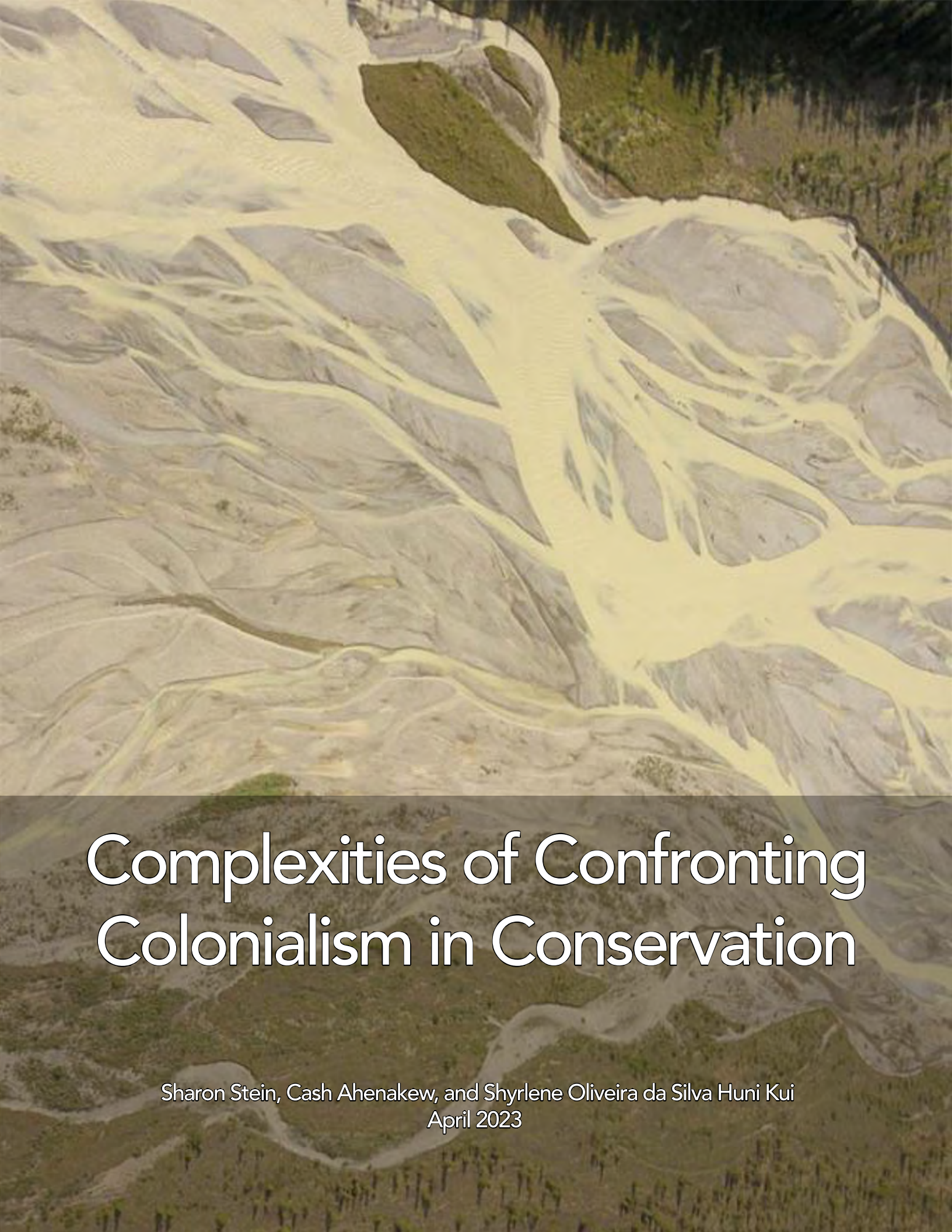

Complexities of Confronting Colonialism in Conservation

Sharon Stein, Cash Ahenakew, and Shyrlene Oliveira da Silva Huni Kui

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The cover photo by Azul Duque and Andre Ticoulat was taken within what is today known as Jasper National Park, which is located in Treaty 6 and 8 as well as the traditional lands of the Anishinabe, Aseniwuche Winewak, Dene-zaa, Nêhiyawak, Secwépemc, Stoney Nakoda, Mountain Métis and Métis.

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Acknowledgements

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Executive Summary

In response to the mainstreaming of reconciliation as well as growing demands for decolonization and #LandBack, settler conservation organizations in what is currently known as Canada have begun to confront their historical and ongoing complicity in colonialism, including the displacement and dispossession of Indigenous Peoples.

By "setter conservation organizations" we mean public and private conservation organizations, land trusts, protected areas, parks, public agencies, and other entities focused on land and environmental protections that are not only led by settlers but are also dominated by settler staff and boards, and predominantly organized according to the norms and values of western conservation.

As Iñupiaq (Inuit) conservation biologist Victoria Qutuuq Buschman (2022) observes, "Many researchers and organizations are calling for the end of colonial approaches [to conservation] in favor of those that support Indigenous communities" (p. 2). However, in practice, the work of interrupting and reorienting inherited colonial approaches to conservation is extremely challenging and complex. It is often only through the process of actually attempting change that settler conservation organizations begin to realize the full extent and complexity of the difficulties and opportunities that are involved in this work, and the stamina that is required to sustain it through the inevitable ups and downs. This report examines some of these dynamics.

No single text or resource about confronting colonialism in conservation will be universally relevant for all audiences. While this report may be useful to others, it was written primarily for an audience of settler conservation organizations. This report intends to support people (especially settlers) in these organizations to grapple with some of the complexities and challenges involved in efforts to rethink mainstream conservation practices in ways that are more accountable to Indigenous Peoples and lands. Drawing on relevant critical literatures, reports, case studies, and interviews with conservation leaders, the report can serve as a resource for organizations either beginning this work or seeking to deepen their efforts in this area. Although the report focuses on the Canadian context, it will likely have relevance in settler colonial countries as well.

The report does not offer definitive answers, prescriptive best practices, or universally-relevant formulas for change. Instead, it: reviews the colonial foundations of western conservation; maps current conversations within the field of conservation, especially the complexities and challenges that arise in efforts to confront colonialism; reflects on lessons learned from the existing efforts of settler conservation organizations to enact change, including learning from both successes and failures; offers some provisional orienting frameworks for those engaging in this work; and gestures toward possible pathways forward in the short-, medium-, and long-term.

Although we do not prescribe a specific destination for this work, we suggest that if settler organizations seek to confront colonialism in conservation, they will need to start by accepting responsibility for their complicity in historical and ongoing colonial harm and committing to enacting material and relational repair with Indigenous Peoples. This is not a one-time activity, but rather entails a long-haul journey of learning and unlearning that requires honesty, humility, and (individual and organizational) maturity.

Part 1: Confronting the Colonial Past and Present of Conservation

The first part of the report considers the colonial foundations of western conservation, and how these foundations continue to shape conservation today. For instance, in October 2022, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, José Cali Tzay, who is Maya Kaqchikel, presented a report about human rights violations enacted against Indigenous Peoples in the creation and policing of protected areas. He noted, "While the expansion of conservation is laudable, not enough assurance has been given to Indigenous people that their rights will be preserved in the process." Failure to protect these rights also undermines the goal of conservation itself, given that Indigenous Peoples are the most knowledgeable stewards of their territories and the biodiversity therein.

For settler conservation organizations to centre Indigenous rights, and respect Indigenous Peoples' sovereignty, self-determination, and governing authority would be a significant shift from existing modes of operation. It would require not only rethinking strategic plans, institutional missions, budgets, and organizational

priorities but also navigating these shifts in relation to the legal and fiduciary requirements of settler governments that are themselves grounded in colonial frameworks.

Settler conservation organizations in Canada are at various places in relation to this process. Yet given their focus on land, it is becoming increasingly impossible for these organizations to entirely opt out of conversations about their responsibilities to Indigenous Peoples. Any organization that does so will likely be considered "behind the curve" (out of sync), with current conversations and emerging practices in the conservation field, and therefore risk a loss of relevance and social legitimacy.

But while an increasing number of conservation organizations "engage Indigenous Peoples in participatory processes, the degree of engagement in these processes can vary greatly" (Buschman, 2019, p. 20). This echoes wider dynamics of settler engagements with reconciliation. While there is growing public interest and acceptance of reconciliation in principle, many Indigenous Peoples have expressed frustration with mainstream reconciliation approaches, which they deem to be largely symbolic, tokenistic, and insufficient for interrupting entrenched colonial relations (e.g., Coulthard, 2014; Daigle, 2019; Flowers, 2015; Hunt, 2018; Jimmy & Andreotti, 2021).

Even when they have good intentions, settler conservation organizations may prioritize simplistic and largely inconsequential forms of change because more substantive forms of change are generally difficult and uncomfortable, especially when the change contradicts prevailing practices and power structures, and challenges settler futurity and innocence. Critics argue that this search for easy wins and quick fixes allows "business as usual" to continue, and leaves Indigenous dispossession in place.

The report also reviews Indigenous challenges to western conservation that critique the latter's harmful social and political impacts, ecological shortcomings, and erasure of Indigenous sovereignty, rights, and approaches to conservation. While it is important not to romanticize Indigenous Peoples or reproduce pan-Indigenous representations that flatten heterogeneities, Indigenous ecological knowledges and practices tend to prioritize healthy landscapes and interspecies, intergenerational relationships for holistic collective well-being (Ahenakew, 2016; Dennis & Robin, 2020; McGregor, 2018a). As a result, alongside the fact that Indigenous land stewardship strengthens Indigenous sovereignty, there are many other positive social and environmental impacts, including higher levels of biodiversity, lower levels of deforestation, as well as sustainable food production (FAO & FILAC, 2021; The Land Gap Report, 2022; Oldekop et al., 2016; Schuster et al, 2019; World Bank, 2022). Thus, Anishinaabe/Métis lawyer and scholar Aimée Craft argues, "it would be a collective societal and environmental mistake not to rely on the wisdom of nations that have been in connection with territory for thousands of years."

Indeed, the growing interest of settler conservation organizations in engaging with Indigenous Peoples and knowledges is informed by a growing realization that the status quo of western conservation and other mainstream environmental efforts have failed to adequately address or interrupt climate change, species extinction, biodiversity loss, desertification, and the spread and growth of global contaminants and toxins in air, land, and water (Liboiron, 2021b; Wauchope et al, 2022).

In other words, despite expanding awareness and action, many indicators suggest the climate and nature emergencies are worsening under the current trajectory of mainstream western conservation and environmental efforts. The failure of settlers to rethink human relationships to the natural world and to respect the rights, knowledges, and leadership of Indigenous Peoples might lead us to a place where the continuity of human life on the planet is no longer tenable. At the same time, settler engagements with Indigenous knowledges risk reproducing colonial dynamics if they are undertaken in tokenistic, extractive, and romanticizing ways without a commitment to support the sovereignty and political struggles of "the communities from which these knowledges arose" (Eichler & Baumeister, 2022; see also Ahenakew, 2016; Liboiron, 2021a).

Indeed, even when they receive invitations from settler conservation organizations to engage, "Indigenous Peoples are rarely invited to specify the terms of engagement" (Buschman, 2019, p. 20, emphasis added), which in turn means "effective and lasting partnerships are relatively uncommon" (Reo et al., 2017, p. 59). Some have therefore pointed to "a paradoxical tension in the Canadian conservation sector whereby Indigenous-led conservation is supported in theory, but actively undermined in practice" (Youdelis et al., 2021).

To support those working in settler conservation organizations to expand their efforts to confront colonialism and deepen their responsibilities to Indigenous Peoples, knowledges, and lands not just in theory but also in practice, in this report we review five constitutive denials that characterize western conservation. We suggest that unless settler organizations can begin to identify and

interrupt these denials as they operate in their own work, it will be very difficult to move somewhere different. This includes:

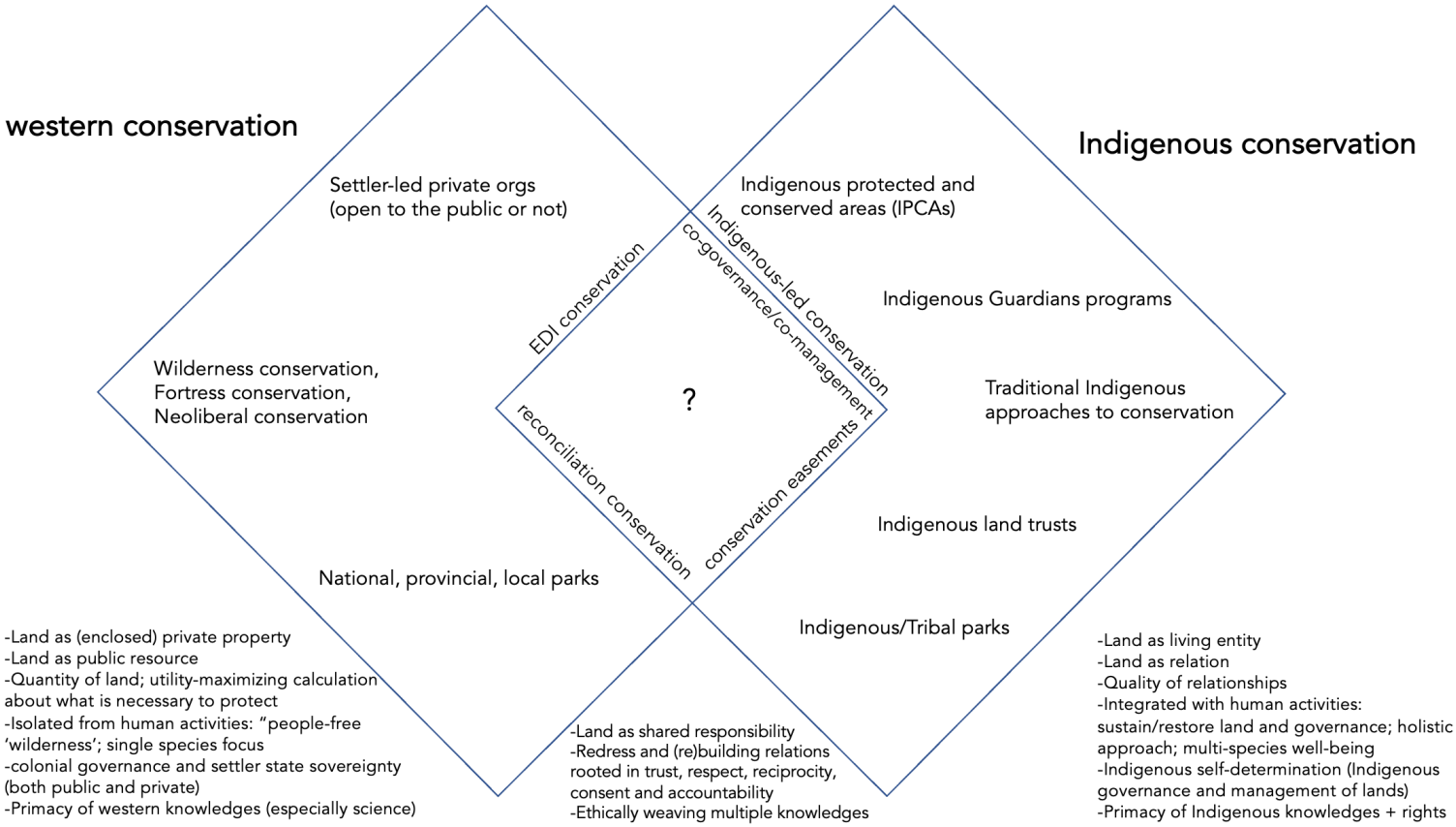
1) Denial that humans are part of (and interdependent with) nature;
2) Denial of the significance of Indigenous Peoples' historical and enduring rights, responsibilities, and relationships to their territories;
3) Denial of the existence and/or importance of Indigenous environmental knowledge and practices;
4) Denial of western conservation's colonial foundations; and,
5) Denial of western conservation's historical and ongoing entanglement with extractivism

We situate these denials within the socio-historical context of the origins of the Euro-American model of western conservation, which began in the 19th century in response to the environmental degradation that was caused by settler societies in the first place. We offer a series of informational, intellectual, affective, and relational questions that settler organizations can consider when beginning the work of confronting colonialism. However, rather than encouraging organizations to answer these questions, we encourage them to grapple with these and other emergent questions as they proceed with this work, approaching it as a process of learning and unlearning.

This part of the report also includes a review of examples from recent efforts to reckon with settler colonialism and enact some form of restitution for complicity in colonial harm, including through the return of Indigenous lands by settler individuals, governments, and organizations, efforts to implement Treaty responsibilities, and other reparative or restorative actions.

Part 2: Mapping Multiple Approaches to Conservation

In Part 2 of the report, we offer a map of different possible approaches to conservation in order to make visible the contrasts between theories and practices of conservation that have distinct epistemological and ontological foundations and implications. We identify three broad approaches to conservation: western conservation, Indigenous conservation, and their interface.



Western Conservation

Whether public or private, western approaches to conservation in Canada are generally characterized by (primarily white) settler ownership, governance, and management of Indigenous lands. In fact, the "wilderness" itself and national parks in particular have become central to the national identity and imaginaries of settler colonial nations like Canada and the US (Youdelis et al., 2020).

Western conservation tends to focus on protecting "pristine" or "untouched" wilderness, which manifests as a form of "fortress conservation." Fortress conservation significantly restricts (and polices) activities in a protected area, usually limiting them to tourism/recreation, western scientific research, and in some cases, permit hunting. Generally speaking, fortress conservation frames humans as separate from and hierarchically above nature and in turn treats nature as a resource to be preserved and instrumentalized for human benefit. Thus, this approach to conservation also rationalizes the removal of Indigenous Peoples from their lands and denies Indigenous relationships to place, including denial of the fact that it was Indigenous Peoples who cultivated and protected biodiversity in their territories prior to colonization.

The fortress model of conservation endures today and has become globally dominant. Around the world, Indigenous Peoples have identified conservation as a significant threat to their rights, sovereignty, and well-being (Murdock, 2022). In 2022, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples found that in many protected areas, "Indigenous peoples are denied their rights to land and resources, self-determination and autonomy, and cultural heritage, and suffer from forced evictions, killings, physical violence and abusive prosecution" (Tzay, 2022, p. 7).

Indigenous Conservation

In Indigenous conservation, Indigenous Peoples decide what, where, and how their territories should be governed, managed, and cared for (Wright, 2018). However, Indigenous Peoples may or may not describe their land caretaking as "conservation," given that some perceive it to be a colonial term (Hernandez, 2022).

As Buschman (2019) notes, Indigenous Peoples have governed and cared for their own lands since time immemorial, and thus have a deep "understanding of place-based natural histories," and of "landscape-scale ecosystems dynamics" (p. 11). This understanding is grounded in ways of knowing, being, and relating that are specific to each Indigenous Nation. Indigenous conservation efforts are often oriented toward the resurgence of Nations' knowledges, laws, languages, and governance systems. Craft and Plotkin (2022) observe that Indigenous Peoples are "employing strategic partnerships, contracts, funding mechanisms and agreements to steward and safeguard previously dispossessed lands and waters" (p. 33). At the same time, there remain many legal and practical barriers to the social and political legibility of these conservation efforts within settler colonial society.

There has been considerable growth in Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas (IPCAs), which can be defined as "lands and waters where Indigenous governments have the primary role in protecting and conserving ecosystems through Indigenous laws, governance and knowledge systems," (ICE, 2018, p. 5). In Indigenous Guardian programs, Indigenous Peoples monitor and manage their own territories. Another example is Indigenous land trusts, whereby Nations purchase the title of their traditional territories to be held collectively, in perpetuity. Each of these Indigenous conservation efforts seeks to both fulfil stewardship responsibilities and strengthen Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination. In this way, Indigenous conservation is a form of Indigenous resurgence, which entails the regeneration of Indigenous governance, language, laws, nationhood, livelihoods, culture, and lands.

Whatever form they take, most Indigenous approaches to conservation are linked to wider commitments to ensure the collective and holistic well-being of their Nation, and of current and future generations of all species.

Emerging Interface of Indigenous and Western Conservation

There are a growing number of efforts to create space for ethical engagements in conservation at the interface of Indigenous and settler communities and organizations. However, most settler conservation organizations are still at the very beginning stages of learning how to do this collaborative work in equitable ways that do not reproduce long-standing colonial relationships and practices.

One example of emerging conservation efforts at the interface of Indigenous and western approaches to conservation is shared/co-governance and shared/co-management, which broadly indicate agreements to share

authority, responsibility, and benefits across communities or governments (Park & Allaby, 2017). How this operates in practice varies widely (Buschman, 2019), and different Nations and settler entities may approach these collaborations with contrasting and even conflicting strategies and intentions. For instance, the First Nations Fisheries Council notes, "co-governance is not necessarily the end goal for First Nations. Rather, it may be an 'interim step to achieving the ultimate goal of full title and jurisdiction'." Meanwhile, some Indigenous communities are entirely uninterested in co-governance or co-management with settler governments or organizations, even as an interim step, and seek to simply have their lands returned to their immediate governance and jurisdiction.

Several challenges and complexities have emerged in co-governance/management efforts, many of which relate to the continued centering of settler priorities, knowledges, and policies, and the failure to substantively respect the knowledge, sovereignty, and governing authority of Indigenous Nations. This has led some to emphasize "co-management can only truly work when substantial power imbalances between the colonial government and Indigenous groups have been addressed" (Shields, 2021).

Other efforts to reimagine conservation at the interface of western and Indigenous approaches include conservation easements, where state or private conservation organizations grant Indigenous Nations access to lands they hold, for certain purposes. This can include granting access for cultural and ceremonial activities, and/or for Indigenous Nations to practice their own conservation or restoration methods. Indigenous Nations may also grant easements on their lands to conservation organizations. In some cases, Indigenous Nations and conservation organizations serve as joint holders of an easement.

Part 3: How Organizations Are Reimagining Conservation and Indigenous Engagement

This part of the report is informed by interviews with individuals working in the conservation field who indicated their interest in discussing the complexities and challenges of reimagining conservation, especially in relation to Indigenous engagement. We sought to identify those working in organizations that had already begun this journey and were willing to share their learnings with us. All but one of the people interviewed were settlers working in settler conservation organizations; one of the interviewees was Indigenous and working in Indigenous conservation.

We note that many of the people we spoke to indicated that one of their roles was to navigate and translate between various communities (many of which have conflicting assumptions and expectations), as well as to navigate differences and translate within communities (such as generational differences between the board and staff members of their own organization). As a result, many settler leaders noted their interest in creating a space in which they could meet with others in similar organizational roles to integrate their learnings, share their mistakes and challenges, and strategize about their next steps.

Through these interviews, as well as related scholarly literature, grey literature, and policy documents, we identified four common approaches to settler conservation organizations' engagements with Indigenous Peoples. It is important to note that within any given organization, there might be individuals and actions that fall across all of these positions, depending on the context and the situation. As well, it is important to remember that many organizations engage in more than one of these approaches.

Representation: Focused on selectively including Indigenous Peoples, practices, and knowledges in settler conservation organizations. Often this is the initial step for many organizations, commonly driven by a perceived need to improve the public perception of their organization in relation to its commitments to reconciliation, Indigenization, and decolonization. Especially when organizations are just starting this work, they might believe that this is both the beginning and end of what is needed.

Recognition: Focused on demonstrating organizational regret for complicity in colonial harm, and demonstrating a commitment to improved relationships with Indigenous communities. This often entails moving away from engaging with a few Indigenous individuals toward some recognition that the organization has responsibilities to local Nations. Recognition is often symbolic, such as a land acknowledgement or a formal apology for past shortcomings. Organizations might stall here, especially if they feel unprepared to enact further commitments.

Redistribution: Focused on sharing some resources with Indigenous individuals and Nations, or seeking new funding for Indigenous-led projects, out of a recognition of the highly uneven distribution of economic resources as well as 'natural resources.' This funding may be limited to activities that align with organizational goals, and may be critiqued for returning only a small portion of what was taken from Indigenous Peoples.

Reparation: Focused on repaying "colonial debts" to Indigenous Nations, with an emphasis on enacting both material restitution and relational repair, especially the return/rematriation of land. This approach also recognizes and seeks to enact reciprocity for the labour Indigenous Peoples' have done and continue to do to care for and protect their lands for millennia, and to center respect for Indigenous sovereignty and rights. Because reparations can only unfold alongside Indigenous Peoples, this approach is also oriented towards repairing relationships in order to make such collaboration possible. This approach therefore seeks to create the conditions under which: settlers can disinvest from colonial promises about their own political and epistemic authority, futurity, and exceptionalism; Indigenous Peoples can determine their own futures; and different, currently unimaginable possibilities for Indigenous-led shared caretaking of the land might emerge.

Based on our review of the current conservation literature and landscape, as well as our interviews with conservation leaders, we find that reparation is the least commonly practiced approach to Indigenous engagement. Among the representatives of the settler conservation organizations we spoke to, many of which are considered leaders or "ahead of the curve" in this area of work, we would position the majority of them as currently operating somewhere between recognition and redistribution. Most had already come to see some of the limitations of these approaches, understanding them as necessary but insufficient. This did not mean they believed these approaches were unimportant, but rather that they should be enacted in more ethical and self-reflexive ways, and that the work does not stop there.

Amongst several of the interviewees, there was also an interest in, and in some cases a deep commitment to, moving their organization toward reparation. In many cases, this was not where the organization was at as a whole, but it was an area of interest for some in the organization and for local Indigenous Nations.

Although there is no universal or linear pathway from representation to reparation, nor is there an inevitable movement in that direction, it is improbable for an organization to jump from having no Indigenous engagement to committing to reparation. Often organizations start this journey with some combination of representation and recognition; if they cannot take these basic actions, it is unlikely they will be able or interested to pursue the kind of organizational transformation that is required for reparations to be possible.

Several additional questions, tensions, and themes emerged throughout the interviews with the leaders of conservation organizations, which we elaborate on in the full report. These included: the centrality of relationships; the need for patience in relation to the often-slow temporality of repairing relationships and fostering organizational change; the importance of developing a disposition of humility; the need to accept the uncertainties involved in processes of change that have no predetermined maps or pathways; the need to push for systems change (i.e., wider social and political transformation); and the imperative to work toward enabling a wider paradigm shift in the field of conservation.

Many questions remain about what it might look like for settler governments, communities, and organizations to work alongside Indigenous Nations, communities, and organizations to undertake land caretaking in truly equitable, reciprocal, and mutually beneficial ways. However, it is clear that much work still needs to be done by settlers in order for different relationships to become possible. It is also important to note that in some cases, Indigenous Peoples are not interested in these collaborations, and would prefer to simply steward their own lands without any settler involvement.

