interviewees agreed that not every alien species is invasive. However, there were different 275 views on what attributes render an alien species invasive. Invasiveness is sometimes equated with 276 spread: "Invasive species are those alien species that spread very aggressively and dramatically outwards from the site of introduction" (H-S/P-2). Most interviewees followed the definition of IAS in 277 the Regulation (i.e. that IAS lead to adverse effects), but opinions differed on whether these effects 278 279 should refer to biodiversity only or whether they should additionally include economic and human 280 health effects.

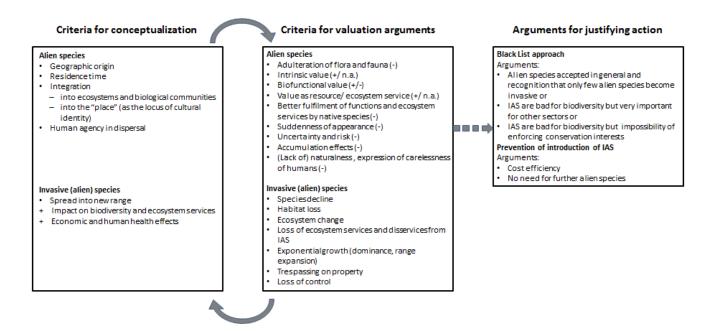


Fig. 1: The link between criteria used to conceptualize alien species and IAS, criteria used to evaluate them, and arguments put forward to justify action against (potential) IAS, as derived from the interviews. While conceptualizations and evaluations of IAS seem to go hand in hand (indicated by the solid arrows), their link to the arguments used to justify action in the IAS strategy is rather indeterminate (indicated by the arrow with a dashed line). Alien species can be judged positively (+) or negatively (-) or have no value at all with regard to a certain criterion (not applicable here). In contrast to this, only the criteria used in negative evaluations of invasive alien species are considered. The criteria "intrinsic value" and "value as a resource/ecosystem service" were regarded by some interviewees as not applicable (e.g. A-S/P-1, G-S/P-4, G-P-1) while others considered them to be suitable criteria for attributing positive values to alien species (e.g. G-S/P-1, E-P-2, E-P-3).

4.2 Evaluations of alien species and invasive alien species and of their impacts on biodiversity and ecosystem services

IAS, by definition, have adverse effects on biodiversity and ecosystem services. However, in order to understand why IAS are evaluated negatively one has to distinguish between the different perspectives adopted for the purpose of evaluation (Fig. 1). First, IAS may be evaluated negatively purely because of their origin. Second, perceptions of IAS are determined by the degree of adversity perceived in their effects on biodiversity and/or ecosystems.

All but one of the interviewees did not consider alien species to be an object of biodiversity conservation, even if an alien species is at risk of becoming extinct in its novel range. The only exception the interviewees could think of was that of an alien species threatened in its native range. Still, some interviewees (B-S/P-1, H-S/P-2) spoke of alien species which are legally protected (e.g. calamus (Acorus calamus), a protected plant in Hungary) even though they are not threatened in their native range. Several reasons were given why alien species were considered not to have an equal value to native species. Most notably, some stated apodictically that non-native species "just do not belong here" (G-S/P-2, G-P-1). Another interviewee called the planting of a cedar of Lebanon (Cedrus libani) an "adulteration of the flora" (G-P-1). This person also classified the protection of species outside their original range as "ex-situ conservation" (G-P-1) comparable to seedbanks or breeding in zoos; this was regarded only as an emergency strategy in conservation. A further argument that was provided is related to the historical absence or short duration of a species' presence in a new range. If it has not been there for long, why should anyone care if it disappears again? Only one of the interviewees considered alien species to possess intrinsic value (G-S/P-1). The same interviewee also acknowledged that non-native species can acquire cultural value the longer they are resident in a given range. A whole complex of arguments relates to the biofunctional value of alien species, i.e., the value a species has by virtue of its contribution to the functioning of an ecosystem (e.g. as a resource or habitat structure for other species). Although alien species were largely not regarded as being well integrated into ecosystems, some interviewees did point to the positive role of specific alien species in ecosystem functions. Examples of this were plants that provide food for nectar foraging insects (G-P-1, A-S/P-1), non-native lobsters that became a new food resource and thus fostered the revival of otters in southwest France (B-S/P-1), and black pine (*Pinus nigra*) afforestation used in soil restoration in the Great Plain in Hungary (H-S/P-1). One interviewee (B-S/P-1) even cautioned against eradicating the Himalayan Balsam, because it had developed relationships with native species. Many alien species are generally acknowledged as being a resource for humans (e.g. for food, timber,

fuel), and some interviewees explicitly mentioned cases in which the benefits of IAS outweigh their