Part 4: Takeaways

In this report, we map some of the tensions, challenges, and "sticky points" that have emerged as settler organizations seek to move away from "fortress conservation" and move toward approaches to conservation that are grounded in commitments to uphold specific responsibilities to local Indigenous Peoples and

lands, and general responsibilities to current and future generations of human and other-than-human beings.

The findings of this report indicate that settler conservation organizations are attempting to enact institutional, sectoral, and social transformation to varying degrees. This requires organizational leaders, in particular, to navigate and negotiate between different, often competing visions for possible futures of conservation in a context characterized by hyper-complexity, uncertainty, heterogeneity, polarization, and rapid social change (as well as pushback against that change).

Although there is a growing consensus that things need to change within the mainstream conservation world, there is also a wide range of notions about what this change should entail, how it should be enacted, and by whom. Even settler conservation organizations that are considered leaders in this area might feel stalled in efforts to deepen their responsibilities, and might be critiqued for not implementing changes to their colonial practices fast enough. The limits of what is thinkable or imaginable for settler organizations will likely need to shift if they seek to deepen their accountabilities to Indigenous Nations.

This report grapples with several difficult and largely as yet unanswerable questions. Rather than offering answers or solutions to these questions, it suggests that genuine efforts to confront the enduring colonial foundations of western conservation and repair relationships with Indigenous communities requires a long-term commitment in the part of settlers to: 1) accept their responsibilities, particularly in relation to interrupting and redressing conservation's historical and ongoing complicity in colonial harm; 2) support the rights and resurgence of Indigenous Nations, especially in conservation, which must, in turn, be led by Indigenous Nations; and 3) develop relationships with Indigenous Nations grounded in trust, respect, reciprocity, accountability, and consent (Whyte, 2020).

One thing that was resoundingly clear is that this work is deeply relational, and in order to ensure the integrity of the process, mending and repairing relationships cannot be rushed; it can only move at the speed of trust. This is not only about settlers upholding their responsibilities to Indigenous Peoples, but also their responsibilities to other-than-human beings and the land itself. As Anishinaabe environmental and legal scholar Deborah McGregor (2018b) notes, there is a "connection between how we as peoples treat each other, and how we treat the natural world. We cannot restore balance to one set of relationships without doing the same to the other" (p. 229).

Finally, the report acknowledges that mistakes and missteps on the path to individual, organizational, and social transformation are inevitable. While we are all accountable for redressing the negative impacts of our mistakes, failure can also be an important site of deep learning if we "fail forward", that is, if failure is treated "as an educational moment and learning opportunity" (Arshad-Ayaz et al. 2020, p. 1). If we can learn from our mistakes, then we might be less likely to repeat them. Thus, addressing individual and institutional failures is not about moving from self-celebration to self-flagellation. Instead, it is about consistently moving toward organizational maturity and accountability by ensuring that these failures are "generative," in particular through committing to:

- *honesty* about the harms that have been and are being done by settler conservation organizations (settlers tend to deny, minimize, or deflect uncomfortable truths about the colonial past and present);
- *self-reflexivity* about where we really are in the learning and unlearning process (settlers are often less advanced in this process than they think they are, which means the most responsible thing to do when engaging in self-assessment is to assume that this is the case);
- *realism* regarding the true depth and magnitude of the social and ecological challenges we face (settlers tend to underestimate the scope, scale, and complexity of these challenges, and how long things take to change);
- *humility* about the fact that this work requires us to proceed without a blueprint or a predetermined destination (settlers are often uncomfortable with uncertainty, but in order to maintain relational rigour, we can often only take one small step at a time);
- *discernment* about what we need to learn from past mistakes so that we do not repeat them, and about how to proceed in ways that mend broken trust and repair relationships in the present (this will be necessary if we want to have the possibility of different futures); and
- *accountability* to those individuals and communities who pay the highest cost for our failures (while failure in this work may be inevitable, it tends to happen at the expense of Indigenous communities).

Full Report

Part 1: Confronting the Colonial Past and Present of Conservation

The conservation sector is currently undergoing a process of transition and transformation. As in many sectors and institutions across Canadian society, the leaders, staff, and boards of settler conservation organizations are increasingly expected to address their historical and ongoing role in settler colonialism and build more respectful and reciprocal relationships with Indigenous Peoples. In this report, by "settler conservation organizations," we mean public and private conservation organizations, land trusts, protected areas, parks, public agencies, and other entities focused on land and environmental protections that operate according to the norms and values of settler colonial society, and within the paradigm of western approaches to conservation.[1]

Settler colonialism describes an ongoing structure of dispossession and subjugation through which non-Indigenous people seek to permanently displace, replace, and erase Indigenous Peoples in order to claim, occupy, and control Indigenous land (Coulthard, 2014; Tuck & Yang, 2012).[2] Through processes of colonization, settlers have also enacted a relationship of domination over the land itself in order to meet the social, political, and economic demands of settler society (Davis & Todd, 2017; Whyte, 2018). In this way, settler colonialism entails not only genocide, but also ecocide, as well as epistemicide.

Colonialism has been identified as a root cause of climate change, biodiversity loss, and ecological degradation, all of which disproportionately impact Indigenous Peoples (Davis & Todd, 2017; Whyte, 2020). The most recent Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report finally acknowledged what Indigenous Peoples have known for a very long time: that colonialism is a driver of climate change, and vulnerability to climate change is "influenced by historical and ongoing patterns of inequity such as colonialism, especially for many Indigenous Peoples and local communities" (IPCC, 2022, p. 12). Although settler conservation organizations often understand themselves to be natural allies of Indigenous Peoples in their fight to protect land, more people have begun questioning the sector's presumed benevolence.

Rather than simply asking "How can we conserve more land?", people are asking "Who decides how we approach and define conservation? For whose benefit? And at whose expense?" (Dawson et al., 2021; Murdock, 2022).

Mainstream reconciliation efforts as well as growing demands for decolonization, #LandBack, and climate justice have all contributed to the push for settler conservation organizations to confront the colonial impacts of western conservation, including its historical and ongoing complicity in Indigenous Peoples' displacement, dispossession, and disruption of place-based relationships and responsibilities. The issue has also been covered by popular media outlets, including Teen Vogue. In 2021, Ojibwe author and academic David Truer published a widely-read article in The Atlantic magazine entitled "Return the National Parks to the Tribes." For many Indigenous Peoples and other critics, "It is past time for conservation to be decolonized" (Murdock, 2022).

In addition to the ethics of western conservation, some have also raised questions about its efficacy, given that under its global dominance we continue to see rapid climate change, species extinction, biodiversity loss, desertification, the spread and growth of contaminants and toxins in air, land, and water, and various other compounding, detrimental ecological impacts (Liboiron, 2021b; Our Land, Our Nature, 2021; Wauchope et al, 2022). These failures are often framed in contrast to the now commonly-cited statistic that Indigenous Peoples represent only 6% of the global population, yet protect 80% of the world's remaining biodiversity (World Bank, 2022). This has led some to argue for the need to not only consider but to centre Indigenous Peoples' rights, sovereignty, and knowledges in conservation efforts.

In October 2022, E. Tendayi Achiume, UN Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, released a report on "the racially discriminatory and unjust roots and consequences of environmental degradation, including climate change." The report concludes "there can be no meaningful

[1] The western conservation paradigm has been described as many things, including: dominant, Eurocentric, white, settler, colonial, "the North American Model of Wildlife Conservation" (NAM) (Artelle et al., 2022), and "the Western World Conservation Paradigm" (WWCP) (Luiselli & Amori, 2022). In this report, these approaches are referred to under the umbrella of "western," even as there is diversity within this category. We describe more about what we mean by "western conservation paradigm" later in the report.

[2] Throughout this report, grounded in Indigenous ways of knowing and being, when we reference "land", we are speaking about land, air, water, and all other forms of life.

mitigation or resolution of the global ecological crisis without specific action to address systemic racism, in particular the historic and contemporary racial legacies of colonialism and slavery."

Haudenosaunee/Mohawk scholar Roronhiakewen (He Clears the Sky) Dan Longboat has suggested that given the current, gutted state of settler nations' environmental protections, by asserting their Treaty and inherent rights to protect and defend their lands, Indigenous Peoples are the last potential barrier to unbridled extractivism in pursuit of profits and economic growth. Indigenous-led conservation was also emphasized by many critical Indigenous voices at the recent COP15 UN Biodiversity Conference in Montreal, and the latest IPCC report explicitly named the importance of recognizing Indigenous Peoples' rights for supporting adaptation to a changing climate.

The currently dominant western conservation paradigm asserts a separation and hierarchy between humans and nature (with humans at the top), while also ethnocentrically asserting its own universality as the most valid and valuable way of relating to the environment. This paradigm, deeply shaped by the theoretical and practical tenants of western science, seeks to uphold protected areas as spaces of "pristine wilderness," untouched by humans. This "fortress conservation" approach denies human relationships to place and thereby contributes to the displacement, dispossession, isolation, and marginalization of Indigenous Peoples and knowledge(s), affecting what Joe Sheridan and Roronhiakewen (He Clears the Sky) Dan Longboat (2014) describe as "environmental apartheid."

Binnizá and Maya Ch'orti' environmental scientist Jessica Hernandez (2022) uses the term "ecocolonialism" to describe settler management of Indigenous territories. She suggests ecocolonialism has at least three layers:

> 1. White people governing over [Indigenous] natural resources and Indigenous lands without consulting the Indigenous peoples of those lands or respecting Indigenous sovereignty; 2. The severe altering of [Indigenous] landscapes due to settler colonialism and the ideologies it introduced, including climate change; and 3. The lack of resources offered to Indigenous communities or communities of color who are already experiencing the impacts of climate change that oftentimes results in displacement. (p. 42)

The western conservation paradigm can be understood in contrast to many Indigenous Peoples' intergenerational ecological knowledges and practices, in which what settlers call "nature" (including the land itself) is not a separate, standalone "object" or property, but rather is part of a wider, holistic web of entangled living entities, relationships, and responsibilities, which includes human beings without exceptionalizing them.

Throughout this report, we follow Iñupiaq (Inuit) conservation biologist Victoria Qutuuq Buschman's (2022) broad definition of conservation as "The many activities, including Western and Indigenous conceptions of conservation, that encompass the management of wild living resources, ecological restoration, biodiversity observing and monitoring efforts and establishment and management of protected areas through Western and Indigenous practices" (p. 5). Yet as Hernandez (2022) notes, some Indigenous Peoples choose not to use the term "conservation", and may even consider it a colonial concept or at least a concept with colonial origins. Some, therefore, prefer to describe their land caretaking relationships in other ways, including by using terms that come from their own languages and knowledge systems.

More settler conservation organizations are recognizing the ethical and practical imperatives to engage with Indigenous Peoples. However, as Buschman (2019) observes, "more common approaches to Indigenous engagement do not support communication, trust, and legitimacy, which may degrade the ability build lasting partnerships with Indigenous leadership and communities" (p. 20). For a settler organization to publicly state its commitment to uproot colonialism, respect Indigenous rights and sovereignty, and support Indigenous-led conservation is one thing; to actually put these commitments into practice in meaningful ways is another.

In the world of conservation, things are slowly shifting away from the colonial status quo, but not without significant complexities, challenges, mis-steps, and pushbacks. Some have therefore pointed to "a paradoxical tension in the Canadian conservation sector whereby Indigenous-led conservation is supported in theory, but actively undermined in practice" (Youdelis et al., 2021). This tension is a concern not just in what is currently known as Canada, but around the world. For instance, the Rights and Resources Initiative and Rainforest Foundation Norway recently found that only 17% of global climate and conservation funding intended for Indigenous and local communities actually goes toward Indigenous-led projects.

The Context of this Report

This report seeks to consider the complexities and challenges that emerge in efforts to confront colonialism in conservation. It also considers what institutional conditions and individual capacities could support settler conservation organizations to engage in more ethical and reciprocal relationships with Indigenous Peoples. This kind of organizational change requires a sustained commitment to an ongoing, long-term process of learning and unlearning, rather than a one-time activity or a predetermined destination with a fixed route (Ahenakew, 2019). It is generally only through the process of attempting change that people come to realize the magnitude and complexity of the challenges and opportunities involved in this kind of work, and the stamina that is required to interrupt and reorient the prevailing approach to conservation that is grounded in settler colonial interests and worldviews.

Many settler conservation organizations are still in the process of coming to terms with the fact that Indigenous Nations do not assume that these organizations share their interests. In fact, some Indigenous Peoples see these organizations as indistinguishable from other settler institutions, given that settler conservation organizations often claim ownership and governing authority over Indigenous lands (Little Light, 2019). Some organizations have taken initial steps down the path of transformation and have started to grapple with how rocky it can be given the many layers of complexity involved, and given how deeply ingrained colonial patterns are not only within their organization but also within the larger social, economic, and political landscape. In this report, we share some of what we have learned from speaking with organizations that are navigating this space. We specifically consider how settler organizations are approaching Indigenous engagement and confronting their complicity in settler colonialism, but we acknowledge that there are many more layers of accountability that need to be addressed in efforts to responsibly reimagine conservation, including questions about racial, social, economic, and ecological justice.

Although we focus this report on recent shifts in what is currently known as Canada, which is where this report was authored, it touches on many issues that are relevant in conversations about conservation beyond this context, particularly in other settler colonial countries.

The report is also informed by the authors' different positionalities and responsibilities in relation to Indigenous lands: Sharon Stein is a US-born white settler, Cash Ahenakew is Cree and a member of Ahtahkakoop Cree Nation, and Shyrlene Oliveira da Silva Huni Kui is part of the Huni Kui Nation in Brazil and a temporary visitor to these lands. This report was partially funded by support from the rare Charitable Research Reserve, as part of their commitment to support conversations about the emerging complexities of Indigenous engagement and settler responsibility in the field of conservation, but it does not represent their organizational position on these matters.

Drawing on scholarly and grey literature, case studies, and interviews with conservation leaders, the report can serve as a resource for organizations either beginning their learning journey or seeking to deepen their efforts in this area. The report is intended to be pedagogical, not prescriptive. Rather than attempting to offer definitive answers, best practices, or universally relevant formulas for change, it is focused on sketching the historical and ongoing impacts of (settler) colonialism in western conservation, surveying the landscape of recent shifts and emerging trends in confronting colonialism, and examining the complexities, uncertainties, and challenges that emerge in the process of seeking social and organizational change. The report can also be considered diagnostic in that it invites readers to assess where they and their organization currently are in relation to this work. In this way, the report can help prepare people from a range of perspectives and contexts to navigate the shifting field of conservation in generative, reflexive, and responsible ways.

Deepening Settler Responsibility

The findings of this report suggest that efforts to confront the historical truths and ongoing realities of colonialism in conservation raise many difficult, uncomfortable, and largely as yet unanswerable questions about how to enact organizational transformation in a contemporary social context characterized by complexity, uncertainty, heterogeneity, polarization, and rapid change.

We also observe that challenges to the colonial status quo of conservation often cause feelings of anxiety and fear about the future amongst settlers, and that invitations to face their complicity in colonial harm often cause feelings of resistance. We invite settlers to view these difficult emotions and embodied responses as a normal part of this process. After all, settlers have been socialized to invest in and desire the presumed entitlements offered to them by a settler colonial system, including the promise of settler authority, autonomy, security, certainty, and futurity. These desires and investments are not just conscious, but also

unconscious. Thus, it is not surprising when challenges to these desires and investments activate resistance.

Even when they have made commitments to reconciliation or decolonization, most settlers are not yet ready to cede control or disinvest from desires for settler futurity and the continuity of colonial business as usual. This is also why the cycle of performative action often repeats itself across organizations, and why settlers tend to become defensive or dismissive when they receive calls for more meaningful action. Thus, learning how to sit with discomfort and uncertainty about the future, and how to deepen individual and collective capacity and stamina to face one's individual and institutional implication in harm, all while continuing to try and build trust with all people involved, will be an important and significant challenge for settler conservation organizations going forward.

For this reason, particularly for settler readers, we invite you to observe your own responses to the report as you read it and to ask what these responses might be teaching you. For instance, if you feel resistance to elements of the report, consider where that resistance might be coming from, where it is leading, what it might be foreclosing (including possibilities that you cannot yet imagine), and what it might be showing you about yourself and the un/learning you still need to do. Consider that these responses are helping to make visible where you currently are in terms of the learning and unlearning work that is required in order to confront colonialism in conservation.

Our choice to describe this work as confronting colonialism in conservation – rather than decolonizing conservation – comes from our sense that facing the unfiltered truth about the historical and ongoing ways colonialism has shaped western conservation is the first, small step toward deeper forms of individual, organizational, and social change. We suggest that there is no possibility of genuinely different (including potentially decolonial) futures if we do not start with this work. Settler conservation organizations are just beginning to ask how they might take this baby step, and this step alone is extremely complex and challenging for most. The desire on the part of settlers to move quickly toward decolonization is often, paradoxically, an escapist colonial desire that reproduces existing power dynamics; seeks to affirm settler innocence, authority, and futurity; and is bounded by the limits of still-colonial forms of imagination. Part of the work of confronting colonialism is, therefore, to learn to identify and interrupt these desires for colonial continuity in oneself and one's organization, recognizing that they are systemically produced, often unconscious, and can even co-exist with desires for decolonial change.

Genuine efforts to confront colonialism in conservation would require a sustained commitment on the part of settlers to do the work that is needed in order to learn to: 1) accept their settler responsibilities, particularly in relation to identifying, interrupting and redressing western conservation's historical and ongoing complicity in colonial violence; 2) support Indigenous rights and resurgence efforts, especially in the context of conservation, which must, in turn, be led by Indigenous Nations; and 3) weave relationships that are rooted in trust, respect, reciprocity, accountability, and consent (Whyte, 2020). The piece about relationships includes settler responsibilities not only to Indigenous Peoples, but also to other-than-human beings and the land itself (McGregor, 2018b).

In this report, when we refer to "settler responsibility", we are referring to three different but interrelated dimensions of responsibility:

1. *attributability,* or recognition that the systemic privileges and benefits enjoyed by settlers are rooted in historical and ongoing colonial harm both to the natural environment and to Indigenous Nations (example action: offering a land acknowledgement at public events);
2. *answerability,* or recognition of one's individual role in the systemic dimensions of colonial harm (example action: supporting institutional and government changes, such as efforts to ensure that settler governments fulfil their Treaty obligations and obtain Indigenous Peoples' free, prior, and informed consent in relation to projects that take place on and affect their territories); and,
3. *accountability,* or recognition that one is both systemically culpable and individually complicit in colonial harm, and thus there is both an individual and collective debt to Indigenous Peoples and lands that need to be addressed (example action: in addition to supporting institutional and governmental changes, asking what social and material advantages one will personally need to give up in order to enact repair for harms done to Indigenous Peoples and lands).

While increasingly more settlers are embracing attributability and to some extent, answerability, we

suggest that accepting settler responsibility means accepting all three dimensions.

Learning From Failure

This report seeks to synthesize what has been learned thus far from efforts to accept settler responsibility in conservation – which includes learning from both successes and failures. Too often, organizations only want to share their successes, and craft self-celebratory narratives and images (Jimmy, Andreotti & Stein, 2019). This focus on "good optics" can lead to erasure or editing out of the inevitable missteps that come with this work. While we remain accountable for addressing the negative impacts of our mistakes, failure can also be an important site of deep learning if it is treated "as an educational moment and learning opportunity" (Arshad-Ayaz et al. 2020, p. 1).

There is a growing movement to prioritize learning from failure, as evidenced by the "failure reports" produced by organizations like Engineers without Borders and McGill University. Although not always specifically designated as failure reports, more conservation and environmental organizations, such as Dogwood, Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation, and Sierra Club BC, have offered honest accounts of their contributions to systemic inequity and colonial harm in the past and present, and publicly committed to an ongoing process of un/learning from previous as well as new mistakes.

To admit to individual and institutional failures is not about moving from self-celebration to self-flagellation. Instead, it is about consistently moving toward deeper organizational maturity and accountability by ensuring that our failures are "generative" and that we "fail forward." This requires a commitment to address failure with:

- *honesty* about the harms that have been and are being done by settler conservation organizations (settlers tend to deny, minimize or deflect uncomfortable truths about the colonial past and present);
- *self-reflexivity* about where we really are in the learning and unlearning process (settlers are often less advanced in this process than they think they are, which means the most responsible thing to do when engaging in self-assessment is to assume this is the case);
- *realism* regarding the true depth and magnitude of the social and ecological challenges we face (settlers tend to underestimate the scope, scale, and complexity of these challenges, and how long things take to change);
- *humility* about the fact that this work requires us to proceed without a blueprint or a predetermined destination (settlers are often uncomfortable with uncertainty, but in order to maintain relational rigour, we can often only take one small step at a time);
- *discernment* about what we need to learn from past mistakes so that we do not repeat them, and about how to proceed in ways that mend broken trust and repair relationships in the present (this will be necessary if we want to have the possibility of different futures); and
- *accountability* to those individuals and communities who pay the highest cost for our failures (while failure in this work may be inevitable, it tends to happen at the expense of Indigenous communities).

Centering Indigenous Rights

The Durban Accord, which emerged from the IUCN World Parks Congress in 2003, articulated a "new paradigm" for protected areas, and thus, for conservation. This new paradigm emphasized, amongst other things: the involvement of Indigenous Peoples and local communities in creating and managing protected areas; respect for multiple knowledge systems, especially local knowledges, in conservation efforts; and respect for human rights.

Alongside the Durban Accord, there have been various efforts over the past two decades to reimagine conservation in ways that involve and/or centre Indigenous and other local communities' approaches to land management and land relationships.

This includes the 2010 UN Convention on Biological Diversity, whose strategic plan for biodiversity and accompanying Aichi Targets for 2020 specifically named a commitment to respect Indigenous Peoples and knowledges in conservation efforts. Prompted by these targets, Canada's 2020 Biodiversity Goals and Targets included two targets related to Indigenous Peoples.[3] As the focus now shifts to the Post-2020 Global Biodiversity Framework that will set goals for conservation efforts by 2030, Indigenous advocates and settler supporters are advancing calls for Indigenous-led conservation.

[3] These are: "By 2020, customary use by Aboriginal Peoples of biological resources is maintained, compatible with their conservation and sustainable use" and "By 2020, Aboriginal traditional knowledge is respected, promoted and, where made available by Aboriginal Peoples, regularly, meaningfully and effectively informing biodiversity conservation and management decision-making."

Other examples of mainstream efforts to reimagine conservation include movements to recognize the "rights of nature," which are informed by both recent shifts in western legal theory and longstanding Indigenous legal theories. For instance, recently, the Innu Council of Ekuanitshit and the Miganie Regional County Municipality declared the Muteshekau Shipu (Magpie River) a legal person, the first granting of legal personhood to a natural entity in Canada.[4] Some worry that institutionalizing the rights of nature in western law may further entrench the purported universality of western law and reproduce anthropocentrism, rather than lead western societies toward fundamentally different relationships to nature in which they view themselves as part of and responsible to nature, rather the separate from and superior to it (Kashwan et al., 2021). However, Indigenous Peoples who advocate for the rights of nature are often seeking to secure greater respect for Indigenous laws, and to challenge the objectification, extraction, and pollution of land by western societies that treat it as a resource and property rather than a living entity (O'Donnell, Poelina, Pelizzon, & Clark, 2020).

Settler governments have also recently made notable commitments to Indigenous-led conservation. In 2021, the Canadian government pledged $340 million to support Indigenous-led conservation over five years; in 2022, they pledged another $800 million to four Indigenous-led projects. In 2022, US Congress voted to invest $97.5 million annually for conservation led by federally-recognized tribes as part of the first-ever federal funding dedicated to wildlife conservation and habitat restoration.

For those advocating for these shifts, there is a strong emphasis on the need to center respect for Indigenous rights. In October 2022, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, José Cali Tzay, who is Maya Kaqchikel, presented a report about human rights violations enacted against Indigenous Peoples in the creation and policing of protected areas. He noted, "While the expansion of conservation is laudable, not enough assurance has been given to Indigenous people that their rights will be preserved in the process."

In Canada, Indigenous rights are articulated as Treaty rights and Aboriginal (inherent) rights in the Canadian constitution. There are also key international rights documents, like the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (2007). Some in the private conservation world have emphasized Call #92 of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action (2015), which calls on "the corporate sector in Canada to adopt the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) as a reconciliation framework and to apply its principles, norms, and standards to corporate policy and core operational activities involving Indigenous Peoples and their lands and resources." The National Inquiry into Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls (2019) also called for full implementation of UNDRIP, and other rights instruments.

The push to ensure the protection of Indigenous rights in conservation was significantly present at the recent UN Biodiversity Conference (COP15) in Montreal. There, Indigenous advocates emphasized the need to centre Indigenous rights, sovereignty, and governance in the post-2020 Global Biodiversity Framework. Leading up to the meeting, hundreds of Indigenous organizations, non-profit organizations, and scholars noted their concern that the proposed "30x30" plan to conserve 30% of the world's land and water by 2030 "is counterproductive and could further entrench an outmoded and unsustainable model of conservation that could dispossess the people least responsible for these crises of their lands and livelihoods."

One study estimated that meeting the 30% target would displace and dispossess 300 million people, and negatively impact many others. The post-2020 framework that was ultimately approved includes the 30x30 plan. Although it emphasizes Indigenous rights, some say it does not go far enough to recognize and uphold Indigenous Peoples' sovereignty and self-determination.

In June 2021, by passing Bill C-15, the Canadian federal government committed to "take all measures necessary to ensure that the laws of Canada are consistent with [UNDRIP]" and to "prepare and implement an action plan to achieve the objectives of the declaration." However, the implications of this are still unfolding.

Amongst many other elements that affect Indigenous Peoples' rights in relation to land conservation, UNDRIP emphasizes:

- "respect for Indigenous knowledge, cultures, and traditional practice contributes to the sustainable

[4] Other examples: The rights of nature are enshrined in Ecuador's constitution. The Māori Iwi of Whanganui in Aotearoa/New Zealand successfully fought to have the Te Awa Tupua river recognized as an ancestor with legal rights. Also in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Te Urewera protected area, once a national park, was removed from government ownership and granted legal rights; the Tūhoe Iwi were recognized as its legal guardians. The Yurok Tribal Council granted legal rights of personhood to the Klamath River in the US.

and equitable development and proper management of the environment"
- "Indigenous Peoples have the right to the conservation and protection of the environment and the productive capacity of their lands or territories and resources"
- "States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the Indigenous Peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources"

Applying the spirit and letter of UNDRIP to the context of conservation in Canada would require, amongst other things, that settler conservation organizations ensure the free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) of Indigenous Peoples about any decisions that would affect them and their territories. A recent report affirms that the FPIC requirement applies not only to public but also private conservation organizations, concluding "there is no ethical basis for private land conservation organizations to operate as though Indigenous governments have no role in relation to private lands", and thus, "the starting point for decisions about the securement or management of private conservation lands is not whether there is a legal duty to consult, but rather, how to meaningfully engage with Indigenous governments and respect Indigenous jurisdiction" (Innes, Attridge, & Lawson, 2021, p. 57).

The Yellowhead Institute (2019) suggests the internationally recognized principles of FPIC require going beyond the "duty to consult" that is commonly practiced in Canada. They argue consultation treats Indigenous Nations as mere stakeholders rather than rightsholders and sovereign governments. They also argue that Indigenous conceptualizations of consent go beyond FPIC, and should be:

- restorative (centering Indigenous governmental and legal orders and decentring western frameworks and definitions);
- epistemic (accepting Indigenous cultural practices, knowledges and languages for understanding relationships to land);
- reciprocal (ensuring Indigenous Peoples are "not merely being asked to grant consent, but are determining the terms [and degree] of consent"); and
- legitimate (regardless of complex internal community politics, consent should be granted or withheld by those representatives who are perceived as legitimate by the community itself)[5]

Centering Indigenous rights and respecting Indigenous Peoples' sovereignty and governing authority over their lands would entail a significant shift from existing modes of operation for most settler conservation organizations. It would require not only rethinking strategic plans, institutional missions, budgets, and organizational priorities, but also navigating these shifts in relation to Indigenous Peoples' constitutionally recognized rights, as well as the various legal and fiduciary requirements established by settler governments. For many settler conservation organizations, this is still a distant or even unimaginable reality, and even the next steps are not always clear as they receive scrutiny from all sides – from those pushing for more anticolonial forms of transformation to those who believe that conservation organizations should be "apolitical" and leave the work of reconciliation to the Canadian government.

Responses to initial drafts of this report illustrate this wide range of perspectives. For instance, we received suggestions the report should more directly call for the immediate return of Indigenous lands, and for conservation to be entirely Indigenous-led. On the other hand, we received feedback suggesting the report could be overwhelming for settler readers, and that even the use of the term "settler" could prompt significant resistance. Some noted concern that for organizations to publicly engage in acknowledgement of their historical and ongoing complicity in colonial harm could negatively affect their reputation and alienate their donor base, thereby compromising the fiscal future of the organization. Meanwhile, those pushing for a transparent discussion of failures argued the opposite: that organizations will

[5] It is also crucial that those seeking consent clarify and respect internal community processes for determining who has the legitimacy to speak on behalf of an Indigenous Nation. These processes are often not clear to settlers, who generally lack relevant contextual knowledge, relationships, and appropriate intellectual, affective, and relational capacities to navigate internal community structures and complexities.

increasingly lose credibility if they do not publicly reflect on their mistakes and commit to substantive change.

Even in the context of these competing critiques, given their direct focus on land, it is becoming increasingly impossible for settler conservation organizations to simply opt out of conversations about their responsibilities to Indigenous Peoples. Any organization that does so will likely be considered "behind the curve" and out of sync with emerging practices and current discussions the field, and therefore, risk a loss of relevance and social legitimacy.

There are many ethical, ecological, social, and legal pressures compelling settler conservation organizations to confront the limits and harms of the mainstream western conservation model and to rethink their approaches to Indigenous engagement, some of which are reviewed in Table 1 below:

Pressure	Basic dimensions of this pressure in settler organizations	Relevant complexities
Ethical	Settlers feel a sense of responsibility to interrupt ongoing colonial patterns of engagement and repair relationships with Indigenous Peoples. Ethical considerations tend to emphasize Indigenous Peoples' Treaty and inherent rights to govern their lands according to their own worldviews, legal orders, and ecological practices, and highlight the imperative to interrupt and enact redress for social and ecological harms committed through the imposition of a western model of conservation on Indigenous lands without Indigenous Peoples' consent	Difficulties of translating this sense of responsibility into action, especially given many organizations' reluctance to engage with the socio-political implications of conservation; challenges that arise when perceived responsibilities to Indigenous Peoples contradict internal organizational mandates and legal/ fiscal/ reporting requirements of settler governments
Ecological	There is growing recognition of: 1) the limited effectiveness of western approaches to conservation for halting and mitigating climate change and biodiversity loss; and 2) the central importance of Indigenous rights, perspectives, knowledges, and priorities for effective conservation (ICCA Consortium, 2021; World Bank, 2022). For instance, "Deforestation rates are significantly lower in Indigenous and Tribal territories where governments have formally recognized collective land rights" (FAO & FILAC, 2021), and "lands under Indigenous control and management have greater biodiversity than equivalent areas under all other types of ownership, including federally protected national parks and wildlife reserves" (Schuster et al., 2019).	Indigenous knowledges may be engaged by settlers in non-reciprocal ways that: are not accountable to Indigenous struggles for rights and lands; do not affirm the inherent importance of Indigenous rights; are extractive (sometimes referred to as intellectual mining or piracy); and only value Indigenous knowledges that can be "confirmed" or deemed otherwise useful by western science (Ahenakew, 2016; Eichler & Baumeister, 2022; Liboiron, 2021a, b; McKay & Grenz, 2021; Reid et al., 2022)
Social	Public expectations are shifting toward deepening settler responsibilities to Indigenous Peoples. Conservation organizations have come under scrutiny for their historical and ongoing relationships to Indigenous lands, and recognize that if they seek to retain social relevance and legitimacy, especially with younger generations, they need to adapt	Different constituencies, both within and outside settler conservation organizations, have different (often conflicting) perspectives on conservation, and on calls for change; changes may be understood as too fast by some, and too slow by others
Legal	Shifting legal contexts suggest "an increasing recognition of inherent Indigenous rights and title in state and federal legal systems" (Artelle, 2019), including several landmark Supreme Court decisions. While change in recognition of underlying Indigenous rights and title by Canadian law is slow, some suggest Canada is moving toward a legal landscape that will require land use decisions to be undertaken in consultation with Indigenous Peoples and/or with their FPIC (Innes, Attridge & Lawson, 2021)	Currently, ensuring FPIC is understood to be optional in terms of meeting federal and provincial requirements (efforts implement UNDRIP may change this); organizations may fear being either too far ahead of the curve or too behind the curve regarding legal requirements and responsibilities

Table 1. Different pressures faced by settler conservation organizations

While there is growing public interest and acceptance of the basic principles of reconciliation in Canada in the wake of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its final report and calls to action, many Indigenous Peoples have expressed frustration with mainstream reconciliation, with some even concluding "Reconciliation is dead." In these analyses, reconciliation efforts are deemed to be tokenistic and insufficient for transforming entrenched colonial laws, practices, and relationships (e.g., Coulthard, 2014; Daigle, 2019; Flowers, 2015; Hunt, 2018; Jimmy & Andreotti, 2021).

Colonial structures deeply shape the work of settler conservation organizations and all aspects of settler society. Even when settlers have good intentions, many efforts to address colonialism remain superficial and symbolic, rather than substantive and structural (Yellowhead Institute, 2021). Prioritizing superficial or symbolic forms of change is often done out of a desire on the part of settlers to "move on" without having to interrupt business as usual, or give up power or resources. When operating from this desire, organizations tend to prioritize their own public image, rather than the quality and integrity of their relationships with Indigenous Peoples. Deeper forms of change are generally difficult, uncomfortable, and even painful. Yet this search for easy wins and quick fixes leaves the underlying system of ongoing Indigenous dispossession and unequal relations untouched.

Many organizations' reconciliation efforts focus primarily on "including" Indigenous Peoples and knowledges into existing programs and structures in tokenistic ways, rather than on doing the hard work of actually interrupting the colonial norms that largely structure those organizations. Often this inclusion is guided by an analysis that suggests the primary violence of colonization is Indigenous Peoples' exclusion from settler society and its benefits, in which case the antidote would be inclusion. By contrast, many calls for decolonization and #LandBack argue that the problem is not only one of exclusion, but more fundamentally, the fact that the very existence of settler societies and the benefits they offer to settlers are made possible at Indigenous Peoples' expense.

To avoid "window-dressing" approaches to reconciliation (see Appendix D for a detailed discussion of this phenomenon), there is a need for conservation organizations to recognize who has benefited the most from their work, and at whose expense these benefits have been derived – and to consider the responsibilities that follow from these unevenly distributed costs and benefits. Indigenous Peoples have offered significant challenges to western conservation specifically, which we review next.

Indigenous Challenges to Western Conservation

In the context of conservation and beyond, Indigenous Peoples have resisted ecocolonialism and sought to "ensure that Indigenous laws and governance are upheld now and for future generations" (Craft & Plotkin, 2022, p. 4). According to Hernandez (2022), "For Indigenous peoples and scientists, it is important that in the environmental discourse, more dialogues and conversations around settler colonialism and the impacts it continues to have on our environment are mentioned and brought to the forefront" (p. 70). Young Indigenous people, in particular, have drawn attention to the need for "more meaningful, reciprocal and respectful relationships with Indigenous Nations and their people, especially by upholding Indigenous rights frameworks and ways of ecological stewardship" (4Rs Youth Movement and Youth Climate Lab, 2022, p. 5).

In addition to identifying the limits and colonial harms of western approaches to conservation, Indigenous communities emphasize that they have had deeply reciprocal relationships with their territories since time immemorial and hold vast intergenerational, place-based knowledge about their territories, and thus, they are best positioned to lead efforts to protect those lands.

As Anishinaabe environmental and legal scholar Deborah McGregor and her colleagues Steven Whitaker and Mahisha Sritharan (2020) note, "Many, if not all, Indigenous Peoples across the globe already have their own intellectual and legal traditions to draw upon to generate a self-determined future that involves living well with the Earth" (p. 36). In many of these traditions, "plants, animals, and ecosystems" are themselves "agents bound up in moral relationships of reciprocal responsibilities with humans and other nonhumans" (Whyte, Caldwell, & Schaefer, 2018, p. 155). These responsibilities are not just interspecies, but also intergenerational (Evering & Longboat, 2013). Indigenous Peoples have developed deep knowledge of their territories over millennia, including "two bodies of information that are of particular interest in the context of conservation: an understanding of place-based natural histories; and an understanding of landscape-scale ecosystem dynamics (Buschman, 2019, p. 11).

The Yellowhead Institute (2019) ties Indigenous demands for #LandBack directly to issues that are deeply relevant to mainstream conservation goals, noting that "the matter of land back is not merely a matter of justice, rights or 'reconciliation'; like the United Nations, we believe that Indigenous jurisdiction can indeed help mitigate the loss of biodiversity and climate crisis" (p. 12). A recent report that reviewed more than 250 studies concluded "deforestation rates are significantly lower in Indigenous and Tribal territories where governments have formally recognized collective land rights" (FAO & FILAC, 2021, p. 39). Meanwhile, in the US, "lands under Indigenous control and management have greater biodiversity than equivalent areas under all other types of ownership, including federally protected national parks and wildlife reserves" (Doshi, 2021). In sum, many available indicators suggest that upholding Indigenous Peoples' rights and knowledges are all central to ensuring the effective stewardship of land (ICCA Consortium, 2021). As Anishinaabe/Métis lawyer and scholar Aimée Craft concludes, "it would be a collective societal and environmental mistake not to rely on the wisdom of nations that have been in connection with territory for thousands of years."

While it is important for settlers to understand that many Indigenous worldviews prioritize healthy landscapes and interspecies relationships for holistic community well-being, it is also important to understand that there is no single "Indigenous" approach to relationships with land, as there are nearly 400 million Indigenous people across the world who come from over 5,000 different cultural and knowledge traditions. This great diversity of cultures and knowledges is linked to the great diversity of ecosystems and bioregions that Indigenous Nations have been tied to and with for millennia. There is significant heterogeneity not only across but also within Indigenous Nations and communities. These heterogeneities should inform efforts to rethink Indigenous engagement in conservation, and it is especially important not to flatten political complexities, or reproduce and promote pan-Indigenous representations (Marsden, Star, & Smylie, 2020) or romanticized stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples. There is also a need for caution and care about the risk that conservation organizations might, intentionally or not, sow or deepen internal community divisions by focusing only on the perspectives of those who are supportive of their work and failing to consider those who are more critical.

Indigenous Peoples "have a wide range of legitimate political, cultural and economic aspirations for their lands" (Garnett et al., 2018, p. 370), which are recognized and affirmed nationally and internationally through documents such as UNDRIP, various conventions on biodiversity and sustainable development, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's Calls to Action (TRC, 2015). Some of these aspirations challenge or clash with western notions of conservation and "wilderness", for instance by allowing subsistence activities (e.g. hunting, fishing, and other kinds of harvesting), income-generating activities, and in some cases participating in resource development, rather than leaving their territories "untouched" according to the ideals of fortress conservation (Atleo, 2021; Curley, 2018).

Many Indigenous Peoples have nonetheless come together across their heterogeneity to challenge mainstream understandings of and responses to biodiversity loss, climate change, environmental degradation, and other ecological challenges. In many cases, these mainstream responses are perceived as "false solutions" that fail to respect Indigenous rights, lives, and livelihoods, and that offer ineffective or insufficient environmental protections (McGregor et al., 2020).

For instance, Chief Ninawa Huni Kui, Hereditary Chief and President of the Federation of the Huni Kui People of the State of Acre in Brazil, has pointed out that carbon trading and offsetting have resulted in the displacement of Indigenous communities in the Global South from their lands and created internal community divisions – all while failing to interrupt carbon-intensive lifestyles and consumption in the Global North (see also Tzay, 2022). Concerns have also been raised about proposals for a Green New Deal, specifically that it "could put severe pressure on lands held by Indigenous and marginalized communities and reshape their ecologies into 'green sacrifice zones.' Such cost shifting risks reproducing a form of climate colonialism in the name of just transition" (Zografos & Robbins, 2020, p. 543).

Potawatomi environmental justice scholar Kyle Whyte (2020) argues that too often settlers overlook the fact that contemporary ecological crises are largely a result of their own extractive and destructive colonial relationships – with other human communities and with other-than-human beings. Indeed, in many Indigenous analyses, ecological destruction is rooted in and driven by the wider, ongoing colonial and capitalist systems (e.g., Davis & Todd, 2017; M'sit No'kmaq et al., 2021; Whyte, 2018). For a long time, western conservation has prioritized narrow concerns about "saving" the environment through the very same modes of relationship that have led to environmental destruction in

the first place. Whyte argues that if we do not take the time and effort to repair these relationships, we will continue to reproduce harm and be unprepared to coordinate justice-oriented responses to current and coming ecological crises.

But Indigenous Peoples are not waiting on settler conservation organizations to recognize their rights and responsibilities to their territories. In addition to sustaining and regenerating their traditional conservation practices, they have created new networks, organizations, and movements to protect their lands.

We review Indigenous approaches to conservation in detail in Part 2 of this report, but for now, it is important to note that Indigenous and Indigenous-led environmental organizations and movements tend to receive significantly less public and financial support than conservation efforts led by settlers. While conservation efforts by settler individuals and organizations are widely celebrated, Indigenous Peoples' efforts to defend their territories from various forms of resource extraction and ecological destruction have often been either ignored, or in some cases criminalized and labelled "domestic terrorism" (Buschman, 2022; Hernandez, 2022). For instance, private foundations spent millions of dollars to support environmental non-governmental organizations in their efforts to stop the expansion of the Tar Sands in the Canadian Boreal Forest, and in contrast allocated almost nothing to the Indigenous communities who were often on the literal and legal frontlines of efforts to stop the expansion (Vasey as cited in Dhaliwal & Hodgson, 2021).

The Colonial Foundations of Western Conservation

Interrupting and redressing the historical and ongoing harms of the western conservation paradigm would require first confronting its colonial foundations. We suggest that the overall lack of engagement with these colonial foundations by settlers is a product of socially sanctioned ignorance about colonialism and the ways it structures settler society and systemically benefits settler individuals and organizations. Here, we review five constitutive denials of western conservation and summarize how they enable the continuity of colonial business as usual. Although these denials are increasingly coming under scrutiny, systemically they continue to structure the approach to conservation undertaken by most settler conservation organizations:

1) Denial that humans are part of (and interdependent with) nature: Reproducing and imposing a separation between humans and nature, and assuming the superiority of humans over nature; treating "nature" as a pristine resource that is separate from humans and intended for human use; pathologizing Indigenous approaches to human-nature relations.
2) Denial of the significance of Indigenous Peoples' historical and enduring rights, responsibilities, and relationships to their territories: Claiming settler ownership, control, and authority over Indigenous lands; failing to respect Indigenous Peoples' sovereignty, governing authority, Treaty rights, human rights, inherent rights, and right to free, prior, and informed consent regarding their lands.
3) Denial of the existence and/or importance of Indigenous environmental knowledge and practices: Treating western science and strategies of land management as the best (if not the only) means of supporting healthy environments and sustaining biodiversity; devaluing Indigenous knowledges, or treating them as a "supermarket" of options to be extracted and consumed if: convenient, aligned with western science, and not perceived to challenge settler ownership, authority, and autonomy.
4) Denial of western conservation's colonial foundations: Assuming western conservation's benevolence and shared interests with Indigenous Peoples, thereby disavowing or downplaying its historical and ongoing complicity in colonial harm and its responsibility for interrupting and redressing that harm.
5) Denial of western conservation's historical and ongoing entanglement with extractivism: Ignoring that conservation became necessary because of the extractive practices of settler society itself, and naturalizing the dynamic by which conservation in some places becomes an alibi for continued resource extraction elsewhere (making conservation and extractivism two sides of the same colonial coin)

In addition to identifying these denials as they currently operate within settler organizations, it is important to historicize them as well, asking how western conservation came to be what it is today.

Early western conservation efforts "were enacted largely through ecological violence and dispossession of

non-Western Peoples" rooted in a "conservation-via-dispossession model" (Murdock, 2022) that often removed Indigenous communities from their territories. This has also been described as "accumulation by conservation" (Büscher & Fletcher, 2015).

The emergence of the Euro-American model of western conservation in the 19th century is closely tied to the creation of public national parks in the US and Canada. The parks were not only located on Indigenous lands, but in some cases, Indigenous Peoples were still living there when the parks were created and were displaced and dispossessed to establish the parks (Barman, 2007; Moore, 2020; Zurba et al., 2019). Thus, Truer describes US national parks as "crime scenes" (see also Martin, 2021).

Private land conservation in Canada didn't emerge until the early 20th century, generally led by "wealthy individuals, hunting and service clubs, and then natural history organizations" (Innes, Attridge & Lawson, 2021, p. 3). Private conservation has grown since the 1960s, generally with the mandate to "'conserve private lands' for their ecological, agricultural, recreational or scenic value through acquiring 'ownership' or other legal interests in land" (Innes, Attridge & Lawson, 2021, p. 1).

The perceived need for western conservation can be understood as a product of the colonial, capitalist degradation of lands. Yet early conservation efforts that claimed to "protect" land often existed alongside efforts to extract "natural resources" from those same places, while public use was entangled with profit-seeking tourism. This was the case, for instance, at Banff National Park, where Indigenous Peoples were hired to "perform" their culture for white tourists (Little Light, 2019). For decades, many parks allowed the co-existence of resource extraction, conservation, and public recreation. Today, over 40 US national parks allow for oil and gas exploration within their bounds (Kashwan, 2022).

Conserving lands in certain places has not interrupted extractivism elsewhere, and thus critics argue that the western approach to conservation allows for the continuity of the same destructive system that leads to land degradation and biodiversity loss in the first place (Enns, Bersaglio & Sneyd, 2019; Lunstrum, Bose & Zalik, 2016; Todd, 2022; Youdelis 2020). For instance, Red River Métis researcher Zoe Todd points to the fact that Canada's recent commitments to Indigenous-led conservation are compromised by its continued investment in resource extractive industries both at home and abroad.

Dorceta Taylor (2016) emphasizes the outsized influence of wealthy, white, male urbanites in the early western conservation and environmental movements. These movements "found [their] initial base of support in largely white and affluent communities," and "this base remains largely unchanged in the present day" (Dhaliwal & Hodgson, 2021, p. 4). The primary supporters (especially donors) of settler conservation organizations undoubtedly shape their activities and approaches to conservation. This is significant, as the interests of an organization's supporters are often different from the needs of those who are most negatively affected by environmental degradation, especially Indigenous Nations.

The processes that have enabled and continue to enable public and private settler conservation differ. However, both are rooted within a wider system of broken treaties, settler ownership, and Indigenous dispossession. Thus, the impacts on Indigenous communities are often the same, and for many Indigenous Peoples, there is little difference between public and private conservation efforts, and a lack of trust in both. In its public and private iterations, the western approach to conservation is characterized by the idea that humans are separate from "nature" and that nature is not intrinsically valuable but rather primarily valuable in terms of the benefits it offers to humans (whether those benefits are economic, political, recreational, or spiritual). This approach presumes nature should be isolated from human communities (Cronon, 1996; Eichler & Baumeister, 2022; Youdelis et al., 2020).

The settler idea of protecting the "untouched wilderness" invisibilizes and denies Indigenous relationships to place, thereby reproducing the colonial myth of terra nullius, or empty land. This is the idea that land was not meaningfully occupied or profitably "developed" prior to the arrival of European colonial forces, and thus, the removal of Indigenous Peoples to make way for white settlement was justified. Also erased by settler notions of wilderness is the fact that it was Indigenous Peoples who cultivated and sustained the biodiversity of so-called "pristine" landscapes prior to colonization (including through practices like controlled fires) (Denevan, 1992).

The wilderness-preserving paradigm of conservation is most clearly evidenced in exclusionary conservation, or "fortress conservation", which are efforts that presume human presence in "nature" is inherently destructive. This fortress approach to conservation is often accompanied by several other "F-words": fencing the protected area, and using fines

and in some cases even firearms to deter people from entering it (Kashwan, 2022). Fortress conservation significantly restricts (and polices) the permitted activities in a protected area, usually limiting them to tourism, western scientific research, and in some cases, permit hunting.

Although many public parks are technically accessible to all, they are most accessible and welcoming to white, middle-/upper-class families, and they tend to become inaccessible to Indigenous Peoples not only terms of displacing them from their territories as places to live, but also prohibiting ceremonies, subsistence activities and other forms of food and medicine gathering (Dowie, 2011; Koester & Bryan, 2021; Spence, 1999). In many cases, private conservation organizations prevent Indigenous Peoples' access to their territories, in some cases even when this conflicts with their rights. This may be due to the organization's own policies, and/or due to government laws and policies that affect the lands they hold and their mandates as charities if they are registered as such.

The fortress model of conservation is not just historical, it also endures today and has become globally dominant. Around the world, Indigenous Peoples have identified conservation as a significant threat to their rights, sovereignty, and well-being (Murdock, 2022). Threats to Indigenous Peoples have also intensified as some western governments and activists have pursued forms of climate change mitigation that further entrench colonial policies and approaches to conservation and environmental protection (Whyte, 2020). In 2021, the US Congress held a hearing about human rights abuses associated with conservation, including those committed by the widely known World Wildlife Fund, which is alleged to have funded park guards in Asia and Africa to rape, torture, and kill people during anti-poaching missions. These concerns were echoed in a 2022 report from the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which noted that in many protected areas, "Indigenous peoples are denied their rights to land and resources, self-determination and autonomy, and cultural heritage, and suffer from forced evictions, killings, physical violence and abusive prosecution" (Tzay, 2022, p. 7).

There has been an expanded "use of military tactics, weaponry and even military personnel to patrol protect areas (PAs) against incursion and to guard endangered species" (Büscher & Fletcher, 2018). This "militarization of conservation practices and technologies", has been deemed "green war, green militarization, and green violence" (Apostolopoulou et al., 2021). And it is not just large conservation organizations but also individuals who are enacting new colonial forms of conservation. For instance, there are charities that encourage westerners to buy land in the Amazon to "save" it from destruction. In other words, colonialism in western conservation continues.

Reckoning With Colonization in Conservation

Despite the persistence of colonialism in conservation, recently, several settler conservation organizations, governments, and individuals have taken steps to reckon with colonization and enact some form of redress or restitution for their complicity in colonial violence. This includes some symbolic changes, such as changing the name of institutions, parks, or protected areas named after colonial officials. However, in some cases, it also includes the transfer, return, or sharing of lands or other resources between settler individuals, governments, and organizations and Indigenous Nations or organizations. One can even find guides about "How to Transfer Your Land to Indigenous Peoples." Actions that might have been unimaginable just a few years ago now appear regularly in the news, even as in many cases these actions can still be understood as limited and insufficient.

The following is a small sample of events that have occurred in the past few years alone:

- The Nature Conservancy of Canada bought an island off of Prince Edward Island, and will transfer it to the Epekwitk Assembly of Councils;
- The Mi'kmaw-led Sespite'tmnej Kmitkinu Conservancy took over stewardship of a nature reserve in Cape Breton, previously held by a settler nature trust;
- Save the Redwoods League in California transferred over 500 acres of forest to 10 Indigenous Nations whose ancestors were forcibly removed from the land. The Nations will partner with the League in caretaking and guardianship of the land, having granted the organization a conservation easement. There are several other recent examples of conservation organizations and land trusts undertaking similar commitments in the US;
- The New York state and US governments returned over 1,000 acres of forest land to the care of the Onondaga Nation;
- Members of the Miwuk Nation were granted access for cultural events and ceremonies to the territories

that were stripped from them in the creation of Yosemite National Park in 1890;
- The US federal government transferred the National Bison Range to the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, noting that they are "a leader in conservation of natural resources";
- British Columbia amended its Wildlife Act to include "a requirement to consider Indigenous knowledge and establishes a process by which the Province can align its laws with protocol hunting agreements and traditions that have long existed," thereby ensuring the act "does not negatively impact Aboriginal constitutional and Treaty rights";
- a settler arts organization in Portland donated its building to an Indigenous arts organization, and dissolved itself;
- The US government Land Buy-Back Program for Tribal Nations provides funding for Nations "to purchase fractional interests in trust or restricted land from willing sellers at fair market value";
- PEI recently transferred three parcels of Crown Land to Abegweit First Nation (Mi'kmaq);
- the city of Eureka, California, returned land to the Wiyot Peoples that was taken from them following a massacre in 1860;
- Conservation Northwest, in collaboration with The Nature Conservancy, purchased and transferred land back to the Confederated Colville Tribes;
- A farmer signed a deed to return ancestral lands of the Ponca Nation;
- a couple in Nova Scotia transferred their farm to the Mi'kmaq, as a partial sale, partial gift;
- A landowner in Australia decided to return her land to the local Indigenous people;
- A gas and electric company transferred 2,325 acres of land back to the Mountain Maidu Indigenous people in California;
- A network of settler farmers, ranchers and other landholders in Saskatchewan have organized under the Treaty Land Sharing Network to welcome First Nations and Metis people to their land for hunting, gathering medicines and other plants, and ceremonies, emphasizing their responsibility as Treaty partners

Short of actually returning, sharing, or paying for expropriated land, other modes of redress have been imagined. In Canada, Reciprocity Trusts, a settler organization, wants to "arrange payments from homeowners, business owners and renters to distribute to the First Nations whose lands they live and work on." Starting in 2022, residents of Victoria, BC have the option to pay an additional property tax to two local First Nations. In the US, Sogorea Tè Land Trust, an Indigenous organization that seeks to return land to Ohlone Lisjan people, has a land tax program that requests donations from non-Indigenous people who live in the area. They offer a calculator for people to determine their yearly taxes based on whether they rent or own, and the size of their home. The Real Rent Duwamish fund in Washington state operates according to a similar principle. A seed company in Maine gives royalties to a local Indigenous organization for seeds in their catalogue that have a local origin.