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adverse effects on biodiversity. The Douglas fir (Pseudotsuga menziesii) and the black locust (Robinia pseudoacacia) were often cited as species of great importance for forestry (G-S/P-1, H-S/P-2), the mink (*Neovison vison*) as being vital to the fur industry (E-P-2, E-P-3). However, many interviewees stated clearly that it is preferable when both ecosystem functions and services for humans are provided by native species (e.g., A-S/P-1, B-P-1, H-S/P1, H-St-1). They argued that the functions and services provided by alien species could easily be replaced by those of native species and that the ES benefits from alien species did not outweigh the losses they caused. It was striking that the speed of expansion of an alien species' range or the suddenness of its appearance seemed to play a major role. Nature seems to be taken by surprise: "When they falien species] are introduced from different contexts – pow! – they suddenly appear. Natural immigration based on a gradual process is certainly more likely to be acceptable to nature and the environment; in other words, the native species might accommodate them more easily" (G-S/P-3). Another interviewee describes the migration of Southern European insects to Central Europe as "something smooth" and "as part of natural change and of biodiversity adapting itself to climatic changes" (E-P-1). Finally, most interviewees regarded alien species as a risk to biodiversity. Being alien is thus considered to be a proxy for potential damage to biodiversity and ecosystem services (see the following section). One aspect of this risk is uncertainty: as we cannot fully rule out the possibility that a non-native species will become invasive, non-native species in general are frequently regarded as a potential threat. There have been many examples of a species not being expected to become invasive that did eventually become so (e.g. the red-eared slider *Trachemys scripta elegans* in Hungary). With regard to uncertainty, the interviewees also referred to gaps in knowledge. Many of the effects of nonnative species (e.g. on soil organisms) and their interactions with native species and ecosystems are currently not well researched. The interviewees also referred to the cumulative effects of non-native species. Native species are considered to recede to the extent that alien species expand: "...and when we introduce non-native species time and again, even if we do not have evidence of any effects, a large proportion of alien species will take up the space previously occupied by native species" (G-S/P-3).

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354 On the basis of the interviews, then, we were able to identify two distinct dimensions in which IAS are regarded as deleterious, namely, their ecological behaviour and their effect on biodiversity and 355 356 ecosystem services. In terms of behaviour, some interviewees (E-P-1, G-S/P-3, G-S/P-4) described the process of range 357 expansion and dominance in dramatic terms: "I have seen rivers with Himalayan Balsam, there are 358 359 rows of pink all along their banks. There is nothing else, there is nothing else" (G-S/P-4). One interviewee highlighted the exponential increase of IAS, linking it to an increase in damage: "So for 360 all species that are already established, there is an increase in damage, plus there are always new 361 species coming in, so if you add all this on top of existing damage we have got an exponential growth 362 in damage (...). It is all very frightening" (E-P-1). Another interviewee (E-St-1) regarded IAS as a 363 problem because they could also enter private property when they spread. Here, IAS impact on 364 cultural and legal issues and are seen to act as trespassers. 365 366 Interestingly, the behavior of IAS is often linked to human actions and the way they are evaluated. One 367 interviewee stated that the increase of pathways leads to an "uncontrolled threat". Here, both human agency and loss of control play a major role in the evaluation of IAS. 368 369 In addition to the adverse effects of IAS on biodiversity and ecosystem services, most interviewees 370 were aware of other "disservices" arising from IAS, e.g. adverse effects on human health and the economy. Nearly all the interviewees thought immediately of adverse effects on native species by 371 competition and/or predation. The next issue these interviewees mentioned was that of the impacts of 372 373 IAS on ecosystems. Here we asked what changes were regarded as constituting negative effects on 374 ecosystems and why. 375 Most of these interviewees regarded ecosystem changes (e.g. changes in structures or processes) as 376 damage, including cases in which there is no evidence of any far-reaching impairment of species. 377 Thus, ecosystems themselves were regarded as targets of conservation, irrespective of the functions 378 they provide for species (e.g. provision of food, migration corridor) or their services to humans. Any 379 change in an ecosystem is regarded as a negative change. One example mentioned in terms of its detrimental effects was that of the Himalayan Balsam (Impatiens glandulifera): "It leads to a massive 380 381 increase in biomass, which would not be there otherwise, it causes changes in matter fluxes etc., which