Questions for Getting Started

Several questions could orient the initial work of settler conservation organizations that are just starting to confront difficult knowledge about the historical and ongoing role of colonialism in conservation. We present some of these questions here. We have divided these questions into contextual questions (related to knowledge about how colonialism operates in your conservation organization and in your region); intellectual questions (related to the ways you understand, produce, interpret, and communicate knowledge about conservation and change); affective questions (related to the emotional activations and embodied responses that often arise in response to 'difficult knowledge' about complicity in colonial harm); and relational questions (related to perceived accountabilities as well as the nature of relationships and relationship-building). In reality, however, the questions overlap across these categories.

We encourage organizations that want to make use of these questions to create a process for sitting with them collectively, and seeing what emerges. In the case of some questions, especially the contextual questions, you might feel it is important and fairly straightforward to find an answer. However, many of the other questions can only be grappled with, rather than definitively answered. In some cases, provisional and equivocal answers might emerge, but only through the process of doing and learning (from both successes and failures). We therefore invite you to resist the urge to immediately answer these kinds of questions and instead hold space for the complexities, uncertainties, conflicts, and contradictions that surface as

you sit with them and reflect on what is emerging. We also invite you to consider what additional questions arise as you do this, and as you proceed with this work.

By taking an inquiry-based approach to confronting colonialism in conservation – that is, approaching it as a process of individual and collective learning and unlearning, rather than assuming that you must have 'answers' in advance – you might find that you have more stamina and capacity to stay present to what is emerging (including the difficult things) and that you are less likely to become frustrated, overwhelmed, or immobilized by the complexities, challenges, mistakes, and conflicts that will inevitably emerge as part of this process.

Contextual questions

- Which Indigenous Nations' territories are located in the places where your organization works?
- What are the Indigenous histories of those places? What is the history of colonization in those places? What is the history of Indigenous resistance there?
- How has your own organization contributed to and benefited from settler colonialism?
- In what ways does colonialism continue to operate in the regions where your organization works?
- In what ways does colonialism continue to operate within your organization?
- What is the history of your organization's relationship with local Indigenous Nations?
- How are Indigenous Nations in your context currently seeking the return of their lands and recognition of their rights and governing authority? How does your organization relate to these struggles? What are your legal responsibilities in relation to these Nations?
- What was the founding vision/mission of your organization? In what ways was this vision/mission grounded in colonial modes of knowing, being, and relating? How has this vision/mission shifted over time, if at all? How has it stayed the same?

Intellectual questions

- Whose worldviews, values, knowledges, and rights are reflected in your organization's approach to conservation? Whose worldviews, values, knowledges, and rights does this approach devalue or invisibilize?
- What might be the complexities and possibilities involved in engaging with different approaches to conservation? How can you engage with these approaches in accountable (non-extractive) ways?
- What challenges and complexities do you expect to arise in efforts to change your current organizational practices? How can you prepare to identify and respond in generative ways to unexpected challenges and complexities as well?
- What are your organization's motivations for change? How much time, effort, and resources are you willing to commit to this change?
- What are the risks involved in changing "business as usual"? What are the risks involved in not changing?
- How will your organization navigate different perspectives about the direction and pace of change (including perspectives coming from both within and outside of the organization)?
- How could your organization's approach to problem-solving and change also be embedded within colonial frames of reference and reality?
- What outcomes do you expect from this work? How might these expectations be foreclosing certain possibilities? What might become possible if you loosened these expectations?
- What guiding principles could orient your work in this area (rather than being guided by predetermined outcomes or destinations)?
- How can you maintain a long-term horizon of deeper change while also committing to identify opportunities to reduce harm and interrupt colonialism in your everyday practice?

Affective questions

- In what ways has your organization avoided confronting difficult knowledge about colonialism up to this point? How might this avoidance relate to the 5 denials of western conservation?
- What have been the impacts of this avoidance?
- What has shifted in the current context to make confronting this knowledge more imperative, despite the risks and difficulties?
- How will you hold space for and process the resistance that is likely to arise in confronting 'difficult knowledge'? How will you do the same for other 'negative' feelings (e.g., guilt, shame, frustration, anger, defensiveness, hopelessness)?
- How can processing and learning from these responses be understood as an important part of

the work of confronting colonialism (rather than as a 'distraction' from this work)?
- What hopes, fears, desires, anxieties, and projections could be shaping your organization's approach to confronting colonialism? How might these impact the work you are able to do and the quality and integrity of relationships you will be able to build with Indigenous communities?
- How comfortable is your organization with the uncertainties and complexities that tend to be inherent in the process of enacting change and building new relationships?
- What difficult truths is your organization still not ready or willing to face?
- How can the initial excitement, interest, and commitment to this work be sustained over the long haul, especially when things get difficult?

Relational questions
- To which communities is your organization accountable (consider not only human communities but also other-than-human beings)? Which accountabilities do you tend to prioritize, and why? What do you do when your different accountabilities seem to be in conflict?
- To what extent are relationships within your organization grounded in trust, respect, reciprocity, consent, and accountability? What about your external collaborations?
- How prepared are you to have difficult conversations without relationships falling apart?
- Within your organization, how can you hold each other accountable for your individual actions while also recognizing the systemic nature of the problems you are confronting?
- How might the history of colonization in your region and organization affect the dynamics of your efforts to build relationships with local Indigenous Nations today? How might the unequal power and resources held by your organization and local Indigenous Nations affect these efforts?
- How prepared are you to hear critical feedback about your organization from local Indigenous Nations and other (potential) collaborators, and to respond with honesty, humility and hyper-self-reflexivity (rather than defensiveness)?
- How prepared are you to accept that a community might refuse your invitation to collaborate?
- How prepared are you to step back and follow the lead of Indigenous collaborators? How can you do this without expecting them to take on all the labour of social and organizational change?
- To what extent are you prepared to engage with the internal complexities and heterogeneities of Indigenous communities, rather than expecting everyone to agree or share the same perspective?
- How might your organization be approaching collaboration in ways that reproduce paternalistic, extractive, tokenistic, and transactional patterns of relationship? How would you know?
- What expectations are you (unconsciously) projecting onto potential Indigenous collaborators? How might these projections be creating more labour for them, and negatively impacting your relationship-building efforts?
- What other approaches to relationship-building and collaboration might be possible that are currently unimaginable to your organization?

As you sit with these questions, especially those without clear or easy answers, we encourage you to consider that one of the biggest barriers to interrupting colonialism in conservation is not settlers' ignorance about colonialism (which could be addressed with more knowledge and information), but rather their enduring investment in colonialism. Settlers are socialized to desire and feel entitled to the promises that are offered to them by the colonial system, in both conscious and unconscious ways. It is very therefore difficult and counter-intuitive for settlers to challenge this socialization and disinvest from these promises. With this in mind, we offer one final question to consider:

> What intellectual, affective, and relational capacities would settler members of your organization need to develop in order to stay with the difficult, complex work of confronting colonialism over the long haul?

Having mapped some of the historical and contemporary landscape of settler conservation in Part 1 of the report, in Part 2 we zoom out and offer a social cartography of one way to view the different possible approaches to enacting conservation. This cartography can support organizations to see the limits of prevailing approaches to conservation and to expand their sense of what is possible.

Part 2: Mapping Multiple Approaches to Conservation

Social cartographies are pedagogical maps that seek to make visible the contrasts between distinct approaches to theory and practice in relation to a shared issue of concern – in this case, conservation. The maps trace the underlying and often unstated theoretical, political, and metaphysical assumptions behind these approaches, but are not intended to reflect reality in totalizing ways. They rather offer one possible, partial, and provisional entry point for enabling more discerning and accountable engagements with different perspectives, while also inviting people to pluralize possible pathways forward.

In this Part 2 of the report, we offer a social cartography of different approaches to conservation that seeks to support people to: identify and work through tensions within and between different approaches to conservation; develop the stamina to stay with the contradictions, complexities, and uncertainties involved in navigating these possibilities without seeking consensus or quick, simplistic resolutions; make their own, critically-informed decisions about which approach is most relevant to their own contexts; illuminate the limits of existing approaches to conservation; and attune to the absence of other, alternative possibilities for conservation that are viable but currently unimaginable, especially for those who have been socialized within western conservation approaches.

The map (summarized in Figure 1) includes western and Indigenous approaches to conservation, but these are not monolithic categories, as there is significant variation within the two broadly defined approaches. Where the two approaches overlap is an emerging space, characterized in the map by a question mark, as those working in conservation are still in the early stages of determining what ethical engagements between western and Indigenous approaches to conservation might look like.

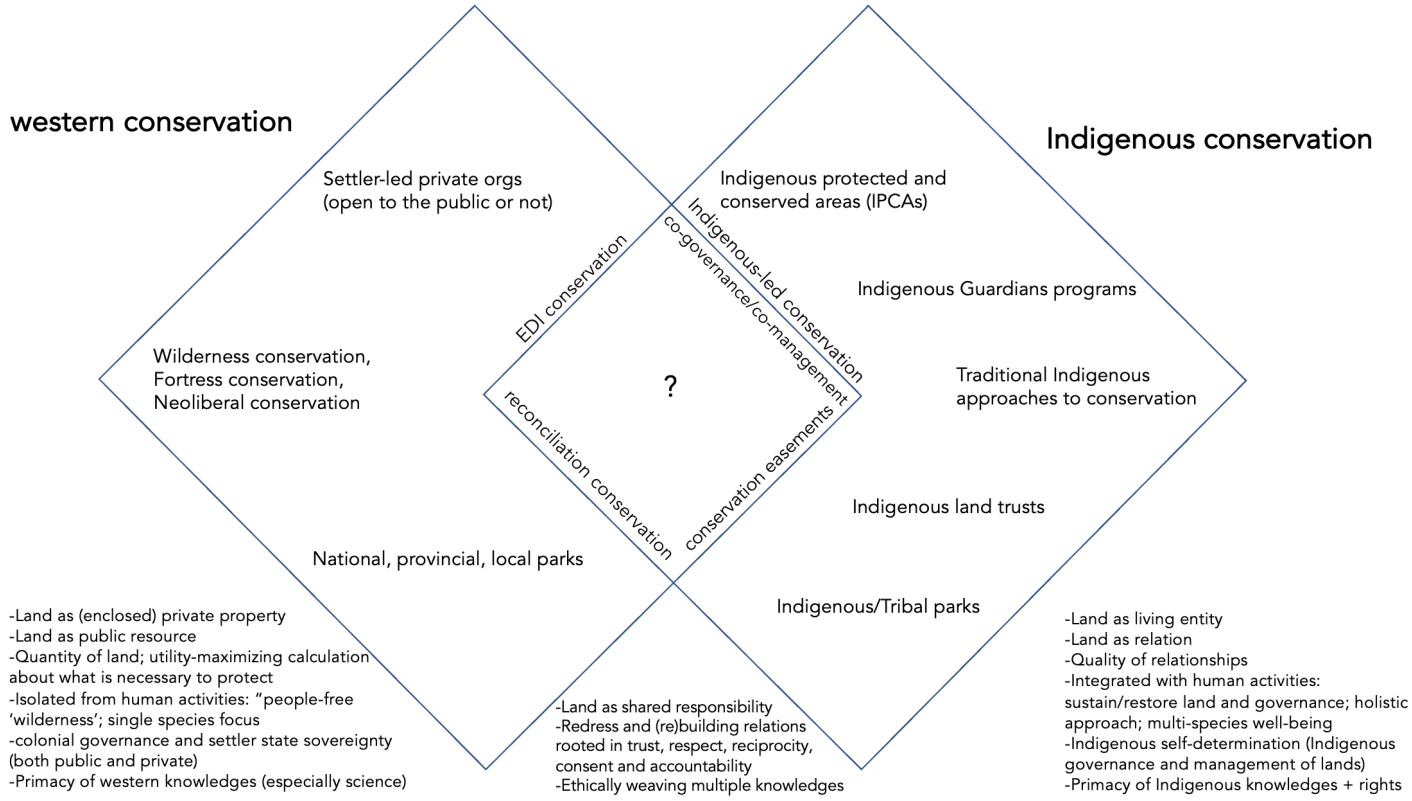


Figure 1. Cartography of different approaches to conservation

Western Conservation

The western conservation paradigm has been described as many things, including: dominant, Eurocentric, white, settler, colonial, "the North American Model of Wildlife Conservation" (NAM) (Artelle et al., 2022), and "the Western World Conservation Paradigm" (WWCP) (Luiselli & Amori, 2022). In the context of this report, we use the umbrella of "western conservation," even as there is diversity within this category.

As described earlier in the report, particularly in settler colonial contexts, western approaches to conservation are shaped by a colonial imprint and organized around (primarily white) settler ownership, governance, and management of Indigenous lands (Hernandez, 2022). In fact, the idea of the "wilderness" itself and national parks in particular have become central to the national imaginaries of settler nations like the US and Canada (Youdelis et al., 2020).

Western conservation seeks to maximize the quantity of conserved land for human benefit in a cost-effective, utility-maximizing manner (e.g., determining which species it is most worthwhile to "save"). Generally, conserved land is managed and governed according to the norms and standards of western knowledge, especially western science.

Some have identified a specifically neoliberal form of western conservation that seeks to marketize and privatize conservation to align with the creation of profit. Neoliberal or market-based conservation has "intensified and transformed fortress conservation" (Kashwan et al., 2022, p. 13) including through increased militarization and securitization of protected areas. Neoliberal conservation adds another F-word to fortress conservation, alongside fences, fines, and firearms: finance. A neoliberal approach to conservation seeks to "simultaneously 'save' the environment and establish long-term modes of capital accumulation" (Büscher & Fletcher, 2015), often in ways that yet again displace Indigenous communities or preclude them from practicing their livelihoods on "protected" lands (Kashwan, 2022). Eli Apostolopoulou and colleagues (2021) argue this "can be considered the latest stage in a long and contradictory relationship between capitalism and environmental protection" (see also Collins et al., 2021). This relationship not only facilitates further extraction and destruction of nature, it also reproduces a colonial, Eurocentric hierarchy of humanity. Kashwan and colleagues (2021) observe, "when it comes to economic optimization of global conservation, the lives of white people matter more than black and brown lives" (p. 15). This can be understood as an extension of the colonial and capitalist logics that have always been present within western conservation. It also dovetails with emerging "ecofascist" movements that identify marginalized communities as the primary cause of ecological destruction, and then target them for removal, management, and even extermination (Murdock, 2022).

Increasingly, organizations whose work falls under the western conservation approach have come under critique for the whiteness of their staff, membership, and organizational missions as a whole. In some cases, this has led to an "equity, diversity, and inclusion" (EDI) approach to conservation. Many of these approaches emerged in the summer of 2020, following the police murder of George Floyd in the US. This was the same summer that a white woman called the police on another Black man, Christian Cooper, who was birdwatching in Central Park (NYC). As Taylor (2016) notes, "National parks and other outdoor recreation areas have a long and complex history of segregation" (p. 372; see also Finney, 2014). That summer, the Sierra Club's Executive Director, Michael Brune, pledged to "reexamine our past and our substantial role in perpetuating white supremacy," especially given that the Sierra Club's founder John Muir and other early members were also vocal white supremacists and eugenicists.

Some of the official statements of organizations' commitments to EDI included "Our commitment to Justice, Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion", "Conservation Isn't Possible without Justice and Equity for All People", and "Centering Equity in Conservation." Within EDI approaches, there is a significant range, from those that seek to include more racialized and gender-diverse people as staff and members within their existing organizational structure and values, to those that also seek more substantive forms of institutional and social transformation, such as shifting decision-making power and financial resources for conservation to systemically marginalized communities. Some organizations proudly celebrate their commitment to EDI, with one foundation claiming "Nowhere else in the conservation community is this being done at the scale and breadth that we're capable of doing."

In some cases, an enhanced focus on equity is framed as a "win-win": as leading to both improved conservation outcomes, and more power for systemically marginalized communities. Possible conflicts – for instance, if those communities have a different idea of conservation than the organization – are rarely named or substantively engaged in these pronouncements. However, some organizations directly engage these contradictions and name their mistakes rather than only celebrate successes. In one example, Dogwood, an environmental organization in BC,

commissioned a report "to introduce Dogwood to some of the contradictions inherent within EDI work; to situate the questions with which Dogwood is grappling within the history of environmental organizing in [BC]; and to provide Dogwood with resources as they deepen their commitment to JEDI [justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion] in their internal and external relationships" (Dhaliwal & Hodgson, 2021, p.2). Beyond the report itself, the executive team also "heeded the demands of Indigenous leaders, leaders of colour, our staff and allies to reflect on Dogwood's past and take responsibility for harms and mistakes at the organization" and produced a public document accounting for these mistakes and recounting what they have learned.

In parallel with efforts to critique the whiteness of western conservation approaches and commit to more equitable institutional practices and public engagements, a growing number of people have critiqued the complicity of these approaches with settler colonial violence and Indigenous dispossession and erasure (Coulthard, 2014; Whyte, 2017). In response to these concerns, and in the wake of the TRC, some have sought to develop an approach of "reconciliation conservation."

As with EDI conservation, the content and character of reconciliation conservation work varies greatly and affects where the work would be situated in our map of approaches to conservation. In some cases, this work moves from the western side of the map toward the interface of western and Indigenous approaches. Reconciliation efforts may be more tokenistic and symbolic, limited to adding a land acknowledgement to one's website and public engagements, or including Indigenous Peoples as one of many collaborators. Some uncritically combine reconciliation with EDI efforts, not attending to the specific responsibilities to and rights of Indigenous Peoples that are relevant in settler colonial contexts. Others seek more transformative and decolonizing forms of change, which would place them more toward the interface between western and Indigenous approaches to conservation on the map.

One of the most visible reconciliation efforts in conservation is the Conservation through Reconciliation Partnership (CRP), which is an "Indigenous-led network that brings together a diverse range of partners to advance Indigenous-led conservation and Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas (IPCAs) across Canada." The CRP seeks to support Indigenous-led conservation by centering Indigenous Peoples' rights, leadership, and knowledges.

Although not framed as reconciliation, the Wilderness Committee (2020) recently released a report entitled "No Conservation Without Justice." They argue that "to truly address our colonial legacy…the future of environmentalism needs to be centered on giving land back and restoring sovereignty to Indigenous people" (p. 1).

In their most recent strategic plan, the Sierra Club of BC offers a reflexive account of their previous failures in relation to respecting Indigenous governance, and how they intend to shift this approach:

> For much of our history as an organization, we have not been able to see Indigenous law and governance very well, and in some cases have actively participated in disregarding and undermining it. We are in the process of learning to better recognize, respect and understand Indigenous law, particularly in relation to environmental governance… We understand that doing this will require a significant investment of time and resources to deepen our collective ability to recognize and engage with it. We have begun this journey and look forward to the new dimensions it will bring to our work. (p. 8)

In 2022, the Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation published open apology letter to the three local Indigenous Nations, xwməθkwəy̓əm (Musqueam), Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (Squamish), and səlilwətaɬ (Tsleil-Waututh). The letter acknowledges "The Park Board has been and continues to be complicit in colonial and intergenerational harm inflicted on local Indigenous peoples" (p. 1). While the Board has undertaken several actions in response to calls for reconciliation (including developing a mission, vision and values statement of reconciliation; forming the Stanley Park Intergovernmental Committee; creating a Truth Telling report; undertaking a colonial audit; and putting forward a motion to explore co-management of lands with the three local Nations), the letter notes that these actions "mark only a beginning and we commit to continuing the work of Reconciliation and decolonization from here forward" (p. 2).

Indigenous Conservation

In Indigenous conservation, Indigenous Peoples determine what, where, and how conservation should occur on their

traditional territories (Wright, 2018).[6][7] Indigenous conservation is grounded in Indigenous knowledges and practices that honour and respect the well-being of all relations, not just human relations.

As Craft and Plotkin (2022) note, Indigenous Peoples are "employing strategic partnerships, contracts, funding mechanisms and agreements to steward and safeguard previously dispossessed lands and waters. Many of these approaches are built on foundations of Indigenous laws and governance principles, unique to each of the Nations and the territories to which they are responsible" (p. 33). Ostensibly new ways of framing and engaging Indigenous conservation are informed by traditional knowledges and practices and seek to enact the resurgence of Indigenous Nations while strategically navigating the legal parameters and bounds of social legitimacy and political legibility in a still-colonial world.

Whatever form they take, most Indigenous approaches to conservation are linked to wider commitments to ensure collective and holistic well-being for current and future generations of all species "through relationships to other people, to the land, and to our ancestors in the spiritual realm" (Dennis & Robin, 2020, p. 4). In this way, for many Indigenous Peoples, taking care of the land is not an isolated practice but a way of life predicated on physical and metaphysical relationships and responsibilities to place. Indigenous conservation is therefore also an opportunity to revitalize Indigenous governance, livelihoods, law, nationhood, culture, and language.

Before reviewing some examples of Indigenous conservation, we observe that the distinction between "Indigenous conservation" and "Indigenous-led conservation" is understood in different ways in the literature and in practice. For instance, "Indigenous-led conservation" can be used to refer to conservation efforts entirely undertaken by Indigenous Nations (in which case it would fall squarely within Indigenous approaches on the cartography), and/or projects or agreements between Indigenous Nations and settler organizations or governments that take their primary direction and leadership from Indigenous Nations (in which case it would be closer to the interface of Indigenous and western approaches, but leaning more toward the Indigenous side).

The Indigenous Circle of Experts (2018) defines Indigenous-led conservation as efforts in which "Indigenous governments have the primary role in determining the objectives, boundaries, management plans and governance structures" (p. 36). Nature United describes it as an approach to conservation "defined and implemented by Indigenous communities, grounded in Indigenous values and perspectives, and often focuses on the interconnected issues of supporting vibrant communities, strong cultures, viable economies, and healthy ecosystems." The Land Needs Guardians campaign created a guide for how settlers can support this work, "How to Be an Ally of Indigenous-led Conservation." The IPCA Knowledge Basket also offers a useful proposed spectrum for distinguishing between Indigenous-led, Co-led/Co-Governed, and Indigenous-involved conservation. The expansion of Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas (IPCAs) illustrates some of the ambiguities between Indigenous conservation and Indigenous-led conservation.

IPCAs can be defined as "lands and waters where Indigenous governments have the primary role in protecting and conserving ecosystems through Indigenous laws, governance and knowledge systems," which can include "Tribal Parks, Indigenous Cultural Landscapes, Indigenous Protected Areas, and Indigenous conserved areas" (Indigenous Circle of Experts, 2018, p. 5). Similar arrangements to IPCAs are mobilized globally. According to the ICCA Consortium, ICCA is an abbreviation for "territories and areas conserved by [I]ndigenous Peoples and local communities" or "territories of life."

IPCAs became more visible in Canada following the 2018 release of the We Rise Together report, produced by the Indigenous Circle of Experts to offer guidance about how Canada could achieve Aichi Target 1, which states, "By 2020, at least 17% of terrestrial areas and inland water, and 10% of coastal and marine areas, are conserved through networks of protected areas and other effective area-based conservation measures." The report outlined 28 recommendations for Canada to reach this target while also adhering to its stated commitments to reconciliation, primarily by establishing and expanding IPCAs. It suggests that "IPCAs are, in essence, Indigenous-led conservation initiatives that reflect the objectives and needs of their

[6] Researchers working with the Conservation Through Reconciliation Partnership have created an "Indigenous-Led Conservation Reading List" (Youdelis, Tran, & Lunstrum, 2021).

[7] As previously noted, Indigenous Peoples may or may not use the word "conservation" and may prefer terms like "caring", "healing", or words in their own languages that better describe their stewardship practices and relationships to place, and their ontological and epistemological foundations (Hernandez, 2022).

respective nations or governments and emerge through transparent negotiations" (p. 36).

IPCAs can take different forms, but the Indigenous Circle of Experts (2018) suggests "they generally share three essential elements: They are Indigenous led; they represent a long-term commitment to conservation; and they elevate Indigenous rights and responsibilities" (p. 36). While the Indigenous Circle of Experts suggests "Indigenous governments have the primary role in determining the objectives, boundaries, management plans and governance structures for IPCAs as part of their exercise of self-determination," they also note, "There may be a range of partnerships to support these acts of self-determination, including with Crown governments, environmental NGOs, philanthropic bodies or others" (p. 36)

They outline four governance and management models, including for IPCAs: sole Indigenous governance; Indigenous government-Crown government partnerships; Indigenous government-non-governmental partnerships; and hybrid partnerships. A recent resource from the IPCA Knowledge Basked offers examples of IPCAs from each approach. The Indigenous Circle of Experts note that while they support "full Indigenous governance as the path forward for IPCAs", each Indigenous Nation has the right to determine which approach is most desirable.

Interest in IPCAs is growing and there are many new resources to support this growth. The IPCA Knowledge Basket "is a digital space created to honour, celebrate, and catalyze Indigenous-led conservation pathways in Canada, including Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas (IPCAs)." It "holds stories, videos, songs, government reports and policies, academic articles, resources, and artwork." A report by the Suzuki Foundation also created a "checklist of tools" that can be used by those working on establishing IPCAs (Plotkin, 2018). In partnership with the IISAAK OLAM Foundation, Vancouver Island University has developed an undergraduate IPCA Planning Certificate.

In their platforms for the 2021 election, each of the four primary federal parties (Conservative, Liberal, New Democrats, Green) indicated their support for Indigenous-led conservation, including some specific mentions of IPCAs. Over 50 Indigenous communities have received federal funding to establish or plan IPCAs, and in 2021, nearly half of the $340 million dollars of federal funding for Indigenous-led conservation was dedicated to IPCAs; the other half was dedicated to Indigenous Guardian initiatives, reviewed below. The majority of the proposed IPCAs put forward in collaboration with the Indigenous Leadership Initiative are led by Indigenous women.

Valérie Courtois, Innu director of the Indigenous Leadership Initiative, suggests IPCAs are a step toward Indigenous sovereignty, "in some form…an interim land back action." At the same time, she notes government support for IPCAs comes in the form of programs, rather than nation-to-nation partnerships, which "consistently puts us in this weird kind of paternal dynamic that isn't appropriate for nations…you wouldn't do that to other countries." At present, there is no established means by which the Canadian government can formally recognize Indigenous governance of IPCAs in Canadian law.

West Coast Environmental Law notes, IPCAs "live in a legal grey zone…the Canadian government has not formally recognized IPCAs…there has yet to be a court case to clarify the relationship between IPCAs and constitutionally-protected Aboriginal and treaty rights or Aboriginal title. And no federal, provincial or territorial statute explicitly recognizes the right of Indigenous Nations to declare or govern their own conserved areas."

Megan Youdelis and colleagues (2021) argue, "although the government of Canada is supporting IPCAs through certain initiatives, the country's extractivist development model (Bernauer and Roth, 2021; Peyton and Franks, 2016) along with jurisdictional inconsistencies (Willow, 2012) are undermining the establishment and long-term viability of many IPCAs."

Todd (2022) also reflects on the paradox of Canada's emphasis on IPCAs to meet its national conservation targets, noting the limits of "federally sanctioned Indigenous-led conservation work" for Indigenous Peoples in Canada, as well as the potential negative implications for Indigenous Peoples elsewhere. She argues, "these policies and approaches should fully acknowledge the sovereignty of Indigenous communities without pressure to exchange autonomy for limited funding and partnership support."

Todd also suggests the need to ensure that funding for Indigenous-led conservation in Canada is "not weaponized by states and environmental groups to silence the concerns about the 30x30 plan from Indigenous communities in the Global South who are not necessarily guaranteed the same legal protections that the federally-supported Indigenous-led conservation in Canada pledges." Others have observed that depending on how it is implemented, federal funding for Indigenous(-led) conservation like IPCAs and Indigenous Guardian programs could create "a cycle of

colonial entanglement" that ultimately undermines Indigenous self-determination (Reed et al., 2020).

It is important to note that Indigenous Peoples have governed their own territories since time immemorial, and can designate their own protected areas according to their own laws and governments regardless of whether they are recognized by Canada, or receive federal or provincial funding. In fact, a number of Nations have already done this, especially in the form of Tribal Parks and exercising conservation and harvesting measures within their territories. IPCAs are just one means that Indigenous Peoples have utilized to try and assert their own modes of conservation and strengthen their relationships to and authority within their traditional territories.

Indigenous Guardian programs have also emerged as a means for Indigenous Peoples to monitor and manage protected and conserved areas within their territories. Indigenous Guardians serve as community-based land and water caretakers who support the maintenance of healthy landscapes as well as strengthen Indigenous Nations' governance over their lands. Indigenous guardianship has been framed as "a modern take on an ancient tradition of caring for the land."

The Land Needs Guardians campaign has identified over 120 Indigenous Guardian programs currently operating in Canada. Recently, the First Nations National Guardians Network was launched to support Guardian programs to access resources, to connect Guardian programs across the country, and to facilitate the creation of new Guardian programs, while respecting the autonomy of individual Nations to shape their own programs. The network is set to receive $5.8 million in initial funding from the federal government.

Many Indigenous Guardian programs weave together both Indigenous and western conservation methods, but they are Indigenous-led and rooted in Indigenous self-determination. Similar programs, known as Indigenous Rangers, operate in Australia. Nearly half of the Indigenous guardianship programs in Canada are led by Indigenous women. In collaboration with Indigenous Peoples, Nature United created an Indigenous Guardians Toolkit, and they also fund a technical support team for Nations that are starting or strengthening their Guardians programs.

Another emerging example of Indigenous conservation is Indigenous land trusts, such as the Sogorea Tè Land Trust in California. In the case of some trusts, Nations purchase the title of lands within their traditional territories to be held collectively, in perpetuity. There are also conservation organizations founded and led by Indigenous Peoples, such as the Native Land Conservancy in Massachusetts. In yet another example, Indigenous Sentinel Networks monitor changes in the climate, environmental health, and biodiversity and in so doing also seek to "preserve Indigenous land rights and advocate for the employment of Indigenous epistemologies in natural resource management" (Hernandez et al., 2022).

Indigenous Peoples are also creating their own funding mechanisms for conservation work. For instance, Shandia is an Indigenous-managed financing platform created by the Global Alliance of Territorial Communities that will fund Indigenous-led projects, including "coastal zone management, protection of traditional knowledge, and legal support for human rights defenders" (Ahtone, 2022).

Indigenous Peoples have led numerous campaigns and movements to protect their territories against extractive projects that would degrade the health of their lands, their Nations, and other living beings. These efforts are rarely considered by settler societies to be a form of conservation, and in some cases, these efforts are condemned or criminalized by settler states, yet Indigenous Peoples often understand this to be part of their caretaking and stewardship responsibilities for their territories.

In the space between western conservation and Indigenous conservation, there are many ambiguities, competing interpretations and intentions, and different levels of engagement. For instance, while some may view this interface as an "endpoint", others treat it as a temporary, provisional step in order to arrive at the full restoration of Indigenous governance and management of all lands in what is currently known as Canada. We review emerging possibilities at this interface, and their complexities, next.

Emerging Interface of Indigenous and Western Conservation

There are growing efforts to create space for ethical, accountable engagements in conservation at the interface of Indigenous and settler communities and organizations. This work includes various efforts to weave together Indigenous and western approaches to conservation, as well as different collaborative efforts to enact redress and restitution for the detrimental impacts of centuries of hegemonic western approaches to conservation.

Because settler efforts to go beyond tokenistic and extractive engagements toward more reciprocal collaborations with Indigenous Peoples are still emerging

and largely experimental, this interface space is represented by a question mark in the center of the visual depiction of the map of conservation approaches.

Specific interventions at this interface vary widely, but shaping these efforts is a sense that "attempts to increase conservation without addressing underlying jurisdiction, rights, and title of Indigenous groups, and without their direct involvement and leadership, will not only continue to be unethical, but will also be increasingly impossible to implement across Canada" (Artelle et al., 2019, p. 2). There is also a growing recognition that "responsibility for conservation does not lie solely with Indigenous Peoples and within Indigenous territories" (M'sit No'kmaq et al., 2021), but rather is shared by all people who nonetheless have different rights, roles, and responsibilities depending on their positionalities. For instance, given that settlers have been primarily responsible for much of the ecological destruction in places like Canada, they have a significant responsibility for enabling conservation efforts to repair this destruction. The question is, how can they do this without reproducing colonial relationships with Indigenous Peoples and their territories?

One way of approaching work at the interface of Indigenous and western conservation is through shared/co-governance, shared/co-management, or shared stewardship. The meanings and interpretations of these terms vary, but they broadly indicate a commitment to sharing authority, responsibility, and benefits, across two or more different communities, governments, or organizations (Park & Allaby, 2017). Buschman (2022) also offers a "co-productive conservation framework" that "bridges the co-production of knowledge and the co-production of public services in six iterative and reflexive processes – co-planning, co-prioritizing, co-learning, co-managing, co-delivering, and co-assessing" (p. 3). She further outlines three principles to guide co-productive conservation:

> [1] must be ethically conscious, culturally relevant, and fully knowledge based, meaning approaches must be equitable and meaningful and in line with Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination; [2] must be open to traditional methods of management and conservation as guided by Indigenous knowledge and ways of life and must not unnecessarily impede traditional practices; and [3] must trust and respect Indigenous knowledge, its methodologies, and its validation and evaluation processes as legitimate and take Indigenous direction on how Indigenous knowledge and science should be partnered in the creation of a shared evidence base. (p. 3)

Co-governance and co-management are areas of increasing interest in settler colonial societies, including Aotearoa/New Zealand, the US, and Canada. For example, in 2019 Parks Canada pledged to revise relevant legislation, policies, and guidance in ways that "respect Indigenous rights and worldviews, and enable implementation of shared stewardship at heritage places" Three years later, in 2022, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau pledged to establish 10 new national parks and 10 national marine conservation areas that he said would be co-managed with Indigenous Nations. In 2022 the US National Parks Service (NPS), whose current Director is the first Indigenous person to hold the role, issued a policy that "supports co-stewardship of national park lands and waters through working relationships with American Indian and Alaska Native Tribes, relevant Alaska Native entities, and the Native Hawaiian Community." The NPS said their definition of co-stewardship includes formal co-management, but also collaborative and cooperative management and self-governance agreements. Many questions remain about how this policy will be implemented in practice, and some are demanding greater commitments from the US government.

Different communities, governments, and organizations will have different approaches to and expectations for the outcomes of shared management and/or governance. For instance, the First Nations Fisheries Council notes, "co-governance is not necessarily the end goal for First Nations. Rather, it may be seen as an 'interim step to achieving the ultimate goal of full title and jurisdiction'" (as cited by Atkins & Bissonnette, 2020, p. 7). Meanwhile, some Indigenous communities are entirely uninterested in co-governance or co-management with settler governments or organizations, even as an interim step, and seek to simply have their lands returned to their immediate governance and jurisdiction.

Across these different approaches, Indigenous Nations have expressed frustration and concern with how co-governance and co-management are often operationalized in practice, particularly in ways that generally maintain colonial power relations and fail to respect Indigenous rights, sovereignty, and jurisdiction. A few of the challenges and complexities that have emerged in shared governance and management efforts include:

- different interpretations about what is indicated and implied by these terms in practice;
- reluctance on the part of settler governments, organizations, scientists, publics, and individuals to cede power and affirm the rights and decision-making authority of, Indigenous Nations;
- prioritization of western science and management techniques over Indigenous knowledges and practices;
- failure to recognize and respect Indigenous Peoples' distinct rights and relationships to place;
- arrangements that frame Indigenous Nations as mere "collaborators," "resource users", or "stakeholders" rather than sovereign national governments with protected constitutional, treaty, and inherent rights (Reo et al., 2017);
- a lack of adequate resources among Indigenous Nations to carry out their rights and responsibilities according to their own laws and/or shared agreements (Moore, 2020);
- mismatched and/or conflicting priorities between the non-Indigenous partner organization or government, and Indigenous Nations;
- timelines and expectations imposed by settler funders that are not conducive to engagements that work "at the speed of trust" (e.g., strict deadlines and predetermined outcomes); and,
- insufficient clarity about whether these are appropriate frameworks for relationships between Indigenous Nations and private organizations (as they are not nation-to-nation relationships).

Some emphasize that "co-management can only truly work when substantial power imbalances between the colonial government and Indigenous groups have been addressed. Indigenous viewpoints must be considered equally valid to dominant Western frameworks and ways of knowing" (Shields, 2021). Others note that this must include recognition and full integration of Indigenous legal and governing systems into any relevant arrangement, not only in principle but also by making necessary changes to settler legislation, protocol, and policy (Arngna'naaq et al., 2020). Bushman (2022) emphasizes that co-productive conservation should be "practiced in a way that embodies Indigenous perspectives, knowledges, rights, priorities, and livelihoods" (p. 3). When this does not happen, Indigenous Peoples are expected, yet again, to adapt to colonial modes of knowing, being, and relating to the land. Arguably, in these cases, shared land management and caretaking are not actually achieved.

One of the first and most well-known examples of co-management in what is currently known as Canada is Gwaii Haanas. In 1993, the Haida Nation signed an agreement to co-govern the terrestrial portion of Gwaii Haanas with the Canadian government, which established a management board in which the two nations have equal decision-making power, and which is grounded in both Canadian and Haida law. In 2010, the two nations signed another agreement to co-manage the marine areas. However, this was not a simple or easy process, and it was only achieved through the Haida Nation's mobilization of multiple strategies in the context of their larger struggles for sovereignty, including "a combination of legal challenges, political negotiations, and public protest" (Shields, 2020).

Apart from co-governance and co-management of lands, there are many other efforts to reimagine conservation at the interface of western and Indigenous approaches. This includes conservation easements, where the state or private conservation organizations grant Indigenous Nations access to lands they hold for certain purposes. This can include granting access for cultural and ceremonial activities, and/or for Indigenous Nations to practice their own conservation or restoration methods. These arrangements can be formalized in settler law, or negotiated on other terms (Craft, 2022). Easements can also work the other way around, with Indigenous Nations granting easements on the lands they hold for caretaking by conservation organizations. In some cases, Indigenous Nations and private conservation organizations serve as joint holders of a conservation easement.

The IPCA Knowledge Basket includes a useful resource, "Beyond Conservation: A Toolkit for Respectful Collaboration with Indigenous Peoples," that can support efforts to "establish meaningful relationships and collaboration across Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures, communities, and initiatives." The quality and integrity of relationships between Indigenous Peoples and settler governments(s) or organization(s) may be the primary determinant of possibilities for successful and ethical shared land stewardship. This relationship building must take into account the impact of centuries of land theft and broken promises and Treaties on the uneven power dynamics between settlers and Indigenous Peoples. This means considering not only the frustration of many Indigenous Peoples that so little has changed over time, but also the defensiveness and fragilities of settlers that can

be activated in conversations that address their complicity in colonialism and challenge their perceived entitlements and authority. Because of this, building respectful reciprocal and mutually beneficial relationships cannot be rushed; and settlers cannot assume that generative relationships will become possible because of their good intentions alone.

Similarly, the colonial imprint of western conservation, including its implication in Indigenous genocide and dispossession, cannot be quickly interrupted and redressed. Thus, settler conservation organizations will need to learn to move "at the speed of trust." They will not be able to unilaterally determine the pace or direction of change based on their own priorities and timelines, but rather must learn to take cues and direction from their Indigenous partners. Various external forces must also be navigated and, in some cases, transformed (e.g., the legal landscape, Canadian Revenue Agency reporting, financial and granting requirements, and various settler publics). Yet while settler conservation organizations cannot rush change, there is also a risk that taking the time to enact thoughtful change will be perceived as a refusal of organizational responsibility – and indeed, organizations should be cautious not to fall into a ditch of endless deferral out of fear of making mistakes, or as a stalling tactic.

It is also important to note that settler engagements with Indigenous conservation knowledges and practices can risk repeating long-standing colonial patterns of extraction and appropriation, particularly if settlers assume they are entitled to access this knowledge and do so without accountability to the Indigenous knowledge holders. Ethical engagements would need to seek out opportunities for mutually beneficial collaborations that recognize Indigenous political and intellectual sovereignty, and support Indigenous(-led) conservation efforts out of respect for that sovereignty, and as a form of settler accountability for historical and ongoing colonial harm.

As Nlaka'pamux ecologist Jennifer Grenz recommends, "ecologists interested in any aspects of the application of Indigenous ways of knowing to their work would be best served to adopt the saying, Nothing about us without us" (in McKay & Grenz, 2021; see also Marsden et al., 2020). In other words, Indigenous knowledges should not be engaged by settlers without the leadership and permission of Indigenous Peoples. Furthermore, these knowledges should not be treated as "simply filling in the gaps of a Western scientific understanding", but rather should be understood as "valid in their own right" according to their own ideas of relevance and rigour (Reid et al., 2022, p. 720; see also Ahenakew, 2016; Eichler & Baumeister, 2022; Liboiron, 2021a; Smith, 2012).

There are no universal practices and protocols for ethical collaborations in conservation. However, there are many place-based, context-specific opportunities for settler conservation organizations and Indigenous Nations to work together to protect, promote and restore both ecological integrity and human dignity in fulfilling our collective responsibility to current and future generations of both human and other-than-human beings. At the same time as these possibilities are emerging, there is much work that needs to be done on both sides of these engagements. Most settler conservation organizations are still at the very beginning stages of un/learning how to interrupt long-standing colonial patterns grounded in assumptions about settler entitlement, superiority, and authority. And many Indigenous Nations are understandably focused on strengthening their own communities, rather than on pursuing engagements with settlers. In Part 3 of the report, we synthesize insights from our conversations with several, primarily settler, conservation organizations about their learnings thus far in relation to the complexities of reimagining their work and collaborating with Indigenous Peoples.

Part 3: How Organizations Are Reimagining Conservation and Indigenous Engagement

This section of the report is informed by interviews with individuals working in the conservation field who indicated their interest in discussing the complexities and challenges of reimagining conservation, especially in relation to Indigenous engagement. It is also informed by scholarly and grey literature. Starting with our existing contacts, we invited 20 people from organizations across Canada to participate in the interviews. We primarily, though not exclusively, invited participants from settler conservation organizations, given the focus of this report. Ultimately, 12 participated; 11 of these individuals identified as non-Indigenous, and one identified as Indigenous. Most of these individuals were either the director of their organization or otherwise in charge of the programs at their organization that interfaced most significantly with Indigenous communities. We do not suggest that these organizations are representative of the Canadian conservation landscape. Rather, we specifically sought to identify organizations that had already begun a journey of deepening settler responsibility and seeking to enact ethical Indigenous engagement in conservation, and who were willing to share their learnings with us.

Different Approaches to Engagements with Indigenous Peoples

The findings from interviews with the leaders of conservation organizations are organized through a social cartography of four approaches to settler engagements with Indigenous Peoples: representation, recognition, redistribution, and reparation.[8] We review this cartography in detail below (see Table 2 for a summary), and give particular attention to engagements oriented by reparation. Although a reparation-focused approach is the least commonly engaged, it is receiving growing interest.

A representation-focused approach to Indigenous engagement tends to focus on selectively including Indigenous Peoples, practices, and knowledges into existing mainstream (settler-dominated) organizations. There is a sense that these are necessary concessions to Indigenous Peoples, and within this framing, organizations might feel this is proof of their benevolence. This may include efforts to hire an Indigenous staff person (who is often then assumed to be primarily responsible for mobilizing organizational change), invite an Indigenous board member, or include some reference to Indigenous knowledge in organizational activities. In many cases, this is the initial step for many organizations, commonly driven by a perceived need to improve public perceptions of their commitments to reconciliation, Indigenization, and/or decolonization. Especially when organizations are just starting this work, they might believe this is both the beginning and end of what is needed.

A recognition-focused approach to Indigenous engagement tends to focus on demonstrating organizational regret for previous harm done by the organization. It may also be an effort to show organizational commitment to improved relationships with Indigenous communities. This may be accompanied by a move away from simply engaging with select Indigenous individuals, who may or may not have ties with local Indigenous Nations, and toward some recognition that the organization has specific responsibilities to local Nations. This recognition is often symbolic, for instance taking the form of a land acknowledgement or a formal institutional apology for past shortcomings. Organizations might stall here if they either fail to recognize that further commitments are required, and/or if they feel unprepared to undertake further commitments.

A redistribution-focused approach to Indigenous engagement by settler organizations indicates a deeper understanding of the fact that the oppression of Indigenous Peoples by settler society is not merely symbolic or conceptual, but also has material implications that have led to the highly uneven distribution of economic resources as

[8] We note that this map resonates somewhat with conversations in western philosophy about social justice, however, we have reframed these approaches in ways that are more relevant to the context of Indigenous-settler engagements. In particular, we note that Nancy Fraser's work is often referenced in its efforts to identify three primary dimensions of justice: representation, recognition, and redistribution. We do not reference Fraser, as we offer our own definitions of these terms. In particular we note that our approach to recognition differs considerably from Fraser's, as whereas she associates recognition with the cultural recognition of marginalized groups by dominant groups, we use recognition in our map to indicate an organization's acknowledgement of its own complicity in harm. We also note that Fraser's work on justice, and recognition in particular, has been critiqued by Indigenous scholars for failing to rigorously engage with the justice implications of colonial and racial domination (see e.g., Coulthard, 2014).

well as 'natural resources.'[9] Organizations oriented by this approach in their Indigenous engagements might make efforts to reallocate and share a portion of their resources with Indigenous Peoples. However, this funding may be limited to activities that align with existing organizational goals. Although not about the redistribution of resources per se, some settler organizations might make decisions not to accept funding from certain sources, such as those that are deemed to be closely associated with resource development projects happening on Indigenous lands without free, prior, and informed consent.

Redistribution suggests a targeted shift of resources from the group or organization with more power to those with less; however, it does not necessarily shift underlying power relations, nor recognize and seek to make amends for the very processes through which the wealthier, more powerful group or organization first acquired those resources at the expense of others. In other words, it is still the more powerful party that calls the shots, decides whether or not to grant the requests of the other parties, and often frames its redistributive efforts as generous concessions. There is a fundamental difference between the notion of redistribution and reparation, which is why these two warrant different categories of approach, even as they are both concerned with material resources

A reparation-focused approach to Indigenous engagement is rooted in the basic premise that settler societies are sustained through the historical and ongoing colonization of Indigenous Peoples and lands. Understanding that the benefits enjoyed by settlers and settler organizations (including conservation organizations) are enabled at Indigenous Peoples' expense leads to recognition of the debts that are owed to Indigenous Peoples. There may also be a recognition of the labour that Indigenous Peoples have done and continue to do to care for and protect their lands. What follows from these recognitions is a perceived need to enact redress, especially material redress, in ways that also affirm Indigenous Peoples' sovereignty and their right to determine their own futures and the future of their lands. This may be undertaken through several other "R" words, including restitution, repair, rematriation/repatriation, and return of stolen land and wealth, amongst other things. We note that the term reparation has been used in different ways and contexts, including in conversations about reparations for the enslavement of Black people, and reparations in relation to climate change. We chose this term to emphasize the need for various forms of material restitution as well as relational repair, which together hold the possibility of enabling substantively different futures.

A key element of a reparation-based approach to Indigenous engagements that distinguishes it from the first three approaches is that it does not assume that the existing systems that constitute settler colonial society can be reformed. Given that these systems are understood to be premised on Indigenous dispossession, in order to truly enact reparation this approach presumes the necessity of disinvesting not only from the presumed benevolence and universalism of settler colonial institutions but also from the presumed continuity of those institutions in the long-term. This, in turn, would require settlers to disinvest from their presumed entitlement to (political/moral/epistemic) authority, unrestricted autonomy, seamless futurity, and continued ownership and control of Indigenous lands.

As a result, for many settlers, the notion of a reparation-based approach to Indigenous engagement is either unintelligible or perceived as illegitimate and threatening, even if they are supportive of other forms of Indigenous engagement. Because of this, some settlers may respond to public calls for reparations (such as #LandBack) with a strong backlash, especially against Indigenous Peoples.

For those who seek to engage with Indigenous Peoples through a reparation-based approach, there is a sense that this work needs to happen not with a predetermined pathway in mind but rather as an emergent, relational process. Nonetheless, there are also significant immediate implications, and in the meantime, the other "Rs" of engagement are generally still considered important in the short- and medium-term, with an understanding that they are necessary, but insufficient. Because the actual practice of reparations cannot be unilaterally determined by settlers but rather must unfold alongside and in partnership with Indigenous Peoples, this approach is also calibrated towards building respectful, reciprocal relationships.

Overall, this approach seeks to create the conditions under which: settlers can disinvest from colonial promises and presumed entitlements; Indigenous Peoples can determine their own futures; and different, currently unimaginable decolonial possibilities for Indigenous-led shared land caretaking might emerge.

[9] For instance, First Nations reserves make up only 0.2% of the Canadian landmass (Manuel, 2017), and nearly 90% of land holdings in Canada are held by the Crown (Craft & Plotkin, 2022). Notably, this 0.2% is also not "owned" by First Nations but rather are held in trust by the Crown.

	Representation	Recognition	Redistribution	Reparation
Basic approach	Increase the presence of Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous knowledges in the organization	Publicly acknowledge and apologize for organizational complicity in colonial harm against Indigenous Peoples	Reallocate and share some of the resources (money, power, land) held by settler organizations with Indigenous Nations and organizations	Commit to restitution; disinvest from the continuity of colonial institutions; affirm Indigenous rights and sovereignty; enable the possibility of decolonial futures
Intellectual rationale	Need to change the "optics" of the organization; need to make concessions	Need to acknowledge the wrongs done to Indigenous Peoples by settler organizations	Need to show a deeper commitment to change by "putting our money where our mouth is"	Need to redress colonial debts, given that settler society is enabled at Indigenous Peoples' expense
Relational implication	Selective and conditional engagement with Indigenous individuals perceived to "fit"	Expectation that Indigenous Peoples will be grateful and absolve the organization of their responsibility	Deeper engagement with Indigenous Peoples, focused on those who align with existing organizational goals	(Re)calibration towards relations grounded in trust, respect, reciprocity, consent, and accountability; emphasize relations with local Nations
Examples in practice	Recruit Indigenous staff and board members; tokenistic inclusion of Indigenous knowledges	Issue a formal apology; land acknowledgements in publications, events	Fund collaborations with Indigenous Peoples; support Indigenous-led conservation projects	Develop stamina for the "long-haul"; build relationships "at the speed of trust"; material restitution, land rematriation

Table 2. Cartography of approaches to Indigenous engagement by settler organizations

Discussion of Approaches to Engagement

Of the representatives of settler conservation organizations that we spoke to, we would position the majority of them as currently operating somewhere between recognition and redistribution. Most had come to see the limitations of representation alone. However, this did not mean that representation was unimportant, only that they sought to practice enacting representational interventions in more ethical ways, and also to do more than just that. For several interviewees, there was also an interest in and in some cases a deep commitment to moving the organization toward reparation. Yet often when this was discussed, it became clear that this was not where the organization was as a whole, only that it was an area of interest for some in the organization and often local Indigenous Nations.

Among the settler organizations that we spoke to, the majority had been founded according to the principles and investments of western conservation, but were currently attempting to shift either all or part of their organizational activities and commitments closer to the "question mark" space at the interface of the map of western and Indigenous conservation reviewed in Part 2 of this report. Several were currently considering possibilities for shared land caretaking, although overall they noted a slew of uncertainties about whether and how these would ultimately manifest in terms of both formal and informal agreements and engagements with local Indigenous Nations. However, many organizational leaders indicated this was the direction in which they were seeking to steer their organization in over the long term.

As with the previous social cartography, we note that the map of approaches to Indigenous engagement with Indigenous Peoples by settler conservation organizations is not comprehensive and therefore does not cover all possible approaches. In particular, we have not included a fifth relevant position, that of "refusal", in which settler organizations refuse their responsibility to engage with Indigenous Peoples at all, and resist any organizational change. Although it is increasingly difficult for settler organizations to maintain this approach in the current context, there are nonetheless organizations that still hold this stance. In some cases, Indigenous Peoples enact their own refusal, declining to engage with settlers if they feel that an organization is not acting in good faith, not adequately accepting responsibility for their colonial actions, or simply because engagements with settlers are

not deemed a priority, especially given limited time and resources – and settlers should respect these refusals.