are also ecosystem functions.... It has an enormous impact, but in my opinion no serious effects on individual animal and plant species" (G-S/P-2). Interestingly, the negative impact of Himalayan Balsam on species richness was also considered to be considerably overstated because it has not noticeably outcompeted other species, in spite of its abundance (G-S/P-2) or has not affected threatened species (B-S/P-1). Another interviewee deplored the fact that the characteristics of an ecosystem are changed by the black cherry (Prunus serotina): "They are just changing the conditions. They are forming such a dense cover, cause so much shade, that they change the ecosystem, they change the characteristics of the ecosystem" (E-P-1). It is worth mentioning that the effects of IAS on ecosystem services were mentioned in greater detail almost only by those interviewees who worked in non-conservation related sectors. One example highlighted by two interviewees was the Asian long-horned beetle (G-S/P-1, E-P-3). Being native to Asia, this beetle is sometimes introduced in infested wood packaging used in international trade and has been found in at least 11 countries in Europe (Meng et al. 2015). Larval feeding causes high tree mortality and hence inflicts considerable damage upon forestry. This beetle has so far been recognized mainly in the field of plant protection and as an organism which causes economic damage to forests. Hence the fact that ecosystem services are mainly addressed by representatives of non-conservation sectors could be due to the particular interests and knowledge in circulation there, which differ from the interests and knowledge base of conservation actors.

4.3 Justification for action against invasive alien species, focusing on the European level

There was general unanimity among the interviewees that prevention is preferable to other management options once the species has been introduced (eradication, containment, control). Overall they considered a "Black List approach" to be feasible, i.e. a ban on those alien species deemed to be harmful on the basis of a risk assessment. None of the interviewees referred to the potential severity of damage caused by alien species as a means of justifying their ban in general. It therefore seems that the magnitude of potential damage caused by alien species was not considered significant enough to take such radical action, especially in the light of uncertainty.

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The interviewees essentially offered two arguments for preferring prevention to management of introduced species (Fig. 1). The overriding argument was that prevention is much more cost efficient than management. This claim was supported by the view that an efficient system of border control is partially established or could be accomplished with moderate effort and also that there are already successful methods available for reducing pathway risks for plant quarantine pests. Therefore, the costs of developing and introducing such a system would not be very high. By contrast, the precondition for rapid eradication, namely, an early warning system, has so far not been established, and there was considerable doubt concerning the whether such an early warning system would actually work. For more widespread species, most interviewees regarded complete eradication as nearly impossible. Another reason given by the interviewees for supporting the prevention of the introduction of non-native species was that they simply did not see any need for the introduction of further species beyond those already traded. Although the interviewees supported prevention, all of them adhered to an "innocent until proven guilty" approach for intentional introduction and the rapid eradication of IAS. This seems at first sight to be a contradiction. This attitude was substantiated by a variety of patterns of argumentation. If alien species are accepted in general, it makes sense to filter out only those alien species that probably cause harm. Surprisingly, although many interviewees were aware of the fact that only a small percentage of alien species turn out to be harmful (e.g., G-S/P-1, G-S/P-2, H-S/P-1), only one interviewee explicitly mentioned this fact as a reason for supporting the Black List approach (G-S/P-1). Many, however, accepted the reasons given for various land users to benefit from alien species that have already been introduced long ago (e.g., A-S/P-1, G-S/P-1, G-S/P-4). Further, there were interviewees who supported a "guilty until proven innocent" approach in principle but who gave up on this view in advance because they anticipated that it would be practically impossible to gain political support for it. They believed that other sectors (e.g. forestry) would object to the "guilty until proven innocent" principle and that these sectors were too powerful to be overruled. It was also acknowledged that free trade is highly valued politically and is also established in WTO agreements and European law. Thus, these interviewees were aware of the fact that their viewpoint conflicts with existing legislation.