We observe that within any given settler organization, there might be individuals that fall across all of these positions, even as the organization's internal orientation or public face might suggest a more united approach. It is also important to remember that organizations as a whole are likely to draw on more than one of these approaches, rather than stick to only one. It is often the case that organizations start this journey with some combination of representation and recognition; if they cannot take even these basic actions, it is unlikely that they will be able or interested to pursue the kind of long-term, open-ended process of organizational transformation that is required for reparation to be possible. That said, while the cartography might appear to suggest a linear movement from left to right, organizational change rarely happens linearly, and in some cases, organizations jump around in-between spaces. At the same time, it is highly improbable that an organization would jump from refusing Indigenous engagement altogether to reparation. Further, we note that some organizations stall in one place for an indefinite period of time; the deepening of engagement is not an inevitability, and organizations would need to commit to enabling this to happen if that is their intended direction, even where there are no clear maps or formulas for how to do so.

The Indigenous leader of the Indigenous conservation organization that we spoke to offered critical perspectives about the limitations of each of the first three most common approaches to organization engagements with Indigenous Peoples – representation, recognition, redistribution. They also noted their frustration with the fact that many settler conservation organizations were publicly celebrating their successes in Indigenous engagements (for instance, posting photos of events with Indigenous Peoples prominently featured on their website homepages), while failing to recognize and acknowledge that they are not as "advanced" in this work as they like to think. This observation indicated the distance that most settler organizations still need to travel in their learning, reflexivity, and organizational maturity. At the same time as this individual noted their frustration with the slow pace of change, they also noted that this work cannot be rushed and often settlers want to skip steps.

Below we offer a brief addendum to the initial cartography based on a synthesis of critical Indigenous responses to each of the four primary approaches to engagement that we mapped. These are based primarily on critical Indigenous literature in this area, as well as our interview with an Indigenous conservation leader. We note again that Indigenous Peoples are heterogenous and will have a range of different possible responses to these approaches to engagement. Even amongst critical perspectives, there is a considerable variety of different understandings among Indigenous Peoples.

We also note that even as some Indigenous Peoples might critique these different approaches to engagement, in practice they may draw on a number of strategic responses to these approaches, depending on their own orientations, positions, and what they feel is possible within any given context. For example, an Indigenous person may accept a job at a settler organization because they need the income, and/or because they feel that some small change might be possible, even if they are skeptical about the level of organizational commitment to substantive transformation. Once there, if they are tokenized, saddled with the bulk of the work of organizational change, or otherwise disrespected by settler colleagues, they might respond in different ways, such as: adhering to settler expectations (i.e., appeasement, generally as a form of self-protection); subverting imposed settler expectations (in subtle and/or overt ways, often depending on the perceived risks); outright refusing settler expectations; or departing the organization (Jimmy et al., 2019).

	Representation	Recognition	Redistribution	Reparation
Critical Indigenous response	Representation is necessary but insufficient; Indigenous Peoples tend to be tokenistically engaged when convenient, and ignored when not; Indigenous Peoples are expected to meet settler expectations / serve settler agendas	Recognition is necessary but insufficient; settler organizations want to be rewarded for apologizing, even when they have done little to actually right their wrongs; acknowledgement alone does little to repair harm or return land	Redistribution is necessary but insufficient; it can be useful, but is only a small fraction of what has been taken from Indigenous Peoples; change is still happening on settlers' terms; it does not return stolen land	Reparation is the necessary response to colonial debt; it should be accompanied by support for Indigenous rights and sovereignty; though it may feel far from where we are, Indigenous Peoples have already been waiting a long time

Table 3. Cartography of critical Indigenous responses to engagements by settler organizations

By mapping different approaches to Indigenous engagement, and gesturing toward the limits and possibilities of each approach, the social cartographies offered here can support settler conservation organizations to engage in more nuanced and self-reflexive conversations about the complexities and challenges of settler-Indigenous engagements. For instance, settler organizations might use the maps to reflect on and have internal discussions about the following questions:

- Where would you place your organization as a whole in the map of engagement? Is it consistent across the organization, or does it vary depending on the individual, area, or program?
- How can you be sure that you are actually where you think you are on the map, given that we often overestimate how far we have come? Who or what could help you discern that, and can you really listen?
- Where would you like your organization to be? Where, and in what ways, are you stuck? What are the biggest barriers to moving? What intellectual, affective, and relational capacities would those in your organization need to develop in order to keep moving? What shifts in the wider social context could help support this movement?
- How is your organization's current approach to Indigenous engagement informed, or not, by numerous indicators that the dominant western conservation paradigm has failed to fulfil its stated intention to "protect the natural environment"?
- Compared to other sectors, would you say the conservation sector is ahead of the curve, on the curve, or behind the curve when it comes to ethical Indigenous engagement?
- Compared to other settler conservation organizations, would you say your organization is ahead of the curve, on the curve, or behind the curve when it comes to ethical Indigenous engagement?
- To what extent would you say your organization's current conservation practices are sustainable, in terms of both sustaining the continuity of the organization, and ensuring the current and future health and well-being of the lands you are committed to protect?
- What is the next, most responsible, small thing your organization can do in order to deepen its commitments to social and ecological accountability, especially its accountabilities to Indigenous Peoples and lands? How can your organization commit to consistently asking this question?
- Where do you see your organization in the next 5, 10, and 25 years with respect to supporting conservation alongside Indigenous Peoples? What does this work look like at these different intervals? What would you need to do now in order to enable these futures? How can you hold these possible futures in mind without letting this overdetermine the direction that you move, allowing the quality of relationships and the integrity of the un/learning process to also guide your movement?

Many questions remain about how settler governments, communities, and organizations can work alongside Indigenous Nations, communities, and organizations to undertake conservation in ethical, reciprocal, and mutually beneficial ways. In some cases, it is the process of facing these complexities in practice that prompts settler organizations to deepen their engagements. We review this in more detail below.

What Have Conservation Organizations Learned from Settler-Indigenous Engagements?

In this section, we review some of the learnings shared by leaders of conservation organizations regarding the challenges and complexities they have encountered in relation to deepening Indigenous engagement.

Representation

While most of the settler organizations had moved beyond representation as their sole mode of engagement with Indigenous Peoples, that did not mean it was no longer important. The leader of the Indigenous organization interviewed emphasized this, observing that settler conservation organizations are still often hiring non-Indigenous Peoples to manage their Indigenous engagements, and asking "Why would you hire a non-Indigenous person to do that, even if they're great and they're really good? At least give a shot to the First Nations, someone locally from the area." Many of the settler leaders interviewed emphasized the importance of having Indigenous people on their staff, and most were in the process of considering how to do this more responsibly.

For instance, some settler leaders noted that they initially welcomed Indigenous people into the organization (as staff, board members, or collaborators) and only later realized they had not done adequate work to prepare the organization to receive the Indigenous individuals in a way that was culturally safe and would foster generative relationships and collaborations. Many were still grappling with how to do this in practice. One organization noted that they went from not having any preparation to recognizing that they needed a statement or policy in relation to "safe spaces", to then realizing that a statement alone was not enough, and that "this is really multilayered."

Some noted while they intended to be "inclusive", they learned that they were still seen as colonial organizations, and had not initially anticipated why Indigenous Peoples might not want to be on their staff and board. Others noted that a representational approach tended to be about one-off, often transactional relationships between the organization and individuals, and that they were interested in building more substantive, long-term relationships with local Nations in ways that recognized their rights as sovereign governments. Another organization noted a tension they felt wherein they wanted to invite more Indigenous Peoples to be involved and to prioritize their perspectives and needs in transformation efforts, but worried about how to do this in ways that did not impose on them or make them feel like they were being tokenized or expected to shoulder the entire burden of changing existing structures.

One settler leader noted how things had shifted in terms of the commitments that settler conservation organizations are expected to make regarding Indigenous relations:

> One of the assumptions I think that we made going in was, as long as we just make space and we let people use the land and everything, that's going to be good enough, we're just all going to be stewards ... But as the years have progressed now, the land movement is becoming really prominent and things like that. So that really completely shifts gears on how we need to start talking and thinking about things.

Overall, the leaders emphasized the importance as well as the limitations of engagements based on representation.

Recognition

Most of the settler leaders interviewed were grappling with what it means to be a land-based organization dedicated to conserving Indigenous lands. These organizations demonstrated a range in the extent to which they recognized their own complicity in colonialism.

One person commented on the fact that some initial reactions within their own organization, or in other organizations, assumed that reconciliation was the responsibility of national or state/provincial governments, and "this doesn't have anything to do with us", but noted that things have started to shift, with more and more people realizing "Maybe my actions do make a difference."

Some settler leaders primarily focused on the colonial complicity of Canadian society, or the mainstream field of settler-led conservation in general, with one leader noting they were "fully subscribed to the belief that we need to reimagine conservation and approach it in totally different ways because of historical wrongs," and another observing "There is now…a growing understanding that conservation the way we typically do is it is not necessarily seen as benevolent by everyone." Another noted that while things were changing, previously, people in conservation assumed "We're the good guys…we've never…thought about ourselves as also settlers who are taking land."

On the whole, most settler leaders did not focus on their own organizations' complicity in colonial harm but rather spoke about the harms of western conservation in general. This may reflect a general reluctance to publicly name an organization's own failures. However, one settler leader noted,

> we have to start as settlers going in making sure we know about all these difficult histories…learning about how we have benefited from that, how that has led to the creation of the country that we now know…And now we see kind of the shadow side of those things and we need to let that in, I think. And I think it's more difficult for some people than it is for others, that process of going there. But I think it's necessary to really kind of open the doors and make the way free for kind of the seeds to reach the ground and grow into something different coming out of it. Because I fear we as an organization made a lot of assumptions when we first went into that work, and one of the basic assumptions we made was trust.

Another noted that they periodically reviewed the history of their own organization in order to remind themselves "how easy it is to make mistakes with the best intentions", while also noting that "not all of our mistakes are, are that historical…I've made these same errors, so have [other staff and] it's ongoing, as is the work to recognize it." Much of this work of grappling with legacies of conservation's colonial harm happens internally, and does not necessarily get shared with the public. However, the learning that results from it can shape organizational action. For instance, one group noted that this resulted in a decision to place the local Indigenous territory name on their press releases and incorporate the language of decolonization into their communications.

In addition to recognition of conservation's role in perpetuating colonialism, most settler organizations we spoke to sought to acknowledge, in some way, their accountabilities to local Indigenous Nations. While most had incorporated land acknowledgements into their standard practices, one leader noted that their board resisted acknowledging that their work took place on "unceded territory", because they feared it would have legal implications for the lands that the organization owned. This person noted that this had significantly affected possibilities for relationships with the local Nation, a representative of which noted that if the organization was unable to make this acknowledgement it would be difficult to work together.

One settler leader observed that while there had been a big shift around language in the field, such as land acknowledgements becoming commonplace, as well as stated recognition of Indigenous rights, there was a widespread "phenomenon of the language changing, but the action not doing enough" – in other words, the changes remain largely symbolic. Another leader observed "now people are grappling with, 'Ok, we're saying this, but like, what does that actually mean? What are the implications of shifting power and giving up control and outcomes?'"

Some settler leaders explicitly noted that their organizations were also struggling with how to make their apologies more meaningful. One recalled a meeting with an Indigenous community partner in which they asked what 'truth and reconciliation' means, and the partner said that this was for the organization to figure out, not for Indigenous Peoples to tell them how. The interviewee noted, "that's when I realized it's about us saying sorry," observing that the apology is "just the beginning of that journey", which they felt should also entail "supporting Indigenous-led projects and Indigenous-led goals."

Redistribution

Many of the settler leaders interviewed emphasized that their organizations were turning toward supporting Indigenous-led conservation, and redistribution was one way they sought to enact this commitment. Several interviewees noted that their budgets were a place to make their commitments more tangible. According to one leader, "we need to put our money where our mouth is…as opposed to just having a good intention and talking about it."

Another settler leader noted that they sought to shift from being "a conservation funder to really being about Indigenous self-determination and sustainable finance to decide and to choose what they need to do and to revitalize, restore the stewardship authority that they've always had really to live that and to have the financing to do it…it's a slow process, and there are systemic issues in philanthropy that continue to get in the way."

Several settler leaders commented on philanthropy, observing that it is often perceived as benevolent, and yet it is, in one person's words "inherently a nature of privilege." Others noted that working toward redistribution required difficult conversations with funders, both

philanthropic and granting agencies, in an effort to reorient their approaches and expectations in relation to funding Indigenous communities. One settler leader noted their organization had initiated a program that required funders to commit to learning about things like the history of colonization.

Tensions arose for several settler organizations in relation to the notion of "capacity building." Several leaders noted that they sought to support Indigenous communities to "build the skills and capacity that they need to be in the positions that they want to be in, fulfilling the visions that their nations have." However, at the same time, they noted the paternalistic implications of the term "capacity building," with several observing that they also felt like they were learning a great deal from Indigenous Peoples, suggesting that they thought of this work as a form of reciprocity and responsibility. In some cases, leaders noted that capacity building was requested by their Indigenous community partners. One leader described in relation to one of their Indigenous community partners, "We do things when they ask us to. They recognize that we have some skills and certain things that we're trying to pass on to them. But obviously, we're always learning way more from them than they are from us." This leader noted that they were currently working with a local Nation that wants to manage their own conserved area in the long term, and is currently seeking to learn from the settler organization "how to build a land trust and how to work with the federal government around conserved areas."

Another settler leader noted that their organization created a program for Indigenous conservation leaders, based on the recognition that the organization was continuing to marginalize Indigenous Peoples despite recognizing the importance of Indigenous knowledges and practices for conservation. They further noted that they were supporting an Indigenous individual seeking to eventually begin their own conservation organization: "once you do that, then it's easier actually…Then you're not having to come up with solutions, you're just creating space, you're holding space, you're allowing relationships to build. How can we, as a privileged conservation sector, use our power to build capacity but also learn from [Indigenous Peoples]…that's what's going to change conservation."

While some settler leaders noted they had applied for funding in order to then redistribute it to Indigenous collaborators, others noted that they had received pushback suggesting that they should not be applying for funding that could go directly to Indigenous organizations or communities. This reflected a more general sense of ambivalence amongst some settler interviewees about their own place and the place of their organization in the context of Indigenous-led conservation. One settler leader noted, "there are some people who are like, 'Get out of the way, Indigenous people, only Indigenous people. That's what needs to happen right now.' A part of me is like, hell yeah, I'll get out of the way. And that's always been my premise, like my job, this work that I do, is about working towards a place where there's no need for people like me." At the same time, they noted that their organization had developed meaningful projects and partnerships with Indigenous organizations that would disappear if the organization were to be immediately dissolved, or if Indigenous organizations were not aware of or did not successfully apply for funding.

The leader of the Indigenous conservation organization interviewed indicated their concern about the ways that settler organizations might be instrumentalizing Indigenous relationships to secure further funding: "everybody is like, 'Oh, if I get this relationship, I can get this amount of funding.' So, they're focused on the funding to lead the relationship. And that's a state of greed, which is actually not a good space to be in because if you're letting greed drive it, you're not having a meaningful relationship."

One of the settler leaders observed a harmful pattern whereby "you have people with consultants and money and power that come up with a theory of change, and then they start looking for [Indigenous] places and people that line up with that theory of how they make the change right. And it's not grounded in what people in the local Indigenous community need. But if you ask those philanthropic organizations how they do their work, there's a lot of really good storytelling and spin."

Another settler leader noted that their funding strategies are partly rooted in an effort to secure and distribute funds to Indigenous organizations and initiatives that would otherwise be unable to receive certain kinds of funding because they are not able to meet the Canada Revenue Agency's requirements. In general, many of the leaders noted that financial requirements were a significant barrier to innovations related to Indigenous-led conservation in general, and especially in relation to ensuring funds are redistributed to Indigenous Nations. They described a need to "bend" the rules, rather than break them, as they waited for more systemic changes to occur.

The limits of redistribution were starting to become clear to at least some leaders, yet what could come beyond that – including the idea of returning lands to Indigenous Peoples – was an open question for many, and the cause of anxiety for at least a few. For instance, at least one settler organization noted that for their board, Indigenous Peoples "using the land is not a problem…it's the ownership stuff that gets everybody worked up." They noted that for Indigenous partners for whom ownership is the "starting point…we've had a blockage," while indicating there are more possibilities for engagement when an Indigenous Nation indicates, "we want to own [the land] and we want it back, but we're going to try and get there over a long term, not tomorrow." This example indicates where the edges and limits currently are in settler organizations in relation to reimagining conservation, even for organizations that might be understood as more committed in terms of Indigenous engagement. That is, while #LandBack and other demands for the return of lands to their Indigenous caretakers have gained the attention of more people in the conservation field, most settler conservation organizations are still grappling with the implications of these demands and what they might mean for the future of their organization.

Reparation

While most of the settler organizations interviewed were focused primarily on the first three Rs, several of the people interviewed also indicated that they as an individual and/or their organization as a whole were increasingly committed to more deeply reimagining conservation. For many, this meant deepening not only engagement with local Indigenous Nations and communities, but also support for Indigenous-led conservation, and most were grappling with what this meant for their organization and its future. One leader noted that they are constantly asking, "[How are we] working in partnership to support the authority of Indigenous Peoples to manage their own lands and waters?" Notably, however, few people named specific acts of, or commitments to, reparation, such as the return of land, or the payment of a land tax or other direct payment to Indigenous Nations for occupancy of their lands. Yet for many Indigenous Peoples, this is the next step in confronting colonialism in conservation. While some of the interviewees indicated interest in exploring the possibility of reparations, none of their organizations have actually committed to doing this. This conversation has just barely begun even among organizations considered "ahead of the curve" in the field.

One of the challenges identified in relation to developing deeper relationships with Indigenous Peoples is around how much guidance and direction settler organizations should seek from Indigenous Nations, how to seek this guidance without overburdening and creating more labour for those nations, and how to determine the work that settler organizations need to do on their own. One settler leader observed, "What I'm seeing is that [Indigenous Nations] are overburdened by these requests…they have a million things going on, and they just don't need another person saying, 'Can you help me out with this or I want to consult with you properly on this' and then it's like, 'Step and take a number,' right?'"

Several settler organizations were encouraged by the possibilities of shared land caretaking with local Indigenous Nations, and several organizations noted that they were currently working with Nations to articulate what this would look like. Others noted that they are already starting to do it in practice and that they still don't know exactly what it means, but they are learning through doing. In many cases, within a single organization, this was negotiated differently depending on the Nation they were working with. For instance, one organization noted that they had different relationships with three different local Indigenous Nations: with one Nation, they had informal sharing practices, including land securement opportunities, with another Nation they are holding land in trust for the Nation to establish a future IPCA and actively working on a shared stewardship agreement for those lands, and with another Nation they are still negotiating what it means to be working on their territory. In relation to holding land for the Nation to create an IPCA, the organization buys and holds land on the Nation's behalf, because the Nation does not yet have the legal and other mechanisms to do it themselves. However, the settler leader specified, "While we are playing a role in helping the Nation get access to, and ultimately re-own, their traditional lands, I don't know that this would be considered #LandBack in the sense that most people understand it. #LandBack in that way would require us to look backwards at property for which we have title and donor commitments; that's more complicated and still lacking full support."

Another settler organization's leader noted, "if we start it from a place of everything is Indigenous lands and waters . . . if that's the level of understanding, if we start to move forward in a way that says nothing happens [without the

Indigenous Nation's involvement and consent], then this is where it gets sticky for people. Because there are right away people who say, 'Oh, are you saying that Nations then get a veto? Is that over everything that happens?' No, I'm not saying that, but I'm just saying nothing moves forward without careful and deep-thought involvement and some sense of working together." It is important to note that some Indigenous Nations and individuals are seeking to have their governing authority and sovereignty respected such that they do not simply have the ability to veto or consent to specific decisions concerning their lands, but that they actually have the right to determine the process by and conditions under which such decisions are framed, and then considered. This is a much more capacious notion of consultation and consent than a right to veto.

One settler leader observed that while much has changed in the field, there remains a long way to go before most organizations are willing to consider co-governing their lands with Indigenous Nations, let alone returning those lands: "I still get the sense that while now the genocide piece is visible to people and can be acknowledged, the translation of [recognition of genocide] into systemic ongoing violence across all areas, including conservation, is still not being seen/rejected. I also get the sense that reconciliation is OK with some people but only as long as it comes at no cost, emotionally, intellectually, organizationally, personally and otherwise."

Many of the settler leaders interviewed indicated a recognition that they were only at the beginning of their learning and unlearning process, a theme we will return to in the next section, but noted that they were also thinking about the long-term implications of shifting relationships to Indigenous Peoples and to the land itself. One leader noted that people in their organization were asking, "What could this mean for leadership turnover or even the organizational framework? And the deconstruction and reconstruction of that in a way that is not still serving the colonizers and their wealth? I think there are few people and organizations in conservation who are willing to go and think that thought." Another noted that they previously felt a lot of anxiety about the uncertainty of where things were moving and the future of their organization and their own role, but noted that they had recently come to the conclusion that "We need to lose our fear of making ourselves obsolete."

Common Themes for Organizations Engaged in This Work

Many additional questions, tensions, and themes emerged throughout the interviews with the leaders of conservation organizations that are not captured by the map of four approaches to engagement. These include: relationships; temporality, humility; uncertainty; systems change; and paradigm change. We review each of these briefly below, indicating the theme and a quote from the interviews that summarizes the issues and tensions addressed under this theme. For those wanting to learn more, in Appendix C we offer an extended review of these themes.

Relationships – "It needs to be based in relationships...We need to develop trust. We need to take time"

For every settler conservation leader interviewed, ensuring the quality and integrity of relationships with Indigenous Peoples was a primary concern. This can be summarized in the comments of one leader reflecting on this work: "It needs to be based on relationships. It needs to be. We need to develop trust. We need to take time. We need to be transparent and clear."

Several settler leaders said that they had sought to create "ethical spaces" for engagement with Indigenous Peoples, but they were still learning how to do this and what this means. One settler leader noted, "when I talk to anybody in the conservation sector about creating 'ethical space,' nobody knows how to do it." A few also noted that they not only felt unprepared to engage with the complexities of relationships at the interface of settler and Indigenous communities, but also the complexities of relationships within and between Indigenous communities.

Some settler leaders noted what they had learned to notice about how settlers tend to universalize their own sensibilities, frameworks, and their approach to relationships in general, often in unconscious ways. One individual observed the importance of the differences between settler and Indigenous approaches to relationship: "I kept hearing again and again in our workshops and webinars and meetings about the importance of relationships. And then all of a sudden you realize…that culturally that's quite different from the [settler] mentality where we always say, 'These are our steps to our objectives and our goals, and that's how we're going to get there.' So that was huge for me to just understand

that relationships can be understood in such a different way, depending on the cultural perspective."

Several settler leaders also noted the tensions between wanting to give the necessary time and space for relationships to develop, and the expectations of funders, federal regulations, and their own boards, as well as the sense of the urgency around the need to address climate change and declining biodiversity, and public pressures from various groups for more immediate action. One person even suggested the potential impossibility of organizations developing the kinds of relationships that are necessary, given the current limitations in terms of settler readiness, limited time and organizational resources, and the confines of larger systemic structures, such as legal statutes and reporting requirements. Others noted the challenge of maintaining relationships with Indigenous community partners when the staff who were nurturing those relationships (on the Indigenous or settler side) leave.

The issue of relationships emerged frequently throughout all of the interviews, and thus, is woven throughout the remaining themes, including the issue of temporality and systemic change.

Temporality – "The long-term outcomes are usually the ones most worth working towards"

Interviewees expressed considerable ambivalence about the issue of time – in terms of the time it takes to build relationships, the tension between the sense of urgency for change and a wariness about rushing change, as well as the time pressures that were felt in relation to the imperative of conservation itself. One settler leader noted, "the sense of urgency comes from an authentic place. And it can be hard to override, but often that's exactly what's required to do the work in the right way." Others observed that when this work is rushed, it is more likely to reproduce harm.

While many emphasized the need to take it slow when building relationships with Indigenous Peoples, others also emphasized the need to take it slow when seeking changes within their own organization and within the wider policy and legal requirements that shape the conservation sector. Some settler leaders specifically noted a tension between the different temporalities of their boards and funders, who are more likely to be from older generations and wanted to proceed slowly and cautiously, and the pressures coming from younger generations of staff and supporters, and some local Indigenous Peoples. One leader noted she felt she was often serving as an intergenerational translator, indicating "there's a lot hanging on our ability to translate between these two really, really different generations."

A majority of the people interviewed emphasized a tension between the sense that things were finally starting to move in the conservation world, and the sense that most organizations were only just beginning their learning journeys. One settler leader observed that in the field of conservation, "we're still looking for that quick fix checkbox response," while another noted their realization that in reality, this is a "journey" that will require "a lifetime of change." Another commented, "everything we do in conservation is still colonial. Like, let's not kid ourselves…we're far away from [being] decolonized in any large or meaningful way, I think we're only just beginning to ever so slightly grasp what that could mean in the long run." One settler leader named their sense that it might be impossible to decolonize conservation, or at least settler conservation organizations, but that did not make them give up on their work. They stated, "we're always going to be colonial…But what are the ways that we can also commit?"

In general, our sense was that the deeper that organizations go in their efforts to engage with Indigenous Peoples, the more they realize how much they still have to learn, and unlearn. It is often only through the process of starting these engagements that settlers begin to see and grapple with the full extent to which colonial patterns structure Indigenous-settler relationships, the complexities and tensions that emerge at the interface of these communities, the extent to which their own approach to conservation and to the world, in general, is shaped by colonial assumptions and investments, as well as the depth of the challenges that are involved in trying to reimagine and remake the western conservation field.

Humility – "It's not about not making mistakes, it's about learning from them"

The themes of temporality and humility were often linked by our settler interviewees: people wanted to reflect on and share what they had learned thus far in their processes of individual and organizational change, but they did not want to be perceived as too celebratory of what they had done or be understood as suggesting that their learning was completed and that they knew the "how" of change. One settler leader noted a tension between wanting to "do this work quietly", i.e., with humility, and

"being vocal about this so that others can see and learn from our mistakes." This was especially the case for settler organizations that were considered "ahead of the curve," and to whom other organizations were looking for guidance. Another settler leader noted, "We're making mistakes like everybody else…We're all raised in a racist society. So, we have that in our DNA. We're all colonial…I don't want to put us out there like we have some big answer. We're just trying to work it through."

Some noted a sense of immobilization that they or other organizations had experienced, based on what one leader described as "a palpable fear of not wanting to do the wrong thing…you don't want to break a protocol or stumble into something where you really make a big mistake." This person also suggested that their strategy to confront that fear was to "keep asking questions…keep talking to people…stretch your understanding." Another noted there was a need for settlers to balance the imperative to "do our own work so that we're not always expecting Indigenous Peoples to deliver the lessons and deliver the journey for us," while also being open to critique and feedback from Indigenous people, and "not becoming defensive when Indigenous person tells you 'Buddy, you don't get it.'"

The leader of the Indigenous organization that we interviewed noted, "it's ok not to have the answers. . . that's a great starting point." They also noted that they encourage settlers to share their mistakes, "because if you did it wrong, someone else has probably done it wrong as well the same thing or thought of doing it wrong." Many settler leaders explicitly named the fact that they had and would continue to make mistakes, and they had come to understand the importance of learning from those mistakes, and sharing that learning with others, so as to hopefully not repeat them. Some indicated a perceived need for separate spaces where settlers in conservation could debrief and process what they were learning, without retraumatizing Indigenous colleagues and collaborators, and for Indigenous Peoples in conservation to have separate spaces where they could debrief and process their learning without worrying about activating the fragilities and defenses of settler colleagues and collaborators.

Uncertainty - "We don't know where it's going. And the key to that is to be ok with that fact"

For many people interviewed, there was a realization that the work of settler organizations and individuals confronting colonialism and remaking relationships in order to enable something different was full of uncertainty. Comments around uncertainty tended to be related to a sense that something very different is needed than what settler conservations have done thus far, yet nobody knows what this is, how to get there, or in some cases, even what the next step is. For many people, central to having the stamina to sustain this work in the midst of uncertainty was accepting that uncertainty is an inevitable part of the process of learning to imagine conservation differently than it has previously been imagined.

One settler leader noted that their organization, and the conservation field as a whole, was in the middle of their process of transitioning to something different, "and we don't know where it's going." They suggested, "the key to that is to be ok with that fact and not let it stress you out to the max. That it's part of the process. And of course, you can be personally affected because if you're not, you're probably not doing it right. But give yourself permission to…let go because it can't be in any other way…we're at where we're at right now." In this sense, settler leaders are trying to hold space for at least three things in relation to their organizations' processes of un/learning colonial habits of knowing and being: "what we know, what we don't know, and what we don't know we don't know."

Systems Change - "We're all in this not-good system"

While many settler leaders interviewed recognized the importance of personal change, others noted the need to also institutionalize change within their organization. Several specifically spoke to navigating the resistance of their board members to change. There was also a recognition of the need to institute change on multiple scales. This included not only changes internal to their organization but also changes in the wider conservation sector and in Canadian society as a whole, including in various other sectors (e.g., judicial, financial, government, health, education, etc.). There was a sense that without these wider changes, the work of reimagining conservation in ways that center respect for Indigenous rights would ultimately be stalled. In terms of implications for practice, this often meant that organizations are engaging in multiple different change strategies at once.

Paradigm Change – "They're stuck in the old paradigm; they don't know what to do"

Apart from systemic changes in governments and organizations, many of the settler leaders interviewed emphasized a need for a change in the mainstream, hegemonic conservation paradigm itself. This often entailed recognition of the limits of western conservation in terms of outcomes related to the protection of biodiversity as well as ethical and legal obligations to Indigenous Peoples. Many leaders emphasized the importance of education for the process of shifting paradigms, including education for the organization itself and the wider public. Several noted a tension involved in the need to "bring [settler] people along" in the learning process, while also ensuring that they were not doing this in a way that sacrificed their commitment to respectful relationships with Indigenous collaborators.

Part 4: Takeaways

We conclude the report by offering 10 takeaways for settler conservation organizations that are just beginning this journey, as well as those who have already begun this work and are starting to see more of the challenges and complexities involved. The cartographies presented earlier in the report can also be understood as part of a larger toolkit for navigating the emerging complexities of the conservation landscape.

If you are looking for additional tools to support deepening engagement with these issues, we encourage you to review Appendix A, "Returning Lands Exercise", which invites engagement with some of the tensions and complexities that often emerge in response to discussions about returning land to Indigenous Peoples. You can also consult Appendix B, which reviews the "Accountability+" cartography that can be used to map where settler individuals and organizations fall in relation to the interface of 1) attitudes toward systemic colonial violence and 2) attitudes toward Indigenous knowledges.

10 Takeaways for Settler Conservation Organizations Starting this Journey

1. If we do not start by accepting responsibility for the complicity of western conservation organizations in historical and ongoing colonial harm, and learning from a long legacy of harmful mistakes and missteps, then it will not be possible to imagine and enact something different.
2. Do your homework. Remember that there is much internal (individual and collective) work you need to do in order to prepare to confront colonialism in a responsible way. If you do not do this work, you will end up creating much more work for yourself, and for other (especially Indigenous) people, and will likely reproduce harm. But this also shouldn't be an excuse to delay starting forever.
3. Learn the difference between the rules, regulations, and norms that you must follow, those you can bend, those you can break, and those that you need to advocate for changing.
4. Identify the different accountabilities of your organization (to staff, board members, publics, settler governments, Indigenous Nations), and learn to discern how to navigate deftly and responsibly between these accountabilities, especially when they are in conflict.
5. The settler conservation world is only at the very beginning of this journey. Remember that the most responsible thing to do is assume you are not as far along as you think. Some might say the real work hasn't even begun, and most of us don't know what we're doing yet. The journey will be long, and there are no roadmaps, so make sure you have a good compass to guide you.
6. Prioritize the quality and integrity of relationships with Indigenous Nations and individuals, rather than the quantity or speed at which they develop. Move at the speed of trust, not faster. These relationships should be grounded in a commitment to build and sustain trust, respect, reciprocity, consent, and accountability. And remember that Indigenous communities are just as complex and heterogeneous as settler ones.
7. Figure out what small role your organization can play in supporting Indigenous and Indigenous-led conservation at the local and national levels (without trying to take over and control the process, as settlers often do).
8. In your engagements with Indigenous Peoples, always seek to achieve reciprocity – including reciprocity in recognition of the work Indigenous Peoples have done to sustain and protect their territories for millennia.
9. Try not to make unnecessary mistakes, but know that mistakes are inevitable – so also try not to panic when you make one. Apologize, and do what you can to make things right (without expecting or demanding forgiveness). Learn from the mistakes, so as not to repeat them. Make your learning public. Continue the work.
10. When sharing your learnings with others (including your mistakes and failures), avoid the poles of either self-celebration or self-flagellation. Share instead with honesty, humility, and hyper-self-reflexivity.

Final Words and Next Steps

Settler conservation organizations in what is currently known as Canada are increasingly confronting the

colonialism that has shaped western conservation. They are asking questions about both the ethical and practical limits of the western conservation paradigm, alongside questions about how they can deepen their responsibilities to Indigenous Peoples and lands. Some of these organizations have identified the fact that fulfilling those responsibilities requires making considerable changes to business as usual; yet, they also note several challenges involved in transforming existing practices in meaningful ways. In this report, we examined the limits and harms of the western conservation paradigm while also discussing some of the complexities that often arise in efforts to rethink this paradigm, especially through engagements with Indigenous Peoples. We also reviewed the efforts of Indigenous Peoples to enact their own, self-determined forms of conservation which are linked to wider resurgence efforts.

We found that although there is a growing consensus that things need to change within the mainstream conservation world, there is also a wide range of notions about what this change should entail and how it should be enacted. Even settler organizations that are considered "ahead of the curve" in relation to these issues often feel stalled in their work, being uncertain how to go beyond recognition and redistribution and toward deeper forms of repair. This uncertainty is intensified as organizations navigate a cacophony of competing perspectives, and widening polarization across those perspectives paired with widening heterogeneity and complexity even within relatively small communities (including within conservation organizations and their various publics and partners, and within Indigenous Nations).

Because there are no roadmaps for this work, learning and unlearning happens along the way. We have sought in this report to identify some of the tensions, challenges, and "sticky points" that tend to arise as settler organizations seek to move away from the established western conservation model and move toward more responsible modes of engaging with Indigenous Peoples and lands. We have also sought to provide a few navigational tools to support the generative unfolding of this un/learning process, while also emphasizing that the prospect of a universal approach to reimagining conservation is impossible. Organizations will need to learn to navigate the changing conservation field, balancing the need to consider the organizational culture, mission, and structure that they have inherited with the need to transform and adapt that culture, mission, and structure as part of its accountabilities to redress inherited legacies of colonial harm and enact more respectful, reciprocal, and sustainable possibilities for conservation going forward. Each organization will need to determine their own contextually-relevant approach, in consultation with staff, boards, members, various publics and, crucially, local Indigenous Nations. Indeed, one thing that was resoundingly clear is that this work is intensely relational, and that repairing and (re)building relationships between settlers and Indigenous Peoples cannot be rushed.

While settler conservation organizations have particular responsibilities to local Indigenous Nations, there are planetary responsibilities as well, especially responsibilities to the most ecologically sensitive areas of the earth. The next step for the authors of the report is therefore to continue to deepen our collaborations with Indigenous communities in Brazil, especially with the Huni Kui People who are the guardians of forests in the Amazon, and the Tremembé People who are the guardians of mangroves in their territories. We continue to ask how we can work across colonial borders to support Indigenous Peoples to continue protecting their lands - for the sake of everyone's future.

We welcome your feedback on this report. If you would like to offer feedback, please use the following Google Form to provide your comments: https://forms.gle/wwQKDe9iLJWvvxvN6

Appendices and Works Cited

Appendix A: Returning Lands Exercise

This set of exercises was created by the Gesturing Toward Decolonial Futures Collective as a thought experiment for settlers to engage with some of the tensions and complexities that often emerge in discussions about returning land to Indigenous Peoples in what is currently known as Canada. The exercises are based on a fictional campaign to support Indigenous Nations to share governance of lands and have stolen lands returned to them. There are, in fact, real campaigns that point in a similar direction (see e.g., the petition to "re-Indigenize US national parks").

These exercises were created using a diagnostic pedagogical approach grounded in *depth education pedagogy*. Diagnostic exercises, like the ones presented here, are different from prescriptive exercises. Diagnostic exercises are meant to provoke different responses and invite you to sit with the diversity and complexity of these responses within and around you. In this sense, they serve as a stimulus for inquiry, where your responses (how you are receiving and processing information and the emotions associated with them) become the real content of the exercise. The exercises were also designed to support you to familiarize yourself with some of the common dynamics that emerge when difficult issues are presented, like settler complicity in colonial violence or Indigenous aspirations for #LandBack. These exercises are based on a systemic trauma-informed approach, and may be experienced differently by settler and Indigenous readers.

For settler readers: As you engage with the exercises, we invite you to try and observe the different and often conflicting thoughts and feelings that emerge within you in response. Rather than search for certainty, consensus, or coherence, try to hold space for conflict, complexity, uncertainty and ambivalence as you observe your responses. Ask yourself what you are learning from these observations about the individual and collective dynamics that emerge within and amongst settler Canadians when the issue of Indigenous land rights and land return is engaged.

For Indigenous readers: If you are Indigenous, please note that this set of exercises was designed to make patterns of systemic discrimination visible to settlers and that reading about these harmful patterns can be experienced by Indigenous people in different ways. Many Indigenous people have reported experiencing reading about these patterns as unburdening; a few have experienced reading about these patterns as triggering a post-traumatic stress response. If you decide to proceed, please make sure you have appropriate support at hand.

Understanding the context of land occupation and sovereignty claims in what is currently known as Canada

It surprises many settlers to know that orders made by the Pope in the 15th century underlie Canada's claims to sovereignty. A series of these orders, known as "papal bulls," cohere under the Doctrine of Discovery, in which it was asserted that European powers gained sovereignty over non-European lands when they "discovered" them. Through the Doctrine, the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples living on those lands was denied, and the dispossession and settlement of those lands by Europeans were justified. The Doctrine has been the basis for Canadian sovereignty since its beginnings and is now enshrined in Canadian law; similar dynamics operate in the US. With the passing of Bill C-15 in 2021, the Canadian government pledged to harmonize its laws with the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, including an official rejection of the Doctrine of Discovery. However, the actual impacts of the Bill are still unfolding.

Today, First Nations reserves comprise 0.2-0.3% of all land in Canada. Yet even reserve land is not owned by First Nations; it is owned by the Crown, and First Nations are permitted to live there according to laws of the Indian Act. About 40% of the land in Canada is covered by treaties between the Crown and Indigenous peoples. Because people frequently make a distinction between "treaty land" and "unceded land", it is often mistakenly understood that treaty lands were "ceded" to the Crown by Indigenous Nations. However, many Indigenous Nations maintain that the treaties are more appropriately understood as nation-to-nation agreements that established the terms for shared existence on the land. By signing the treaties, Indigenous Nations did not commit to giving up their sovereignty and they did not "sell" their land to the Crown. Today, many Indigenous Nations are still fighting to have their Treaty rights upheld

and respected, alongside struggles to have their inherent rights upheld, often at great financial cost.

Settlers often expect Indigenous peoples to speak with a coherent voice, as with all communities, there is significant heterogeneity both within and between Indigenous Nations. There are growing movements calling for decolonization, #LandBack, and #CashBack, calling for the rematriation of Indigenous lands and the restitution of wealth that has been stolen from Indigenous peoples. These movements are often led by young people, but even amongst those calling for #LandBack, it means different things to different Indigenous people (and to different generations). One Indigenous youth leader suggested that regardless of these internal discussions amongst Indigenous Peoples, "What is needed next is for non-Indigenous peoples to work on their relationship and reaction to giving land back."

Text of poster of a fictional campaign in support of shared governance and land back

Reconciliation through Justice

There cannot be collective healing or reconciliation without justice. Justice means repairing past wrongs in the present. We need to do the right thing. We are an anonymous concerned group of Canadian citizens and permanent residents who are raising awareness about our responsibilities as settlers on stolen Indigenous lands.

We recognize the injustices that Indigenous peoples were subject to in the past and that they are still subject to today. We acknowledge our debt to Indigenous peoples: our comforts in this place we know as Canada are made possible at their expense. We cannot move forward without some form of justice. As a gesture of reparations and redress, we are campaigning for three things:

1) That more settlers, especially those without heirs, choose to leave their property in their will to local Indigenous Nations;

2) That more settlers offer financial and other forms of support for Indigenous Nations to have their lands returned to them and their self-governance systems upheld;

3) That land-based organizations engage in shared land governance. For example, in 2019 Parks Canada to revise relevant legislation, policies, and guidance in ways that "respect Indigenous rights and worldviews, and enable implementation of shared stewardship at heritage places." We think they need to go further to actually co-govern all Parks Canada lands with local Indigenous Nations. As part of this co-governance, we propose that for 50% of the time that parks are open, local Indigenous peoples have exclusive control of access to the lands for seasonal ceremonies, hunting and gathering, and intergenerational knowledge transfer.

Please support our efforts. More information can be found at responsiblesettlers.org

Diagnostic Exercise 1: Identify your own internal responses to the poster

You are invited to pause and identify different intellectual and emotional internal responses to this fictional campaign. You can use the "bus within us methodology" for this exercise, where you imagine yourself as a bus with a driver and different passengers with conflicting views. The invitation is not for you to impose consensus or coherence, but for you to observe and learn from the dynamics between the "passengers" in order to learn to hold space for the complexity within you.

Identify three different responses (or "passengers" on your internal "bus") and observe the cognitive, affective and relational dimensions of each response, for example: What are the passengers thinking, saying and feeling? How old are they? What are their fears and desires? Where are they coming from? Can you connect them to people who you know (e.g., relatives, friends, former mentors, etc.)? Do they crave absolute certainties or can they tolerate or embrace complexity, uncertainty, and ambivalence? What kind of imagery would each passenger associate with the poster? How does their attitude (e.g., frustration, anger, guilt, self-righteousness, excitement, etc.) affect the driver of the bus? Who/what is each passenger accountable to?

Diagnostic Exercise 2: Mapping clusters of short responses to the poster from settlers

a) Read the responses to the flyer below, which were organized in clusters. Try to identify the criteria used to map the clusters. With these criteria in mind, place the responses that emerged on your bus into the clusters that you feel they belong to.

CLUSTER 1

- Over my dead body.
- I can't believe they are asking for more, after all we have done for them! If anything, they owe us for all the improvements we have brought them.
- I'd better not say what I really think about this…
- I would do what they are asking, but what if Indigenous people just build casinos on the land?
- Can't you go bother someone else?

CLUSTER 2

- Good luck with that!
- They have a point, but it's not my problem; future generations can deal with it.
- Why are they asking me to do it? I am just an ordinary person, trying to get by. The government should return lands, not individual property owners.
- Sure, I'll do it – but only once everyone else agrees to it, too.
- I am not having kids and I can't afford to buy my own property; they can't take the parks – parks are all we have left.

CLUSTER 3

- I get it, but I'm disadvantaged, too, and I didn't create this problem.
- This is it, the rent is due, and it's about time. But collect it from the 1%, not me.
- I can't do much, but I can definitely re-tweet it.
- I am totally for it – if they support queer rights.
- This won't work now, but it is important for Indigenous young people to keep land back as a horizon of hope for the future. This hope was beaten out of older generations through the residential school system.

CLUSTER 4

- Indigenous people have been waiting for this for 600 years.
- Indigenous people can take care of the land better than us.
- In 30 years, everything will be on fire and there will be no clean water. You might as well return all the lands, it won't make any difference.

- I feel the pain of everything. It is freaking exhausting. I don't want to be here, stuck with this inherited mess. If they want the stolen land back, then give it back.
- It is the right thing to do. For all of us. Period.

b) **Re-read the responses in each cluster and assign each response with the emotion associated with the five stages of grief (denial, anger, bargaining, depression, acceptance), including your own responses.**

Diagnostic Exercise 3: Scanning for patterns in conversations

a) Read the four conversations about the poster below and identify the types of demeaning and supportive patterns that emerged:

- **Demeaning patterns:** paternalism, deficit theorization, tokenism, white supremacy, racism, bargaining, belittlement, arrogance, delegitimization, denial of responsibility
- **Supportive patterns:** acknowledgement of complicity, recognition of accountability, call for reparations, uplifting Indigenous knowledges, supporting the critique

Conversation A

Speaker 1: We have brought them progress and earned our right to be here. They should be grateful we civilized them – and it cost us a fortune to do that.
Speaker 2: Yea, nothing is ever enough for these people. What guarantees that Indigenous people will be happy with what they propose and not demand more?
Speaker 3: Who are these "concerned citizens" anyway? Are they working with local Indigenous groups? Why are they anonymous? What is their real agenda?
Speaker 4: I don't have kids and would actually be happy to leave my property to the local Indigenous Peoples. But I worry they would just sell the land and misuse the money.

Conversation B

Speaker 1: These "responsible settlers" are out of their minds! They need to be shut down immediately before they spoil the minds of our children! This is worse than Critical Race Theory!
Speaker 2: But we don't have control over what our kids are exposed to – they can find everything on the internet and if they see we are against it, they will want to do it just to contradict us.
Speaker 3: I wouldn't worry, this is so extreme that no one will pay attention.
Speaker 4: I think you're stuck in the past, and in an outdated racist mindset – a lot has changed in the past few years, and younger generations are not going to put up with this colonial system. They will fight for what is right, whether you like it or not!

Conversation C

Speaker 1: Many of our parks are at risk of wildfires because of climate change and western-style fire management. Partly returning the land to the care of Indigenous Peoples could reduce this risk, since they have more knowledge of their lands and how to adapt it to a changing climate.
Speaker 2: Maybe at one time, but Indigenous Peoples have lost this knowledge, and most of them just want to enjoy the spoils of capitalism and consumerism, like everyone else.
Speaker 1: Ok, but even if that were true, this disconnect happened because the lands were stolen in the first place. The knowledge is still there, with the Elders. Intergenerational knowledge transmission needs to happen on their land.

Speaker 3: Returning Indigenous lands to Indigenous people who really care about it and who have the knowledge to look after it better than we do is good for the land and ultimately for everyone. But who can guarantee that these lands won't end up in the wrong hands?
Speaker 1: If someone stole your car, you would want it back. It doesn't matter what you do with it once it's returned. Maybe you end up crashing it, or selling it. But the point is that it's your car, and you can do what you want with it. It's not for the thief to decide.
Speaker 3: But land isn't a car. It doesn't "belong" to anyone, including Indigenous Peoples. That's what an Indigenous Elder told me once.

Conversation D

Speaker 1: Young people and families who love to enjoy the parks and lakes with their boomboxes and jet skis won't take lightly to losing access to the parks. They feel entitled to enjoy their carefree summer. The campaign would have more support if they advocated for Indigenous people to have exclusive access only in the low season.
Speaker 2: Indigenous youth should also be able to enjoy the summer, on their own land, following their own protocols and free from boom boxes, jet skis and the discomfort of the gaze of settlers. They have been waiting for this for a long time.
Speaker 3: They are waiting because their ancestors lost the battle. They need to get over it already and move on. This is everybody's land now.
Speaker 2: No, it's not. It's still Indigenous land. And they have been waiting because settlers have refused to give up what we stole. It's time for us to give it back. Now.

We invite you to think about the impact of the demeaning patterns you have identified in this exercise on Indigenous individuals and communities who often have to endure them on a daily basis. These patterns are not rooted in the bad choices of individuals, but in responses that are systemically sanctioned by the normalization, naturalization and legalization of the dispossession and destitution of Indigenous Peoples. These patterns are socially "wired" and mostly unconscious. To what extent do you think they are active and/or latent on your "bus"?

Debriefing Exercise: Dipping in and Diving Deeper Questions

Dipping in questions

1. What other responses do you think are likely to emerge amongst setters in response to the flyer, but are missing from the list above?
2. What do you think is the most likely distribution of responses in your professional context, in your family, amongst your friends, in your province, in the court and in your generational cohort (e.g., which are more or less likely to emerge and have wide support)?
3. Did some of the responses listed bother or resonate with you more than the others? If so, which ones and why? Were there some you felt ambivalent about?
4. Have you encountered other efforts to secure the return of Indigenous land? If so, in what context? How did you respond at the time? Would you respond the same today?
5. How would you respond if someone approached you with the poster and asked you to sign a petition in support? Would it depend on who the person was, and how they asked?

Diving deeper questions

1. What have you learned from observing your internal responses (i.e., your "bus")? Were there any internal responses (passengers on your bus) that surprised you, and what (if anything) did you learn from this experience of surprise?
2. Did you find yourself immediately poking holes in the requests of the poster? If so, how did this manifest and where did this/these response/s come from?
3. How did this exercise differ from usual exercises where you are asked to either agree or disagree with an argument or proposition (rather than process different internal and external responses to it)?

Appendix B: Accountability+ Cartography

Many settler conservation organizations are currently working to discern their accountabilities to Indigenous Peoples, especially Nations whose lands they work to conserve. The following cartography, which was created by Cash Ahenakew, in collaboration with the Gesturing Towards Decolonial Futures Collective, cross-references attitudes toward colonial violence with attitudes toward Indigenous knowledges (see Ahenakew, in press).

It can be a useful exercise for organizations to ask three questions in relation to this map: 1) Which disposition is most predominant in your organization? 2) Why this is the case, and what are the implications of this for your Indigenous collaborators? and 3) What steps would be necessary for your organization to move toward more generative dispositions?

The three common attitudes toward colonial violence are:

1. Sanctioned ignorance (e.g., "Colonialism was the past and has nothing to do with the present")
2. Personal awareness (e.g., "Canada should apologize for what it did to Indigenous Peoples")
3. Systemic implication (e.g., "As a settler, I benefit from historical and ongoing dispossession and genocide of Indigenous Peoples and I am answerable and accountable to ongoing violence towards Indigenous Peoples")

The three common attitudes toward Indigenous knowledge systems are:

1. Sanctioned devaluation (deficit theorization of Indigenous experiences and worldviews)
2. Personal appreciation (consumption of Indigenous experiences and worldviews for settler self-actualization)
3. Systemic accountability (capacity to sit with the weight of the trauma and pain beyond individual shame and romanticization of Indigenous peoples; commitment to support Indigenous peoples to revitalize their cultures, languages, educational systems and livelihoods)

The cartography maps the interface of these two different sets of attitudes, which results in seven possible dispositions:

Types of relationship to colonial violence

Types of relationship to Indigenous knowledge systems	sanctioned ignorance	personal awareness	systemic accountability
sanctioned devaluation	A paternalism	B tokenism	-
personal appreciation	C appropriation	D consumption	E redistribution
systemic accountability	-	F idealization	G accountability+

Table 4. Cartography of relationships to colonial violence and Indigenous knowledge systems

The first disposition (A) is paternalism. This disposition is at the interface of sanctioned ignorance towards colonial violence and sanctioned devaluation (deficit theorization) of Indigenous knowledge systems. It assumes Indigenous Peoples need to "catch up" with settler society and its superior knowledge systems.

People who hold this position tend to assume that colonialism represents progress and ultimately benefited Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous Peoples' knowledges are perceived as backward misconceptions, traditions, and beliefs that need to be corrected. It is important to note that sanctioned ignorance and devaluation of Indigenous knowledges have been used to justify genocidal practices that go far beyond paternalism, such as the case of the Indian Residential School System.

The second disposition (B) is tokenism. Tokenism combines personal awareness of colonial violence with the sanctioned devaluation of Indigenous knowledge systems. An example of this disposition is tokenistic land acknowledgements, wherein Indigenous Elders are asked to start a conference, and then people are eager to move on with the program without substantial engagement with the Elder or the knowledge they hold, or the implications for what follows.

The third disposition (C) is appropriation. Appropriation happens when people are not aware of (or do not acknowledge) their complicity in systemic colonial harm or the history of the theft of lands, livelihoods, lives, knowledges, languages, stories, and objects. This leads people to feel like they are helping Indigenous People by "promoting" their culture, when in fact they are using this culture for personal gain and inadvertently reproducing the same colonial harms.

The fourth disposition (D) is consumption, in which people combine personal awareness of colonial violence (without substantial self-implication) with personal appreciation of Indigenous knowledges in ways that are (usually) idealized and instrumentalize their engagement with Indigenous Peoples to enhance their perceived moral virtue and social capital (see Jimmy & Andreotti, 2021).

The fifth disposition (E) is redistribution, which combines systemic accountability (self-implicating critique) for complicity in colonial harm with personal appreciation for Indigenous knowledges (without substantial commitment to Indigenous engagement). This disposition acknowledges the need for support for Indigenous-led initiatives and spaces, but (for different reasons, including legitimate contextual reasons) does not get substantially involved with Indigenous initiatives and relationships.