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5 Discussion

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437 The aim of our study was to examine which arguments are put forward when conceptualizing, perceiving and evaluating IAS by individuals involved in developing the IAS Regulation, and how this 438 439 has informed this Regulation (Fig. 1). 440 Many interviewees (e.g., E-P-3, E-St-2, G-S/P-4) had ideas about alien species which deviated significantly from those implied by the definition contained in the IAS Regulation, which focuses on 441 442 the role of human agency in a species' range expansion. The interviewees often had a multidimensional concept of nativeness in mind, with a smooth transition between native and alien. 443 The criteria by which they judge whether a species is alien are residence time, distance to place of 444 natural origin, ecological adaptation to communities, and type and degree of human agency. Although 445 446 there is great unanimity in the ecological literature about defining alien species as depending on the existence of human agency, outside ecology the concept of alien species is discussed subject of lively 447 debate (for a detailed account, see Eser 1999, as well as Woods and Moriarty 2001, O'Brien 2006, 448 Warren 2007, Knights 2008, Keulartz and van der Weele 2009; for an overview of concepts of 449 450 invasive alien species see Humair et al. 2014a). 451 In the literature on invasion biology and biodiversity conservation there are two definitions for "invasive" (e.g. Simberloff and Rejmánek 2011, Ricciardi 2013). An "ecological definition" uses 452 spread and rate of range expansion as defining criteria. In contrast to this, a "policy definition" (like 453 the one found in the IAS regulation) focuses on impacts on natural resources or on human well-being. 454 This makes it clear that the concept of alien species can vary according to context and purpose. The 455 reasons for including impacts on the economy or on human health in the definition of IAS are clearly 456 457 strategic and political. Those interviewees who thought that economic and human health impacts 458 should be taken into account argued that the IAS issue acquires greater political significance for this 459 reason, that synergies with other land use sectors come into play when taking action against IAS (e.g. 460 phytosanitary measures), and that harm to human health and economic costs would strategically help conservationists to make their case: "If we add it [economic and human health impacts], it helps our 461 462 discourse because there are DGs [Directorates-General] and member states which were listening because it caused so much damage" (E-P-1). 463

However, some interviewees (mainly from nature conservation, G-S/P-3, G-S/P 4, G-P-1) were sceptical about integrating harm to the economy and human health into the concept of IAS. They expressed some fear that those IAS responsible for causing harm to the economy and to human health may mainly be covered by the Regulation in the end and that biodiversity conservation may recede into the background - or, even worse, that resources may be diverted away from biodiversity conservation. Another argument is that the EU Regulation, as clearly stated in the Preamble, is based on nature conservation legislation, as is the Convention on Biological Diversity. The practice of adapting definitions to the purposes for which they are intended is a common one in the policy context (e.g. Schiappa 2003). It is interesting, however, that the IAS regulation adopts a pragmatic policy-related definition of "invasive" but not of "alien". Some interviewees are concerned that the possibility of alien species becoming naturalized is ruled out by the definition of 'alien' (B-S/P-1, G-S/P-1). Today's alien species will thus also be alien in the future. Nativeness has also been associated with nativism and xenophobia (Gould 1998, Peretti 1999). Historical aspects (e.g. residence time), community membership and also cultural criteria are sometimes mentioned as possible ways to expand the nativeness concept (e.g. Hettinger 2001, Woods and Moriarty 2001, Knights 2008). It was not geographical origin that troubled the interviewees but rather human carelessness in species dispersal. "We are behaving with biodiversity as if we could just play around with it, and we are neglecting all the linkages within an ecosystem. (...) ... and people do not think about all the consequences even though they are so obvious. (...) ... the cause is human behaviour, then invasive species are a consequence of this human behaviour" (E-P-1). Such an argument is described by Skogen (2001) as reflecting a notion that "we should not meddle with nature". One term which would focus attention on human agency rather than on species' attributes is "introduced species". In this way, the concept of "being alien" (which is ambiguous and has xenophobic connotations) could be avoided. Most of our interviewees did not think that alien species have a value in themselves, and there was great scepticism concerning the biofunctional value of alien species. Here, species are clearly judged on their origin (cf. Davis et al. 2011, Humair 2014b). This seems to contrast with the findings of van der Wal et al. (2015) that species are not judged primarily on their origins. However, their analysis was focused on the prioritization of management measures used to tackle both native and alien species at