The sixth disposition (F) is idealization, which combines systemic accountability commitments towards Indigenous knowledge systems and communities and personal awareness of complicity in harm, but without self-implication in systemic violence. Idealization romanticizes Indigenous struggles and can be understood as the mirror image of pathologization: rather than treating Indigenous Peoples as less than human (sub-human), it treats them as super-human. This is not generally sustainable; while idealized images can have a short-term impact of eliciting support from settlers, this support is conditional on Indigenous Peoples living up to an (unrealistic) expectation. Thus, when they inevitably contradict this image, the support tends to quickly evaporate. It is also an unfair burden for settlers to project onto Indigenous Peoples their idea of what they should be. Idealization of Indigenous Peoples also works to deflect settlers' self-implication in colonial violence. An illustration of this would be someone who has committed to attending public Indigenous events or ceremonies as a way of not having to face the more difficult aspects of settler responsibility.

The seventh disposition (G) is accountability plus, which combines systemic accountability in relation to both self-implication in colonial violence and Indigenous knowledge systems. This disposition requires a substantial commitment to the long haul of relationship building based on trust, respect, reciprocity, consent, and accountability (Whyte, 2020). It entails an expanded capacity to engage with the heterogeneity of communities, complexities, pushbacks, frustrations, failures and mistakes.

Generally speaking, disposition A is the most harmful; dispositions B, C, and D do more harm than good; dispositions E and F can do more good than harm, but, especially in disposition F, there is high potential for romanticization and precarious, conditional commitments to uphold settler responsibility. Disposition G has the most potential for harm reduction and harm interruption in the long term. However, the impacts and implications of each disposition depend on the context in which they manifest.

Appendix C: More About the Common Themes for Organizations Doing This Work

Many questions, tensions, and themes emerged throughout the interviews with the leaders of conservation organizations, including: relationships; temporality, humility; uncertainty; systems change; and paradigm change. We review these in detail here; an abridged version appears within the body of the report, in Part 3.

Relationships – "It needs to be based in relationships...We need to develop trust. We need to take time"

For every organization interviewed, relationships were a primary area of concern and consideration. This can be summarized in the comments of one settler interviewee: "It needs to be based on relationships. It needs to be. We need to develop trust. We need to take time. We need to be transparent and clear." Some of the settler organizational leaders interviewed said that they had sought to create "ethical spaces" for engagement with Indigenous Peoples, but they were still learning how. One person noted, "when I talk to anybody in the conservation sector about creating 'ethical space,' nobody knows how to do it." A few also noted that they not only felt unprepared to engage with the complexities of relationships at the interface of settler and Indigenous communities, but also the complexities of relationships within and between Indigenous communities.

Another settler leader noted that the notion of reciprocity was something they had both learned from their relations with Indigenous Peoples, and that had been crucial to navigating those relationships: "We've been super great at…saying to Indigenous Peoples, 'Well, tell us how to do this. Show us this. Participate in this. Come out to the ceremony. You know, tell us, tell us, tell us.' And this take, take, take, take and then form a recipe. But the idea of Indigenous concepts of gifting is that there's always a reciprocity to it. So, I'll give you a gift and I am giving you a gift because I want to give you a gift, right? But also, it's the idea that somewhere down the line, you're going to do the same for me. You know that there will be this circle of reciprocity attached to the concept of gifting." While this a settler interpretation that does not reflect not how all Indigenous Peoples approach the practice of gifting and the ethics of reciprocity, this settler leader nonetheless emphasized that their engagements with Indigenous Peoples had been an important and humbling learning experience.

Some settler leaders noted the ways that settlers tend to universalize their own sensibilities, frameworks, and their approach to relationships in general, often in unconscious ways. One individual noted the importance of learning the difference between settler and Indigenous approaches to relationship: "I kept hearing again and again in our workshops and webinars and meetings about the importance of relationships. And then all of a sudden you realize…that culturally that's quite different from the [settler] mentality where we always say, 'These are our steps to our objectives and our goals, and that's how we're going to get there.' So that was huge for me to just understand that relationships can be understood in such a different way, depending on the cultural perspective."

Yet several settler leaders also noted the tension between wanting to give the necessary time and space for a relationship to develop, and the expectations of funders, federal regulations, and their own boards, as well as the sense of the urgency around the need to address climate change and declining biodiversity, and public pressures from various groups for more immediate action. One person even suggested the potential impossibility of organizations developing the kinds of relationships that are necessary, given the current limitations in terms of settler readiness, limited time and organizational resources, and the confines of larger systemic structures, such as legal statutes and reporting requirements. Others noted the challenge of maintaining relationships with Indigenous community partners when the staff who were nurturing those relationship leave the organization.

The issue of relationships emerged frequently throughout all of the interviews, and thus, is woven throughout the remaining themes, including the issue of temporality and systemic change.

Temporality – "The long-term outcomes are usually the ones most worth working towards"

Interviewees expressed considerable ambivalence about the issue of time – in terms of the time it takes to build relationships, the tension between the sense of

urgency for change and a wariness about rushing change, as well as the time pressures that were felt in relation to conservation itself. One person noted that the notion of slowing down and allowing relationships to move "at the speed of trust" is "really difficult [for settlers] to grasp, particularly if you work in the context of limited funding and grant reports that are due two years from when you applied for a certain project and this type of stuff."

A few people noted the tension they felt between the need to respond quickly to the interests, pressures, and ecological threats that conservation organizations were working against and the need to slow down in order to rethink their approach and especially their relationships to Indigenous Peoples.

One noted, "the sense of urgency comes from an authentic place. And it can be hard to override, but often that's exactly what's required to do the work in the right way." Others observed that when this work is rushed, it is more likely to reproduce the harms of existing mainstream conservation practices.

While many emphasized the need to take it slow when building relationships with Indigenous Peoples, others also emphasized the need to take it slow when seeking changes within their own organization and within the wider policy and legal requirements that shape the conservation sector.

Some settler leaders specifically noted a tension between the different temporalities of their boards and funders, who are more likely to be from older generations and wanted to proceed slowly and cautiously, and the pressures coming from younger generations of staff and supporters, and some local Indigenous Peoples. One leader noted that she felt she was often serving as a translator, indicating "there's a lot hanging on our ability to translate between these two really, really different generations."

Some specifically noted that they felt that the conservation field – and in many cases, their own organization – had been very slow in efforts to address questions of reconciliation and Indigenous engagement. This was particularly the case for those who reflected on the fact that Indigenous Peoples had been pointing out and resisting the harms of western conservation for centuries. However, most people noted that much has shifted in the past few decades, and especially over the past five years in terms of settler recognition of these harms, and that this has also shifted public opinion.

A majority of the people interviewed emphasized a tension between the sense that things were finally starting to move in the conservation world (and beyond), as well as the sense that most organizations were only just beginning their learning journeys. One settler leader observed that in the field of conservation, "we're still looking for that quick fix checkbox response," while another noted their realization that in reality this is a "journey" that will require "a lifetime of change." Another commented, "everything we do in conservation is still colonial. Like, let's not kid ourselves…we're far away from [being] decolonized in any large or meaningful way, I think we're only just beginning to ever so slightly grasp what that could mean in the long run." One settler. leader even named their sense that it might be impossible to decolonize conservation, or at least settler conservation organizations, but that did not make them give up on their work. They noted, "we're always going to be colonial…But what are the ways that we can also commit?"

In general, the deeper that organizations go in their efforts to engage with Indigenous Peoples, the more they realize how much they still have to learn. As one person commented that they were just "starting to realize the depth and the complexity involved in and…considering those kinds of deep questions." We attribute this to the fact that it is often only through the process of engaging with Indigenous Peoples that settlers begin to see and grapple with the full extent to which colonial patterns structure Indigenous-settler relationships. This often leads people to revisit their initial assessment of how far they have come. As one settler leader commented, "I think a lot of groups kind of went into this work thinking that, 'Great, we're already like halfway there.' And there's been a real eye open to the fact that that may or may not actually be the case, values wise…But like when it comes to where the rubber hits the road and how it's operationalized, I think we're farther apart than people kind of originally assess the situation." This also led some people to accept that this process requires an ongoing commitment, with one settler leader noting "we are continually revisiting how we work in respectful partnership with Indigenous Peoples."

Yet another tension was a mix of hope about the new possibilities that are emerging, as well as caution around the temptation to move too quickly or to think that one's organization is further ahead than it actually is in the process of transformation. One settler leader noted, "there's been kind of radical changes in some ways, and it's still not enough. There's so much further to go. So, how do you hold both of those things?" while another noted, "I feel excited about it. I'm under no illusion about how easy it's

going to be or even where we're going to end up. But at least the possibility's out there, at least there's some openness in the future for change." The Indigenous conservation organization leader that we interviewed emphasized the risk of settlers rushing the process. Referencing an incident when a settler collaborator asked them when reconciliation would be finished, they recalled joking, "it took [587 years of settler colonization] to get this messed up, so I think with another 587 years, we'll be able to undo it." This individual's instructive joke also gestures to a theme that emerged repeatedly throughout the interviews, that of humility, which we review next.

Humility - "It's not about not making mistakes, it's about learning from them"

The themes of temporality and humility were often linked by our settler interviewees: people wanted to reflect on and share what they had learned thus far in their processes of individual and organizational change, but they did not want to be perceived as too celebratory of what they had done or be understood as suggesting that their learning was completed and that they knew the "how" of how to change. One settler leader noted a tension between wanting to "do this work quietly", i.e., with humility, and "being vocal about this so that others can see and learn from our mistakes." This was especially the case for settler organizations who were considered "ahead of the curve," and to whom others were looking for guidance. Another settler leader noted, "We're making mistakes like everybody else…We're all raised in a racist society. So we have that in our DNA. We're all colonial…I don't want to put us out there like, we have some big answer. We're just trying to work it through."

Another noted, "we are early days, early learning, trying to be humble and not too naïve about where we are at in the learning journey, with lots of open questions." For others, there is a sense that there are ebbs and flows in this work: "I don't think I have like this one 'aha' moment, I probably have lots of little, 'Ok, now I'm going deeper. Now I'm going deeper.' And then usually it's like you're destabilized for a bit. Then you come back having integrated the learning and then something else happens and you're like, 'Oh, ok, I have still more to learn…it's a whole lifetime and more."

Some noted a sense of immobilization that they or other organizations had experienced, based on what one leader described as "a palpable fear of not wanting to do the wrong thing…you don't want to break a protocol or stumble into something where you really make a big mistake." This leader suggested that their strategy to confront to that fear was to "keep asking questions…keep talking to people…stretch your understanding."

Many organizations explicitly named the fact that they had and would continue to make mistakes, and they had come to understand the importance of learning from those mistakes, and share that learning with others, so as to hopefully not repeat them. In fact, several indicated a perceived need for spaces where settlers working in conservation, as well as Indigenous Peoples working in conservation, to have their own spaces to debrief what they were learning. One settler leader noted, "organizations are struggling and making mistakes and knowing that we're going to bumble into it again." Another emphasized that making mistakes can bring up difficult emotions, but that they had learned the importance of "feeling what they make you feel, but also not letting that overwhelm you." Yet another noted that it was also important to learn from successes: "there is good things to be replicated in our body of work, not just bad things to be shifted away from or to be changed."

Another person noted that there was a need for settlers to balance the imperative to "do our own work so that we're not always expecting Indigenous Peoples to deliver the lessons and deliver the journey for us," while also being open to critique and feedback from Indigenous people, and not be defensive about the fact that an Indigenous person might tell you "Buddy, you don't get it."

The leader of the Indigenous organization that we interviewed noted, "it's ok not to have the answers. And that's interesting, with [a group I was working with], they said, we have no idea about Native people. Well, that's a great starting point. We're good to go now because, you know nothing." The person also noted that they encourage settlers to share their mistakes, "because if you did it wrong, someone else has probably done it wrong as well the same thing or thought of doing it wrong."

This theme of humility was often tied to questions about how to proceed in a moment that is highly polarized and politicized, recognizing the extent of the challenge ahead without becoming immobilized or searching for clear answers, easy solutions, or guaranteed outcomes. For many people interviewed, there was a realization that the work of settler organizations and individuals confronting colonialism and remaking relationships in order to imagine something different was full of uncertainty.

Uncertainty - "We don't know where it's going. And the key to that is to be ok with that fact"

Comments around uncertainty tended to be related to a sense that something very different is needed than what settler conservation organizations have done thus far, yet nobody knows what this is, how to get there, or in some cases, even what the next step is. One person noted their work in this realm sometimes felt like "conceptualizing solutions that don't currently exist."

For many people, central to having the stamina to sustain this work in the midst of uncertainty was accepting that uncertainty is an inevitable part of the process of learning to imagine conservation differently than it has previously been imagined. One settler leader noted that their organization, and the conservation field as a whole, was in the middle of their process of transitioning to something different, "and we don't know where it's going." They suggested, "the key to that is to be ok with that fact and not let it stress you out to the max. That it's part of the process. And of course, you can be personally affected because if you're not, you're probably not doing it right. But give yourself permission to…let go because it can't be in any other way…we're at where we're at right now." Another person noted the need to balance "not kicking it down the road and saying, 'Oh, we'll get to it later'," while also avoiding the perceived imperative to know and plan everything in advance of doing it. In this sense, settler conservation leaders can be understood as trying to hold space for at least three things in relation to their organizations' processes of un/learning colonial habits of knowing and being: "what we know, what we don't know, and what we don't know we don't know."

In some cases, what kept people moving in the face of uncertainty was a sense that this was their responsibility, regardless of how difficult it is or how foggy the path is. One settler leader specifically noted that this was something they had learned from working with Indigenous collaborators: "Many of my Indigenous colleagues say 'yeah, we've got rights, but you know what, what comes first? It's responsibility. And the way things are, we can't enact our responsibilities because we're so restrained by your system.'…I get excited by this idea that we could move down a new path and fundamentally transform these relationships. But I don't know how we're going to get there."

Others noted that uncertainties had affected their ability to move forward with new projects that could involve Indigenous Nations. One shared that many of their proposals and even funded projects were stalled because they felt they needed "to be given allowance" by the local Nations, and yet the relationships were not yet established and strong enough for this "allowance" to be clear. Another organization noted that they were open to shared governance models and co-fundraising opportunities, but "where we're struggling the most is understanding…what we should be doing, what we have to be doing, and what we maybe don't have to do, but it's only moral to actually do it. You know, permissions and consultations…that's the real, real, muddy waters right now."

The same organization noted that because there was no one established process by which to navigate and negotiate these shared relationships, they had decided to cautiously proceed and then retroactively reflect on what worked and what did not, which would inform their learning for future collaborations. Some noted that it was difficult to move forward without established roadmaps for how to approach this work, given that "you've really got a whole several centuries of bad examples." There was a sense of the importance of documenting learning to share not only amongst their internal team, but also to share it with others – especially for organizations that were just beginning their journey.

For some settler leaders, the sense of uncertainty was amplified by the fact that they were navigating multiple different relationships and expectations, and that this came along with considerable risk of mis-stepping. Many leaders noted that the risks were related not only to relationships with Indigenous communities, but also in relation to pushing change in ways that alienate key funders, supporters, or board members. One observed, "it's really political here right now. It's a really confusing conversation. I don't know how to step because whichever way we step, we're wrong."

Systems Change - "We're all in this not good system"

While many settler leaders interviewed recognized the importance of personal change, others noted the need to institutionalize change within their organization. For many leaders, the systemization of commitments happened after they had already begun the process of transformation. One settler leader noted that she realized many of the changes that were happening in the organization were a result of

individual efforts and the personal relationships with Indigenous communities that were developed, because "that's how we build the opportunities to work together. But what if those people all walked away one day? Is the scaffolding and the infrastructure of the organization actually saying, articulating that these are our commitments? So then it was like, ok, we need policies, procedures, operational commitments that solidify this is an institutional approach." Another person noted the need to creatively work around existing organizational rules, expectations, and "standard operating procedures" while at the same time working on revising and rewriting those documents in ways that focus on ensuring the quality and integrity of relationships with Indigenous communities.

Several of the settler leaders interviewed specifically spoke to navigating the resistance of their board members. One person commented, "they love passing motions and saying, 'Yeah, we're supportive of this.' But when it gets into the weeds of how the work is, is being done or even absorbing or learning or dealing with the potential risks and fallouts that happen as part of the work, I feel the understanding is very superficial and the support is very superficial." Another noted that, especially for board members coming from a corporate world, the notion of "unmeasurable" outcomes (for instance when it comes to relationship-building) was hard to communicate and advocate for.

For many settler leaders that we spoke to, there was a recognition of the need to institute change on multiple scales – including not only changes internal to their organization, but also changes in the wider conservation sector and Canadian society as a whole. There was a sense that without these wider changes, then the work of reimagining conservation in ways that centered respect for Indigenous rights would ultimately be stalled. In terms of implications for their practice, this often meant that organizations are engaging in multiple different strategies. For instance, both creatively navigating rigid policies, reporting requirements, and other government rules, as well as advocating for changes to those rules over the long run. One settler leader noted that her organization was trying to

> figure out how we can be courageous enough to challenge the status quo and say what could this look like or do we really need to do this? I know we've always done it that way. But you know what? Times are different, and what we're actually doing here is trying to support the authority of Indigenous Peoples…But there are systems that will be in place and will probably continue to need to be in place for certain things to happen. And so, we start to look at those systems and those procedures to shift things that advantage indigenous Peoples, not advantage other people.

Some felt hemmed in by existing rules and regulations, which limited what it was possible for them to do in relation to reimagining their work, with. One person noted, "It's not like we can just start from scratch because we can't. We're embedded in a system. And so, the question becomes, how do you transform the system? And it's not going to be done tomorrow. It's a long-term project."

One leader specifically observed, "the CRA [Canada Revenue Agency] hasn't started to assess or communicate what it means for charitable organizations to work with Indigenous communities who may have different view of conservation activities, or give land back or share title or whatever it's going to look like in the future, which is going to change for sure." Another noted that they were advocating for a change in CRA regulations that require Indigenous bands to be registered as "qualified donees" in order to receive funding from charitable organizations, which effectively means that there is no "philanthropic and conservation funding flowing directly to those Indigenous Nations who are not qualified because of that systemic barrier." Regarding existing rules and regulations, another leader noted, "we push on them in the long term. In the meantime, we get creative in ways that don't break the rules, but are not using them as they're intended to be. Like that kind of navigation of, as we work toward this long-term systemic change, what can we do within the bounds of what's possible?"

At the same time, others observed a slow and modest shift at the systemic level, as well. One leader noted, "some groups are starting to require Indigenous engagement or at least encourage, and that goes right across from foundations to government agencies where they'll say they'll put in the criteria. This might be somewhat minor on the scale of things, but it is a shift that's still relatively recent where they might say 'we encourage Indigenous collaboration.' And that's even on some federal grant programs…So from the federal government there are some more directed programs in what you might call a conservation space that are more targeted towards Indigenous communities." In some cases, in order to

receive Crown funding, organizations must consult with Indigenous communities and report back on those consultations (Innes, Attridge & Lawson, 2021).

Paradigm Change – "They're stuck in the old paradigm; they don't know what to do"

Apart from systemic changes at the level of governments and organizations, many of the settler leaders emphasized a need for a change in the conservation paradigm itself. This often entailed a recognition of the limits of the western conservation paradigm in terms of outcomes related to the protection of biodiversity as well as ethical and legal obligations to Indigenous Peoples. One leader noted, "It's important for [an organization] like [ours] to let go of preconceived definitions or worldviews of what conservation looks like…it's not putting a fence up around a unique ecosystem, or drawing a line on the map that has hard boundaries that people are not allowed to go into or live, which is traditionally how conservation has been practiced from a settler world view." Several people emphasized a desire to shift from "traditional conservation outcomes" determined by western science to "thoughtful stewardship of land" alongside Indigenous communities, while one noted their desire to shift their work away from "land use planning" toward "land relationship planning."

Some settler leaders specifically noted their recognition that western approaches to conservation tend to place a binary around land in which "you can develop land, mine it, build pipeline, dig a quarry; or you can conserve it," which erases the fact that Indigenous communities view and manage their lands very differently, often in ways that are unintelligible within western frames, including in ways that would be deemed incompatible with conservation (Atleo, 2021; Curley, 2018). Several settler leaders also emphasized that Indigenous-led conservation was the best way forward in terms of its environmental outcomes. One leader noted, "We've done 30 years of work with non-Indigenous approaches, and haven't achieved what needs to be achieved. There's a good failure report for you!"

Many leaders emphasized the importance of education for the process of shifting paradigms. One leader commented, "we need to do our homework and we need to do work to educate our members and supporters. We need to be able to help create a space where our members and supporters and followers can actually understand this and appreciate it and not have negative knee-jerk reactions around certain issues if it doesn't totally align with what they always assume conservation would be." This was often emphasized at an organizational level: "we need to be on our own learning journeys…we need to commit to that." Some organizations had instituted trainings and workshops for staff and board members, and allocated time for addressing these issues during staff retreats. One organization noted that they had also instituted a "learning commitment" for their funders and donors.

For some individuals, the need to "bring people along" in their learning was rooted in a sense of settler responsibility to work with other settlers to interrupt harmful patterns, so that Indigenous Peoples did not need to do this work. However, they also emphasized the need to balance doing their own work and taking direction from Indigenous partners. For instance, one settler leader noted, "We have to do our work to understand what that general direction is and then take it on and do it ourselves and not overstep [our Indigenous partners'] values and not speak for Indigenous people, but speak for the settler people, to our settler people and our settler governments to foster change."

Several organizational leaders noted a tension involved in the need to "bring people along" in the learning process, while also ensuring they were not doing this in a way that sacrificed their commitment to respectful relationships with Indigenous collaborators. For instance, one person noted, "it's not enough just for our staff or our core volunteers…to be having these conversations and looking at doing our work in a way that's moving towards decolonization, we have to bring people along or else what's the use of us being this, this public facing grassroots organization?" However, the same individual noted that this did not stop the organization from publicly centering their commitment to Indigenous rights, which had led some people to halt their donations to the organization. Another leader noted that her organization made an intentional decision to only work with partners who were committed to working toward truth and reconciliation. This individual recognized the need to invite many different people into this work, but also noted, "at some point you just have to do it and not worry about the people who aren't ready, support the people who are. That's where you're going to get traction."

Appendix D: (Beyond) Reconciliation as "Spectacle"

Many Indigenous people have critiqued the ways the Canadian government and settler society have taken up reconciliation in ways that reproduce rather the interrupt colonial power relations and institutional structures.

Cree scholar Michelle Daigle (2019) describes how reconciliation is often reduced to "a spectacle of settler sorrow coupled with a state-led production of good-feeling reconciliation." Inspired by Daigle, we have created an acronym, SPECTACLE, to summarize some of the harmful patterns and dynamics that are reproduced in mainstream approaches to reconciliation, which enact settler apologies and engage Indigenous Peoples and knowledges in ways that are:

- Selective – Engaging only the elements of Indigenous knowledges and critiques that are convenient for enabling the continuity of business as usual, thereby ignoring the elements that challenge settler innocence, ownership, benevolence, and authority.

- Paternalistic – Imposing settler priorities, sensibilities, and imaginaries onto the process of transformation itself, as well as imposing settler assessments of the value of Indigenous knowledges, thereby reasserting settler dominance, superiority, and universality, and invisibilizing or minimizing the value and importance of Indigenous knowledges, perspectives, priorities, rights, and worldviews.

- Extractive – Enacting non-reciprocal modes of engagement with Indigenous Peoples that primarily benefit settler agendas, do not consider or prioritize the benefits to and needs of Indigenous communities, do not treat those communities as equal partners, and often do not cite or give due credit or compensation to Indigenous knowledge holders.

- Certainty-seeking – Seeking guaranteed outcomes (especially outcomes that guarantee the continuity of systemic settler advantages), usually with a timetable determined by settler individuals or organizations, which precludes an approach that centers the quality of the process of change itself, prioritizes the integrity of relationships, and is thus often emergent and experimental rather than able to be determined in advance.

- Tokenistic – Including one or a handful of Indigenous people (as staff, board members, etc.), and expecting them to shoulder the bulk of the intellectual, affective, and relational labour of organizational change, often without providing them with adequate institutional support and placing the blame squarely on them when/if things do not go smoothly.

- Appropriative – Commodifying and consuming specific elements of Indigenous knowledges or cultures in decontextualized and self-serving ways in search of enhancing an individual or organization's financial, moral, political, or spiritual capital, and without substantive forms of reciprocity and consent, or political or relational accountability to Indigenous People.

- Coddling – Prioritizing the feelings and comforts of settlers, often at the expense of considering the impacts on Indigenous Peoples and the possibility of confronting difficult truths about individual and institutional complicity in harm.

- Laudatory – Promoting celebratory narratives about a settler individual or organization's achievements to ensure a positive public image, usually in ways that assert benevolence and innocence, thereby disavowing ongoing complicity in harm and lacking humility about the amount of difficult learning/unlearning that is required for substantively different kinds of relationships with Indigenous Peoples to actually become possible and viable.

- Expendable – Pursuing reconciliation solely because of a transactional convergence of interests between settlers and Indigenous demands for justice in ways that can be easily

> dispensed with once it is no longer convenient or beneficial for the organization.

The circular repetition of colonial structures and relationships under the heading of reconciliation has led some Indigenous people to conclude "Reconciliation is dead." Others suggest that because reconciliation has gained significant traction within mainstream institutional and public discourse, it is important to challenge shallow, symbolic engagements under the heading of reconciliation and to emphasize its other possible meanings.

For instance, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission itself describes reconciliation as "an ongoing process of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships," and emphasizes that

> a critical part of this process involves repairing damaged trust by making apologies, providing individual and collective reparations, and following through with concrete actions that demonstrate real societal change. Establishing respectful relationships also requires the revitalization of Indigenous law and legal traditions. It is important that all Canadians understand how traditional First Nations, Inuit, and Metis Nation approaches to resolving conflict, repairing harm, and restoring relationships can inform the reconciliation process (as cited by the Indigenous Circle of Experts, 2018, p. 7).

Plotkin (2018) argues, "Reconciliation must address the forced removal of Indigenous Peoples from their lands, broken Treaty processes and promises, and the exclusion of First Nations from decisions about how their traditional territories were and are managed" (p. 13).

Meanwhile, McGregor (2018b) emphasizes that reconciliation entails accepting our responsibilities to other-than-humans, suggesting, "reconciliation must be achieved among all beings of Creation, including all living things and entities that broader society does not consider to be alive (e.g., water)" (p. 222).

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