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conservation sites. Setting priorities in taking action against specific species is a different task than making a general evaluation of the entirety of native species compared with the entirety of alien species. The impacts of IAS on biodiversity and ecosystem services are certainly crucial when setting priorities in prevention and management according to the IAS Regulation. Still, native species and non-native species are often not considered to have the same conservation value. We thus concur with Binimelis et al. (2007) who found that alien species themselves are conceptualized as an environmental problem – and not just their impact on the environment (cf. Humair 2014b). Many interviewees viewed alien species as lacking value because they are "out of place" in several ways (e.g., E-P-1, G-S/P-2, G-P-1). First, alien species are regarded as unnatural elements in their new range. This view reflects the definition of "alien" in the IAS Regulation, i.e. relating to species introduced outside their natural range. Naturalness, generally defined as the absence of human influence (Hunter 1996, McIsaac and Brün 1999), is understood here as a historical approach which uses an "original" state as a yardstick for judging naturalness. Framing the conservation of alien species in their novel range as "ex-situ conservation" is understandable against this background. Naturalness can also relate to the process of range expansion. In this respect human-mediated dispersal is considered unnatural. This may also apply to returning native species (van Herzele et al. 2015). However, alien species can also be involved in natural processes. Range expansion after introduction or secondary release can occur by natural dispersal. Some alien species can appear in habitats in late stages of succession which have not been influenced by human management for a long time (Kowarik 1999). In contrast to this, the management of alien species is based on human activity and is therefore not natural. Hence, to what extent alien species are considered natural is a matter of perspective. Second, many interviewees consider non-native species as harmful because they are not adapted to local species and environments (e.g. E-P-1, E-P-2, G-S/P-2). The notions of "adaptation" expressed by the interviewees were quite fuzzy, and the scientific literature does not give much indication either of when an organism fits into a community or ecosystem. Hettinger (2001: 198) states that a species has adapted, for example, "when it has changed its behaviour, capacities, or gene frequencies in response to other species or local abiota" or when it moves into a type of ecological assemblage that is already present in its home range. When the interviewees refer to the biofunctional value of alien species, they

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also address the issue of ecological interconnectedness in their novel habitats. From a normative point of view, it is questionable whether or not biofunctional value is actually a value in an ethically relevant sense. Eutrophication might be biofunctionally good for nitrophilous communities, but that does not mean eutrophication has great value for nature conservation. Similarly, an alien species is not valuable merely because it provides a food resource for another species, and neither is a native species valueless if it is poorly interconnected with other species in functional terms. It is remarkable that the classification criteria for alien species largely overlap with evaluative criteria. For example, a species is alien when it does not belong to a place or an ecosystem - and yet not belonging to a place or an ecosystem definitely implies a value judgement. Third, as alien species are not well integrated they are considered a potential risk to native biodiversity. If they cannot be used by other species, e.g. as a food resource, but occupy the space of native species, this could lead to unforeseen adverse effects on biodiversity and ecosystem services. Hence, being alien is regarded as an indicator of having negative effects. However, the validity of alienness as an indicator of invasiveness is sometimes contested. Thompson et al. (2011) claim that whether or not plants are 'winners' or 'losers' in terms of their ability to thrive in human-dominated landscapes is largely unrelated to their native or alien status. Schlaepfer et al. (2011) emphasize that a subset of non-native species will undoubtedly continue to cause harm, but that other non-native species could increasingly come to be regarded as beneficial. It is surprising that many interviewees considered not only certain impacts on biodiversity and ecosystem services as harmful but also the very behaviour of invasive alien species. The processes of spread and the formation of dominant populations was regarded as "frightening". As Hulme (2012) points out, though, the perception of harm is often biased and is frequently associated with the most widespread alien species which, however, do not necessarily cause the greatest impact. The crossing of property boundaries was also viewed with concern. An evaluation of the ecological behaviour of alien species as undesirable is sometimes criticized. For example, Sagoff (1999) lists uncontrolled fecundity, tolerance for "degraded" conditions and aggressiveness as negative attributes of IAS. Remarkably, the same attributes and behaviours are also referred to in debates about returning native species (van Herzele et al. 2015).

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With regard to the impacts of IAS, the interviewees frequently perceived significant changes in ecosystem structure and function as harm. This makes sense given the assumption that species in communities are strongly interconnected and that alien species cannot take on the roles of native species. An impairment of the "health of ecosystems", which could be interpreted as proper functioning and freedom from distress (cf. Jax 2010), was explicitly mentioned in this context: "I think (...), they [IAS] are symptoms of the health of ecosystems. In other words, if ecosystems are (...) more and more concerned by the invasive alien species it is because, in some way, their capacity to defend themselves against them has probably decreased. We call this resilience - the capacity of the ecosystem to defend itself. It is like a living organism when you are attacked by different microbes. The more ill you are, the less you are able to defend yourself against them" (E-P-2). As Bartz et al. (2010) point out, not all unnatural changes to the environment are prima facie detrimental. They define an adverse impact as a reduction in the positively valued attributes of one or more conservation resources (e.g. a decrease in the population size of a native species due to the spread of a non-native species). In the case of changes in ecosystem structure and functions, it was often not clear from the interviews in what way certain positively valued attributes were reduced by IAS. This points to the more general problem that the concept of "harm to the natural environment" is nebulous and undefined (Sagoff 2005; see also Humair et al. 2014a). Even if ecosystem change due to alien species is perceived as negative, as one interviewee (G-P-2) made clear, it is quite implausible that major changes to ecosystem structures or functions would suffice as an argument for justifying action against the alien species that cause these changes. Views of IAS as unnatural and as compromising the proper functioning of ecosystems thus clearly reflect specific visions of nature and of human-nature relationships held by the interviewees. For example, "proper functioning" and especially "ecosystem health" suggest the notion of a balance of nature. This is in line with the findings of Verbrugge et al. (2013) who found that the overwhelming majority of respondents in their study on perceptions of alien species agreed with the paradigm of a balance in nature. Given that equilibrium theories are highly disputed in ecology and conservation, it is surprising that interviewees with a background in these fields have not yet incorporated the possibility of dynamic paradigms into their conceptions of nature. There seems to be a considerable

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gap between the way IAS are perceived and evaluated by different interviewees on the one hand and the arguments that are actually used to justify action against IAS on the other. Our findings indicate that only a small number of the many arguments for and against (invasive) alien species were discussed openly in the course of developing the EU Regulation. One reason is almost certainly that some fundamental issues simply do not arise when discussing European legislation (e.g. the debate about the value of alien species). Another reason may be that only those arguments were selected which are strategically helpful for gaining credibility and support for the Regulation (van Herzele et al. 2015), such as arguments relating to ecosystem services. It may also be that our interviewees anticipate that some visions of nature (e.g. a balance of nature) or value judgements based on the ecological behaviour of IAS are not shared by those who are to implement the Regulation. There was broad agreement on two issues concerning action against IAS. First, in the context of risk assessment, alien species that are expected to become invasive need to be identified, and only against these species should action be taken (Black List approach). Second, the most feasible action regarding these species is to prevent their introduction into the territory of the EU. The question that arises here is why there should be such a robust consensus on these principles when conceptual and value-related perspectives on IAS differ so widely. One reason is that these conceptual and evaluative issues do not have any consequences in practice. For example, although there are differing views about which species should be considered as alien and invasive, several respondents emphasized that this does not have any effect on the selection of IAS. For those species being considered for the list of Union concern, there is broad agreement that they are both alien and invasive. Another reason is that there is a consensus that some alien species do indeed cause serious harm, although there might be different views about which entities (biodiversity, human health, agricultural crops) are harmed. It is therefore not such a great challenge to establish a general consensus on the need to act against species which are proven harmful. However, it might be quite difficult to agree on specific species which should appear on the list of IAS of Union concern. Many interviewees (e.g., A-S/P-1, G-S/P-1, G-S/P-3) expected there might be conflicts over this issue: for example, species which cause a net economic loss but are important for the economy of one sector only (e.g. mink for the fur

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trade or the black locust for forestry) might still not be listed. In this respect, potential conflicts are shifted from the IAS Regulation itself to the list which is to be added to the Regulation. As one interviewee stated, "you can ask five people to produce a list of the worst invasive species, then you can ask five different people, and you will get a completely different list" (A-S/P-1). A formal risk assessment should therefore help to establish agreement on the species which should be listed as IAS of Union concern. Roy et al. (2013) tried to harmonize risk assessments from different sectors (e.g. nature conservation and plant protection) and different EU member states (for an overview of risk assessments, see also Verbrugge et al. 2014) and presented a "Draft list of proposed IAS of EU concern". Decisions on which species should be listed as IAS of Union concern will be based on final risk assessments carried out either by the Commission or by Member States. In December 2015 the Commission submitted a first draft list containing 37 species. A final reason why consensus has been achieved on a policy against IAS is that the arguments regarding the destructive nature of species are ultimately not so important. When it comes to taking action, the question of a species' potential usefulness outweighs that of its potential harmful impacts. The IAS Regulation itself emphasizes that risk assessments must weigh the benefits of IAS against their adverse effects. The interviewees broadly agreed that precaution is most easily achieved by preventing species introduction in the first place. But here, too, they did not refer to the projected costs of damage caused by IAS but rather argued that prevention is cheaper than eradication or control. Some of the interviewees would have liked to achieve more rigorous regulations on IAS (G-S/P-3, G-

Some of the interviewees would have liked to achieve more rigorous regulations on IAS (G-S/P-3, G-P-1). Here, divergent opinions about the correct course of action remain which cannot be resolved by debate. A politically feasible solution will be one with which the different parties to the debate can live. The way the conflict is settled will probably have more to do with political power than with good arguments.

6 Conclusions

In this paper we have examined the arguments put forward by experts and stakeholders involved in developing the IAS Regulation with regard to evaluations of and appropriate measures to be taken against IAS. The interviewees were shown to perceive IAS in a much more richly textured way than

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that expressed in the Regulation; they also often framed the adverse impacts of IAS differently than in the Regulation. Hence, the motives of those who support (or oppose) the IAS Regulation extend far beyond the rationale for the Regulation outlined in its preamble. We also found that the arguments put forward by our interviewees are often used in a strategic way. Economic arguments are expected to be convincing to policy makers but do not necessarily reflect the strong support for biodiversity conservation found in those who put forward these arguments. It would be interesting to conduct further research on the reasons why some arguments are considered more convincing than others. Our findings suggest that differences in argumentation regarding the value of alien species and the impact of IAS in general have little effect on the development of the IAS Regulation. However, this might be different when it comes to the process of drawing up a list of specific IAS of Union concern. What constitutes harm to ecosystems is still a topic that requires further debate. While it is widely recognized that species loss conflicts with the goal of species conservation, greater clarity is needed regarding the point at which ecosystem change, independent of species loss, is considered harmful and regarding the values with which ecosystem change is believed to conflict. Unless evaluative assumptions (e.g. notions of a valuable state of "ecosystem health") are shared by the stakeholders involved, no amount of argument will convince them, and conflicts will be resolved on the basis of power relations rather than through argumentation. Stakeholder consultations such as the one conducted by DG Environment for the "EU Strategy on Invasive Alien Species" could be further developed to discuss the topic of harm. In terms of practical management of IAS, integrating stakeholders in participatory processes of adaptive management, as suggested by Evans et al. (2008), would certainly be a good way forward. Our study has confirmed that it is important to reveal the implicit value judgments because this can improve communication about environmental policies and help to create a shared understanding. It can also facilitate critical reflection on and a debate about values. In our view, analysing arguments and reflecting critically on the validity of even widely accepted arguments can advance the debate about

evaluations of IAS.

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820	

Figure 1

Criteria for conceptualization

Alien species

- Geographic origin
- Residence time
- Integration
 - into ecosystems and biological communities
 - into the "place" (as the locus of cultural identity)
- Human agency in dispersal

Invasive (alien) species

- Spread into new range
- + Impact on biodiversity and ecosystem services
- + Economic and human health effects

Criteria for valuation arguments

Alien species

- Adulteration of flora and fauna (-)
- Intrinsic value (+/ n.a.)
- Biofunctional value (+/-)
- Value as resource/ ecosystem service (+/ n.a.)
- Better fulfilment of functions and ecosystem services by native species (-)
- Suddenness of appearance (-)
- Uncertainty and risk (-)
- Accumulation effects (-)
- (Lack of) naturalness, expression of carelessness of humans (-)

Invasive (alien) species

- Species decline
- Habitat loss
- Ecosystem change
- Loss of ecosystem services and disservices from IAS
- Exponential growth (dominance, range expansion)
- Trespassing on property
- Loss of control

Arguments for justifying action

Black List approach

Arguments:

- Alien species accepted in general and recognition that only few alien species become invasive or
- IAS are bad for biodiversity but very important for other sectors or
- IAS are bad for biodiversity but impossibility of enforcing conservation interests

Prevention of introduction of IAS

Arguments:

- Cost efficiency
- No need for further alien species



